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PERSONNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

HIS EXCELLENCY SHRI SRI PRAKASA.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

- 1 THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, *Chief Minister.*
- 2 THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY, *Minister in charge of Medical and Health.*
- 3 THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM, *Minister in charge of Finance, Food and Elections.*
- 4 THE HON. SRI K. VENKATASWAMY NAIDU, *Minister in charge of Religious Endowments and Registration.*
- 5 THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI, *Minister in charge of Public Works.*
- 6 THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO, *Minister in charge of Education, Harijan Uplift and Information.*
- 7 THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER, *Minister in charge of Prohibition.*
- 8 THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO, *Minister in charge of Industries and Labour, Motor Transport, Settlement of Ex-servicemen, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and Civil Aviation.*
- 9 THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD, *Minister in charge of Agriculture, Forests, Veterinary, Animal Husbandry, Fisheries and Cinchona.*
- 10 THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI, *Minister in charge of Local Administration.*
- 11 THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER, *Minister in charge of Land Revenue.*
- 12 THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAIR, *Minister in charge of Courts and Prisons and Legal Department.*
- 13 THE HON. RAJA SRI SHANMUGA RAJESWARA SETHUPATHI, *Minister in charge of House Rent Control.*
- 14 THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO, *Minister in charge of Rural Welfare, Commercial Taxes and Scheduled Areas.*
- 15 THE HON. SRI D. SANJEEVAYYA, *Minister in charge of Co-operation and Housing.*

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

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

Volume II (Nos. 1-12)

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THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

Speaker.

THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI.

Deputy Speaker.

SRI B. BHAKTHAVATSALU NAIDU.

Panel of Chairmen.

1. SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU.
2. MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ.
3. JANAB K. M. SEETHI.
4. SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH.

Secretary to the State Legislature.

SRI R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR, B.A., M.L.

Joint Secretary to the State Legislature.

SRI G. V. CHOWDARY, LL.B. (Lond.), BAR.-AT-LAW.

Assistant Secretary to the Assembly.

SRI T. HANUMANTHAPPA, B.A. (Hons.), B.L.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WITH THEIR CONSTITUENCIES.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
1 Adikesavalu Naidu, K.	Chandragiri.
2 Adityan, S. T.	Tiruchendur—General.
3 Ahmed Kutty, C.	Kottakkal.
4 Aiyyanar	Nilakottai—Reserved.
5 Anandan, L.	Kallakurichi—Reserved.
6 Anantha Pai, T.	Udipi.
7 Anjaneyulu, G.	Bandar.
8 Anthony Peter	Manapparai.
9 Anthony Pillai, S. C. C.	Choolai, Madras City.
10 Appala Naidu, K.	Srikakulam—General.
11 Appalaswami, Bojja	Amalapuram—Reserved.
12 Appa Rao Bahadur, Rajah Meka Rangayya.	Nuzvid.
13 Appu, A.	Chevayur.
14 Aranganathan, K.	Gingee.
15 Ari Gowder, H. B.	Nilgiris—General.
16 Ardhanareswara Gounder	Edapadi.
17 Ardhanari, T. S.	Tiruchengode—General.
18 Arumugam /	Tirunelveli—Reserved.
19 Arumugam, S.	Tiruchengode—Reserved.
20 Arumugam, S. R.	Tiruppur—Reserved.
21 Arumugam, V.	Tiruchendur—Reserved.
22 Arunachalla Mudaliar, A. J.	Gudiyatnam—General.
23 Atchannaidu, T. C.	Cheepurupalle—General.
24 Audinarayana Reddi, Y.	Rayachoti.
25 Ayyaru, A.	Jayankondan—Reserved.
26 Balakrishnan, V.	Pudukottai.
27 Balanarayana Reddi, K.	Proddatur.
28 Balarama Reddi, A.	Kalahasti.
29 Bapaiah Chowdary, M.	Bellamkonda.
30 Bapauna Dora, K.	Bhadrachalam—Reserved.
31 Bapanayya, G.	Divi—Reserved.
32 Bapu Naidu, P.	Yellamanchili.
33 Basivi Reddi, D.	Penugonda.
34 Bhakthavatsalu Naidu, B.	Arkonam.
35 Bomman, K. H.	Nilgiris—Reserved.
36 Chadayan, M.	Malappuram—Reserved.
37 Chandra Ramalingaiah	Divi—General.
38 Chellapandian, S.	Cheranmahadevi.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
115 Krishna Rao, Y. V.	Bhadrachalam—General.
116 Krishna Rao, The Hon. Sri Dr. U. (Minister).	Harbour, Madras City.
117 Krishnasamy Ayyangar, P. S. . .	Manamathurai.
118 Krishnasamy Padayachi, V. . .	Bhuvanagiri.
119 Krishnaswami Naidu, R. . . .	Edirkottai.
120 Kumarasamy Rajah Bahadur (Raja of Karvetnagar).	Puttur.
121 Kune Rao, M.	Chintalapudi.
122 Kunhan, E. T.	Ponnani—Reserved.
123 Kunhi Muhamed Shafee	Perintalmanna.
124 Kunhirama Kidav, P.	Perambra.
125 Kunhirama Kurup, C.	Quilandy.
126 Kuppuswami, R.	Madukarai.
127 Kuttikrishna Nayar, The Hon. Sri K. P. (Minister).	Kozhikode.
128 Lakshmana Das, L.	Pathapatnam—General.
129 Lakshmana Kandar, C.	Salem—Rural.
130 Lakshmana Narayana Reddi . .	Penukonda.
131 Lakshmanaswamy, M.	Kankipadu.
132 Lakshmayya, D.	Mangalagiri.
133 Lakshmi Narasimham Dora, R. .	Tekkali.
134 Lakshminarasa Raju, B. . . .	Narasapur—General.
135 Lakshmipathy Naicker, K. S. . .	Ottanchattram.
136 Latchanna, G.	Sompeta.
137 Madanagopal, V.	Vedasandur.
138 Madhavan Nambiar, K.	Mattanur.
139 Mahalingam, N.	Pollachi—General.
140 Malakondayya, K.	Ongole—Reserved.
141 Mallayya, T.	Adoni—Reserved.
142 Mangala Gounder, M. P. . . .	Palni.
143 Manickasundaram, M.	Karur—General.
144 Manickavelu Naicker, The Hon. Sri M. A. (Minister).	Polar.
145 Manickam, P. G.	Nambiyur—Reserved.
146 Manjaya Shetty	Coondapoor.
147 Marimuthu, M.	Tanjore—Reserved.
148 Masilamani Chettiar, A. K. . .	Vellore—General.
149 Menon, K. B.	Trithala.
150 Mogral, M. S.	Kasaragod.
151 Mahamed Salih Maraikayar . .	Arantangi.
152 Moidu, K.	Badagara.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
153 Mookiah Thevar	Periakulam—General.
154 Mottaya Kudumban	Mudukulattur—Reserved.
155 Mounaguruswamy Naidu, N. . .	Udamalpet.
156 Muni Reddi, M.	Hosur.
157 Munisami Pillay, M. S. . . .	Dindigul.
158 Munuswamy Gownder, P. M. . .	Uddanapalli.
159 Murthy Raju, Ch. S. R. V. P. . .	Tadepalligudem.
160 Muthiah Chettiar, Raja M. A. . .	Tiruppattur (Ramanathapuram).
161 Muthiah Pillai, C.	Sirkali.
162 Muthu, V.	Periyakulam—Reserved.
163 Muthukumaraswamy	Nannilam—Reserved.
164 Muthukumaraswamy Naidu, T. D.	Tirukkottai—General.
165 Muthuramalinga Thevar, U. . .	Mudukulathur—General.
166 Muthuswami, A.	Tirukkottai—Reserved.
167 Muthu Thevar, B. R. M. . . .	Nilakottai—General.
168 Nadimuthu Pillai, V.	Pattukkottai.
169 Nagabhushanam, G.	Rayadrug.
170 Nagana Goud, The Hon. Dr. R. (Minister).	Hospet.
171 Nagarajan, V. R.	Villupuram.
172 Nageshwara Rao, G.	Razole—General.
173 Nagi Reddi, T.	Anantapur.
174 Nalla Gounder, P. S.	Gobichettipalayam.
175 Nallasamy, B. K.	Bhavani.
176 Nallasivam, K. R.	Kodumudi.
177 Nanjappa, O. A.	Harur—Reserved.
178 Narasa Raju, K. R.	Ramachandrapuram.
179 Narasimha Rao, N. V. L. . . .	Guntur.
180 Narasimha Reddi, P.	Rajampet—General.
181 Narayana, Kavali	Srikakulam—Reserved.
182 Narayana Kurup, M.	Ottapalem.
183 Narayana Nambiar, M.	Hosdrug.
184 Narayana Nambiar, T. C. . . .	Taliparamba.
185 Narayanappa, S.	Kalyandrug—General.
186 Narayana Raju, D.	Undi.
187 Narayanasamy, M.	Ongole—General.
188 Narayanasamy Naidu, G. . . .	Aduturai.
189 Nataraja Mudaliar, R. A. . . .	Kalasapakkam.
190 Neeladrirao Reddi, Asi. . . .	Ichapuram.
191 Paackirisami Pillai, S.	Perambur, Madras City.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
39 Chellathurai, P.	Tiruvadanai.
40 Chenchurama Naidu, N.	Kandukur—General.
41 Chengam Pillay, O.	Ponneri—Reserved.
42 Chidanandam, V.	Badvel.
43 Chinnakaruppa Thevar, S.	Melur—General.
44 Chinnama Reddi, P.	Chittoor—General.
45 Chinnasami Naidu, C.	Vadamathurai.
46 Chinnathambi Thevar	Alangulam.
47 Chinnayya	Tirumayam—Reserved.
48 Chitrambalam, G. Dr.	Srirangam.
49 Chokkalingam, P.	Ambasamudram.
50 Chokkalingam Chettiar. AR. A. RM.	Karaikudi.
51 Darmalinga Nayakar, V.	Cheyar.
52 Dasarathan, D.	Wandiwash—Reserved.
53 Dasaratharamaiah Naidu, D.	Rapur.
54 Deivasigamany, S.	Kancheepuram.
55 Dharmalingam, M.	Tiruvallur—Reserved.
56 Doraikannu, M.	Tiruttani—Reserved.
57 Doraiswami Gounder, A.	Harur—General.
58 Durugaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur, V.	Parvatipuram.
59 Elaya Pillay, V. T.	Kallakurichi—General.
60 Elumalai, T. P.	Saidapet—Reserved.
61 Fernandez, W. J.	NOMINATED.
62 Gajapathi Raju, P. V. R. (Raja of Vizianagaram).	Vizianagaram—General.
63 Gajapathi Reddy	Ponneri—General.
64 Ganapathy, T.	Palavoor.
65 Gangappa, M.	Bellary.
66 Gangayya Naidu, B.	Madugole.
67 Gopala Gounder, V.	Melmalayanur.
68 Gopalakrishnaiah, Vavilala	Sattenapalle.
69 Gopalakrishnan, P. K.	Nattikka.
70 Gopalakrishna Reddi, P.	Gudur.
71 Gopala Menon, N.	Ponnani—General.
72 Gopalan, K. P.	Payyanur.
73 Gopalan Unni, K. C.	Mannarghat.
74 Govindan, G.	Paramakudi.
75 Govinda Rao, K.	Anakapalle.
76 Govindasamy Nayagar, A.	Vikravandi.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
77 Govindaswamy Naidu, V.	Tiruvallur—General.
78 Gunnayya, P.	Cheepurupalli—Reserved.
79 Hanumantha Rao, M.	Repalle.
80 Hanumantharaya Gounder, A. K.	Vaniyambadi.
81 Indrayya, Ch.	Tanuku.
82 Ishwara, K.	Puttur—Reserved.
83 Jagannatham, H. M.	Vellore—Reserved.
84 Jagannathan, M.	Tindivanam—Reserved.
85 Jayarama Reddiyar, S.	Aruppukottai.
86 Jeevanandam, P.	Washermanpet, Madras City.
87 Joseph, G.	Amartalur.
88 Kaliannan, T. M.	Rasipuram.
89 Kalyanasundaram, M.	Tiruchirappalli (North).
90 Kandasami, C.	Mannargudi—General.
91 Kandasamy Gounder, P.	Velapady.
92 Kandasamy Padayachi, M.	Ulundurpet.
93 Kandaswami Gounder, S.	Pennagaram.
94 Kannan, V. K.	Arni.
95 Kanaran, C. H.	Tellicherry.
96 Karuthiruman, P. G.	Nambiyur—General.
97 Kasireddy, S.	Darsi.
98 Kattimuthu	Vridhachalam—Reserved.
99 Kempai Gounder	Mettupalayam.
100 Khadir Sheriff, S.	Ranipet.
101 Kolkebal, S. S.	Brahmawar.
102 Kondayya, G. C.	Atmakur.
103 Koran, O.	Alathur—Reserved.
104 Kosalram, K. T.	Satankulam.
105 Kotaiah, P.	Chirala.
106 Koti Reddi, K.	Cuddapah.
107 Kotra Basavana Goud	Kudligi.
108 Kotamma Reddi, Srimathi Thamma.	Prattipadu.
109 Krishna Ayyar, V. R.	Kuthuparamba.
110 Krishnam Raju Bahadur, Raja V. V.	Tuni.
111 Krishnamurthy Gounder, D.	Krishnagiri.
112 Krishnamurthy Rao, B.	Punganur.
113 Krishnan, R.	Alathur—General.
114 Krishna Rao, K.	Nellore—General.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
345 Vemiah, S.	Nellore—Reserved.
346 Venkaiah, K.	Ponnur.
347 Venkatakrishna Rao, C.	Kakinada—General.
348 Venkata Jagga Rao, R.	Pithapuram.
349 Venkata Kurmi Nayudu, K.	Bobbili.
350 Venkataramaraju, Alluri	Razole—Reserved.
351 Venkataramiah, N.	Narasaraopet.
352 Venkata Rao, Saka.	Kakinada—Reserved.
353 Venkata Setty, K.	Dhone.
354 Venkatasiviah, P.	Vinukonda.
355 Venkatasubba Reddi, M.	Koilkuntla.
356 Venkatasubba Reddi, O.	Madurantakam—General.
357 Venkatasubba Reddi, T. N.	Ghattu.
358 Venkatasubbayya, P.	Rajampet—Reserved.
359 Venkatasubramaniam, A.	Kaikalur.
360 Venkatayya, N.	Markapur.
361 Venkatesha Sholagar, P.	Nidamangalam.
362 Venkateswarlu, Pillalamari	Jaggayyapet.
363 Venkatnarayana Dora, K.	Saluru.
364 Venkatrama Ayyar, S.	Adirampatnam.
365 Venkatramaiah, A.	Tenali.
366 Venkatramana Gowda, K.	Puttur—General.
367 Venkataswami Reddi, P.	Venkatagiri.
368 Venkataswamy Naidu, The Hon. Sri K. (Minister).	Thousand Lights, Madras City—General.
369 Venugopala Gounder, M.	Tindivanam—General.
370 Venugopalakrishnaswamy	Kadambur.
371 Victoria, J. L. P. Roche	Tuticorin.
372 Vinayagam, K.	Chingleput.
373 Virupakshayya	Kollegal.
374 Viswanatham, Tenneti	Visakhapatnam.
375 Viswanathan, K. R.	Jayankondan—General.
376 Yellamanda Reddi, G.	Kanigiri.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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

Friday, 27th June 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at 5 p.m., 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.—SWEARING-IN OF A NEW MEMBER.

Sri Saka Venkata Rao was sworn in.

II.—PRESENTATION OF THE REVISED BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I now call upon the Hon. Finance Minister to present the Revised Budget for the year 1952-53."

The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam stood up to speak.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Sir, I wish to raise a point of order."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order. I see two hon. Members standing up simultaneously. If the hon. Member, Sri P. Ramamurthi, wants to say anything, he may do so as soon as the Hon. Finance Minister presents the Budget, and I shall hear him."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Before the Budget is presented, I want to raise a point of order, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"What is the point of order?"

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Speaker, Sir, the Rules of Procedure of this House provide that the Address by the Governor shall be debated upon by this House before any other business is taken up for consideration. For instance, Rule 4 (1) says—

'On the day appointed by the Governor for the commencement and holding of a session of the Legislature (not being a new Legislature), and in the case of a new Legislature at the first sitting of the Legislature after the election of the Speaker and the Chairman, the Governor will address both the Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons'.

"I do, of course, understand that there has since been an amendment of the Constitution.

"Then Rule 5 (1) says—

'Any member of the ministerialist party may then move that an address be presented to the Governor expressing the thanks of the Assembly for his speech.'

"Then Rule 6 reads—

'The Speaker shall, in consultation with the Leader of the House, fix a day for commencing the discussion of the matters referred to in the Governor's Address'

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
192 Padmanabha Raju, K. V. S. ..	Alamanda.
193 Padmaprabha Gounder	Wynaad—General.
194 Pais, L. C.	Mangalore.
195 Palaniandi, M.	Ariyalur.
196 Palaniappan, R. M.	Tirumayam—General.
197 Palanimuthu	Perambalur—Reserved.
198 Palanisami, N. K.	Uthukuli.
199 Palaniswami Gounder, The Hon. Sri V. C. (<i>Minister</i>).	Tondamuttur.
200 Palanisami Gounder, V. K. ..	Koilpalayam.
201 Panchaksharam, S.	Arcot.
202 Pandian, R. S. K.	Sankaranainarkoil—General.
203 Paramasiva Udayar, N.	Perambalur—General.
204 Paramasivam, N.	Vridhachalam—General.
205 Parameswaran, R.	Madurantakam—Reserved.
206 Parameswarappa, S.	Siruguppa.
207 Pattabhi Rama Rao, The Hon. Sri S. B. P. (<i>Minister</i>).	Pamarru.
208 Pentannaidu, M.	Pathapatnam—Reserved.
209 Periasami, M. P.	Namakkal—Reserved.
210 Potha Raju, T.	Vijayavada.
211 Prabakara Choudary, C.	Rajahmundry.
212 Pulla Reddi C.	Nandikotkur.
213 Pundarikakshacharyulu, V. P. ..	Honjaram.
214 Radakrishnan, S.	Panruti.
215 Raghava Mudaliar, E. L.	Tiruppattur.
216 Raju, D. K.	Srivilliputtur—General.
217 Rajachidambaram, P. B. K. ..	Lalgudi.
218 Rajagopal, N.	Manachanallur.
219 Rajagopala Gounder, P. R. ..	Dharmapuri.
220 Rajagopala Rao, K.	Gudivada—General.
221 Rajam Ramasami, C.	Mylapore—Madras City.
222 Rajan, P. T.	Cumbum.
223 Rajaram, K.	Tirumangalam.
224 Rajeswara Rao, M.	Kovvur—Reserved.
225 Raju, K. T.	Erode.
226 Rama, T. K.	Madurai (South).
227 Ramabhadra Raju, N.	Amalapuram—General.
228 Ramabrahmam, D.	Palmaner.
229 Ramachandran, M. R.	Tirupporur.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
230 Ramachandra Rao, P. S. ..	Kovvur—General.
231 Ramachandra Reddiar, A. ..	Tiruvannamalai—General.
232 Ramakrishna Ayyar, N. ..	Saidapet—General.
233 Ramakrishnan, K.	Palghat.
234 Ramakrishna Reddi, B. ..	Kavali.
235 Ramalingam, S.	Tanjore—General.
236 Ramalinga Reddi, H.	Adoni—General.
237 Ramamurthi, P.	Madurai (North).
238 Ramamurthy, K.	Golugonda—General.
239 Rama Rao, G.	Gudivada—Reserved.
240 Rama Rao, N. V.	Burugupudy.
241 Rama Rao, P.	Tiruvur.
242 Rama Rao, V.	Kanchikacherla.
243 Ramasami, V. V.	Virudhunagar.
244 Ramasamy Doss, K.	Koilpatti.
245 Ramasamy, K. V.	Namakkal—General.
246 Ramasamy, Thota	Peddapuram.
247 Ramasamy Kander, N. C. ..	Chengam.
248 Ramasamy Mudaliar, V. K. ..	Uthiramerur.
249 Ramasamy Naidu, S.	Sattur.
250 Ramasamy Padayachi, S. S. ..	Cuddalore—General.
251 Ramasamy Thevar, A.	Tiruchirappalli (South).
252 Ramesam, K. V.	Chodavaram.
253 Rami Reddi, A.	Duggirala.
254 Ramiah, K.	Jam nalamadugu.
255 Ramiah Choudary, K.	Udayagiri.
256 Ranga Rao, K.	Chilakaluripet.
257 Ranga Reddi, P.	Cumbum.
258 Rangasamy Naidu, P. S. ..	Tiruppur—General.
259 Rangasamy Gounder, R. ..	Paramathi.
260 Rangasamy Reddiar, P. ..	Turaiyur.
261 Rathina Gounder, N.	Aravakurichi.
262 Rathinam, A.	Cuddalore—Reserved.
263 Rathinaswami Pillai, P. ..	Omalur.
264 Ratnaswami, A. M.	Gudiyatham—Reserved.
265 Sahajananda, A. S.	Chidambaram—Reserved.
266 Sambandam, A. M.	Tripl cane, Madras City.
267 Sambandam, K. R.	Mayuram—General.
268 Sambasivam, A.	Talavasal.
269 Samia Koorayar, G.	Saliamanga'am.
270 Sangam Naidu, P.	Palakonda.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
271 Sanjeeviah, The Hon. Sri D. (Minister).	Kurnool—Reserved.
272 Sankaranarayana Menon, V.	Pattambi.
273 Sankara Reddi, The Hon. Sri N. (Minister).	Kurnool—General.
274 Sankara Varma Raja, E. K.	Nadapuram.
275 Sankarappa, B.	Kovur.
276 Sannasi, T. V.	Karur—Reserved.
277 Santhappa, K.	Kalyandrug—Reserved.
278 Sattyanarayana, G.	Eluru.
279 Satyanarayana Dora, H.	Narasannapeta.
280 Satyanarayana Reddi, P.	Anaparti.
281 Seetharamiah, D.	Madanapalli.
282 Seethi, K. M.	Mallapuram—General.
283 Selvaraj, P.	Vilathikulam.
284 Senapathy Goundar, A.	Dharapuram.
285 Shaker, M. G.	Nanguneri.
286 Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi, The Hon. Raja Sri (Raja of Ramnad) (Minister).	Ramanathapuram.
287 Shanmugham, K.	Kandukur—Reserved.
288 Shanmugam, T.	Sriperumbudur.
289 Shetty, The Hon. Sri A. B. (Minister).	Karkal.
290 Siddanna Gowd, R.	Madakasira.
291 Sirasappa, Ijari	Harpanahalli.
292 Sivaprakasam, V. S.	Melur—Reserved.
293 Sivaraj, N.	Nagapattinam—General.
294 Sivarami Reddi, N.	Kamalapuram.
295 Sivasankara Reddi, G.	Hindupur.
296 Sivashanmugam Pillai, J.	Thousand Lights, Madras City—Reserved.
297 Somasundara Goundar	Wandiwash—General.
298 Somayajulu, C. V.	Srungavarapukota.
299 Somayajulu, S.	Tirunelveli.
300 Soundaram Ramachandran, Dr. (Srimathi T. S.)	Authoor.
301 Sridharan, K. T.	Cannanore.
302 Sri Krishna, V.	Bapatla.
303 Srinivasulu, K.	Dharmavaram.
304 Srungaram	Chittoor—Reserved.
305 Subbaraj, A. S.	Uthamapalayam.

Serial number and name of member.	Name and class of constituency.
306 Subba Raju, B.	Bhimavaram.
307 Subba Reddi, K.	Palnad.
308 Subba Reddi, M.	Nandyal.
309 Subbaraya Goundar, A. K.	Kangayam.
310 Subbarayudu, C.	Tadpatri.
311 Subbiah, A. K.	Mannargudi—Reserved.
312 Subramaniam, The Hon. Sri C. (Minister).	Coimbatore.
313 Subramania Gownder, K. S.	Mecheri.
314 Subramaniam, M. P.	Attur.
315 Subramania Pillay, I. K.	Tenkasi.
316 Subramania Nayakar, M.	Sholinghur.
317 Suryachandrarao, P.	Alampuram.
318 Suryanarayana, K.	Bheemunipatnam.
319 Suryanarayana Raju, Raja Sagi.	Payakaraopeta.
320 Suryanarayana, G.	Vizianagaram—Reserved.
321 Suvarna, N. N.	Mulki.
322 Swaminathan, R. V.	Sivaganga.
323 Swayamprakasam, S.	Papanasam.
324 Syamsundra Rao, P.	Narasapur—Reserved.
325 Thangavelu, R.	Tiruvannamalai—Reserved.
326 Thangavelu, P.	Musiri.
327 Thiagaraja Pillay	Nannilam—General.
328 Thinma Reddi, P.	Pileru.
329 Thinakaranasami Thevar	Sedapatti.
330 Thirumurthi, P. K.	Pollachi—Reserved.
331 Uppi, K.	Tirur.
332 Urkavalan, P.	Sankarana narkoil—Reserved.
333 Vadivelu	Nagapattinam—Reserved.
334 Vagheesam Pillay, G.	Chidambaram—General.
335 Vaikunta Baliga, B.	Panemangalore.
336 Vaikuntam	Srivilliputtur—Reserved.
337 Varadachari, K.	Tiruttani—General.
338 Varadan, T. R.	Kumbakonam.
339 Varadarajulu Naidu, Dr. P.	Salem Town.
340 Veerabhadram, M.	Paravada.
341 Veeranna Padal, K.	Golugonda—Reserved.
342 Veloo, A.	Mayuram—Reserved.
343 Velukkan, C.	Wynaad—Reserved.
344 Vema Reddy, K. V.	Kadiri.

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"I know, Sir, I will be told that the Governor has addressed the joint sitting of the Legislature under Article 175 and not under Article 176 of the Constitution. But, nonetheless I maintain that the Rules of Procedure of this House are governed by Article 208 of the Constitution, which states—

'208 (1) A House of the Legislature of a State may make rules for regulating, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, its procedure and the conduct of its business.

(2) Until rules are made under clause (1), the Rules of Procedure and standing orders in force immediately before the commencement of this Constitution with respect to the Legislature for the corresponding Province shall have effect in relation to the Legislature of the State subject to such modifications and adaptations as may be made therein by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, or the Chairman of the Legislative Council, as the case may be.'

"Therefore, Sir, according to Article 208 (2), it is a mandatory provision and it is not open to anybody to go behind it. A mandatory provision has been made that the Rules of Procedure framed under this Article shall be valid in respect of the proceedings of this House. It is a very clear and unambiguous position.

"Apart from that, Sir, let us take Articles 175 and 176 into consideration. Under Article 175—

'The Governor may address the Legislative Assembly or, in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, either House of the Legislature of the State, or both Houses assembled together'

"And Article 176 of the Constitution—I know it has been since amended—, states :

'At the commencement of the first session after each general election to the Legislative Assembly and at the commencement of the first session of each year, the Governor shall address'

"What that Article provides for is that no rule made by this House which does not include a mandatory provision that there shall be a debate on the Address at the commencement of the first session of the year will be valid. It will go counter to the Constitution. That is all what it means. Of course, it does not preclude this House from making rules providing for a debate every time the Governor addresses the House. Under Article 175, it may be that the House is empowered to make such rules, though it does not provide for a debate on the Governor's Address."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Does the hon. Member want to change the rule?"

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"What I wish to point out is that these are the Rules that are given to us and they should be followed unless they are altered."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Even on the very first day I informed hon. Members that the Rules are antiquated and they require to be changed."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"The fact is, Sir, these Rules are given to us and are binding on us."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I give my ruling, I would like to know whether the Hon. Finance Minister wants to say anything in the matter."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I think the Hon. Speaker may give his ruling."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member, Sri P. Ramamurthi, was in my room this morning at 10 o'clock and I wish he had told me that he wanted to raise this point of order. Apart from that, as he himself has pointed out, the Governor's Address was made not under Article 176 but under Article 175. The very fact that I have not allotted a day for its discussion is a clear indication that there will be no debate on the Governor's Address. What the hon. Member has stated is not a point of order at all. Evidently, he wanted to clear some doubts."

"Now I call upon the Hon. Finance Minister to present the Budget."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, ^{Introductory.} I consider it a privilege to present this budget to the first legislature of this State elected under our New Constitution. Honourable Members are aware that a budget for the current year was presented to the old legislature last March and a vote on account was obtained to cover the expenditure of the Government during the first four months of the year. That budget has now been revised, making allowance for the altered trend of receipts and expenditure and the changes in policies proposed by the present Government."

"2. The budget, as now recast, shows that our ^{Famine.} revenues are likely to fall from Rs. 6,390 lakhs, as estimated last March, to Rs. 6,176 lakhs and that our expenditure may increase from Rs. 6,476 lakhs to Rs. 6,535 lakhs. The reasons for this adverse turn in our fortunes, are not far to seek. In preparing the earlier estimate, the Finance Department was guided, as usual, by the actuals of the first eight months, April to November, of 1951-52. Seasonal conditions, which were expected to be normal, took a distressing turn by December. No provision had been made for

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the wholesale remission and suspension of land revenue and cesses in many districts and the huge unprofitable outlay on famine relief measures. With the recent rains, we may hope to have passed through the worst phase of this famine, but as the crisis unfolded itself in all its grimness last March and April, we had necessarily to mobilise all our available resources, to ward off the impending catastrophe. In dealing with this famine, which is comparable to the worst that had afflicted Rayalaseema in living memory, we had to develop a new technique to suit the times. Famine relief measures in the past, consisted very largely of the provision of Test-works, by which, work was exacted from the able-bodied at the subsistence level of wages. The test, as prescribed in the Famine Code, was indeed rigorous and enabled the labourer, after the day's fatigue, to earn just enough to keep body and soul together and the wages were paid in the staple grains of the district. Relief administered in this severe form, did serve the end in the past, at a comparatively low cost, but this method seemed to savour of exploitation of the misfortunes of the stricken-people and fitted ill with the spirit of the new Constitution and the responsibilities of a Government set up on adult franchise. No attempt was therefore made by the Government to declare the areas as famine-affected and to apply the Famine Code. Work was provided by opening up a large number of irrigation, road and well works in all parts of the affected areas and the only limit set to this activity, was the demand for employment. Wages were paid not at the subsistence level prescribed in the Famine Code, but at current market rates. Whenever a tendency was noticed on the part of the contractors to lower wages and thereby to exploit the distress of the people, they were eliminated and direct departmental execution was ordered. Gruel centres were opened in

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all areas and a cheap meal was served, free of cost, to the aged, the infirm and children. Middle class people who were unaccustomed to hire themselves out as casual labour, were assisted by the grant of subsistence loans free of interest. The grant of takkavi loans was liberalised for the support of the larger pattadars. The most distressing feature of the present famine was the acute scarcity of drinking water. Hundreds of wells were sunk and deepened at public cost and arrangements were also made for the transport of water to the affected areas by rail, motor and country carts. A lump-sum grant of Rs. 150 was sanctioned for each village-community for deepening one well in their habitation. In order to preserve the cattlewealth of the area, hill-grass and other fodder, were arranged to be sold at subsidised rates wherever possible. It is too soon to form a reliable estimate of the cost of these relief measures, because the works are still going on and the bills take time to be embodied in the Public Accounts. Under our existing system of accounts, the expenditure on different items of relief is not shown under one single head. The outlay on irrigation works is entered under the Irrigation Head, on wells under Rural Water-supply and on roads under Civil Works or grants to Local Bodies. On a rough reckoning, the total cost of all relief measures has been estimated at about Rs. 6 crores under the following broad categories:—

(a) Suspension and remission of Land Revenue and cesses—Rs. 150 lakhs.

(b) Relief works—Rs. 150 lakhs—These are made up of construction and special repairs of roads, irrigation works and wells. A portion of the outlay under this head has been found by concentrating the normal programme of the State in the famine districts; but this expedient has not gone very far.

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(c) Gratuitous relief—Rs. 50 lakhs—This is mainly the cost of running gruel centres.

(d) Takkavi and subsistence loans—Rs. 200 lakhs—The possibility that a good portion of these loans might ultimately have to be written off as irrecoverable has to be borne in mind by the Government.

(e) Miscellaneous expenditure—Rs. 50 lakhs—This sum represents the expenditure on various items such as provision of fodder for cattle, prevention of epidemics, cost of special establishments, etc.

5-15
p.m.

A good portion of the total estimated outlay was incurred during the last financial year resulting in a large deficit for that year, to which I shall refer a little later. In the past, the expenditure on famine was usually met by withdrawals from the Famine Relief Fund. The amount to the credit of this fund now is about Rs. 60 lakhs and this would have been sufficient to meet the cost of relief measures on past standards. But, the present expectations on relief measures have so altered that the accumulations in the Fund would not go far and I am considering whether our annual contribution to this fund should not be enhanced with effect from next year. It is now proposed to withdraw Rs. 55 lakhs from this fund during the current year. The Government of India have taken note of our difficult financial position and the Prime Minister has expressed his anxiety to do his best to help this State. In order to release funds for relief works, the Central Government have bought Rs. 2 crores worth of our securities at current market rates. They have also promised to give us a half-grant on the sum spent on gratuitous relief and this may amount to about Rs. 25 lakhs. We should indeed be grateful for this much of monetary assistance; but considering the magnitude of the calamity that has

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overtaken us, I need hardly mention that the assistance held out is not nearly enough to set us back on our feet. We have requested the Government of India for an outright grant of Rs. 2 crores and let us hope that our request will be granted. In the meanwhile, we shall keep the relief measures going to the extent necessary under the altered conditions, till a crop matures in the affected areas.

3. Before I leave this subject, I must request the House to place on record, our appreciation and gratitude for the timely help rendered by the army in relieving water scarcity and I hope my friends on the Opposition benches will join with me, in this respect. The measure of the army's help can hardly be reckoned in terms of money, but our fighting forces may well take comfort in the thought, that by this kindly act of theirs, they have earned the goodwill in abundance of the stricken people. We must record our gratitude to the Prime Minister, who had lost no time in drawing public attention to the disaster that had overtaken Rayalaseema and for the generous donation amounting to about Rs. 4 lakhs from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. Our thanks are also due to the various non-official organizations and individuals, within and outside this State, who have canvassed assistance in cash and kind and also helped in organizing various relief measures.

4. Another important factor which has upset the balance of our budget, is the recent slump in trade ^{Fall in} and industry. ^{prices.} As honourable Members are aware, the sales tax is our major source of revenue. To the extent prices have fallen, the yield from this multi-point-tax, will diminish correspondingly. When prices are unsteady, transactions in the wholesale market get temporarily arrested and this diminution in the total turnover, accentuates the fall in receipts

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from sales tax. On the eight months' actuals of last year, we had estimated a revenue of Rs. 1,625 lakhs under this head for 1951-52 but the collections amounted to only Rs. 1,558 lakhs, registering a fall of Rs. 67 lakhs. We are now taking credit for only Rs. 1,450 lakhs under this head for the current year, as against the estimate of Rs. 1,600 lakhs anticipated in the budget presented last March and it remains to be seen whether even this revised target would be reached at all.

Relief to
handloom
weavers.

“ 5. The fall in prices would have been welcomed by the Government, in spite of the immediate reduction in revenues, but for the fact that it is now causing a famine of a different kind, but of almost equal malignancy, in the handloom industry, which is the sole occupation of one in every thirteen of our people. Stocks manufactured with the high-priced yarn have accumulated in large quantities with weavers, who are unable to sell them at competitive rates in the open market, where there is a glut of the cheaper mill-goods. These weavers have not accumulated reserves, with which to cut their losses and they have been without employment for some time now. The matter has been engaging the attention of the Government and they have just initiated proposals to set the wheels of this industry moving again. Unemployed weavers are to be organized into co-operative societies, the Government advancing the share capital due from individual members. The rolling capital required for the purchase of yarn will be borrowed from commercial Banks on the guarantee of the Government. Weavers will be paid daily wages, more or less at a subsistence level and the finished product will be sold at prices at which the market would absorb them. The losses sustained by the societies will also be made good by the Government. The financial consequences of these proposals cannot be assessed now, but it is

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the intention of the Government to implement them irrespective of cost and to ask the House for a supplementary demand later on in the year. A solution of the problem on this basis of State-aid can only be of a temporary nature, but it is hoped that the industry would soon be able to hold its own, on a competitive basis. The lasting solution to the problem lies in finding an assured internal or overseas market and the Government will do its best to assist in this respect. In the meanwhile, the Government of India have been apprised of the facts of the situation and it is hoped that they would do their best to press handloom products to the maximum extent possible for departmental use and also to so regulate the manufacture and export of mill goods, as to create an internal demand for this cloth.

“ 6. The fall in the general price level, which I almost seemed to regret, as Finance Minister, is how-
ever the most important factor which helped to set my mind as Food Minister, on the policy of relaxation of controls over foodgrains, now being implemented. When prices fall, speculators do not venture to make easy money by cornering stocks. They have all burnt their fingers in varying degrees in recent months and are not likely to be tempted to fresh adventures for some time. This was the reason why we are now having surprisingly large stocks of sugar, cloth and other essential articles in the free market and that was also one of the reasons why the stock of grains in Government godowns touched the peak figure of 5 lakhs of tons. We have been keeping the vexatious controls on, all these years, not because we had liked them at any time, but because we felt defenceless without them. Here then was an opportunity to shake the fetters off the cultivator, without undue risk to the consumer and the Government considered it best, not to let the chance slip. Today rice of good quality is available in adequate quantities in the free markets of all rural and urban areas of this State, at prices

Relaxation
of food
controls.

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within the reach of the average consumer. I quite see that with the lean months immediately ahead of us, it would be presumptuous to draw optimistic conclusions; but with the stocks in Government godowns, still very much intact, we should not be unduly apprehensive. If our bold bid should succeed, we must receive in time the usual import quota of about 2 lakhs of tons of rice, to be sent to the danger zone of Malabar and the Nilgiris. And the bulk of this quota should be low-priced rice from other States in India and not the expensive stuff imported from overseas. Now that we have relinquished control over local procurement, it is no longer open to us to levy the usual surcharge on the local produce, with which to balance the high price on foreign imports. The disparity in price between the foreign and the local rice—about Rs. 12 per maund— is too vast to be subsidised in full, out of State revenues. The Government of India have given us the necessary assurances in this respect and let us hope that they would be able to sustain us, as we agreed on. The decontrol would incidentally enable us to effect some retrenchment in the expenditure on food administration which has amounted to about rupees one crore per annum. This being a transition-year, we have to be alive to unexpected developments and therefore, we are not taking credit in the budget for the probable savings under this head. The final picture will be presented to the House along with the revised estimates for the year.

Relief to
public ser-
vants.

“ 7. The downward trend in prices should be welcomed by us for yet another weighty consideration, namely that it is assisting a large number of hard-pressed public servants on fixed incomes, to stabilise their domestic budgets. It is no doubt true that these classes can feel appreciable relief, only if food prices fall, but the reduction though slight, in the prices of other articles such as cloth, jaggery, edible oils and condiments, is not an inconsiderable

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factor. The Government have considered this question very carefully and have gone some way to give them relief. The children of all Non-gazetted Government servants, and of employees of local bodies drawing Rs. 300 and less per month, and of aided school teachers, will in future be given full-fee concessions in elementary and lower secondary schools and half-fee concessions in high schools. Non-gazetted Government servants and employees of local bodies are already enjoying certain concessions in respect of medical attention and it is now proposed to enlarge these concessions, so that they may enjoy full and free medical attention in all public medical institutions. The cost of these concessions cannot be assessed now, because relevant statistics have not been maintained. Considering that about 4 lakhs of public servants are eligible for these concessions and they may be sending their children to schools, in larger numbers in future, the ultimate cost may be of the order of rupees one crore per annum. Provision is being made in the budget for a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs as additional educational grants, but if more money is actually required, the House will be approached in due course, for a supplementary grant. The advantage of this form of relief, as against the enhancement of Dearness and other allowances, is that it reaches the people, more or less in proportion to the size and needs of their families. The Government feel that they have done their best to these people under the present circumstances and let us hope that these measures will be appreciated by the beneficiaries.

“ 8. Before I deal with the revised budget figures for the current year, I shall refer briefly to the financial position as disclosed in the accounts of the last financial year:—

	Budget Estimates for 1951-52.	Revised Estimates for 1951-52.	Preliminary Accounts for 1951-52.
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
Revenue	5,963	6,348	5,918
Expenditure	6,030	6,358	6,247
Deficit	67	10	329

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It will be some time before the Accountant-General can furnish the accounts for last year as finally adjusted by him. On the basis of the information now available, the revenue for 1951-52 amounted to only Rs. 5,918 lakhs as against the revised estimate of Rs. 6,348 lakhs. The revised estimate was, as usual, prepared on the basis of eight months' actuals of the year and had not taken into account the subsequent deterioration due to adverse seasonal conditions and the slump in the commodity market. The fall in revenue of Rs. 430 lakhs occurred chiefly under "Land Revenue" (— Rs. 121 lakhs), "Stamps" (— Rs. 74 lakhs), "General Sales Tax" (— Rs. 67 lakhs), "Electricity Schemes" (— Rs. 53 lakhs) and grants from the Government of India for Grow More Food schemes (— Rs. 47 lakhs). The fall in revenue was to some extent compensated by reduction in expenditure amounting to Rs. 111 lakhs which occurred mainly under "Civil Works" (— Rs. 92 lakhs), and "Agricultural Engineering" (— Rs. 54 lakhs). The expenditure on "Police", however, showed a rise of Rs. 33 lakhs. The net result was a revenue deficit of Rs. 329 lakhs, as compared with a deficit of only Rs. 10 lakhs anticipated in the revised estimate.

" 9. The total capital expenditure excluding State Trading Schemes in 1951-52 was Rs. 19.7 crores which was practically the same as the revised estimate. As regards State Trading Schemes, the revised estimate took credit for a net sum of about Rs. 2 crores, but the accounts now available, show a credit of about Rs. 1 crore only. The cash balance shown in the accounts of State Trading Schemes, does not represent any profit to the Government on the working of these schemes. It only represents the net result of the purely cash transactions of the year, as posted in the accounts and does not make allowance for the value of stocks on hand, outstanding liabilities or

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other dues. The Government have been subsidizing these State Trading Schemes heavily both directly and indirectly and, therefore, it was a misnomer to have called them trading schemes. It would perhaps be more appropriate to classify them as welfare schemes.

" 10. Under "Loans and Advances by the State Government", the net disbursements amounted to Rs. 317 lakhs as against the original Budget figure of Rs. 200 lakhs. The increase was mainly due to larger disbursements to cultivators, necessitated by the prevailing adverse seasonal conditions.

" 11. I now pass on to the figures in the Budget for the current year 1952-53 -

5.30
p.m.Budget
Estimate,
1952-53.
Revenue
Account.

	Interim Budget.	Present Budget.
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
(a) Revenue (on the basis of existing taxation).	6,390	6,176
(b) Expenditure on Revenue Account.	6,476	6,535
(c) Deficit (on the basis of existing taxation).	86	359

As compared with the interim Budget, our revenues may go down by Rs. 214 lakhs. The reduction is mainly under General Sales Tax (— Rs. 150 lakhs) and subsidies from the Government of India for Grow More Food and other schemes (— Rs. 60 lakhs). On the other hand, the present estimate of expenditure is higher than the interim Budget by Rs. 59 lakhs. The main increases are under relief works (Rs. 73 lakhs) and fee concessions (Rs. 50 lakhs) and are off-set by the proposed withdrawal of a sum of Rs. 55 lakhs from the Famine Relief Fund. The Budget assumes that seasonal conditions in this year will be normal and therefore there will be no necessity for large-scale

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remissions. It further assumes that trade will revive after the present temporary hesitation and that wholesale prices will stabilize at about present levels. It will be seen that the deficit in the Budget as now envisaged (Rs. 359 lakhs) is of the same order as the deficit disclosed in the accounts of last year (Rs. 329 lakhs). I shall deal with the measures to cover this deficit a little later.

New
scheme.

“ 12. Even though we are faced with an alarming deficit, substantial provision has been made in the Budget for new schemes covered by the National Plan, the ultimate cost of which will amount to Rs. 357 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 42 lakhs recurring. A full list of the new schemes will be found in Appendix I of the Budget Memorandum. Special mention may be made of a building grant of Rs. 4 lakhs towards the opening of a new Engineering College by the Alagappa Chettiar's College Endowment Trust at Karaikudi, a building grant of Rs. 2 lakhs to the Engineering College run by the P.S.G. & Sons' Charities, Coimbatore, and special grants of about Rs. 1 lakh each to the Andhra and Annamalai Universities and Rs. 30,000 to the Madras University. Provision has been made, as usual, for building and equipment grants, amounting to Rs. 10 lakhs to various aided educational institutions. It is proposed to raise the Government Arts College for Women, Guntur, from II Grade to I Grade and new courses of study are being opened in the Arts Colleges of Srikakulam, Kumbakonam, Madras, Rajahmundry and Pudukkottai. It is also proposed to put up new buildings to accommodate the Engineering College, Anantapur, now located in semi-permanent army hutments. In the Public Health Department also, several beneficent schemes are being taken up. The available bed-strength is being increased in the City and district hospitals to the extent new space is available. The expansion of the Guntur Hospital, to an ultimate bed-strength of 500, is being sanctioned

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along with the proposal to construct the Medical College buildings. Grants-in-aid will be given to 38 new Maternity and Child-Welfare Centres. A special grant of Rs. 2 lakhs is proposed to a new tuberculosis sanatorium in Malabar. A programme for the provision of drinking water in the Agency areas at an ultimate cost of Rs. 16 lakhs is being sanctioned. Amongst the new schemes of the Animal Husbandry Department, the key-village scheme is of special interest, because it aims at stocking certain select areas with cattle of improved breeds to serve as centres for the spread of those breeds to adjacent villages. In the Industries Department, it is proposed to sanction the manufacture of 50 additional hand-boring sets for being hired to cultivators. The accommodation available at Todhunternagar for low-paid employees of the Government in the City will be increased by the construction of 30 additional quarters at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs. The usual provision is being made for loans to local bodies, Rs. 17 lakhs to the Madras Corporation, Rs. 9 lakhs to other local bodies and Rs. 10 lakhs to the City Improvement Trust.

“ 13. Honourable Members may have heard, from Community Development Projects, sponsored by the Government of India, with American technical and financial aid. What is contemplated under these projects is Intensive Rural Development in certain selected areas with special emphasis on food production. Six such centres of development will be located in this State, one in the area of the Cuddapah-Kurnool canal in the Ceded districts, another in the ayacut of the lower Bhavani Project in Coimbatore, the third in the Malampuzha Project lands of Malabar, the fourth in the Periyar ayacut of Madurai, the fifth in the rain-soaked hinterlands of South Kanara and the last in the old delta of East Godavari. Each centre will consist of about 300 villages and will be in charge of a Development

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Officer who will be guided and advised by a committee consisting of officials and non-officials and presided over by the District Collector. The development of each centre is expected to cost about Rs. 60 lakhs and the outlay now contemplated will be spread over a period of three years. Agriculturists are to be given help for increased production in the form of manures, improved strains of seed, essential machinery, irrigation facilities and cheap credit. The social and educational aspects of rural development will also be attended to by an expert staff on the co-operative basis. It is the ultimate aim to spread out this form of development gradually from the select centres over the entire country in due course, as and when adequate money and staff become available. Financial assistance is proposed to be rendered to States in the initial years, as grants and loans from a Central Fund, to which the Government of the United States of America will make liberal contributions. The work in the States will be guided and co-ordinated by the Central organization under the control of the Planning Commission. We have just appointed a Special Officer of the status of Secretary to the Government to draw up the necessary plans. It is proposed to accord financial sanction to this programme later in the year after the investigation is completed. At this stage it is not possible to assess the direct financial implications on the State Budget and therefore only a token provision is being made in the Budget for this purpose. Operations in the field are expected to commence by next October and let us hope that the high expectations that are now being aroused, will materialize.

Firka
Develop-
ment
Schemes.

“ 14. The work envisaged under the Community Projects is not far different in its scope or shape from what is being attempted by us in the 84 firkas selected for Intensive Rural Development. What we have been attempting in these firkas is to educate the villagers on the art of self-help, with small grants from the State in providing rural water-supply, internal

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communications and common amenities. We had also combined our Khadi Development Schemes with this programme in order to absorb the idle hours of agricultural labour. We had not been able to achieve spectacular results, merely because we did not have funds enough to do the job on the American model. The Special Officer of the Government of India in charge of the Community Development Projects was pleased to observe, after his recent visit to some of our selected firkas, that we had already made a good start, comparable to what is being done under the much publicized Etawah Development Scheme of the Uttar Pradesh Government. A provision of Rs. 6 lakhs has been made in the Budget for extending our less ambitious scheme to 25 new firkas, lying contiguous to the existing ones.

“ 15. The total estimated capital expenditure for the year outside the Revenue Account is Rs. 1,986.5 lakhs. The bulk of this expenditure is on Irrigation, Rs. 897 lakhs and Electricity, Rs. 800 lakhs. Honourable Members are aware, that early in the post-war period, long before the Planning Commission came into existence, we had launched a programme of irrigation and electricity development in this State. The Tungabhadra multi-purpose project, the Bhavani and the Malampuzha irrigation projects, the Machkund and Moyar hydro-electric projects, the Pykara, Papanasam and Madras electrical plant extensions are some of the major items of this programme. Progress was slow in the initial years owing to the post-war shortages in machinery and technical man-power, but these bottle-necks were relieved by 1949, when increasing outlay became feasible. We had invested about Rs. 16 crores on these projects last year and a larger outlay is possible this year, if funds are available. The smaller items of this programme, such as the Nellore and Madurai Thermal Schemes, the Ceded Districts Scheme, the Vijayavada and Visakhapatnam plant extensions have already come into fruition and the

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first set of generators of the Moyar hydro-electric project has just been commissioned. With the outlay proposed for the current year, the Bhavani Project can be completed this year and the Tungabhadra and the Malampuzha Projects can be brought up to the last stage. When our programme is completed by next year, we would have rendered additional irrigation possible on about 1 million acres of land and also doubled the power generation of the State. The Central Government, while assisting us to the maximum extent possible, by way of loans and purchase of our holdings of securities, have been advising us of late, to restrict our outlay for this year, in view of the overall financial difficulties facing the country. We have pruned down the estimates of our engineers to the maximum extent possible and have now limited the total outlay to about Rs. 20 crores, which, it is hoped, would be acceptable to the Centre. If further curtailment is not enjoined on us, as a matter of national necessity, it would be possible to go ahead with the major projects like Tungabhadra, Bhavani, Malampuzha, Machkund and Manimuttar, according to the present progress and requirements of those works. Details of the allotment under each project, are given in an Appendix ^a to the printed copy of my speech.

Grow More
Food
Schemes.

“ 16. We have been spending, in recent years, very considerable sums for the construction of a large number of small irrigation schemes and the renovation of our existing irrigation tanks. These works of high Grow More Food value, were being subsidized by the Centre in full at one time and up to 50 per cent of the unproductive outlay in recent years. We are now told that the Centre is no longer in a position to grant these subsidies indefinitely. According to their latest formula, the agriculturists benefited by these schemes should themselves provide half the outlay in cash or kind and if that is agreed to, the remaining cost should be shared by the Centre and the State in equal proportions. We can undertake these works in future, on

^a Vide Appendix II on page 35 infra.

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the scale we had been doing so far, only if the concerned ryots volunteered to meet half the cost. I hope the necessary amount of sacrifice and co-operation would be forthcoming from the people to enable us to carry on this useful programme. In the meanwhile, we have provided in the Budget Rs. 60 lakhs for small irrigation works and Rs. 60 lakhs for the renovation of tanks. Works already on hand will be completed expeditiously, but new works of this kind can be undertaken only on the basis of self-help, with assistance from the State.

“ 17. A provision of Rs. 70 lakhs has been made under the capital head for deposit towards compensation to zamindars and inamdars, on the acquisition of their estates. The process of acquiring these estates for being converted into the ryotwari system, is expected to be completed this year and this would register a landmark in the history of our land-tenures. Survey and Settlement operations are now going on in the areas and the long-neglected irrigation sources are all being set right at heavy public cost. It may take a few more years before these works are completed in an orderly manner; but this delay has not prevented the affected ryots from enjoying the major benefits of the scheme, such as fixity of tenure and reduction in assessment. Under the Acquisition Act, the balance of compensation due to zamindars, can be paid in full, only after the Survey and Settlement operations are completed. In order to provide a Reserve, from out of which the final payment can be made, the Government have opened a special fund, into which Rs. 30 lakhs was put in last year and Rs. 20 lakhs is proposed to be put in this year.

“ 18. With the decontrol of foodgrains and the abolition of procurement, the transactions under State Trading Schemes will diminish very considerably. At this time of flux, it is impossible to forecast whether there would be any net credit or debit under this head, affecting the general ways and means budget. For the

Zamindari
Abolition.

State
Trading
Schemes.

[Sri C. Subramaniam] [27th June 1952]

present, it is presumed that these transactions will balance each other. The Budget provides for a net outlay of Rs. 9 lakhs only, under this head, to cover the subsidy and establishment charges mainly on certain manure distribution schemes.

Loans and
Advances by
the Govern-
ment.

“ 19. The net disbursements in the current year under loans and advances, are expected to be only Rs. 132 lakhs as against Rs. 317 lakhs last year. The reduction in outlay is due to the fact that the loan instalments postponed last year, owing to adverse seasonal conditions, are expected to be recovered along with the next harvest, which falls in the current financial year itself.

Proposals
for
additional
taxation.

“ 20. I shall now pass on to the measures proposed by the Government to bridge the wide gap in the revenue budget. We had run into a deficit of Rs. 129 lakhs in 1950-51 and the preliminary accounts have shown a deficit of Rs. 329 lakhs in 1951-52. If we had large reserves and only inappreciable outlay on capital works, we could have desisted from levying fresh taxes to cover the deficit of a particularly bad famine year like this. But our reserves are fast getting depleted on useful capital works, and there will be very little to fall back on, at the end of the current year. The alternatives before us are, either to cut out all new schemes and retrench on existing schemes, to bring about a saving of Rs. 3½ crores or to increase our resources to cover the deficit, in keeping with the general scheme of the National Plan. That Plan envisages the augmentation of our resources by Rs. 5 crores in each of the 5 years, of which Rs. 4 crores are expected to be raised by additional taxation and Rs. 1 crore by retrenchment on routine administrative expenditure. The Plan has not made allowance for the inroads of natural calamities like famine and floods, on the resources of the State, as has happened to us now. The Government have applied their mind carefully to this matter and they feel that the proper course is to endeavour to implement the Plan, even

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though it would mean some little extra sacrifice. They have therefore decided to impose the following new taxes forthwith:—

(a) A surcharge on passengers travelling by public transport buses at the rate of one pie per mile. Operators will be enjoined to levy this surcharge from passengers along with fares and remit the amounts every month into the Government Treasury. This measure is expected to give a yield of Rs. 2 crores in a full year and about Rs. 1 crore in the current year.

(b) Enhancement of the Sales Tax on motor spirit from 4 annas to 6 annas per gallon. In anticipation of the approval of the House, this measure was implemented with effect from last week. Transport buses subject to surcharge on passenger fares, will be given full rebate on this additional levy, from the date the surcharge is actually collected. This measure may give Rs. 30 lakhs in a full year and Rs. 20 lakhs in the current year.

(c) Levy of a surcharge on land revenue on larger holdings based on a sliding scale. This is expected to bring in about Rs. 75 lakhs in the current year.

(d) Levy of betterment fees on lands newly brought under irrigation at public expense. The levy is proposed to be spread in easy instalments over a period of years. This may bring in about Rs. 60 lakhs in the current year.

(e) Levy of a special tax on the sales of foreign liquor to permit-holders. This may yield about Rs. 15 lakhs in the current year.

If all these proposals for new taxation are accepted, our resources during the current year will be enhanced by Rs. 270 lakhs, leaving a deficit of Rs. 89 lakhs only.

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Now that we have decontrolled foodgrains, some portion of the remaining deficit, may be covered by retrenchment in the Civil Supplies Department. Any little balance that may still be left over, can be met by withdrawal from the Revenue Reserve Fund. The additional taxes may be expected to yield over Rs. 4 crores in a full year and therefore we may be having some little margin in the coming year to implement a few more useful schemes covered by the National Plan, assuming of course, that Nature will be kind to us, at least in the ensuing agricultural season. We can now claim that we had played the part expected of us in the National Plan towards developing new resources and let us hope that the foreign and Central assistance held out to us in the Plan, will reach us without halt or hesitation.

Ways and
Means.

“ 21. With the breach in the Revenue budget practically closed, our requirements on the general ways and means side during the current year will be about Rs. 28 crores.

	RS. LAKHS.
(a) Overdraft from the Bank at the beginning of the year.	442
(b) Capital expenditure outside the Revenue Account.	1,986
(c) Capital outlay on State Trading Schemes ..	9
(d) Loans and advances by State Government (net disbursements).	132
(e) Repayment of the outstanding balance of the 3 per cent loan raised in 1937 and 1940.	219
(f) Minimum balance to be kept with the Bank ..	40
	2,828
	or
	28 crores

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Against this sum, we were having at the beginning of the year about Rs. 14½ crores worth of securities in the Revenue Reserve Fund and Cash Balance Investment Account and let us assume that we can cash them during the year. We may hope to raise a sum of Rs. 4 crores in the open market including a conversion operation of the loan, which becomes due for repayment this year. The Government of India had assisted us with a loan of about Rs. 7 crores last year, besides buying up large blocks of our securities. They have not yet indicated the measures of their assistance for the current year, but we may assume, that in view of our special difficulties, they might be in a position to lend us from the Special Development Fund and other sources, about Rs. 10 crores. If these anticipations materialise, we may hope to close up the year's transactions, without any appreciable overdraft from the Bank.

“ 22. We would have practically exhausted our accumulated reserves during the course of this year. On the 1st of April 1946 we were holding unattached securities worth Rs. 43¾ crores in the Revenue Reserve Fund and Cash Balance Investment Account and this had come down to Rs. 14½ crores on the 31st of March 1952. We had thus depleted the Reserves by about Rs. 29 crores. During the same period, we had borrowed in all, from the Government of India and the open market, about Rs. 31 crores. The total worsening by about Rs. 60 crores on the debit side, has been more than covered by the capital outlay of Rs. 62 crores and net disbursements to local bodies and agriculturists of about Rs. 16½ crores, making a total investment of Rs. 78½ crores during the same period. It is true that our capital investments have not yet begun to yield us a return, but they may be

Utilization
of reserves.

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expected to do so almost immediately, with the completion of our major projects. Honourable Members can therefore, see, that far from squandering our reserves, we have augmented them appreciably from current resources during this period and what is more important, put them to proper use on projects which would not only bring in a fair return to the exchequer but also spread prosperity and good cheer to large sections of the people. There is no special virtue in accumulating reserves as such. They are after all intended to meet the needs of lean years.

Assets and
liabilities.

“ 23. In respect of our debt also, we continue to maintain a very strong position. The total public debt and other liabilities of the State under all heads, amounted to Rs. 92 crores on the 31st of March 1952. As against this, we held on the same date, capital and remunerative assets of the value of Rs. 131 crores. The details can be seen in Appendix II to the Budget Memorandum. I therefore claim with confidence that the advance we have so far been able to make, is built upon a foundation of sound policy coupled with financial rectitude.

Conclusion.

“ 24. I take this opportunity to place on record our gratitude for the consistent support extended to us by the Reserve Bank in recent years, in the matter of ways-and-means accommodation. No doubt, we held large blocks of securities, but those securities matured only on distant dates and the Bank was not bound to advance large sums to us on their pledge. Under the agreement with the Bank, the maximum overdraft that we are eligible to at one time, is only Rs. 80 lakhs, but there were occasions in the last two years when the overdraft amounted to several times that figure. Shri B. Rama Rau, the Governor and his Deputies had recognized from the very start, that such temporary

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difficulties were unavoidable for a State, implementing a substantial programme of productive capital works. They stood by us steadfastly on all those occasions and we have indeed cause to be gratified, that the direction of this great institution is in hands worthy of the people's trust and confidence.

Before I conclude, with your permission, Sir, and that of the House, I wish to express my appreciation of the able work of the officers and staff of the Finance Department, particularly that of the Finance Secretary, during the period I have been in office. It is not a mere formal compliment, for no one knows better than myself, how ably and loyally they have discharged their duties throughout this difficult period.

“ 25. With these observations, Sir, I commend to the acceptance of the House, the budget estimate for 1952-53, as recast by the present Government.”
(Cheers).

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ On a point of order, Sir. I observed the Hon. the Chief Minister laughing heartily more than once as the Budget speech was being read out by the Hon. the Finance Minister. I would like to be enlightened on the joke underlying it, which I have not been able to understand.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Order, order: Is it suggested that nobody should smile or laugh in the House? Anyone can smile. I cannot prevent any Member from smiling.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ The hon. Member wants to understand the significance of the laughter.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ It will be understood by and by, Sir.”

III.—PROGRAMME OF DATES FOR DISCUSSION OF BUDGET AND VOTING OF DEMANDS.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It was usual in the previous Legislative Assembly to allot only four days for the general discussion of the Budget and 15 days for the voting of demands for grants. As the number of Members of the present Assembly is much larger than that of the previous Assembly, six days have been allotted for the general discussion of the Budget and 18 days for the voting of

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demands for grants this year. The general discussion will commence on Monday, the 30th June and continue up to Saturday, the 5th July, and the voting of demands for grants will commence on Monday, the 7th July.

"To enable the Assembly office to arrange and print in time, and the departments of the Secretariat to collect information on the cut motions of which Members may give notice, I suggest that all notices of cut motions should be sent to the Assembly Office before the 3rd July 1952. The office will, however, be kept open on Sunday, the 6th July 1952 for purposes of rule 130 (2)."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"With reference to your suggestion, Mr. Speaker, that the cut motions should be sent before 3rd July, are we to understand that, if by any chance any Member sends notice of cut motions later, they will also be accepted?"

MR. SPEAKER :—"I think they will be only very few."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Certainly they will be very few."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—"Am I to presume, Sir, that 'before 3rd July' means 'on or before 3rd July?'"

MR. SPEAKER :—"Yes, on or before 3rd July."

The House will now adjourn to meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Saturday, 28th June 1952.

The House then adjourned.

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

1. G.O. Ms. No. 1517, Home, dated the 29th April 1952, exempting Bedford Bus of Messrs. General Motors, Limited, Bombay, from payment of tax. [Laid on the table in accordance with section 11 (2) of the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act.]

2. G.O. Ms. No. 1322, Home, dated 14th April 1952.

3. G.O. Ms. No. 1276, Home, dated 9th April 1952.

4. G.O. Ms. No. 1054, Home, dated 19th March 1952.

5. G.O. Ms. No. 892, Home, dated 7th March 1952.

6. G.O. Ms. No. 159, Home, dated 17th January 1952.

7. G.O. Ms. No. 100, Home, dated 9th January 1952.

8. G.O. Ms. No. 35, Home, dated 4th January 1952.

Amendments to Madras Motor Vehicles Rules. [Laid on the table under section 133 (3) of the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.]

9. G.O. Ms. No. 1543, Public (Services), dated the 10th June 1952, changing the designation of the "Personal Assistant to the Military Secretary to the Governor" as "Assistant Comptroller of the Household". [Laid on the table in accordance with Article 320 (5) of the Constitution.]

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10. G.O. No. 750, Public (Services), dated the 10th March 1952, recording the Madras Public Service Commission's Annual Report for 1950-51. [Laid on the table in accordance with Article 323 (2) of the Constitution.]

11. The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance No. II of 1952).

12. The Madras Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance No. III of 1952).

Annexure to the Budget Speech.

APPENDIX I.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON REVENUE ACCOUNT OF THE MADRAS STATE FROM 1938-39 TO 1952-53.

A. REVENUE.

Major heads of revenue.	1938-39.		1945-46.		1946-47.		1947-48.		1948-49.		1949-50.		1950-51.		1951-52 (Revised Esti- mate). Accounts).		1951-52 Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.		Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	
	(1)	(2) RS. LAKHS.	(3) RS. LAKHS.	(4) RS. LAKHS.	(5) RS. LAKHS.	(6) RS. LAKHS.	(7) RS. LAKHS.	(8) RS. LAKHS.	(9) RS. LAKHS.	(10) RS. LAKHS.	(11) RS. LAKHS.	(12) RS. LAKHS.								
Taxes on income other than Corporation tax.		22.50	4.31.25	4,48.05	5,35.32	8,42.22	8,23.32	8,29.15	9,15.43	8,83.40	8,83.40	8,83.40								
Land Revenue—		7,00.78	7,97.33	8,53.19	8,08.42	7,68.79	8,12.09	9,50.71	10,41.80	9,20.59	10,43.55	10,43.55								
Gross receipts including portion due to irrigation.		3,72.23	16,79.50	14,67.99	10,69.18	3,66.54	58.82	55.28	39.15	38.39	33.54	33.54								
Excise	..	1,73.37	3,74.20	4,37.74	3,35.92	4,05.57	4,32.68	4,88.49	5,28.49	4,54.61	5,19.62	4,75.00								
Stamps	..	45.63	1,43.24	1,61.39	1,82.81	1,59.57	1,65.70	1,88.56	2,23.44	2,08.04	1,86.04	2,00.00								
Forest	..	32.70	69.83	75.96	78.90	86.55	95.47	1,07.97	1,18.49	1,09.58	1,20.00	1,20.00								
Registration	..	81.22	97.96	1,31.11	1,66.64	1,97.45	3,00.73	3,48.74	3,85.38	3,90.31	3,85.66	3,85.66								
Receipts under Motor Vehicles Acts.																				
Other taxes and duties—																				
General sales tax ..	..	5,82.70	6,95.90	8,31.26	13,03.01	15,24.35	15,86.87	16,25.00	15,58.21	16,00.00	14,50.00	14,50.00								
Other items	..	3.19	1,45.33	1,49.38	1,98.52	2,29.32	2,85.54	3,08.61	3,53.36	3,60.42	3,50.82	3,50.82								
Total	..	3.19	7,28.03	8,45.28	10,29.78	15,32.33	18,09.89	18,95.48	19,78.36	19,18.63	19,50.82	18,00.82								

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Irrigation—		Direct receipts	6.31	11.73	12.82	11.88	12.06	13.78	14.29	14.29	12.30	13.30	12.34
Deduct—Working expenses.		— 38.39	— 70.00	— 79.38	— 91.08	— 1,03.44	— 1,17.86	— 1,14.94	— 1,30.32	— 1,35.11	— 1,11.62	— 1,11.65	
Net receipts		— 32.08	— 58.27	— 66.56	— 79.20	— 91.38	— 1,04.08	— 1,00.65	— 1,16.03	— 1,12.81	— 98.32	— 98.31	
Irrigation—		Direct receipts	1.99	2.80	3.02	2.80	3.09	4.23	4.54	2.89	3.25	4.37	4.37
Interest		19.73	95.00	1,24.43	79.95	93.72	91.73	77.07	72.43	69.77	58.96	58.96	58.96
Administration of Justice ..		15.39	53.75	48.92	72.51	73.12	80.99	84.55	88.52	84.65	88.76	88.76	88.76
Jails and Convict Settlements		5.98	15.76	13.93	13.21	15.99	22.05	20.98	25.48	19.23	23.43	23.43	23.43
Police		5.66	18.93	15.76	13.79	19.51	27.28	26.86	27.16	28.86	19.06	19.06	19.06
Ports and Pilotage		44.67	..	..	47.08	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Education		8.35	15.41	27.58	32.63	30.29	42.54	31.90	46.53	54.00	37.77	38.08	38.08
Medical		10.25	18.15	17.81	20.35	23.33	23.08	27.07	25.52	25.85	25.60	25.60	25.60
Public Health		2.59	6.63	5.95	5.49	7.79	6.34	7.55	9.09	8.70	8.02	8.02	8.02
Agriculture		3.12	20.73	30.05	22.64	23.86	35.30	1,18.24	1,11.22	1,10.94	1,30.47	1,40.59	1,40.59
Veterinary		1.02	3.34	3.62	2.73	3.50	5.30	5.93	7.94	7.54	7.92	8.34	8.34
Co-operation		4.18	7.60	7.68	8.89	12.28	18.82	26.45	27.52	18.83	23.91	25.49	25.49
Industries		18.85	59.17	60.96	72.49	75.81	77.82	1,20.39	1,35.69	1,13.28	2,02.14	2,23.10	2,23.10
Miscellaneous departments.		7.62	11.02	15.09	17.14	20.68	25.64	42.61	36.53	41.21	37.06	37.06	37.06
Civil Works		25.12	48.46	66.31	1,11.25	86.34	1,15.54	1,06.47	1,24.39	1,05.37	1,97.09	1,97.09	1,97.09
Receipts from Electricity Schemes (Gross).		42.51	1,17.73	1,25.14	1,83.89	2,71.22	3,21.41	3,77.61	4,61.46	4,67.70	5,09.12	5,09.12	5,09.12
Deduct—Working Expenses.		— 24.81	— 63.88	— 72.24	— 1,21.93	— 1,86.10	— 2,20.19	— 2,33.13	— 2,71.05	— 3,30.51	— 3,19.66	— 3,19.72	— 3,19.72
Net receipts		17.70	53.85	52.90	61.96	85.12	1,01.22	1,44.48	1,90.41	1,37.19	1,89.46	1,89.46	1,89.46

A. REVENUE—cont.

Major heads of revenue.	1938-39.	1945-46.	1946-47.	1947-48.	1948-49.	1949-50.	1950-51.	1951-52 (Revised Esti- mate).	1951-52 (Preliminary Accounts).	Interim Budget Esti- mate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Esti- mate, 1952-53.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
Receipts in aid of super- annuation.	2.88	6.03	6.46	7.39	4.80	5.07	5.96	5.06	5.02	4.79	4.79
Stationery and Printing ..	3.96	12.92	13.04	13.75	13.44	33.67	16.90	17.10	16.78	16.32	16.32
Miscellaneous—											
Gross Receipts from Bus Service (a).	..	..	..	23.35	95.88	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other items ..	14.58	41.34	87.53	93.54	92.40	1,39.22	1,65.52	90.93	93.90	1,06.87	1,34.21
Total ..	14.58	41.34	87.53	1,16.89	1,88.28	1,39.22	1,65.52	90.93	99.90	1,06.87	1,34.31
Receipts from Road Trans- port Schemes—Gross Receipts (b).	..	..	..	..	..	1,04.06	1,16.68	1,21.39	1,14.99	1,33.08	1,33.08
Working expenses (b)	..	..	..	..	..	— 91.87	— 1,00.84	— 1,05.26	— 1,02.76	— 1,13.63	— 1,13.63
Net receipts ..	..	..	..	..	..	12.19	15.84	16.13	12.23	19.45	19.45
Miscellaneous adjustments between Union and State Governments.	0.27	0.13	0.14	0.10	0.21	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.06	0.20	0.20

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Extraordinary Receipts ..	..	0.18	2,36.47	2,98.05	2,79.25	3,26.22	2.69	1,68.26	1,22.50	1,52.72	67.13
Transfer from Revenue Reserve Fund.	..	..	5,06.00	..	5.00	..	..	..	..	..	..
Civil Defence ..	..	..	44.62	15.45	0.47	0.40	0.41	4.46	0.01	2.53	2.53
Grand total ..	16,13.45	47,98.89	57,05.02	50,70.15	53,33.52	55,89.49	58,16.34	63,48.02	59,17.94	63,90.21	61,75.74

(a) The receipts are shown under "Receipts from Road Transport Schemes" from 1949-50.

(b) Prior to 1949-50, the receipts were included under the revenue head "Miscellaneous" and the Working Expenses were shown under the expenditure head "Miscellaneous".

B. EXPENDITURE ON REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Major heads of expenditure.	1938-39.	1945-46.	1946-47.	1947-48.	1948-49.	1949-50.	1950-51.	1951-52 (Revised Esti- mate).	1951-52 (Preliminary Accounts).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.
• (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
Land Revenue ..	..	25.36	26.01	27.12	28.98	37.44	46.10	91.92	88.43	86.74	86.76
Excise ..	..	32.18	51.59	53.09	59.44	69.04	79.79	77.04	83.68	77.91	77.91
Stamps ..	..	4.72	13.74	18.23	21.04	23.06	25.25	25.23	23.72	25.22	25.22
Forest ..	..	40.17	77.00	80.15	86.29	79.10	74.81	80.51	78.46	83.24	83.48
Registration ..	..	29.13	38.56	43.75	48.62	50.83	52.19	53.65	53.55	54.70	54.82
Charges on account of Motor Vehicles Act—											
Payment to local bodies.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Other departmental expenditure.	75.06	68.19	80.67	96.47	1,01.67	90.27	90.34	90.32	90.73	90.32	92.87
						6.59	8.50	9.62	9.93	9.48	9.48

B. EXPENDITURE ON REVENUE ACCOUNT—cont.

Major heads of expenditure.	1938-39.	1945-46.	1946-47.	1947-48.	1948-49.	1949-50.	1950-51.	1951-52 (Revised Estimate).	1951-52 (Preliminary Estimate).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Other taxes and duties—											
Payments to local bodies.											
Other departmental expenditure.											
Irrigation—Interest on works for which capital accounts are kept.	64	48-41	68-72	87-03	1,19-47	97-72	1,01-94	1,18-22	1,12-46	1,10-00	1,10-00
Irrigation—Other revenue expenditure financed from ordinary revenues.	87-59	89-45	91-23	95-71	1,04-15	1,19-15	1,42-21	1,77-09	1,77-09	2,16-05	2,16-05
Construction of irrigation, etc., works.	39-09	77-54	93-94	1,28-06	1,43-57	1,49-42	1,43-25	1,40-52	1,30-11	1,28-84	1,28-84
Interest on debt and other obligations.	1-25	6-11	0-63	2-60	4-07	5-80	3-29	0-17	0-55	0-14	0-14
Deduct—Interest transferred to Commercial Departments.	58-54	65-40	78-52	81-96	1,00-04	1,09-39	1,23-66	1,54-06	1,29-53	1,77-37	1,62-08
Net amount met out of ordinary revenues.	-1,07-54	-1,26-45	-1,31-53	-1,47-82	-1,73-58	-2,13-18	-2,65-54	-3,43-57	-3,43-57	-4,34-25	-4,34-25
Appropriation for reduction or avoidance of debt.	-49-00	-61-05	-53-01	-65-86	-73-54	-1,03-79	-1,41-88	-1,89-51	-2,14-04	-2,56-88	-2,72-17
General administration	2,76-76	4,27-24	6,13-86	5,60-40	5,82-05	6,26-32	6,54-90	6,66-43	7,31-89	7,04-12	7,11-61
Administration of Justice	90-63	1,28-80	1,42-42	1,45-64	1,50-03	1,58-34	1,65-56	1,71-05	1,75-86	1,71-50	1,72-82
Jails and convict settlements.	23-22	61-50	65-78	79-63	1,10-22	1,18-52	1,20-37	1,25-38	1,29-54	1,21-54	1,21-93
Police	1,60-96	2,98-03	4,05-71	4,64-81	6,51-97	6,89-89	6,89-89	6,83-43	7,10-88	6,67-27	6,68-38
Ports and Pilotage	..	5-00	4-56	..	0-01	..	..	..	..	..	..
Scientific Departments	0-96	1-53	1-21	1-37	1-32	1-58	1-64	2-23	2-31	1-90	1-92
Education	2,61-98	4,59-72	5,90-27	7,03-70	8,85-94	9,58-41	10,42-65	10,94-39	10,95-64	11,24-16	11,79-67
Medical	98-14	1,80-00	2,15-23	2,38-50	2,76-54	2,96-18	3,14-87	3,30-08	3,14-46	3,27-25	3,33-81
Public Health	26-57	54-48	87-32 (a)	1,30-55	90-54 (b)	1,14-42	1,04-06	1,61-58	1,86-77	1,43-19	1,49-10
Agriculture	20-62	74-06	1,05-74	1,16-93	1,26-74	1,82-74	2,75-35	3,82-03	3,11-54	3,83-97	3,88-74
Veterinary	12-85	23-64	26-95	31-81	40-58	49-67	56-69	66-32	61-31	60-60	62-02

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Co-operation	13-82	30-93	44-33	42-69	53-41	73-64	78-48	76-68	74-99	75-86	77-81
Industries	27-54	72-49	96-60	1,12-71	1,20-30	1,29-00	1,57-46	2,23-19	1,87-03	2,67-08	2,95-50
Capital outlay on Industrial Development.	..	22-10	..	0-02	0-06	0-32	0-25	1-19	0-35	0-25	0-25
Aviation	21-11	71-93	87-50	1,19-82	1,15-55	0-59	0-75	0-55	0-43	0-65	0-65
Miscellaneous departments (d) ..	1,19-70	2,81-65	8,97-72	4,66-69	5,88-84	7,30-05	8,27-83	8,01-20	7,09-12	8,31-36	8,27-69
Civil Works	18-92	35-96	39-46	49-92	66-92	87-41	1,14-36	1,57-28	1,57-28	2,07-10	2,07-10
Interest on capital outlay on Electricity Schemes.	..	1-13	2-32	2-92	0-11	..	8-47	..	10-18	..	1-37
Other revenue expenditure connected with Electricity Schemes.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Famine	16-04	6-32	20-38	3-80	4-75	25-03	8-00	11-58	13-95	7-41	(c) 60-48
Territorial and Political Pen-sions.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1-94	7-31	2-07	7-03	..
Superannuation allowances and Pensions.	97-12	1,38-19	1,43-30	1,57-53	1,66-36	1,85-44	1,85-24	1,98-45	1,92-88	1,92-31	1,92-31
Commutation of pensions ..	..	3-59	2-68	1-83	4-37	8-13	9-59	10-18	17-05	9-40	9-40
Stationery and printing ..	27-07	43-07	51-66	49-42	71-98	94-51	87-10	81-31	90-95	71-06	71-15

(c) Includes Rs. 100 lakhs representing contribution to the Rural Water-supply Fund.

(b) Includes Rs. 100 lakhs representing contribution to the Rural Water-supply Fund.

(c) Represents amount transferred from the Famine Relief Fund.

(d) Includes expenditure on Harijan Uplift, Labour and other items. The details of expenditure under Harijan Uplift are shown below:—

	Accounts, 1945-46.	Accounts, 1946-47.	Accounts, 1947-48.	Accounts, 1948-49.	Accounts, 1949-50.	Accounts, 1950-51.	1951-52 (Revised Estimate).	1951-52 (Preliminary Accounts).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
Gross expenditure on Harijan Welfare.	28.84	35.29	41.38	63.75	82.44	1,00.46	1,13.11	1,16.70	1,09.73	1,12.57
Amount met from the Fund for Village Reconstruction and Harijan Uplift.	..	..	1.81	4.10	18.44	36.46	49.11	52.70	45.73	48.57
Net amount ..	28.84	35.29	39.57	59.65	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00	64.00

B. EXPENDITURE ON REVENUE ACCOUNT—contd.

Major heads of expenditure.	1938-39.	1945-46.	1946-47.	1947-48.	1948-49.	1949-50.	1950-51.	1951-52 (Revised Estimate).	1951-52 (Preliminary Account).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
Miscellaneous—											
Expenditure on Bus Service.	..	..	..	12.44	90.31	*	*	*	*	*	*
Other items ..	4.39	1,52.66 (a)	5,21.98	1,06.86	1,33.24	43.58	29.76	23.72	23.62	72.35	22.35
Extraordinary charges—											
Net outlay on State Trading Schemes transferred to the Revenue Account.	..	..	..	—16.04	2,03.63	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)
Other items ..	..	—0.02	2,15.90	1,84.53	78.61	1,13.41	1,06.29	94.58	95.99	87.96	90.46
Total ..	..	—1,60.37	14,36.67	1,68.49	2,82.24	1,13.41	1,06.29	94.58	95.99	87.96	90.46
Transfer to Revenue Reserve Fund.	..	17,31.00	..	4,90.00	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Civil Defence ..	..	..	1,62.64	38.79	20.29	1.17	0.72	0.45	0.05	..	..
Grand total ..	..	..	47,98.74	57,04.65	50,69.93	53,33.42	55,54.01	63,57.64	62,47.04	64,76.18	65,34.44
Final Revenue Surplus (+) or Deficit (—).	+ 3.73	+ 1.38	+ 0.37	+ 0.22	+ 0.10	+ 35.48	—1,28.87	—9.62	—3,29.10	—85.97	—3,58.76

(a) Includes Rs. 400 lakhs representing contribution to the Village Reconstruction and Harijan Uplift Fund.

(b) Shown under Capital Account. The figures are : — 4,49.11 — 1,38.13 — 3,24.27 — 1,31.11 + 28.81 + 8.81

* Working Expenses of the Madras City Bus Service are taken in deduction of the receipts from 1949-50.

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APPENDIX II.

[Vide page 18 ante.]

DETAILS OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.

Description of schemes.	Approximate estimated cost.	1946-47.		1947-48.		1948-49.		1949-50.		1950-51.		Revised Estimate, 1951-52.	Total (1946-47 to 1951-52).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.
		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)				
(1)	(2)	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
A. IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, ETC., SCHEMES.															
Tungabhadra Project (Irrigation Side).	17,00.00	52.40	1,07.92	1,83.27	2,42.01	2,28.51	3,40.00	11,54.11	2,90.00	2,90.00	1,94.00	1,94.00	1,94.00	1,94.00	1,94.00
Lower Bhavani Project ..	8,03.00	..	1.85	29.38	1,62.05	2,55.99	2,60.00	7,09.27	1,94.00	1,94.00	27.13	27.13	27.13	27.13	27.13
Mettur Canals Scheme ..	2,36.00	..	..	..	5.07	13.39	27.46	45.92	35.13	35.13	45.92	45.92	45.92	45.92	45.92
Malampuzha Project ..	3,81.00	..	..	..	18.40	60.93	84.80	1,64.13	1,00.33	1,00.33	1,00.33	1,00.33	1,00.33	1,00.33	1,00.33
Rallapad Project ..	48.00	..	..	..	4.60	2.74	4.78	12.80	13.49	13.49	13.49	13.49	13.49	13.49	13.49
Manimuthar Project ..	3,69.00	..	..	..	..	6.09	13.50	19.59	50.20	50.20	40-20	40-20	40-20	40-20	40-20
Godavari Delta System ..	(a)	9.57	20.79	(b)	..	3.40	4.55	39.25	12.71	12.71	10-03	10-03	10-03	10-03	10-03
Krishna Delta System ..	(a)	1.29	14.94	(b)	22.49	22.69	8.10	86.08	11.32	11.32	10-00	10-00	10-00	10-00	10-00
Romperu Drainage Scheme ..	1,01.00	2.60	..	2.17	..	1.26	10.54	2,02.53	24.99	24.99	19.99	19.99	19.99	19.99	19.99
Tank Improvement Schemes ..	..	..	..	..	..	1,05.53	97.00	2,02.53	75.00	75.00	61.00	61.00	61.00	61.00	61.00
Lump-sum provision for Irrigation Schemes having G.M.F. value.	(a)	— 5.32	7.70	29.62	19.91	62.72	50.14	1,64.77	88.13	88.13	(8.13)	(8.13)	(8.13)	(8.13)	(8.13)
Other Irrigation Schemes (Productive and Unproductive).	..	1.04	3.67	3.55	1.75	7.07	4.75	21.83	6.29	6.29	6.29	6.29	6.29	6.29	6.29
Pro-rata charges on Establishment and Tools and Plant.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lump-sum deduction for probable savings.	..	..	..	..	..	— 1,06.57 (c)	..	— 1,06.57 (c)	— 80.00	— 80.00	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	..	61.58	1,56.88	2,48.66	4,78.48	6,62.49	9,05.62	25,13.71	8,96.59	8,96.59	8,96.59	8,96.59	8,96.59	8,96.59	8,96.59

(a) Consists of several works some of which have been completed while others are in progress. Hence no estimated cost is given.

(b) Included under "Other Irrigation Schemes".

(c) Represents transfer from the Capital Account of Procurement Bonus given by the Government of India towards expenditure on approved G.M.F. Schemes.

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Description of schemes.	Approximate estimated cost.	1946-47.		1947-48.		1948-49.		1949-50.		1950-51.		Revised Estimate, 1951-52.	Total (1946-47 to Estimate, 1951-52).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53.	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53.		
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)					(11)	
		RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.					RS. LAKHS.	
B. CAPITAL OUTLAY ON ELECTRICITY SCHEMES.																	
Mechkund Hydro-Electric Scheme	12,87.40		3.32		10.09		29.18		89.38		72.79		4,33.02		2,61.54	2,61.50	
Moyar Hydro-Electric Scheme	4,63.90		23.68		35.67		69.96		64.68		74.72		3,35.56		11.66	10.31	
Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme			21.45		71.56		40.18		82.01		1,18.98		4,20.84		1,77.67	1,40.95	
Nettur Hydro-Electric Scheme			20.27		60.44		68.21		65.49		1,01.82		3,98.31		96.15	75.91	
Papanasam Hydro-Electric Scheme.			17.54		— .65		90.83		66.09		58.97		2,91.67		97.90	71.40	
Madras Thermal Electric System	6,21.00				1,65.67		49.16		84.40		1,76.78		5,80.01		1,41.76	1,27.40	
Ceded Districts Scheme	75.78		.55		10.26		13.83		22.97		17.26		6.60		9.66	8.21	
Visakhapatnam Thermal Scheme			2.46		5.54		4.04		17.09		10.38		48.30		10.89	6.21	
Vijayavada Thermal Scheme			2.12		15.77		8.76		16.46		4.62		52.86		16.29	5.13	
Kakinada Thermal Scheme			.18		.13		3.01		4.57		3.51		12.78		2.08	1.8	
Vijayavada-Rajahmundry-Samaikot Extensions.	1,57.74		6.88		22.76		41.49		35.46		46.40		1,66.85		14.92	10.25	
Nellore Thermal Scheme					27.13		.90		6.92		18.02		6.46		59.43	13.67	
Kurnool Thermal Scheme			1.12		.08		.47		1.66		0.59		0.43		1.77	1.52	
Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric Scheme.	7,94.00										0.93		2.32		35.30	18.16	
Lump-sum provision for payment of compensation for acquisition of electrical undertakings of local authorities and private companies.	3,89.00												20.00		64.43	20.00	
Other Minor Schemes			1.28		.31		4.53		6.67		31.68		33.29		41.47	28.00	
Lump-sum deduction for probable savings.															1,99.49		
Total			1,00.85		4,34.76		4,94.55		5,63.85		7,37.45		7,25.00		29,76.46	8,00.00	8,00.00

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Description of schemes	1946-47.		1947-48.		1948-49.		1949-50.		1950-51.		1951-52 (Revised Estimate).		Total (1946-47 to 1951-52).	Interim Budget Estimate, 1952-53. (9)	Present Budget Estimate, 1952-53. (10)
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)								
								RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.			
(1)															
C. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES.															
Cinchona Plantations	..	13.71	13.04	17.23	21.52	12.44	9.82	87.76	6.97	6.98	6.98	87.76	6.97	6.98	6.98
Kerala Soap Institute	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.11	0.11	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.11	0.40	0.40	0.40
Madras Industrial Engineering Workshop.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Fish Liver Oil Industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Madras Vegetable Ghee Factory	..	..	..	2.01	4.25	3.16	1.75	12.11	1.70	1.70	1.70	12.11	1.70	1.70	1.70
Madras Silk Filatures	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Government Polytechnics (buildings and tools and plant).	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Polytechnics (buildings and tools and plant).	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Artesian Wells	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shares in Fertilisers and Chemicals, Limited, Travancore.	..	..	..	20.00	..	1.00	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Shares in Madras Industrial Investment Corporation, Madras.	..	..	..	51.00	..	51.00	..	..	..	..	..	1,02.00	..	..	..
Other Shares	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ceramic Industry	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Andhra Paper Mills	..	..	..	25.35	..	0.43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	13.98	13.71	1,15.61	36.94	82.89	44.30	8,07.43	38.97	32.50	32.50	8,07.43	38.97	32.50	32.50
D. CAPITAL OUTLAY ON ROAD TRANSPORT SCHEMES.															
Madras City Bus Service	..	2.76	30.68	26.65	12.95	8.83	..	77.19	..	6.48	6.48	77.19	..	..	..
E. CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL WORKS.															
Original Works—Buildings	..	10.72	9.89	33.36	61.09	84.51	1,46.07	3,15.64	1,80.94	1,80.94	1,80.94	3,15.64	1,80.94	1,80.94	1,80.94
F. COMPENSATION TO ZAMINDARS.															
Advance Compensation and interim payments.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
G. COMPENSATION TO ZAMINDARS.															
Advance Compensation and interim payments.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note.—For State Trading Schemes, see footnote on page 34 above.

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APPENDIX III.

STATEMENT OF THE DEBT POSITION OF THE MADRAS
GOVERNMENT (EXCLUDING TEMPORARY ADVANCES).

When issued.	Description of loan.	Total amount issued.	Amount outstanding on 31st March 1952.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	
I. OPEN MARKET LOANS.				
September 1937 and September 1940.	3% Loan, 1952, I and II issues.	2,33.54	2,18.95	
September 1938.	3% Loan, 1953.	1,51.29	1,42.08	
June 1939 ..	3% Loan, 1959.	1,50.00	1,23.96	
September 1942.	3% Loan, 1955.	1,25.00	1,23.25	
September 1943.	3% Loan, 1956.	1,25.10	1,25.10	
August 1944 ..	3% Loan, 1958.	1,10.00	1,07.95	
September 1945.	3% Loan, 1960.	3,00.00	2,78.44	
September 1946.	2½% Loan, 1961.	4,09.30	3,81.77	
July 1950 ..	3% Development Bonds, 1960.	4,39.75	4,38.26	
September 1951.	3½% Loan, 1962.	3,01.49	3,01.49	
	Total, I ..	23,45.47	22,41.25	

II. LOANS FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

(1) Pre-autonomy consolidated debt (1st April 1937).	..	7,56.71	3,19.77	The Madras Government's debt to the Government of India after certain adjustments amounted to Rs. 7,56.71 lakhs on 1st April 1937. This debt was consolidated into a 4½ per cent loan and it is repayable by 1981-82 by half-yearly equated instalments.
(2) Post-autonomy debt—				
1947-48 ..	..	..	6,00.00	These are loans given by the Government of India for capital expenditure on Irrigation and Electricity Schemes when the Madras Government did not raise any market loan. Interest is payable at 2.7/8 per cent half-yearly. The principal is repayable after 15 years in each case.
1948-49 ..	..	..	3,00.00	
1950-51—				
Fisheries Programme—	..	1.33	..	As there was no likelihood of the loan being utilized for the purpose, it was repaid to the Government of India in full with interest at 3½ per cent per annum in October 1951.

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When issued.	Description of loan.	Total amount issued.	Amount outstanding on 31st March 1952.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	

II. LOANS FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT—cont.

(2) Post-autonomy debt—cont.				
1950-51—cont.				
Tractor Reclamation.	..	..	30.00	Loans given by the Government of India in connexion with the Intensive Cultivation Schemes. Interest at 3½ per cent per annum is payable half-yearly. Principal is repayable after 15 years.
Oil Engines, Electric Motors, etc., Hire purchase.	..	..	20.00	
Oil Engines, Electric Motors, etc., Hire purchase.	..	..	40.00	Loans given in connexion with the Intensive Cultivation Schemes. Interest at 3½ per cent per annum is payable half-yearly. Principal is repayable after 15 years.
P.W.D. Irrigation and Tank Improvement Schemes.	..	..	45.00	
Purchase of cotton seeds from Madhya Pradesh for expansion of cotton cultivation.	..	10.00	..	The loan was free of interest and the principal was repaid on the 31st March 1952.
1951-52—				
Purchase and distribution of manure to the ryots.	..	1,00.00	..	This was a short-term loan repaid on the 31st March 1952.
To finance capital expenditure on Tungabhadra and Lower Bhavani Projects.	..	..	6,00.00	Repayable by annual equated instalments commencing from 1955 and ending in 1961. For the first three years, i.e., 1952-53, 1953-54 and 1954-55, interest alone at 3½ per cent per annum is to be paid.
P.W.D. Irrigation Schemes.	..	..	23.00	Repayable in fifteen annual equated instalments with interest at 3½ per cent per annum.
River Pumping Schemes.	..	..	9.00	Repayable in ten annual equated instalments with interest at 3½ per cent per annum.

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When issued.	Description of loan.	Total amount issued.	Amount outstanding on 31st March 1952.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		RS.	RS.	
		LAKHS.	LAKHS.	

II. LOANS FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT—cont.

(2) Post-autonomy debt—cont.

1951-52—cont.

Tractor Cultivation Schemes.

13-00 Repayable in ten annual equated instalments with interest at 3½ per cent per annum.

Purchase and distribution of oil engines, and electric motor pump-sets.

12-00 Repayable in five annual equated instalments with interest at 3½ per cent per annum.

Industrial Housing Schemes.

9-00 This loan was interest-free and the principal is repayable after 25 years.

Total, II .. 20,20-77

Total, I and II .. 42,62-02

III. SPECIAL IRREDEEMABLE LOANS

	Amount.
	RS.
(1) Four bonds bearing interest at 8 per cent per annum issued between the years 1796 and 1807.	1,33,000
(2) Two bonds bearing interest at 6 per cent per annum issued in the years 1795 and 1817.	10,500
(3) A deposit bearing interest at 6 per cent per annum received in 1817.	41,770
(4) A deposit bearing interest at 4 per cent per annum (now treated as an Endowment for the Stanley Hospital, Madras).	66,878
Total, III ..	2,52,148
	or
	2,52 lakhs.
	RS.
	LAKHS.
Grand total—Loans outstanding on the 31st March 1952 (I + II + III).	42,64-54

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APPENDIX IV.

STATEMENT COMPARING THE PROVISION MADE IN THE REVISED ESTIMATE, 1951-52, AND BUDGET ESTIMATE, 1952-53, FOR THE SCHEMES INCLUDED IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN WITH THE ALLOTMENTS ORIGINALLY MADE IN THAT PLAN FOR THESE TWO YEARS.

	1951-52.		1952-53.	
	Plan.	Revised Estimate.	Plan.	Present Budget Estimate.
	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.	RS. LAKHS.
I. Agricultural and Rural Development—				
1 Agriculture	478	536	352	345
2 Veterinary and Animal Husbandry.	20	20	20	19
3 Dairying and Milk supply.	15	15	15	15
4 Forest	11	10	7	10
5 Co-operation	24	10	28	13
6 Fisheries	12	16	19	12
7 Rural Development ..	29	24	31	29
Total, I ..	589	631	472	443
II. Major Irrigation and Power Projects.	1,804	1,471	2,268	1,544
III. Industry—				
1 Cottage Industries ..	37	22	21	28
2 Other Industries ..	59	46	27	32
Total, III ..	96	68	48	60
IV. Transport (Roads) ..	204	202	152	162
V. Social Services—				
1 Education	142	117	158	118
2 Medical	102	47	81	74
3 Public Health	168	145	173	110
4 Housing	120	91	120	61
5 Labour and Labour Welfare.	..	..	..	..
6 Amelioration of Backward Classes.	93	124	93	123
Total, V ..	625	524	625	484
Grand total ..	3,318	2,896	3,565	2,695

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 28th June 1952.

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

I.—HOURS OF SITTING OF THE ASSEMBLY.

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—“ అధ్యక్షా, ఈ అసెంబ్లీ సమావేశం నిబంధనలరీత్యా (21 ఎ క్లోజ్ ప్రకారం) సమావేశం పగలు 11 ఘంటలు సాయంత్రం 5 ఘంటల మధ్య జరుపబడవలసి యున్నది. కాని ఈ సమావేశం ఉదయం 8-30 ఘంటలకే ప్రారంభించడం నిబంధనావిధిని అనుసరించి కాదు. నిబంధనలలో మార్పులు చేయకుండా సమావేశ కాలాన్ని మార్చగూడదని point of order raise చేస్తున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The time given in the rule can be changed by me with the consent of the Leaders of Parties. I consulted them and they agreed to the revised timing. The hon. Member will now resume his seat.”

Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah was heard to say something.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Order, order. I have given the ruling.”

Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah continued to say something.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I will allow the hon. Member to say what he wants to say, later on.”

II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Statement made by the Hon. the Chief Minister regarding Linguistic Provinces.

* 1 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether he made any statement last month (April 1952) before a Press Conference on the subject of Linguistic Provinces;

(b) if so, what it was; and

(c) what are the steps which the Government propose to take to implement the promise to form an Andhra Province without delay?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ (a) I did express some opinions which have been published.

“ (b) & (c) I need not go on repeating my opinions. They are no more than opinions. The Government of India will take all opinions and facts into account when they deem the time has arrived for a step to be taken.”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ In sub-clause (c), I did not ask for the opinion of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I am asking what steps the Government propose to take to implement the promise to form an Andhra Province.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ This Government are not in a position to take any fresh steps. The matter has been very thoroughly discussed and time and again matters have been represented to the Government of India. This Government do not feel that they can do anything useful at the present moment. If the House wants to make any representation to the Government of India, it will certainly be in a position to do so.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know whether the Hon. the Chief Minister has addressed any communication to the Prime Minister of India on the subject, suggesting that no steps need be taken within a year? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ If the question means that the hon. Member has been told that I have written such a letter, I categorically say ‘ No ’.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ On the basis of the correspondence between the late Sardar Patel and Mr. T. Prakasam, may I know whether this Government are going to recommend the immediate formation of the Andhra Province? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ This correspondence was well known to the Members of the Government of India and to some of us here. There is nothing new which, as I have already said, I can do now, Sir.”

SRI VAVILALA GOBALAKRISHNIAH :—“ అభ్యుదయ, పార్టీలకు కమిటీ రిపోర్టు ప్రకారంగా ఆ ప్రకారమే నిర్ణయమేసిందని కోర్కె ప్రభుత్వానికి recommend చేయడానికి మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వం వయరుగా ఉన్నదా? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ This is being reduced to a debate. I must say once for all that it is for the Government of India to decide, and any correspondence and exchange of views depend entirely on the situation that arises from time to time. I am not prepared to express, in reply to the hon. Member's question, what I shall do when the Government of India ask me.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ My question was whether the Hon. the Chief Minister had addressed any communication to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru or the Prime Minister of India suggesting that no steps need be taken within one year. Is he aware of a press report that his letter was read at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ The terms in which my Friend gave the correspondence are not correct,

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and I am not prepared to reveal the correspondence between me and the Prime Minister in exact terms. I have already said that the quotation is wrong and I did not send such a letter.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ When the Hon. the Chief Minister says that what I have said is incorrect, it is up to him to tell us what is correct. I do not want the exact terms. May I know the gist of his communication to the Prime Minister? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ No Sir. It is not in the public interest to disclose such correspondence in the House.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Holding as he does, the position of the Chief Minister of this State, does he not think that his correspondence on a matter of such importance affecting the Andhra people should be known to the people? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I am quite aware of the duties of my position and the obligations following therefrom and I am quite prepared to say that the matter is important. But I am in a position to reaffirm that correspondence between the Prime Minister of India and the Chief Minister here which is of a confidential character cannot be disclosed whatever the subject-matter may be. Occasions for such correspondence arise every day and correspondence will become useless and meaningless if we make it a matter for public discussion.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know . . . ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is becoming more or less a cross-examination.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Under what provision of law is the correspondence treated as confidential? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ These are letters from one gentleman to another and gentlemen's correspondence is always private.”

Pennar-Kumudavathi Scheme.

* 2 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM : “ Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) what the present stage of progress of the Pennar-Kumudavathi scheme is; and

(b) when it is likely to be completed? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ (a) The major portion of the anicut, and the head sluices have been built. The excavation of two leading channels from the scouring sluices of the anicut is in progress, and all supply channels, except Subbaroyapalli channel, taking off from the two leading channels have been completed but for the bridging of a few gaps and crossings.

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“(b) The project is expected to be completed in December 1952.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Will the Hon. Minister for Public Works be pleased to say whether this is one of the projects in respect of which instructions have been issued for slowing down? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ There is no question of this project being slowed down.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know whether instructions have been issued to slow down any other projects? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I want notice.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know whether instructions have been issued for slowing down any projects, at least so far as Anantapur district is concerned? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ There is no point in putting the same question in another form. I want notice: I cannot carry all these things in my head.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ This is a very important matter as it relates to the projects in a famine area, and as the Hon. Minister for Public Works comes from that famine area he can very easily give the answer. I would request him to give us information as to whether he has sent any instructions for slowing down the execution of projects there. This is not a question for answering which he requires any time? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ Let the hon. Member put down a separate question. I will get the required information and give him.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware that the question of slowing down the execution of projects is a general one for answering which notice is absolutely unnecessary? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I do not think so.”

Appointment of Regional Transport Officers.

* 3 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether any Regional Transport Officers' posts were filled during the months of January, February and March 1952, either by direct recruitment or by promotion; and

(b) if so, what are the names of the persons posted and what were the posts held by them previous to such appointments?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ (a) One post of Regional Transport Officer was filled during the period. The appointment was made on 28th March 1952.

“(b) The name of the officer appointed is Sri K. Subramanyam. He was a Superintendent in the Public Department.”

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SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ What are the qualifications of the gentleman who has been appointed? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ He was already a Government servant. He was a Superintendent in the Public Department and he was directly recruited to the post of Regional Transport Officer.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ What are the qualifications of this gentleman to entitle him to be drafted on to the Transport department? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ At the present moment there are no special qualifications prescribed. The points taken into consideration were the suitability of the officer for the job, his general conduct and his ability to deal with men and matters. The Government thought that he was the most suitable person for the job.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know, Sir, whether there are no other persons fit for this job? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ There may be. But in the opinion of the Government, he was the best qualified person for the job.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware, Sir, that there was a Government Order to the effect that new posts should not be filled up during the last week of March as that was a transitional period? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Notice.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“ Sir, was the Madras Public Service Commission consulted in the matter? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ At the present moment, these appointments are not made in consultation with the Public Service Commission.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Will the Hon. Minister consider the necessity of laying down certain qualifications for appointments to these technical posts? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government will consider the suggestion.”

Fertilizer factory in Travancore.

* 4 Q.—SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN : Will the Hon. Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) the amount invested by the Madras Government in the capital of the Fertilizer factory in Travancore;

(b) who are its promoting agents and managing agents;

(c) when the investment was made; and

(d) what the yearly dividend is?

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THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“(a) Rs. 40 lakhs.

“(b) A statement* showing the names of the promoters of the company is placed on the table of the House. Messrs. Seshasayee & Brothers (Travancore), Limited, are the managing agents of the company.

“(c) The investment was made up of Rs. 20 lakhs in 1945 and the remaining Rs. 20 lakhs in the year 1948.

“(d) The company have declared for the first time so far, a dividend at the rate of 2½ per cent on the shares for the year ended 31st December 1950.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“May I know, Sir, whether the Government have made any agreement with this company for supply of fertilizers to this State, and if so, what is the percentage of the total production that is to be supplied?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“The company have agreed to supply, in addition to 40 per cent of their output of ammonium sulphate, 25 per cent of their output of superphosphates which have been newly manufactured by them.”

Reorganization of the municipal administration in the State.

* 5 Q.—SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI : Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state the action taken by Government on the report of the Committee constituted in G.O. Ms. No. 2313, L.A., dated 11th November 1949, in respect of the reorganization of the municipal administration in this State?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“The various recommendations of the Committee have been examined in detail in consultation with the heads of departments and Secretariat departments concerned. Government will shortly take a decision on them.”

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI :—“May I know, Sir, the earliest date when the Government will take measures to implement the Committee's recommendations?”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“It is in the consideration stage. Decisions will be taken soon.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—“May I know, Sir, what are the recommendations of that Committee?”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“Notice.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“Is the Hon. Minister aware that copies of the Committee's report are not available in the Government Press, and will the Government take steps to see that the report is published?”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“The suggestion will be considered.”

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“Will the Government make copies of the report available to the Members of the House immediately?”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“It is not possible to do so immediately. The suggestion made by the hon. Member will be considered.”

Taking over of the Punganur Estate by the Government.

* 6 Q.—SRI B. KRISHNAMURTHI RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) the reason for not taking over the Punganur Estate in Chittoor district by the Government; and

(b) whether any representations were made to the Government by the ryots of the Punganur Estate, Chittoor district, requesting the Government to take over the estate, and if so, the action taken thereon?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“(a) Punganur zamindari estate in the Chittoor district was notified under the Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948, to be taken over by the Government on 7th September 1950. The estate has however not yet been taken over as the High Court has restrained the Government from taking possession of the estate, forests, accounts, registers or documents or from interfering with the collection of arrears of rent due to the landholder from the tenants.

“(b) No such representations have been received by the Government.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“I wish to know from the Hon. Minister whether the matter is pending before a court?”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“Yes, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“No supplementary questions shall be allowed as the matter is *sub judice*. I pass on to the next question.”

Number of prisoners of various categories.

* 7 Q.—SRI Y. ADINARAYANA REDDI : Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state—

(a) how many prisoners there are in various jails in Madras State on account of prohibition offences at present; and

(b) how many detenus there are and how many politicals there are still in prisons in Madras State?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“(a) Number of prisoners on account of Prohibition offences—5,094.

“(b) Detenus—2.

Politicals—Nil.”

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SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, are the Government aware that many of the political prisoners are being treated as criminals, and to say that there are no political prisoners in this State is not correct? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, such supplementary questions really, I may be permitted to say, are primary questions, which should be addressed to another Minister."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, the answer that has been given to a question, which is a definite question, is not correct. Hence the supplementary question is put whether the Government really think that there are no political prisoners at all when there are some thousands of political prisoners in this State, especially in the Chief Minister's own Tamilnad? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Again, Sir, it is a debate. I should like to submit through you to the hon. Member that I am not at all unwilling to answer such questions if put properly. But there is no good in getting a snap answer from one who is not in charge of that particular department and who is not conversant with the facts."

MR. SPEAKER :—" What the Hon. the Chief Minister means is that Prohibition is not in the portfolio of the Hon. Minister who answered the question. The answer to the supplementary question put by the hon. Member is to be given by some other Hon. Minister. A separate question may therefore be put."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Clause (b) of the question is a definite question. It asks how many detenus there are and how many politicals there are still in the prisons in the Madras State. The Hon. Minister was pleased to answer this question. It is not a snap question or a snap answer. I suppose, Sir, some more information will be vouchsafed to us."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If the object is to get information, I suggest a way of getting it. But if the object is merely to discuss, I say it will not lead to anything. Even as it is, I can say that a crime is a crime whatever the motive may be. If a murder is committed by a political for a political purpose, it is murder, and the prisoner does not cease to be a criminal on account of his political motive."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" May I know, Sir, why the Hon. Minister for Law took the responsibility of giving such an answer to this House, while the Hon. Minister for Prohibition himself might have answered that question, and we might have put supplementary questions to him? The Hon. Minister for Law need not have said in this House that there are no political prisoners in this State. This information will reach the public and they will think that there are no political prisoners in this Government of Rajaji? "

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, so far as the answer is concerned, it is correct to say that there are no such prisoners as were referred to; but if the present supplementary question seeks to make a distinction and raise an iron wall between crime and political motive, I say it is a question which I should be able to answer if put to me separately."

Report of the Special Officer regarding the Amindivi Islands.

* 8 Q.—SRI B. VAIKUNTA BALIGA : Will the Hon. the Minister for Rural Welfare be pleased to state—

(a) whether a Special Officer was appointed to inspect the Amindivi Islands;

(b) if so, whether the Government will be pleased to publish the report, if any, submitted by him or place it on the table of the House;

(c) what action do the Government propose to take on the recommendations contained therein;

(d) whether the Government propose to transfer the Amindivi group of islands at present attached to South Kanara district to Malabar district for purposes of administration; and

(e) if so, whether the wishes of the people of the islands were ascertained in this behalf?

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—" (a) Yes.

"(b) No. The report is being examined and it is too soon to say anything at this stage.

"(c) to (e) The Government have called for the remarks of the Board of Revenue on the various recommendations of the Special Inspecting Officer, and the Revenue Board is examining the report. It is premature to say anything in the matter just at present."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, when was this report submitted to the Government? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—" The report was submitted at the end of March, and it was sent to the Board of Revenue in April."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Will the Government be pleased to publish the report at least for the use of the Members of this House? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—" As I have said already, it is premature to say anything now before the report has been examined fully."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" How is it premature, Sir? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—" The report is being examined. Only after the examination is complete, it may be published."

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Construction of a tank in Illur village, Anantapur taluk.

* 9 Q.—SRI T. NAGI REDDI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state whether the Government have proposed to take up the construction of a tank for irrigation in Illur village of Anantapur taluk?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“The Government examined the possibility of restoring the breached tank at Illur village, Anantapur taluk, but found that it would not be feasible, as it involved the submersion of a greater cultivable area compared to the area to be irrigated.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“May I know, Sir, the acreage of land that will be irrigated by the tank and the acreage that will be submerged if the tank is to be constructed?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“Two alternative proposals were put forward. One was to irrigate about 100 acres and another to irrigate about 70 acres. But the land to be submerged is about 160 acres, which is a very valuable land and lot of compensation will have to be paid for it.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“May I ask, Sir, whether the Government know that the land that would be irrigated by the tank belongs mostly to Harijans and poor peasants and that the land to be submerged is only dry land which is not worth as much as the land to be brought under irrigation, and hence it will be much more useful to the people of the village to construct the tank? Therefore, when there is a proposal to bring greater extent of land under irrigation, why should not this dry land be submerged?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“As I have already said, it is not correct to say that a greater extent of land will be irrigated by the tank.”

(Sri T. Nagi Reddi rose to speak.)

MR. SPEAKER:—“This sort of cross-examination must cease.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I can only say that the land to be irrigated is much less in extent than the land to be submerged. I have no information whether the lands to be irrigated belong to Harijans or to any other community.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—“Sir, what is the exact extent of land to be submerged and the extent to be irrigated?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“The extent of land that is to be submerged is 160 acres. The extent of land to be irrigated is 100 acres according to one proposal and 70 acres according to another proposal.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“May I tell the Hon. Minister, Sir, that the land which is to be submerged is land within the tank, which was given out on patta when the tank went out of use, and hence it is Government land for the present, and the Government can construct the tank if they want to?”

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THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I do not know what the hon. Member means. The land belongs to private individuals. (Interruptions.) It has been given to individuals, and they are in possession of it now. The Government will have to pay compensation if they want to take back the land now.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“May I 9 a.m. know, Sir, whether the pattas given were given to really poor people or to rich people?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I suggest to the hon. Gentleman to put a separate question as I have not got the information on hand.”

DR. K. B. MENON:—“When the Government agreed to submerge thousands of acres of land on account of the Malampuzha Project, lands that were very good . . .”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The supplementary question relates to the Malampuzha Project. The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

Printing of bus passenger tickets in England.

* 10 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether any bus passenger tickets for the City Transport department are printed in England;

(b) if so, how many have been printed and at what cost; and

(c) whether any quotations were called for or any advertisement was made inviting quotations before the order for printing the tickets was placed with an English firm in England?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“(a) & (b) Passenger tickets of the City Transport are usually got printed locally, but in May 1949 a sample order for the supply of twenty lakhs of tickets of various denominations, covering a week's consumption of the Government Bus Service, was placed with Messrs. Eastern Scales, Limited, Madras, who undertook to supply English made tickets much superior in quality and get up and printed on both sides with double colour at the rate of Rs. 100 per lakh of tickets, as against the local rate of Rs. 100 to Rs. 110 per lakh of tickets.

“(c) As the order was only a trial order and the quality compared favourably with the local purchases, quotations were not invited.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“May I know what the total cost of printing these tickets was?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“The hon. the Leader of the Opposition wants to know the cost of an experiment made in 1949. How can it be expected to be answered now by way of answer to a supplementary question?”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I thought the Hon. Minister was saying that it was a week's supply. But I have got in my hand the tickets which were being sold at the time of putting my question. Certainly it was not a week's supply. So, may I know how many tickets the Government got from the firm and whether they are continuing the order? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I have just mentioned in my reply that we got twenty lakhs of tickets printed at the rate of Rs. 100 per lakh.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Will the Government consider the suggestion that it is inadvisable to place orders in England as that is not the way of encouraging Swadeshi? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ As I told the hon. Gentleman, tickets are now being printed locally only.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Will the Hon. Minister give a categorical answer that the Government will not hereafter place orders in England in such matters? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Now, I want to tell the hon. Gentleman that the Government will not be able to do so as a matter of policy for the future.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“ May I know whether the Hon. Minister will now consider the desirability of placing a fresh order in Russia to test the quality of the tickets that will be printed in Russia? ”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ We want everything to be done in India. We do not want orders to be placed in foreign countries.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The present policy is to print tickets in Madras. If the Government decide to print them elsewhere, the suggestion of the hon. Member will be considered.”

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—“ Will the Government consider the advisability of printing the tickets either in the Government Press or in the Madras Penitentiary? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government will consider the hon. Member's valuable suggestion.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ In answer to a previous question, it was said that the order was a sample order. May I know how the order for printing twenty lakhs of tickets which are being issued even to-day can be called a sample order? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ As I said, my information is that only twenty lakhs of tickets—a week's consumption—were printed, and I think the hon. Gentleman will agree that the order for printing a week's consumption of tickets can reasonably be considered a sample order.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ They are issued even to-day. So, how can they be called a week's supply? ”

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THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I want notice of this question.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Questions are over.”

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

III.—ADJOURNMENT MOTION *RE* PROMULGATION OF AN ORDER UNDER SECTION 41 OF THE MADRAS CITY POLICE ACT.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member Sri P. Ramamurthi has given notice of a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance. The motion reads as follows :—

“ That the business of the House be adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the promulgation of an order under section 41 of the Madras City Police Act on 20th June 1952, prohibiting assemblies and processions around the Assembly Buildings during the period of the current session of the Assembly.”

I would like to know what the hon. Member wants to say on the question of admissibility. The hon. Member should not make a speech on the motion proper but he should only explain how it can be considered a matter of urgent public importance.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not now propose to go into the merits of the case. But I shall just briefly state the facts. On the 20th of this month the Commissioner of Police, Madras, issued an order under section 41 of the City Police Act, prohibiting assemblies and meetings around this House for a period of one month from yesterday. Sir, during the last session, an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting meetings and assemblies was issued, which was valid only for a day. This time the Commissioner of Police has gone a step forward or backward as this side or the other side of the House may understand it, and applied the provisions of section 41 of the City Police Act to prohibit assemblies and processions round about the Assembly Chamber for a period of one month from yesterday, that is, for the entire period of this session of the Assembly. During the last session, a motion for adjournment of the business of the House was moved and you, Sir, ruled it out on the ground that the Act itself provided a remedy by allowing recourse to the Court. But now under section 41 of the City Police Act, there is no provision for us to seek redress.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ There are other ways open to the hon. Member to seek redress.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ I would like to say that this is a matter of urgent public importance because the order was in force yesterday, and will continue to be in force so long as this

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* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ But we have to see that there are no processions round about the House. The Speaker can maintain order in the House and the Government have to maintain order round about the House. That is the position, and if an order under the ordinary law of the land has been passed, there are provisions for reopening that order in the courts. This is the substance of the ruling which, I think, was given by the Speaker last time also. Therefore, I submit we cannot agree to this Adjournment Motion.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I shall now straightaway give my ruling. This order was passed in the course of the ordinary day to day administration. It is not a novel one. Secondly, the House will have an opportunity to discuss this matter very soon and I cannot understand why the hon. Member wants all other business of the House to be postponed in order to discuss this matter. So, I do not consider this to be such a very urgent matter as to justify postponement of all other business of the House. I rule the motion out of order.”

I.—HOURS OF SITTING OF THE ASSEMBLY—cont.

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—“ అధ్యక్షా, ఈ బిల్లు యొక్క తెలుగు తర్జుమా ప్రకటించబడలేదు. తెలుగు తర్జుమా లేనిదే ఈ బిల్లు మేమా, తెలుగులోవడం కష్టంగా ఉన్నది. కాబట్టి తెలుగులో పూర్తి చేయించి కాపీలు సభ్యులకు పంపగోరుతాను.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I do not know what the hon. Member speaks in Telugu. The difficulty is I am not able to understand him.”

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—“ అధ్యక్షా, మార్పును మార్పుకు అధికారము ఈ శాసన సభకే ఉన్నది. వాటిని ఇతరులెవ్వరూ శాసన సభ అంగీకారం లేనిదే మార్పుచేయడానికి వీలులేదు. ఈ విషయం నిబంధనావళిలోని 18-వ Chapter లో స్పష్టం చేయబడింది. పార్టీలనాయకులతో సంప్రదించి వారి సభలో ప్రకారం నియమాలను మార్చడం నిబంధనావళికి విరుద్ధం. ఆ విధంగా చేయడం శాసనసభ్యుల హక్కులకు భంగం కలిగించినట్లు భావించవలసియుంటుంది. ఆ విధంగా ఈ సభ అంగీకరించనిదే సభాకార్యకలాపాల నిర్వహణ విషయంలో మార్పులు లేవడం అశాస్త్రీయమని point of order raise చేస్తున్నాను. సవరణలు ఏదైనా చేయదలచుకుంటే వెంటనే ఒక కమిటీని ఏర్పాటుచేసి, సవరణల జాబితాను తయారు చేయించి, ఈ సభామండలికి పాండుడానికి వర్తతీనుకోవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.”

9-15
a.m.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ The hon. Member is raising a point of order. I am only translating generally what he has said. He says that there is a provision for amending the Rules of Procedure, and that without bringing in an amendment in the proper way, it is not right for the Leader of the House to advise the Speaker to change the hours of sitting. That is his main point.”

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ We have been doing that. If the Leaders of Parties after consultation with each other come to the conclusion that the House can sit at a particular hour, we can sit at that particular hour. We have not changed the Rules. If we have changed the Rules, then it is altogether a different matter. That has not been done. If the Leaders of Parties come to a particular conclusion and request the Speaker to have the sittings at a particular hour, it can be done. So, the hon. Member is not raising a point of order.”

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 second session of the Assembly under the Constitution of India :—

1. Sri S. Ramaswamy Naidu.
2. Mr. W. J. Fernandez.
3. Janab K. M. Seethi.
4. Sri P. Venkatasiviah.”

V.—GOVERNMENT MOTIONS.

(1) ELECTION OF FIFTEEN MEMBERS TO THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Sir, I beg to move—

‘ That with reference to rule 156 of the Madras Assembly Rules, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker to elect fifteen Members to be Members of the Committee of Privileges for the financial year, 1952-53.’ ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The motion is—

‘ That with reference to rule 156 of the Madras Assembly Rules, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker to elect fifteen Members to be Members of the Committee of Privileges for the financial year 1952-53.’ ”

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—“ Sir, the resolution moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House will be out of order but for certain amendments which have been made to the Rules of Procedure. Article 208 (2) of the Constitution lays down—

‘ Until rules are made under clause (1), the rules of procedure and standing orders in force immediately before the commencement of this Constitution with respect to the Legislature for the corresponding province shall have effect in relation to the Legislature of the State subject to such modifications and adaptations as may be made therein by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, or the Chairman of the Legislative Council, as the case may be.’

The Rules obtaining to-day have been framed under this Article of the Constitution. These very Rules lay down a certain procedure if further amendments are to be made to them. Rule 146 (1) under Chapter XVIII of the Rules of Procedure says, ‘ Unless

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the Speaker otherwise directs, not less than ten days' notice of a motion for leave to amend the Rules shall be given and the notice shall be accompanied by a draft of the proposed amendments.' After the leave of the Assembly is granted, the draft amendments must go to a Select Committee and then come before the Assembly. Rule 150 under the same Chapter of the Assembly Rules says, 'When a rule or amendment of a rule is passed by the Assembly, a copy thereof shall be signed by the Speaker and until the Speaker has signed such copy and the fact has been announced by him to the Assembly, the rule or amendment shall not have validity.' The very rules framed by the Hon. Speaker have imposed certain limitations on his own authority to further amend the Rules. He cannot now go beyond the limitations which he has himself imposed upon himself. We have received a circular letter from the Secretary on the 12th June saying that the Hon. Speaker has been pleased to make certain amendments, viz., changing the number of Members of some Committees that have been provided under the Rules of Procedure. My submission is that such amendments adopted by the Speaker are not consistent with the Rules of Procedure which the Hon. Speaker himself has framed for the guidance of this House. Therefore, these amendments are void and inoperative and any resolution brought forward on the basis of those amendments is clearly out of order."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I submit that you were pleased to send us some communication. No doubt the Rules have been amended by you. I remember that some time ago, when I was in your room this question cropped up. I think that I submitted then that the Speaker had no right to amend the Rules without bringing forward a motion to that effect before the House. The matter was dropped at that stage. I thought that the Government would bring forward a Motion to amend the Rules so as to increase the number of Members in some of these Committees. I am not objecting to the increase in the number of Members. I am sure that it will be quite acceptable to the whole House. You have done only what was wished by us. In consultation with the Government, you have agreed to the increase in the number of Members. Regarding that we have nothing to say. But, what is troubling us is that it has not been done in the proper way. We must not only do the right thing but do it in a right manner. Our difficulty is this. You have amended the Rules. In this case, it is acceptable to us in substance. But if the same procedure is adopted with regard to other matters it may be that under some pressure . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member is not right in saying that the Chair will act under pressure."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, I was just adding some words, viz., some pressure of interpretation. (Laughter.) I am not so bad as to say that you are so weak as to be influenced by anybody. (Laughter.) If under some pressure of interpretation you accepted some other amendments in future which may be

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quite unacceptable to us, then it will be very difficult for us. All such amendments to Rules must therefore be brought before the House for approval. That is my only point."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member himself suggested the increase in the number of Members."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Yes, Sir, I suggested the increase in the number of Members. I thought that necessary amendments with regard to this would be brought before the House. It is a very easy matter for the Government to do, and we would have accepted the amendments. But that has not been done. I believe that the power vested in the Speaker was only for the period of the commencement of the Constitution. At the time of the Constitution coming into force, some Rules had to come into operation. It was not possible to provide for everything at that stage, on January 26, 1950. That is why a transitional provision as it were, was included in the Constitution, and we have Article 208 (2) for this purpose. It should be clearly understood that nowhere it is stated that the Speaker will have powers to amend the Rules from time to time. That is why I say that it is not right to amend the Rules without coming before the Legislature and relying only on the transitional provision in the Constitution with regard to this matter. In substance, we agree with the change. But I submit that this should not form a precedent, and whenever a change in Rules is contemplated, a Motion must come before the House, which alone must take a decision in the matter. I once again repeat that we have absolutely no quarrel with regard to the substance of the change. I only want to impress that nothing should be done which will be detrimental to the privileges and rights of this House. I submit that this should not be taken as a precedent."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" An important question has incidentally arisen and I wish to point out to the Leader of the Opposition that his interpretation is not correct and that he should not continue under this mistaken impression as to law. The question now discussed is whether the power given to the Speaker to modify the Rules is a continuous power or whether it relates only to the time when the Constitution was made. Now, the very form in which this Article has been framed, by placing the sub-clause relating to the power of the Speaker, at the end shows that the power given to the Speaker is a continuous power and not merely one which ceases after the Constitution has come into force. Article 208 (2) says, 'Until rules are made under clause (1), the rule of procedure and standing orders in force immediately before the commencement of this Constitution with respect to the Legislature for the corresponding Province shall have effect in relation to the Legislature of the State.' Then follows the clause which says, ' . . . subject to such modifications and adaptations as may be made therein by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, or the Chairman of the Legislative Council

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as the case may be.' If this clause had been introduced before the phrase 'immediately before the commencement of this Constitution', the interpretation of the Leader of the Opposition would have been correct. It is only to give a continuous power to the Speaker that this clause has been placed at the end. That is the position. Anyway, it is a question of legal importance and being half-baked lawyers, we may very well leave it to better people."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" If it was the intention of the Constitution-makers to give the Speaker a continuous power as suggested by the Hon. the Chief Minister, the phrase 'from time to time' would have been definitely used in the Article. That has not been done and I would like the Chief Minister to pay attention to the absence of this phrase. If that was the intention, the legal draftsmen would definitely have inserted that phrase. Anyway, we do not wish to enter into a legal battle. I shall leave it at that and request that this should not form a precedent in future."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The Leader of the Opposition is again basing his argument on a mistaken impression. If the power given to the Speaker was not intended to be continuous, then there was no necessity to put this clause at the end of Article 208 (2). That itself clearly shows that it is a continuous power. So, the position is clear."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I wish to tell the House that our Rules are based on Article 208 (2) of the Constitution. No doubt, our Rules are antiquated and I am going to appoint a Committee of this House to go into this question. In the present instance, I have acted under Article 208 (2). The question is—

'That with reference to rule 156 of the Madras Assembly Rules, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker to elect fifteen Members to be Members of the Committee of Privileges for the financial year 1952-53.' "

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" In accordance with the regulations framed by me for the holding of elections according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, I fix 3 p.m., Thursday, 3rd July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the Committee of Privileges should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, fifteen, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course."

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(2) ELECTION OF ELEVEN MEMBERS TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, I move—
'That with reference to rule 157 of the Madras Assembly Rules, this House do proceed to elect eleven Members to be Members of the House Committee for the financial year 1952-53.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—
'That with reference to rule 157 of the Madras Assembly Rules, this House do proceed to elect eleven members to be Members of the House Committee for the financial year 1952-53.' "

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" In accordance with the regulations framed by me for the holding of elections according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, I fix 3 p.m., Thursday, 3rd July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the House Committee should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, eleven, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course."

(3) ELECTION OF FOURTEEN MEMBERS TO THE COMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" 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 fourteen Members to be Members of the Committee on Public Accounts for the financial year 1952-53.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

'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 fourteen 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 the holding of elections according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, I fix 3 p.m., Thursday, 3rd July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the Committee on Public Accounts should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, fourteen, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course."

[28th June 1952]

(4) ELECTION OF ONE MEMBER TO THE REORGANIZED SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move—

'That, as the term of Sri L. S. Karayalar, who was elected to represent the Madras Legislature on the Reorganized South Indian Railway Local Advisory Committee for a period of two years from 1st November 1949 has since expired, consequent on the expiry of the term of the Legislature, and as the General Manager, Southern Railway, has requested the Government to communicate to him the name of the fresh member to represent the Madras Legislature on the Committee, this Assembly do recommend to the Government to communicate to the General Manager, Southern Railway, the name of one member elected by this Assembly to serve on the Committee.'"

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

'That, as the term of Sri L. S. Karayalar, who was elected to represent the Madras Legislature on the Reorganized South Indian Railway Local Advisory Committee for a period of two years from 1st November 1949 has since expired, consequent on the expiry of the term of the Legislature, and as the General Manager, Southern Railway, has requested the Government to communicate to him the name of the fresh member to represent the Madras Legislature on the Committee, this Assembly do recommend to the Government to communicate to the General Manager, Southern Railway, the name of one member elected by this Assembly to serve on the Committee.'"

The motion was carried..

MR. SPEAKER :—" With reference to the motion of the Hon. Minister for Industries, Labour and Motor Transport, regarding the election of one Member of this Assembly to the Reorganized South Indian Railway Local Advisory Committee, I fix 3 p.m., Friday, 4th July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the Reorganized South Indian Railway Local Advisory Committee, should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, one, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course. The election will be by the ordinary method and not according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote."

(5) ELECTION OF ONE MEMBER TO THE REORGANIZED M. & S.M. RAILWAY LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move—

'That, as the term of membership of Sri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, who had been elected to represent the Madras

ELECTION OF ONE MEMBER TO THE REORGANIZED
M. & S.M. RAILWAY LOCAL ADVISORY
COMMITTEE

28th June 1952] [Dr. U. Krishna Rao]

Legislative Assembly on the Reorganized M. & S.M. Railway Local Advisory Committee for a period of two years from October 1950 has since expired, consequent on the expiry of the term of the Madras Legislative Assembly, and as the General Manager, Southern Railway, has requested the Government to communicate to him the name of the fresh representative of the newly constituted Assembly, on the Committee, this Assembly do recommend to the Government to communicate to the General Manager, Southern Railway, the name of one member elected by this Assembly to serve on the Committee.'"

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

'That, as the term of membership of Sri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, who had been elected to represent the Madras Legislative Assembly on the Reorganized M. & S.M. Railway Local Advisory Committee for a period of two years from October 1950 has since expired, consequent on the expiry of the term of the Madras Legislative Assembly, and as the General Manager, Southern Railway, has requested the Government to communicate to him the name of the fresh representative of the newly constituted Assembly, on the Committee, this Assembly do recommend to the Government to communicate to the General Manager, Southern Railway, the name of one member elected by this Assembly to serve on the Committee.'"

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" With reference to the motion of the Hon. Minister for Industries, Labour and Motor Transport, regarding the election of one Member of this Assembly to the Reorganized M. & S.M. Railway Local Advisory Committee, I fix 3 p.m., Friday 4th July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the Reorganized M. & S.M. Railway Local Advisory Committee should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, one, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course. The election will be by the ordinary method and not according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote."

(6) ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE STATE LIBRARY COMMITTEE BY THE MEMBERS OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move—

'That in pursuance of rule 2 (1) (v) of the Madras Public Libraries Rules, 1950, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker to elect one person to the State Library Committee constituted under section 3 of the Madras Public Libraries Act, 1948 (Madras Act XXIV of 1948).'"

[28th June 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' That in pursuance of rule 2 (1) (v) of the Madras Public Libraries Rules, 1950, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker to elect one person to the State Library Committee constituted under section 3 of the Madras Public Libraries Act, 1948 (Madras Act XXIV of 1948). ' "

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" With reference to the Motion of the Hon. Minister for Education regarding the election of one Member of this Assembly to the State Library Committee, I fix 3 p.m., Friday, 4th July 1952, as the time within which nomination papers of candidates for election to the State Library Committee should reach the Secretary. Nomination forms can be had on application to the Secretary.

" If the number of candidates nominated exceeds the number of seats to be filled, namely, one, a poll will be taken on a date to be announced in due course. The election will be by the ordinary method and not according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote."

VI.—MESSAGES FROM THE GOVERNOR.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that I have received the following messages, dated the 27th June 1952, from the Governor :—

(1) ' In pursuance of Article 207, clause (1) read with Article 199, clause (1), sub-clause (a) 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 Land Revenue (Surcharge) Bill, 1952.'

(2) ' In pursuance of Article 207, clause (1) read with Article 199, clause (1), sub-clause (a) 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 Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill, 1952.'

(3) ' In pursuance of Article 207, clause (1) of the Constitution of India, I, Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, hereby give my recommendation to the introduction in the Legislative Assembly of the Madras Stage Carriages (Surcharge) Bill, 1952, and in pursuance of clause (3) of the said Article, I also recommend to that Assembly the consideration of the said Bill.'

VII.—GOVERNMENT BILLS.

(1) THE MADRAS STAGE CARRIAGES (SURCHARGE) BILL, 1952.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, I move for leave to introduce the Madras Stage Carriages (Surcharge) Bill, 1952."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

' That leave be granted for the introduction of the Madras Stage Carriages (Surcharge) Bill, 1952.' "

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" We would like to know what exactly is the nature of the Bill."

28th June 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" That will be explained after introduction."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I oppose the introduction. I would like to have a brief explanation of the objects of the Bill."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Permit him to introduce the Bill. Then he will supply an explanatory note."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" It is a taxation measure for which leave is sought. We do not know what kind of tax it is."

MR. SPEAKER :—" After introduction, the Bill will be published in the Gazette. Then hon. Members will have an opportunity to study the statement of objects and reasons."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Evidently, there is some misunderstanding among hon. Members about the Motion. This is a very formal matter. I am simply introducing a Bill and time will be given to hon. Members to study it and then get ready for discussion. As a matter of fact, we could have published the Bill earlier in the Gazette. But then perhaps nobody might have taken notice of it. The present Motion is to bring the Bill to the notice of the House and it has always been the convention that nobody opposes such a Motion. No statement is called for at this stage because this is only a formal introduction of the Bill."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It has already been circulated to hon. Members."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" I am glad that it has been already circulated to hon. Members. Apart from this fact, Sir, when leave is granted for the introduction of the Bill, it does not mean that hon. Members stand committed to the principle underlying the Bill or any of the provisions of the Bill. This is a formal matter and I think I should not take up the time of the House unnecessarily. I hope that such an experienced parliamentarian as the Leader of the Opposition will co-operate with the Government so that we may get through the business of the House."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" We are not objecting to the Government bringing in as many measures against the people of this State as they like. But we want to know the provisions of this Bill. My attention is now drawn to the fact that the Bill has already been circulated and that 'such an experienced parliamentarian as I' should not oppose the Motion and that it has always been the convention that a Motion for leave for introduction of a Bill is not opposed. I would like to remind the Leader of the House of one fact. How many times have the Government not opposed private Members' Motions for leave? If there should be a convention it must apply to both sides."

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MR. SPEAKER :—" I cannot allow a debate on this. The question is—

'That leave be granted for the introduction of the Madras Stage Carriages (Surcharge) Bill, 1952.' "

The motion was carried and the Bill introduced.

(2) THE MADRAS IRRIGATION (LEVY OF BETTERMENT CONTRIBUTION)
BILL, 1952.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I move—

'For leave to introduce the Madras Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill, 1952.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

'That leave be granted for the introduction of the Madras Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill 1952.' "

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, there is a change in the Agenda. I have no objection to our taking up this Bill now. But let it be done after a Motion for change in the order of business is moved and carried."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill is coming up for consideration. But the other two Bills put down for today are not for consideration but for mere introduction. It is for this reason that a change was effected and this change is clearly indicated in the supplemental Agenda which states that item (2) of the Agenda will be renumbered as item (4)."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I have no objection to the change in the order. But it must be made after observing the procedure laid down for the purpose."

9-45
a.m.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Our view is that it is according to the Agenda. It is included in the Supplementary Agenda circulated to the Members. According to the amendment circulated to the original agenda, The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill will be taken up as item (4). It is in continuation of the items (2) and (3) included in the Supplementary Agenda."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The order of business can now be changed if the Hon. Minister moves a Motion to that effect."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" If it is considered by the Speaker that there is a change in the order of the business, I am prepared to move a Motion."

MR. SPEAKER :—" There is no need for a Motion to change the order. We shall take up the Madras Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill, 1952, first and then the other two items."

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* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, let me help as well, as an old-fashioned lawyer. Now there is a Supplementary Agenda. It does not mean that the subjects included in it are supplementary. The Supplementary Agenda is really a correction to the original Agenda, because it reads like this : ' IV. Government Bills, (2) The Madras Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill, (3) The Madras Land Revenue (Surcharge) Bill ' and then at the end it is stated ' Item (2) of the Agenda will be renumbered as item (4) '. This is a correction to the original Agenda and the corrected Agenda is being followed."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

'That leave be granted for the introduction of the Madras Irrigation (Levy of Betterment Contribution) Bill, 1952.' "

The motion was carried and the Bill introduced.

(3) THE MADRAS LAND REVENUE (SURCHARGE) BILL, 1952.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I move—

'For leave to introduce the Madras Land Revenue (Surcharge) Bill, 1952.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

'That leave be granted for the introduction of the Madras Land Revenue (Surcharge) Bill, 1952.' "

The motion was carried and the Bill introduced.

(4) THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS)
BILL, 1952 (L.A. BILL NO. 3 OF 1952).

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952) and move—

'That the Bill* as amended by the Select Committee be taken into consideration.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The motion is—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), as amended by the Select Committee be taken into consideration.' "

* SRI V. GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—" ఈ బిల్లు ఏమో మూడు రోజులు పాటు ఉన్నది. దీనిని గతంలో ప్రవేశపెట్టినది."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Probably hon. Members are not aware of the procedure to be followed in this regard and that this is not the time to speak on the principle of the Bill. The Hon. Speaker may explain to hon. Members the procedure to be followed."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"I cannot speak Telugu. I hope hon. Members know that this Motion is for the consideration of the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952. (The hon. Member Sri Gopalakrishniah stood up in his seat.) What is it that the hon. Member wants?"

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"The hon. Member says that the Bill has been published only in English and not in Telugu. As he does not know English, he wants that the Bill should be printed in Telugu to enable him to take part in the proceedings of the Assembly and also to give his opinion on this Bill."

MR. SPEAKER:—"He wants all the agenda to be printed in Telugu? (An hon. Member: 'The Bill also'). We shall consider the matter. Now I am going to put the motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), as amended by the Select Committee be taken into consideration.'

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER:—"Amendments to the Bill have already been circulated to hon. Members. I will take up the Bill clause by clause. The preamble and clause 1 will be taken up at the end."

Clause 2.

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

'For the expression "and Madras Ordinance I of 1952," substitute "Madras Ordinance I of 1952 and Madras Ordinance II of 1952".'

"Sir, I may explain that this is necessitated on account of the fact that a second Ordinance has been issued and it has to find a place in the body of the Bill."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'For the expression "and Madras Ordinance I of 1952," substitute "Madras Ordinance I of 1952 and Madras Ordinance II of 1952".'

The amendment was carried.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Sri Krishnaswami Ayyangar may now move his amendments."

SRI P. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR:—"I am not moving my amendments, Sir."

Clause 2 as amended was put and carried.

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Clause 3.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Sri Krishnaswami Ayyangar may move his amendments."

SRI P. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR:—"I am not moving any of my amendments, Sir."

* SRI V. GOPALAKRISHNIAH:—"అధ్యక్షా, బిల్లులోని 3-వ క్లాజులో అర్థి మొట్టమొదట ఎవ్వరినైనా ఉంచుచున్నారో వారికి తిరిగి స్వాధీనపరచవలెనని ఉన్నది. కాని ఆచరణలో ఈ విధంగా జరుగుటలేదు. ఇందుకుగాను ఉపాహరణగా ఒక విషయం మునిపించాను. ఇదివరలో గుంటూరులో Technical Institute కు గాను 12 ఎకరముల భూమిని Defence of India Rules ప్రకారము రైతులను వస్తడిచేసి ప్రభుత్వమువారు స్వాధీనము చేసుకొన్నారు. ఈ భూమి అసలు స్వంతదారులు వేదరైతులు వారు కరుకాదు. నలుగురైనారు. ఈ భూమిని స్వాధీనముచేసుకొని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఇంతవరకును వారికి ఎట్టి ముడతాను చెల్లించలేదు. ఇంకను డిపార్ట్మెంట్ డబ్బు చాంకులతోనే ఉన్నది. ఇటువంటి సందర్భములో ఈ వేద రైతులే భూమి అసలు సొంతదారులుకాని ఇతర మధ్యవర్తులైన వ్యక్తుల దానిపై ఎటువంటి హక్కు ఉండకూడదు. కాని ఈ మధ్య హైకోర్టువారు ఇచ్చిన తీర్పువల్ల ఈ భూమి మరొక మధ్యవర్తికి చెందునట్లున్నది. ఇది చాలా దారుణమైన విషయము. మొట్టమొదట భూమి ఎవరితో వారికి దానిని తిరిగి స్వంతమింపజేయడం ధర్మం. లేనిచో ఈ బిల్లు యొక్క ప్రయోజనమేమీ ఉండదు. ఈ విషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఆలోచించి భూములను అసలు స్వంతదారులకే ఇప్పించేటట్లు చేయ గోరెను."

Clause 3 was put and carried.

Clause 4.

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"I am not moving my amendment, Sir."

Clause 4 was put and carried.

Clause 5.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"I beg to move the following amendment:—

'At the end of the first paragraph, add the words, "set out in the Schedule to this Act".'

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'At the end of the first paragraph, add the words, "set out in the Schedule to this Act".'

The amendment was carried.

Clause 5 as amended was put and carried.

Clause 6 was put and carried.

Clause 7 was put and carried.

Clause 8 was put and carried.

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Clause 9.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I beg to move the following amendment :—

' In sub-clause (1), first paragraph, for the expression " and Madras Ordinance I of 1952 " , substitute " Madras Ordinance I of 1952 and Madras Ordinance II of 1952 " . ' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' In sub-clause (1), first paragraph, for the expression " and Madras Ordinance I of 1952," substitute " Madras Ordinance I of 1952 and Madras Ordinance II of 1952 " . ' "

The amendment was carried.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I beg to move the following amendment :—

' In the proviso, in line 2, after the words " the said Act " , insert the words and figures " or Madras Ordinance II of 1952 " . ' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' In the proviso, in line 2, after the words " the said Act " insert the words and figures " or Madras Ordinance II of 1952 " . ' "

The amendment was carried.

Clause 9 as amended was put and carried.

NEW SCHEDULE.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I beg to move the following amendment :—

' After clause 9, add the following Schedule :—

SCHEDULE.

(See section 5.)

SECTION 19 OF THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT, 1939 (CENTRAL ACT XXXV OF 1939).

Compensation to be paid in accordance with certain principles for compulsory acquisition of immovable property, etc.

19. (1) Where by or under any rule made under this Act any action is taken of the nature described in sub-section (2) of section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935, there shall be paid compensation, the amount of which shall be determined in the manner, and in accordance with the principles, hereinafter set out, that is to say :—

(a) Where the amount of compensation can be fixed by agreement, it shall be paid in accordance with such agreement.

(b) Where no such agreement can be reached, the Central Government shall appoint as arbitrator a person qualified under sub-section (3) of section 220 of the above-mentioned Act for appointment as a Judge of a High Court.

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(c) The Central Government may, in any particular case, nominate a person having expert knowledge as to the nature of the property acquired, to assist the arbitrator, and where such nomination is made, the person to be compensated may also nominate an assessor for the said purpose.

(d) At the commencement of the proceedings before the arbitrator, the Central Government and the person to be compensated shall state what in their respective opinions is a fair amount of compensation.

(e) The arbitrator in making his award shall have regard to—

(i) the provisions of sub-section (1) of section 23 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, so far as the same can be made applicable; and

(ii) whether the acquisition is of a permanent or temporary character.

(f) An appeal shall lie to the High Court against an award of an arbitrator except in cases where the amount thereof does not exceed an amount prescribed in this behalf by rule made by the Central Government.

(g) Save as provided in this section and in any rules made thereunder, nothing in any law for the time being in force shall apply to arbitrations under this section.

(2) The Central Government may make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this section.

(3) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may prescribe—

(a) the procedure to be followed in arbitrations under this section;

(b) the principles to be followed in apportioning the costs of proceedings before the arbitrator and on appeal;

(c) the maximum amount of an award against which no appeal shall lie.

RULES MADE UNDER SECTION 19 OF DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT, 1939.

1. (1) These rules may be called the Defence of India (Payment of Compensation and Arbitration) Rules, 1943.

(2) These rules shall apply to all cases where action is taken under rule 75-A of the Defence of India Rules by or on behalf of the State Government, or by an officer of the State Government on behalf of the Central Government.

2. In these rules unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

(a) " the Act " means the Defence of India Act, 1939;

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [28th June 1952]

(b) "Collector" means the Collector of a district or any officer authorized to exercise the powers under rule 75-A of the Defence of India Rules in regard to immovable property;

(c) "Court" means a Principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction;

(d) "person interested" includes all persons claiming an interest in compensation to be made for immovable property requisitioned or acquired under rule 75-A of the Defence of India Rules;

(e) "property" means immovable property requisitioned or acquired under rule 75-A of the Defence of India Rules.

3. In determining the amount of compensation the Collector shall be guided,

(a) in case of requisitioning, by the principles which the State Government may, by order, specify in that behalf; and

(b) in cases of acquisition, by the provisions contained in section 23 (1) of the Land Acquisition Act, 1894, so far as the said section can be made applicable.

4. The Collector shall, as soon as may be practicable after the making of a requisitioning order or the service or publication of a notice of acquisition, communicate, to each person interested, an offer of what, in the opinion of the Collector, is a fair amount of compensation payable to such person in respect of the property requisitioned or acquired.

5. If the owner of the property is not readily traceable or if there be no person competent to alienate the property or if the ownership of the property is in dispute or if there be any dispute as to the title to receive the compensation or as to the apportionment of the amount offered as compensation, the Collector shall deposit in Court the amount of the compensation as determined by him under rule 3. He shall at the same time submit to the State Government through the Board of Revenue, a report setting forth the full facts of the case with all the connected papers and apply for the appointment of an arbitrator. Where the compensation is recurring, the Collector shall, in cases covered by this rule, deposit the amount in Court from time to time in arrear as it falls due.

6. (1) Every person interested, to whom an offer is made under rule 4, shall, within fifteen days of the receipt of the offer, communicate in writing to the Collector his acceptance or otherwise of the offer. If he accepts the offer, the Collector shall enter into an agreement with him on behalf of the State Government or the Central Government, as the case may be, in the form in Schedule I or Schedule I-A annexed

28th June 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

to these rules with such modifications as the nature of the case may require. Except in the cases specified in sub-rule (2), the Collector shall, as soon as may be practicable thereafter, pay to such person the sum specified in the offer.

(2) If the compensation is recurring, it shall, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned, be paid in arrears. If in the opinion of the Collector some immediate payment is necessary to alleviate hardship and the person interested has accepted the offer made under rule 4, the Collector may make an advance payment to him of an amount not exceeding the compensation payable for the first six months. If the compensation payable for a year does not exceed Rs. 10, the Collector may pay half-yearly in advance, the compensation due for every six months.

(3) In the following circumstances, the Collector may, at his discretion, make, to persons of small means, an advance payment up to 80 per cent of the amount which, in his opinion, is likely to be assessed as compensation, or recurring compensation for the first six months, as the case may be—

(a) when there is likely to be delay in assessing compensation.

(b) where the Collector has made an assessment but there is delay in reaching an agreement, though there is a reasonable prospect of agreement being reached, or

(c) where it is clear that an agreement cannot be reached.

(4) If the Collector makes an advance payment under sub-rule (3), he shall enter into an agreement with the person to whom payment is made on behalf of the State Government or the Central Government, as the case may be, in the form in Schedule II annexed to these rules, with such modification as the nature of the case may require.

7. If any person to whom an offer is made under rule 4 does not accept the offer or does not, within fifteen days of the receipt of the offer, communicate in writing to the Collector his acceptance or otherwise of the offer, the Collector shall, as soon as may be, submit to the State Government through the Board of Revenue a report setting forth the full facts of the case particularly as regards the nature and extent of disagreement between himself on the one hand and the said person on the other and he shall also forward with the report all the connected papers. The Collector shall at the same time deposit in Court the amount offered by him to the said person under rule 4.

8. If on examination of the report submitted by the Collector under rule 7, and after further enquiries if necessary, the State Government are satisfied that an agreement cannot be reached they shall appoint an arbitrator under section 19

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THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 30th June 1952.

The House met in the Legislative Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at half past 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* LEAKAGE OF BUDGET PROPOSALS.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Leader of the Opposition Mr. Viswanatham has given notice of a Motion which reads as follows :—

‘ Certain newspapers published some of the taxation proposals contained in the Budget speech of the Finance Minister more than a week before they were made available to this House, yesterday evening. Ordinance III of 1952, dated 19th June 1952, recites in its Preamble that the intention of the Government to increase the retail sales tax on petrol had been given wide publicity in an unauthorized way. Therefore, a breach of Privilege of the House has occurred. I move that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges to be constituted.’

I wish to know from the hon. Member Mr. Viswanatham whether such a thing has occurred anywhere in any Parliament and, if so, whether it was considered as a breach of Privilege.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have put me a very, very wide question whether it has happened in any other Parliament. It is not possible even for the great Constitutionalists of Madras to answer the question off-hand. All that I can do is to take you through the present provisions of the Constitution and certain precedents which are given in May’s Parliamentary Practice as we are also guided by May’s Parliamentary Practice in this matter.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Kindly quote the page.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I will quote the page, Sir. I am only introducing myself just now. I can only quote May’s Parliamentary Practice for, under the Constitution, in all matters which are not expressly mentioned in the Article relating to Privileges, we are guided by the English practice and, therefore, Sir, I can confine myself only to May’s Parliamentary Practice and to what has actually happened here. Therefore, Sir, in order to keep the House fully informed, I would first of all submit to you what has happened, i.e., what has appeared in the newspapers. On the 19th June 1952, the *Indian Express* published the following :—

‘ *New Madras Budget—Likely Taxation Proposals.*
Madras June 18th.

According to some reports which however lack confirmation, the following proposals for augmenting the revenues of the State are under consideration :—

(i) A slight increase in the existing tax on sale of motor spirit by two annas per gallon ;

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [28th June 1952]

[Omit if the
owner had
no struc-
tures.]

AND WHEREAS the owner
owners and the Government have mutually
agreed to settle the amount of compensation payable by the
Government to the owner
owners in connexion with the said requisition in the manner hereinafter appearing:

AND WHEREAS the Government have agreed to pay to the owner in advance a sum not exceeding the recurring compensation payable for the first _____ months of the said requisition;

NOW THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH as follows:—

[Omit if the
owner had
no struc-
tures.]

1. The Government shall pay and the owner
owners shall accept and receive a sum of Rs. _____ in full settlement of the compensation for the structures.

2. The Government shall pay and the owner
owners shall accept and receive a payment of Rs. _____ per month/quarter/year in arrear for the said property with effect from the said day of _____ 19____, so long as the Government shall remain in possession thereof and the requisition continues, the payment for the first _____ months being paid in advance.

3. The owner
owners shall not claim or be entitled to any other compensation whatsoever in connexion with the said requisition.

4. The owner
owners shall meet and pay the revenue, rent, municipal taxes and all other outgoings relating to the said property whether payable by the owner
owners or the occupier thereof.

5. If it hereafter transpires that the owner is
owners are not entitled or exclusively entitled to the compensation payable in respect of the said property or if the Government have to pay any compensation to any other person the owner
owners shall refund to the Government the compensation paid or such part thereof as the owner is
owners are not entitled to and shall otherwise indemnify the Government against any loss or damage suffered by the Government by reason of any fault or defect in title as represented by the owner
owners. Without prejudice to any other remedies for the enforcement of such refund and indemnity the Government may recover any sum payable by way of refund and/or indemnity as arrears of land revenue.

6. Should any dispute or difference arise out of or concerning the subject-matter of these presents or any covenant,

28th June 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

clause or thing herein contained or otherwise arising out of the requisition aforesaid the same shall be referred to an arbitrator to be appointed by the State Government and the decision of such arbitrator shall be conclusive and binding on the parties hereto. The provisions of the Arbitration Act, 1940, shall apply to such arbitration.

Schedule above referred to.

(Particulars and description of property requisitioned.)

IN WITNESS WHEREOF these presents have been executed the day and year first above written.

SIGNED and DELIVERED by the abovenamed }
owner in the presence of }

SIGNED and DELIVERED for and on behalf }
of the Governor of Madras by }
Central Government in the presence of }

(When advance payment is made, the following shall be endorsed on the agreement.)

The owner acknowledges
owners acknowledge to have received on this date the sum of Rs. _____ being an advance payment of the amount payable under paragraph _____ hereof in respect of the period from _____ to _____
Dated the _____ day of _____

SCHEDULE I-A.

[See rule 6 (1).]

Form of agreement to be made on behalf of the State
Central Government with the owner of immovable property acquired when payment is made in full.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made this _____ day of _____ 19____

BETWEEN _____ son of _____
by caste _____ by occupation _____
at present residing at _____
(hereinafter called the owner which expression shall unless excluded by or repugnant to the context be deemed to include his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns) of the one part
AND THE Governor of Madras
Central Government (hereinafter called the Govern-
ment) of the other part.

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [28th June 1952]

WHEREAS the immovable property particulars whereof are set out in the schedule below (hereinafter called the said property) has been acquired under the Defence of India Rules on the day of

AND WHEREAS the owner has represented and stated to the Government that he alone is entitled to the compensation payable in respect of the said property and no other person has any right to such compensation or any part thereof;

AND WHEREAS the owner and the Government have mutually settled the amount of compensation payable by the Government to the owner in connexion with the said acquisition;

NOW, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH as follows :—

1. The Government shall pay and the owner shall accept and receive a sum of Rs. in full settlement of the compensation for the said property.

2. If it hereafter transpires that the owner is not entitled or exclusively entitled to the compensation payable in respect of the said property or if the Government have to pay any compensation to any other person; the owner shall refund to the Government the compensation paid or such part thereof as the owner was not entitled to receive and shall otherwise indemnify the Government against any loss or damage suffered by the Government by reason of any fault or defect in title as represented by the owner. Without prejudice to any other remedies for the enforcement of such refund and indemnity, the Government may recover any sum payable by way of refund and/or indemnity as arrears of land revenue.

3. Should any dispute or difference arise out of or concerning the subject-matter of these presents or any covenant, clause or thing herein contained or otherwise arising out of the acquisition aforesaid the same shall be referred to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Government and the decision of such arbitrator shall be conclusive and binding on the parties hereto. The provisions of the Arbitration Act, 1940, shall apply to such arbitration.

Schedule above referred to.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF and acting
for and on behalf of and by the order and direction of His
Excellency the Governor of Madras
Central Government have hereunto set their hands.

SIGNED by the abovenamed
in the presence of

SIGNED by the abovenamed
in the presence of

(When payment is made, the following shall be endorsed
on the agreement.)

28th June 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

“ The owner acknowledges to have received on this date the sum of Rs. in full settlement of the compensation payable under clause 1 hereof.”

SCHEDULE II.

[See rule 6 (4).]

Form of agreement to be made on behalf of the State Central Government with owners of immovable property requisitioned when the persons to be compensated are known but for want of agreement as to the amount of compensation certain sums are paid on account.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made this
day of one thousand nine hundred and
BETWEEN
son of by caste
by occupation at present residing at

owner (which expression shall unless excluded by or repug-
owners his
nant to the context be deemed to include their respective
heirs, executors, administrators and assigns) of the one part
AND THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS (hereinafter referred to as the
CENTRAL GOVERNMENT Government) of the other part.

WHEREAS the immovable property particulars whereof are set out in the schedule hereunder (hereinafter called the said property) has been requisitioned under the Defence of India Act, 1939, and the rules framed thereunder and in the day of 19 taken possession of by or on behalf of or under the authority of the Government;

AND WHEREAS the said owner has represented and stated to the Government that the owners have owner alone is entitled to all compensation payable in respect of the said property and no other person has any right to such compensation or any part thereof;

AND WHEREAS no agreement has been arrived at between the parties as to the amount of compensation payable to the owner and the Government has at the request of the owner owners agreed to make payment to the owner on account pending an agreement between the parties as to the amount of compensation payable or the final determination of such amount under the law.

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [28th June 1952]

Now, THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH as follows :—

1. The Government shall pay and the owner
owners shall accept
and receive payment of Rs. _____ per month/
quarter/year for the said property with effect from the said
day of _____ 19 _____ pending agreement as to or deter-
mination of the amount payable as compensation to the
owner
owners.

2. Upon such agreement or determination of the amount
payable as compensation as aforesaid, an account shall be
prepared crediting the Government with the payments made
by the Government as aforesaid and debiting the Government
with the amount payable as compensation. If on such
account being prepared there is a balance in favour of the
Government, the amount of such balance shall be forthwith
refunded by the owner
owners to the Government. If there is a
balance payable to the owner
owners, the Government shall pay
the amount thereof to the owner
owners.

3. If it hereafter transpires that the owner is
owners are not entitled
or exclusively entitled to the compensation payable in respect
of the said property or if the Government have to pay any
compensation to any other person, the owner
owners shall refund to
the Government the payments made hereunder and shall
otherwise indemnify the Government against any loss or
damage suffered by the Government by reason of any fault or
defect in his
their title as represented by him
them. Without preju-
dice to any other remedies for the enforcement of any
refund and/or indemnity, the Government may recover any
sum payable by way of refund and/or indemnity as arrears of
land revenue.

4. Should any dispute or difference arise out of or con-
cerning the subject-matter of these presents or any covenant,
clause or thing herein contained or otherwise arising out of
the requisition aforesaid the same shall be referred to an
arbitrator to be appointed by the State Government and the
decision of such arbitrator shall be conclusive and binding on
the parties hereto. The provisions of the Arbitration Act,
1940, shall apply to such arbitration.

28th June 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

Schedule above referred to.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF these presents have been executed the
day and year first above written.

SIGNED and DELIVERED by the abovenamed owner
owners }
in the presence of

SIGNED and DELIVERED for and on behalf of the }
Governor of Madras }
Central Government by

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The question is—
‘ After clause 9, add the following schedule * ’.”
The amendment was carried.

Clause 1.

Sub-clause (3).

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Sir, I
move the following amendment :—

‘ For the words, “ It shall be deemed to have come into force
on the 13th day of June 1952 ” substitute the words “ It
shall come into force at once ”.’ ”

10
a.m.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Amendment moved—
‘ For the words, “ It shall be deemed to have come into force
on the 13th day of June 1952 ”, substitute the words “ It shall
come into force at once ”.’ ”

The amendment was carried.

Clause 1 as amended was put and carried.

LONG TITLE.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Sir, I
move the following amendment :—

‘ For the words, brackets and figures “ under the Requisi-
tioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 ”, substi-
tute the following : “ under the Madras Requisitioned Land
(Continuance of Powers) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordi-
nance II of 1952) ”.’ ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Amendment moved—
‘ For the words, brackets and figures “ under the Requisi-
tioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 ”, substitute the
following : “ under the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance
of Powers) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance II of 1952) ”.’ ”

The amendment was carried.

The Long Title as amended was put and carried.

*As printed on pages 72-83 ante.

[28th June 1952]

PREAMBLE.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Sir,
I move the following amendment:—

'For the words, brackets and figures "under the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (Central Act XVII of 1947)", substitute the following: "under the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance II of 1952)".'

MR. SPEAKER:—"Amendment moved—

'For the words, brackets and figures "under the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (Central Act XVII of 1947)", substitute the following: "under the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance II of 1952)".'

The amendment was carried.

The Preamble as amended was put and carried.

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), as amended, be passed into law.'

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to make one suggestion. When a Bill has been accepted unanimously by the Select Committee, I wish we evolve a certain procedure which would dispense with all these formalities so that we can straight-away pass the Bill."

MR. SPEAKER:—"As a matter of fact, the Speaker has got the power to put the whole Bill in the second reading stage. But as there were so many amendments, I had to put the Bill clause by clause. If there had been no amendments, I need not have gone through all these formalities. The question is—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), as amended, be passed into law.'

The motion was carried and the Bill as amended was passed into law.

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I adjourn the House I wish to inform hon. Members that the Agenda for Monday will be sent to their City addresses.

"I now adjourn the House till 8-30 a.m.* on Monday, 30th June 1952."

The House then adjourned.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.
Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the Accounts
of 1948-49.

* This was subsequently changed to 10-30 a.m.

28th June 1952]

APPENDIX I.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 4 asked by Sri V. Balakrishnan at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on 28th June 1952, page 48 supra.]

Names of the promoters of Messrs. The Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore, Limited.

Name.	Address.
1 Seshavee Brothers, Limited.	Tennur, Tiruchirappalli.
2 V. Seshayee	Sethapuram, Tennur, Tiruchirappalli.
3 A. C. K. Krishnaswamy ..	Reynolds Road, Cantonment, Tiruchirappalli.
4 M. S. V. Thatham	First House, Srirangam.
5 R. Varadarajan	Rangasaram, Ammamandalam, Srirangam.
6 A. Anthasbramania Aiyar	South Street, Thiruvanaikoil, Tiruchirappalli.
7 A. S. Sankara Aiyar	Retired Assistant Accountant-General, Trivandrum.
8 J. E. A. Pereira	'Gitanjali', Quilon.

APPENDIX II.

[Vide item VII (4) on page 69 supra.]

ANNEXURE.

[Note.—The changes made by the Select Committee are shown in clarendon type and the portions omitted are shown by dots.]

L.A. BILL NO. 3 OF 1952.

(As amended by the Select Committee.)

A Bill to provide for continuing, the requisition of, and for acquiring where necessary, certain immovable properties which are now subject to requisition under the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for continuing the requisition of, and for acquiring where necessary, certain immovable properties which are now subject to requisition under the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (Central Act XVII of 1947); It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. *Short title, extent and duration.*—(1) This Act may be called the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1952.

(2) It extends to the whole of the State of Madras.

(3) It shall be deemed to have come into force on the 13th day of June 1952, and shall cease to have effect on the 1st day of April 1953 except as respects things done or omitted to be done before that date; and section 8 of the Madras General Clauses Act, 1891 (Madras Act I of 1891), shall apply as if this Act had then been repealed by a Madras Act.

2. *Continuance of requisition.*—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

[28th June 1952]

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 I 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.

3. Release from requisition.—(1) Where any requisitioned land is to be released from requisition, the State Government may, after making such inquiry, if any, as they consider necessary, specify by order in writing the person to whom possession of the land shall be given:

Provided that an order under this sub-section specifying some person other than the person from whom possession of the land was taken at the time of the requisition shall not be passed unless notice is given to the latter, or if he is dead, to his heirs or legal representatives and his or their representations if any, have been considered.

(2) The delivery of possession of the requisitioned land to the person specified in an order made under sub-section (1) shall be a full discharge of the State Government from all liability in respect of such delivery, but shall not prejudice any rights in respect of the land which any other person may be entitled by due process of law to enforce against the person to whom possession of the land is so delivered.

(3) Where the person to whom possession of any requisitioned land is to be given cannot be found and has no agent or other person empowered to accept delivery on his behalf, the State Government shall cause a notice declaring that the land is released from requisition to be affixed on some conspicuous part of the land and shall also publish the notice in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

(4) When a notice referred to in sub-section (3) is published in the "*Fort St. George Gazette*," the land specified in such notice shall cease to be subject to requisition on and from the date of such publication; but the State Government shall be in charge of such land until it is delivered to the person specified in the order under sub-section (1), or to his heirs or legal representatives or to an agent or other person empowered to accept delivery on behalf of such person or his heirs or legal representatives.

(5) The State Government shall not be liable for any compensation or other claim whatsoever in respect of the land for any period after the date of the publication of the notice

[28th June 1952]

referred to in sub-section (3), in any case, including the case where they are in charge of the land in pursuance of sub-section (4).

4. Power to acquire requisitioned land.—(1) 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.

(2) When a notice as aforesaid is published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, the requisitioned land shall, on and from the beginning of the day on which the notice is so published, vest absolutely in the State Government free from all encumbrances, and the period of requisition of such land shall end.

(3) 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 the State Government and they decide that the value of, or the right to use, such works should be preserved or secured for the purposes of the State Government; or

(b) where the cost of restoring the land to its condition at the time of its requisition would, in the determination of the State 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 the State Government.

(4) For the purposes of clause (a) of sub-section (3), "works" includes buildings, structures and improvements of every description.

5. Payment of compensation.—(1) In respect of the continued subjection of requisitioned land to requisition under this Act, compensation shall be determined and paid in accordance with the provisions of section 19 of the Defence of India Act, 1939 (Central Act XXXV of 1939), and of the rules made thereunder:

Provided that all agreements and awards for the payment of compensation in respect of any requisitioned land for any period of requisition before the commencement of this Act and in force immediately before such commencement, shall continue to be in force and shall apply to the payment of compensation in respect of that land for any period of requisition after such commencement.

(2) In respect of any acquisition of requisitioned land under this Act, the amount of compensation payable shall be the price which the requisitioned land would have fetched in

[28th June 1952]

the open market if it had remained in the same condition as it was at the time of the requisition and been sold on the date of acquisition, and such amount shall be determined and paid in accordance with the procedure set out in the aforesaid section 19 and the rules made thereunder.

(3) For the purposes of sub-section (1) all the provisions of the aforesaid section 19 and of the rules made thereunder, and for the purposes of sub-section (2) such of those provisions as relate to matters of procedure, shall be deemed to be continuing in force.

6. Power to obtain information.—(1) The State Government may, with a view to carrying out the purposes of sections 2 to 5, by order require any person to furnish to such authority as may be specified in the order such information in his possession relating to any requisitioned land as may be specified.

(2) Every person required to furnish such information as is referred to in sub-section (1) shall be deemed to be legally bound to do so within the meaning of sections 176 and 177 of the Indian Penal Code (Central Act XLV of 1860).

7. Exercise of Government's powers and duties by others.—The State Government may, by order notified in the *Fort St. George Gazette*, direct that any power conferred or any duty imposed on them by this Act shall, in such circumstances and under such conditions, if any, as may be specified in the direction, be exercised or discharged by such officer as may be so specified.

8. Protection of action taken under the Act.—(1) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything which is, in good faith, done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Act or any order made thereunder.

(2) No suit or other legal proceeding shall lie against the State Government for any damage caused or likely to be caused by anything, in good faith, done or intended to be done in pursuance of this Act or any order made thereunder.

9. Repeal of Central Act XVII of 1947, Madras Act II of 1951 and Madras Ordinance I of 1952.—(1) The Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (hereinafter referred to as the said Act), in so far as it relates to the immovable properties referred to in section 2, and the enactments continuing the operation of that Act, namely, Madras Act II of 1951 and the Madras Ordinance I of 1952, are hereby repealed :

Provided that anything done or any action taken in the exercise of any power conferred by or under the said Act, at any time before the commencement of this Act, shall be deemed to have been done or taken in the exercise of the

28th June 1952]

corresponding power conferred by or under this Act, as if this Act were in force at the time when such thing was done or such action was taken.

(2) For the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that the repeal of the said Act by 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.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 30th June 1952.

The House met in the Legislative Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at half past 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* LEAKAGE OF BUDGET PROPOSALS.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Leader of the Opposition Mr. Viswanatham has given notice of a Motion which reads as follows :—

‘ Certain newspapers published some of the taxation proposals contained in the Budget speech of the Finance Minister more than a week before they were made available to this House, yesterday evening. Ordinance III of 1952, dated 19th June 1952, recites in its Preamble that the intention of the Government to increase the retail sales tax on petrol had been given wide publicity in an unauthorized way. Therefore, a breach of Privilege of the House has occurred. I move that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges to be constituted.’

I wish to know from the hon. Member Mr. Viswanatham whether such a thing has occurred anywhere in any Parliament and, if so, whether it was considered as a breach of Privilege.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have put me a very, very wide question whether it has happened in any other Parliament. It is not possible even for the great Constitutionalists of Madras to answer the question off-hand. All that I can do is to take you through the present provisions of the Constitution and certain precedents which are given in May's Parliamentary Practice as we are also guided by May's Parliamentary Practice in this matter.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Kindly quote the page.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I will quote the page, Sir. I am only introducing myself just now. I can only quote May's Parliamentary Practice for, under the Constitution, in all matters which are not expressly mentioned in the Article relating to Privileges, we are guided by the English practice and, therefore, Sir, I can confine myself only to May's Parliamentary Practice and to what has actually happened here. Therefore, Sir, in order to keep the House fully informed, I would first of all submit to you what has happened, i.e., what has appeared in the newspapers. On the 19th June 1952, the *Indian Express* published the following :—

‘ *New Madras Budget—Likely Taxation Proposals.*
Madras June 18th.

According to some reports which however lack confirmation, the following proposals for augmenting the revenues of the State are under consideration :—

(i) A slight increase in the existing tax on sale of motor spirit by two annas per gallon ;

[Sri T. Viswanatham] [30th June 1952]

(ii) Betterment Levy in respect of areas benefited by new irrigation works;

(iii) Readjustment of the sales tax structure if possible with a view to making it yield increased revenue.

Sir, I request you to note also the next paragraph—

‘ Since it is felt that any increase in tax on petrol may indirectly affect bus owners, it is gathered that the Government are considering to devise methods by which bus-owners would be paid rebate, etc. ’

The previous day, on the 18th June 1952, *The Mail* published the following :—

‘ Probable taxes in Madras—Rs. 50,00,000 expected. ’

‘ New taxes hinted at by the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari during his tour of Rayalaseema may bring in an aggregate revenue of Rs. 50,00,000, it is learnt. There may be additional tax . . . ’

Sir, it is not merely a general statement; it gives specific details—

‘ There may be additional tax on petrol. Betterment levy on land and tax on land growing commercial crops, are mentioned besides a suggestion to levy tax on agricultural incomes. ’

‘ Like Hyderabad and Bombay, Madras may levy an additional tax on petrol. The burden of this, it is said, may fall mainly on private car-owners, but also affect bus-owners. ’

‘ A tax on agricultural incomes is also suggested. ’

Sir, these are some specific references to the proposals contained in the Finance Minister's Budget speech. Particularly you will be pleased to see that not merely a tax on petrol was forecast, but the attempt to give relief to bus-owners was also mentioned there. Therefore, Sir, I have no doubt that the Budget proposals had been taken away; and it is not my statement; it is the inference of the Cabinet of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister. This is what the Ordinance says—

‘ Whereas information about the intention of the Government of Madras to obtain the approval of the Legislative Assembly to an increase in the existing tax on retail sales of petrol from the present rate of four annas per gallon to six annas per gallon has been unauthorizedly obtained and given wide publicity . . . ’

Sir, the Government enquired into the matter, applied their mind to it and came to the definite conclusion that it had been unauthorizedly obtained and given wide publicity.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ If that is the case, the Government can take action under the Official Secrets Act. The question before the House is whether it is a breach of Privilege of the House.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, what action the Government are going to take, it is their look-out. The breach of Privilege of the House consists in the fact that the information has been published in newspapers before bringing the matter before the House for consideration. I am only on the point of fact. The Government have given a specific statement that the information has, according to them, been unauthorizedly obtained and given wide publicity. Therefore, Sir, there is no doubt that the Government were of the opinion on the 19th June 1952, as I am today of the same opinion, that this information was given out unauthorizedly or otherwise.

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“ Sir, the next question which you were pleased to ask in the very beginning is whether there was any precedent in any other Parliament. I have not been able to get the House of Commons Debates of 1909 as the Library is far away. I have only just now sent a messenger and I did not expect that this question would come up now so soon.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ A Motion of breach of Privilege has got precedence over other items of Business.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ On page 363 of May's Parliamentary Practice under ‘ Raising Matters of Privilege in the Commons,’ it is said :

‘ Certain urgent matters, such as assaults upon or insults to members, or the communication to a newspaper of a memorandum explanatory of a bill which is to be introduced the next day, after the memorandum has been presented and ordered to be printed, but before it is available for members, if they should occur during a sitting of the House, may be raised at once in spite of the interruption of a debate or other proceedings . . . ’

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is about Bills. How can it be applied to Budget proposals? ”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I shall explain it, Sir.

“ I submit, Sir, whether it is a Bill or a Memorandum or whether it is an intention of the Cabinet or whether it is an oral communication made by a Member of the Cabinet, the result is the same, viz., the intention of the Government had been communicated to the Press earlier than it was made available to the Members of the House. That is the gist of the case and that is what May says: making it available before it is made available to the Members. Whether it had been actually unauthorizedly obtained or whether it was authorizedly given, all that does not matter. Whether it was unauthorized or by indiscretion the information went into the newspapers. The Government say that it has been taken away unauthorizedly and, therefore, I say it had been made available to the newspapers earlier than it was made available to the Members.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member is speaking on the quotation from May's Parliamentary Practice. But, it applies to Bills and not to Budget proposals.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I know, Sir. What applies to Bills applies also to Budget proposals in so far as they were made available to the Press earlier than they were made available to the Members.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Will you please refer to page 119 of May's Parliamentary Practice and read ‘ Premature Publication of a Committee's proceedings or evidence ’? ”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ It may apply to Budget proposals also.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ No, it is a different matter.”

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* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Then, Sir, the question is whether we have got any precedents. The issue of Budget proposals did not go to the Committee of Privileges at any time. When there was a case for being referred to the Committee of Privileges, the Minister (Sir Hugh Dalton) immediately resigned and there was no necessity for referring it to the Committee of Privileges. Therefore, the case does not find a place in the Book of Precedents.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ What about the Thomas case? Mr. Thomas was the Secretary of State for Colonies and during his time the *Manchester Guardian* published certain proposals of the Budget. At that time there was a Tribunal and the matter was referred to it under the Tribunals of Enquiry Act and not to the Committee of Privileges.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ It is all the more serious, Sir. There was a Tribunal at that time in England. Our Assembly has not yet passed legislation to appoint a Tribunal for this purpose; I think the Central Government are already thinking of bringing forward such a measure. Therefore, Sir, when once it is admitted that the matter has been published in the newspapers before . . .”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The question before the House is whether it is a breach of Privilege of the House.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ It is a breach of Privilege of the House when the Budget proposals had been made available to the Press earlier than they were made available to the Members of the House. I will give you a small instance to show how we have to look at this. Some time ago, as soon as this Government came into office, the newspapers published a programme for the first Assembly session. I then wrote to the Hon. the Chief Minister how the newspapers could publish the programme whereas nothing had been made known to the Members. I enquired of the Speaker's Office and the Speaker's Office also did not know anything. The Hon. the Chief Minister replied to me saying, ‘ Yes, it is unauthorized. Hereafter I will see that the information is made available to the Members before it is made available to others.’ Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister also is as jealous or should be as jealous as any other Member of this House in guarding the Privileges of the House and seeing that information of this nature is not given to the Press earlier than it is made available to the Members.

10-45
a.m. “ It is a privilege of every Member of this House. It is a privilege of the entire House and it is a privilege which I am requesting you to protect. Otherwise, there would be nothing sacred about this Assembly. We are Members of this House first and foremost. Are we to sit calmly when the Press is going on commenting about Budget proposals when we are not aware of the same? When I go outside, people ask me, ‘ Do you know anything about what the Press is saying? You represent a constituency and surely you must know something about this.’ Then another Member is asked, ‘ You are a very important man, and as such

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you must be able to tell me something about the Budget. When the information has been made available to the Press, how is it you are not aware of the same? He has to answer them by saying, ‘ No, no, surely I do not know anything. Perhaps the Chief Minister knows all about this.’

“ Therefore, I submit, Sir, that inasmuch as the information about the Budget proposals had been made available to the Press before the same was made available to the Members of this House, the dignity of the whole House and the Privilege of the entire House have been affected. I once again submit that there can be no clearer case of a breach of Privilege of this House than this one.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I want the hon. Member to prove how this particular leakage of information constitutes a breach of Privilege of the House.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, I thought I had made myself very clear. The very fact that the Budget proposals had been made available to others before they were made available to the Members of this House constitutes a grave breach of Privilege of the House as a whole. I submit that it is necessarily the Privilege of every Member of this House to enquire who is responsible for this leakage. The Privileges Committee has got ample powers to collect information, to call for records, to call witnesses, fix guilt on the man who is responsible and then report to this House about its findings. It would be for this House then to take appropriate action. The Privileges Committee may recommend that inasmuch as this is the first instance that such a leakage has ever occurred, the matter may be treated lightly. It is, however, ultimately for this House to sit in judgment and arrive at proper conclusions according to the gravity of the offence. I submit, Sir, that it is the inherent duty of this House to proceed on these lines.

“ I contend, Sir, that it is the right of the Members of this House to know the Budget proposals prior to their despatch to the Press. The Government have themselves admitted that somehow the matter did reach the Press. Not only that. They have also specifically stated that unauthorized publicity has been given to it.

“ Thus I have absolutely no doubt whatsoever in my mind that a *prima facie* case has been made out. A breach of Privilege of the Members of this House has been committed. Whether it is a Bill, a Memorandum or a Budget proposal that has leaked out, all are on the same level and their prior publication does constitute a breach of Privilege of this House.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I am going to allow only one more Member from the Opposition to speak before calling upon the Government to reply.”

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit first of all that this is a very serious matter.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member need not go on repeating that the matter is serious and urgent.”

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* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" It is because the matter is a very serious one, I want to make my own submissions. The question involves not only the dignity of the Members of this House individually but that of the House as a whole. Therefore, it is up to you, Mr. Speaker, to hear us patiently."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let not the hon. Member dictate terms to the Chair. When the Chair is on its legs the hon. Member should not stand. I know what I should do and should not do. I know my duty."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I respectfully submit, Sir, that I was only saying that I should be heard."

" Now the main question that should be considered is whether this particular leakage involves a breach of Privilege of the House. Mr. Speaker, you were good enough to observe in regard to the precedent quoted that a Bill was involved in that case. I may respectfully point out, Sir, that the Finance Bill is a Bill. It forms part of the Budget proposals and it is a taxation measure. In Ordinance III of 1952 it has been actually stated that the Government would seek the approval of the Legislature for this proposal at a later date. There is no difference between a Budget proposal and a Bill. The speech of the Finance Minister is nothing more than an explanation of the proposals which will come up in the form of a Bill to be introduced later. Therefore I submit that even if we are to put a narrow interpretation on the precedent that you were good enough to quote, we find that there is no difference between that precedent and this one."

" Apart from this, I should like to point out that it is the inherent right of the Members of this House to know the Budget proposals first and foremost before the matter is communicated to the Press. As such a thing has not happened and the leakage has occurred, I submit that this is a fit case to be referred to the Committee of Privileges."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the main trend of the arguments advanced by the Leader of the Opposition and Sri P. Ramamurthi narrows down to this, viz., that information which the House is entitled to get on a particular date has been got by other people beforehand, and therefore a breach of Privilege of the House has been committed. So far as I can see, Sir, this is a Motion arising really out of confusion of responsibilities. The Government are responsible in this matter and the Government's position has been hurt and injured in this connexion. It is not a privilege of the House that has been broken. That is my brief answer. (Sri P. Ramamurthi rose to interrupt) Let my Friend also follow the 'patience rule'."

" I want hon. Members to think of a very simple case in this very context. Supposing I had asked my Finance Minister to bring this measure not in the Budget Session but at some other time in the form of a Bill and supposing he had published the Bill in its entirety in the Gazette for the whole world to know before

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bringing it to the House, it would have been a proper course according to the procedure prescribed for Bills intended to be introduced into the House.

" I am surprised at the trend taken by my hon. Friends. I have no doubt that they think they have done the right thing in bringing forward this Motion. I think it is due to confusion of ideas."

" Hon. Members sitting opposite to me are no doubt competent to criticize the Ministers. It may be that some time those who occupy the front benches opposite may adorn the Treasury Benches. They feel very anxious that the Privileges of the Cabinet and of the Government should not be affected. I quite agree with them."

" The only question that remains is that a Cabinet intention was anticipated and published. How the secret was got, we do not know. It may be merely a guess by the Press. But because I considered that it will somehow lead to exploitation, the Ordinance was issued. That is why in the Preamble to the Ordinance it was specifically stated that unauthorized publicity had been given. As it was apprehended that there would be considerable loss of revenue unless the proposal was implemented at once, the Ordinance was issued. Before a Finance Bill is introduced it is necessary to go into its working and find out how much it would bring in. I do not see any reason whatsoever why a Cabinet Minister or a Chief Minister should divulge the secret to the Editor of a newspaper—God only knows why—and issue an Ordinance the next morning."

" The question of Privilege of the House does not at all arise. This is a matter relating to the Government which they might consider under the provisions of the Official Secrets Act. It is the look-out of the Government. If I had any idea of what had happened I know pretty well to take efficient and effective steps in the matter. The Opposition need not remind me about all these."

" Because we considered that the leakage would give room for exploitation we had to issue the Ordinance overnight. We regret the leakage no less than anybody else. But this is no case where the Privilege of the House has been broken. This is the single point I want you, Mr. Speaker, to concentrate upon."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I only wish to clear the confusion which the Hon. Chief Minister has just now attributed to us. The Hon. Chief Minister has told us that it is the Privilege of the Cabinet that has been broken. I want to emphasize and I request you, Sir, to follow this point, that it is not merely the Privilege of the Cabinet but it is the Privilege of the entire House that has been affected. The Cabinet having been entrusted with executive functions, it has got certain responsibilities with regard to dealing with matters which are confidential. I would leave it to the Chief Minister to decide what he should do or should not do. What consequences would follow the action or inaction on the part of the Chief Minister, it is for the future to decide."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" May I say a word of reply, Sir? "

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" You always have the last word."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The Government have got a right of reply."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The right to raise the question of breach of Privilege that has been committed devolves upon all the Members of this House whether they sit in the front benches, back-benches or on the Treasury Benches. Before the information reached the Press it ought to have been made known to the Members of the House. That is the real point. Therefore I do maintain that there is no confusion whatsoever."

" The Hon. the Chief Minister gave an analogy, viz., the publication of Bills in the Gazette. I submit that our Rules provide for such a publication in the Gazette when the Legislature is not in session. And so it is a waiver on our part in the public interest. But this is a clear case where the Privilege of the Members of this House has been affected. The House did not know the Budget proposals before they were communicated to the Press. This does not come within the scope of the Official Secrets Act at all if I understand that Act aright. Hence I move that the matter be referred to the Committee of Privileges."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" My Friend has replied. As far as I can see there is still confusion. With due respect to the Leader of the Opposition, I do admit that a breach of propriety or breach of duty on the part of Government is always a matter for the House to consider. Nobody denies it. As I have already stated, the question of Privilege does not at all arise here. The whole question of Privilege narrows down to this, viz., was this House entitled to have information before the world came to know of it in a particular case? As I have observed, a Finance Bill could have been previously published in the Gazette and in the newspapers for public information. The arguments of the Members on the other side are all based on this slender foundation. I have shown how that foundation is wrong and that foundation has broken down."

11 a.m. " I do not deny that leakage is undesirable. But it is the responsibility of the Government and not this House to look into the matter. Under the Official Secrets Act, the Government, if advised it, would be useful, would take proper action. I maintain that the Opposition have been partially correct and partially wrong in their observations. They are partially correct when they say that the House has got control over the Ministers. But they are wrong if they imagine that a leakage of an official secret is a breach of Privilege of the House also."

MR. SPEAKER :—" In England two similar cases of leakage of budget proposals have occurred; one in 1936, known as the Thomas case and the other was the Dalton case which took place

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in 1947. I am having with me the latest edition of May's Parliamentary Practice. I will read it for the benefit of the Members of this House :

'By the ancient custom of Parliament no act done at any Committee should be divulged before the same be reported to the House.'

Upon this principle the Commons, on 21st April 1937 resolved—

'That the evidence taken by any select committee of this House, and the documents presented to such committee, and which have not been reported to the House, ought not to be published by any member of such committee or by any other person.'

Where the public are admitted, this rule is usually not enforced."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" It is our choice."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The publication of proceedings of committees conducted within closed doors or of reports of committees before they are available to Members will, however, constitute a breach of privilege."

" In the case of Mr. Thomas, it was not referred to the Committee of Privileges. It was referred to the Tribunal under the Tribunals of Enquiry Act, 1921. In England, the House should know, such an Act is in existence. We have no such Act here. So, it was enquired into by a Tribunal which consisted of a Judge of the High Court and two Barristers."

" In Dalton's case, Dalton himself confessed in the House of Commons that he gave the Budget proposals to the lobby correspondent of the *Star*. Then he resigned. Mr. Churchill moved a Motion to refer the matter not to the Committee of Privileges but to a Select Committee of the House. I hope Mr. Viswanatham will note that it was not referred to the Committee of Privileges but to a Select Committee of the House."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Then, Sir, I move . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Not now, but after my ruling is given; and for that also the hon. Member must give notice."

" The Journal of the Society of Clerks-at-the-Table in Empire Parliaments has commented in a leaderette about both these cases—Thomas case as well as Dalton's case—as follows :—

'The custom of the maintenance of the secrecy of the Budget before the official statement thereon by the Chancellor has been made in the House of Commons is a sacred constitutional convention at Westminster and one which is also respected in our Overseas Parliaments. Indeed the position could not be otherwise. Most dearly, therefore, does any Cabinet Minister have to pay the price for any violation of this convention.'

" The House knows what a breach of this convention is. Mr. Thomas was then the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. In that instance, the disclosure of the Budget secret was considered more serious and a special Tribunal was appointed under the Tribunals of Enquiry Act, 1921. The result was, it cost Mr. Thomas his seat in the Cabinet and his future parliamentary career. Commenting on this, the *Times* wrote a beautiful article : ' The secrets of the Budget in particular must not be communicated by so much as a hint even by the humblest of those who know them.' I agree

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with that. But the question is whether it is a question of Breach of Privilege of the House. I would like to tell the hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham, that it is not a breach of Privilege of the House. If the House wants to go into the matter, there are other ways of doing it.

"I must also tell the House that when the Dalton case was before the House, the society consisting of the lobby reporters submitted a memorandum to the Enquiry Committee. It will be useful if I read this to the House because the Members of this House also should know all these things. I am reading it from the memorandum submitted by the journalists: 'It has always been the tradition among lobby journalists that anything which an hon. Member may ask to be off the record is regarded as strictly confidential and not for publication.' As I have already stated, if the House wants to enquire into the matter, there are other methods of doing so. It cannot be enquired into under a breach of Privilege Motion. The hon. Member has not made out a *prima facie* case and I rule the Motion out of order."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Arising out of your ruling, Sir, I move—

'That a Select Committee of the House be constituted (names to be submitted later) to enquire and report on the Budget leakage.'"

MR. SPEAKER :—" For that the hon. Member must go to the Hon. the Chief Minister and take his permission, as Mr. Churchill did in England. If he agrees that it could be taken up on an official day, the hon. Member may then come to me."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Am I to take it that unless the Chief Minister agrees, it cannot be moved?"

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member must know the difference between official business and non-official business."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I know it very well, Sir. If the Chief Minister consented . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I am not going to allow a debate on this. It is better discussed with the Chief Minister in his room or somewhere in the Secretariat. I have already given my ruling. Let us now proceed with the next item on the Agenda, namely, Interpellations."

II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Non-officials on the Regional Transport Committees.

* 11 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the Chief Minister in his Press Conference on 16th May said that the Government have decided

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to eliminate the non-official element from Regional Transport Authorities and whether it represents the policy of the Government; and

(b) the reason for the elimination?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" (a) Yes.

" (b) This has been done in order to remove all possibilities of political and other extraneous influences in the administration of public transport."

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" When did the Government make the discovery that non-officials are not fit to control and manage these affairs?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I am afraid I am not responsible for the conclusions drawn by the hon. Member, but I can tell this House that when I was looking through the debates of the previous Legislative Assembly, I found the view expressed there, that it would be advisable to remove as far as possible non-officials from the constitution of Transport Authorities. That seemed to agree with the views of the present Government who felt that the presence of the President of the District Board was sufficient, as he was eminently fitted to represent public opinion."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" In his reply the Hon. Minister referred to extraneous influences. May I know what are these extraneous influences that had worked previously?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I have nothing more to add to what I have already said."

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—" Sir, with reference to the answer given by the Hon. Minister, may I ask whether the Government are prepared to reorganize the Transport Authorities in view of the unsatisfactory nature of the administration, particularly in the matter of the issue of permits to the owners?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I can tell the hon. Member that at present the Regional Transport Authorities consist of the Collector of the district, the District Superintendent of Police and the President of the District Board."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The Hon. Minister has stated that from the debates in the previous Assembly he found it would be advisable to remove the District Board President. May I know wherefrom he gathered the information that the District Board President was not a non-official? Is he aware that a District Board President is not merely a non-official but a very 'political' non-official?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I think the Leader of the Opposition has read too much between the lines. I only said that in the previous Assembly there was enough discussion to warrant the conclusion that the House was in favour of reducing the non-official element as much as possible. I

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only reiterated the fact that this Government think that the President of the District Board is sufficiently eminent to represent public opinion."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" May I ask, Sir, whether the Government have got any proposal before them to eliminate the District Board President also from these Transport Authorities? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—" We have no such proposal. But, if the hon. Member would suggest it, the Government will certainly consider the proposal."

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—" Sir, will the Hon. Minister inform this House how exactly the non-official element had been functioning to justify the conclusion that its influence was deleterious to the proper functioning of the Transport Authorities? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—" I have nothing more to add to what I have already stated."

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—" Sir, is it the view of the Government that 'non-official' means 'non-Congress' ? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—" I am afraid the hon. Member has drawn his own conclusions."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—" May I know, Sir, what are the reasons that made the Government think of removing the non-official President of the District Board from the Transport Authority? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member is putting the question in a different manner."

Representations regarding the grievances of the Non-Gazetted Officers

* 12 Q.—SRI S. RAMALINGAM: Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received any representation from the Non-Gazetted Officers' Wives' Association, Tanjore, regarding the grievances of the Non-Gazetted Officers; and

(b) if so, what action the Government propose to take thereon?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" (a) & (b) Yes, Sir, certain resolutions have been received and the requests are being examined by the Government."

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—" May I know the nature of the requests? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" Wives want husbands' emoluments to be increased."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—" May I know, Sir, how long the Government will take to consider this memorandum? "

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" Any request for increase of public expenditure, as the hon. Member who put the question knows, must take much time, and we have immediately an occasion for taking the whole House into confidence."

SRI C. V. K. RAO:—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government will consider the demands of the Non-Gazetted Officers that their pay, allowances and conditions of service should be the same as those of Central Government employees? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" Sir, the Government will give every consideration to the claims made by their loyal staff, and hon. Members may rest content with the general principle that the Government are more interested in keeping their servants contented than the Opposition."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—" By what quantum of money have the wives expressed their love for their husbands? " 11-15 a.m.

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" I need not take up the time of the House by saying that I want notice to answer the question. Wives have no limitations to their demands." (Laughter.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—" Now that rationing has been removed and the prices of essential goods are not the same as before, and a surcharge on bus fares also is proposed to be levied, will the Government be pleased to consider this matter anew and take the necessary steps immediately? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" The business of the Opposition is to increase the demands of the people. The business of the Government is to examine them."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" The Hon. Chief Minister referred to 'loyal' officials of the Government. May I know whether the Government are keeping any record of those who are considered not loyal? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" 'Loyal' is a non-discriminatory complimentary adjective." (Laughter.)

Reduction of prices of yarn.

* 13 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether the State Government have recommended to the Union Government a reduction of prices of all counts of yarn; and

(b) if so, what reply has been received from the Union Government in the matter?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—" (a) & (b) The Government of Madras are in correspondence on this subject."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—" The question asks whether the Government have recommended a reduction of yarn prices and not

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whether the State Government are in correspondence with the Government of India. Will the Hon. Minister give a categorical reply whether this Government have recommended a reduction or not? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" When I say that we are in correspondence, there are certain aspects on which we have made our recommendation and certain aspects on which we have not made any recommendation. In this matter there have been many points on which we have agreed and some points on which we have disagreed. The last word has not yet been said, and that is why I said that the Government of Madras were still in correspondence."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—" May I know the points on which the Government have made recommendations and the points on which they have not? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, if you will be pleased to permit me, I should say that the question is taking quite a different turn. Any correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of the State cannot simply be made the subject of a discussion here for the purpose of either bringing credit or throwing blame on this or that Government. It is highly impolitic to say what we have recommended and what the other Government have rejected. It is better to discuss things when the correspondence is closed."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" The original question has not at all been answered. The question asks whether this Government have recommended any reduction of prices of all counts of yarn. Instead of giving a reply 'yes' or 'no', the Hon. Minister says that he has done this thing and that thing. We request the Hon. Minister to give a categorical reply 'yes' or 'no'. We are not asking him to place the papers on the table."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am sorry my Friends in the Opposition do not appreciate what I said. It is not right or proper for this Government to take a cheap opportunity to put the Government of India in the wrong before a decision is taken. When a decision is taken, it is open to us to criticize this Government or that. It is not right and it is premature and improper for me or for my Colleagues to say that we have asked for something and that the Government of India are refusing."

Centres selected for Community Projects.

* 14 Q.—SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN : Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government propose to have the scheme of Community Projects under the American Aid Programme in the Madras State;

(b) the number and the names of the centres selected; and

(c) the nature of work to be carried out under this scheme?

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" (a) Yes, Sir.

" (b) (1) Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal Area.

(2) Coimbatore (Gobi, Erode, Bhavani and Dharapuram Tahsils).

(3) Malabar (Palghat).

(4) East Godavari (Kakinada, Ramachandrapuram, Peddapuram and Pithapuram).

(5) South Kanara (Karkal, Mangalore and Coondapur).

(6) Madurai (Nilakottai, Melur and Madurai).

" (c) The object of the projects is to increase food production in the areas chosen and to provide auxiliary facilities for development under a single agency in the fields of cottage industry, sanitation, education and health."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Sir, may I know the basis and principle underlying the selection of the project centres and also whether the entire expenditure on Community Projects is borne by the Central Government or shared between the Central and State Governments? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The selection of centres was, as far as I know, done a little before we took up office. There will still be an opportunity for examining the position when the Administrator comes down here presently. Only after all the surveys are over we can say whether the schemes might be changed to other centres, if necessary. At present, surveys are being conducted in the centres which I have mentioned. After the preliminary survey, there will be consultation and then the matter can be settled.

" As regards meeting the expenditure, I will be able to give the details on the next question."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Will the Hon. the Chief Minister consider the desirability of extending the scheme to Ramanathapuram district, which is a very backward district, and give the benefit of a community project to the people there? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The suggestion will be considered. But I must inform the hon. Member that it can only be done by way of substitution and not by way of extension. The projects are taken up under a particular scheme and the number of projects to be taken up is settled. There are other schemes like Firka Development Schemes to cover cases like the one referred to by the hon. Member."

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—" Will South Arcot district be considered in this connexion? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" If this question is allowed, I am afraid every Member will ask a similar question in respect of his district."

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SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know whether, with American aid, we are getting American officers also? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" This supplementary can come under the next question."

' Community Projects.'

* 15 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO : Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Community Projects are intended to replace, and place in cold storage, large-scale projects of irrigation and generation of hydro-electricity;

(b) (i) whether these Community Projects are financed by loans of the U.S.A. or of the World Bank, and if so,

(ii) whether any conditions are attached to these loans;

(c) what the role, function and duty assigned to the officials of the United States Embassy is, in the formulation and execution of these Community Projects; and

(d) what the distinct powers and functions of the Union Government and the State Government are in the matter of—

(1) selection of centres for introducing the projects;

(2) directing the execution and supervising them; and

(3) providing finance?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" (a) No.

" (b) (i) Community Projects are not to be worked with the aid of any foreign loan. The Government of U.S.A. have agreed to contribute a sum of 50 million dollars as a gift for working the projects.

(ii) The agreement entered into between the Governments of U.S.A. and India lays down the administrative procedure to be adopted in executing the schemes under the project. No other conditions are attached.

" (c) General advice and technical co-operation at the Union level.

" (d) (1) The centres are chosen by the Central Government in consultation with the State Government.

(2) The Union Government are responsible to approve the schemes and exercise general supervision. After approval by the Central Government, the various schemes are sanctioned after the usual technical and financial scrutiny by the State Government. The execution and supervision of the Community Projects are left to State Governments.

(3) (i) The expenditure in foreign currencies will be met from allotments from the dollar contribution of the Government of U.S.A.

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(ii) Loans will be granted by the Central Government for approved schemes.

(iii) In respect of other schemes approved for a project, the expenditure will be shared by the Central Government and the State Government in the following proportions :—

Non-recurring expenditure.		Recurring expenditure.	
		Centre.	State.
Centre	75 per cent I year	75 per cent	25 per cent.
State	25 per cent II year	50 per cent	50 per cent.
	III year	33-1/3 per cent	66-2/3 per cent.

(iv) After the first three years, the entire financial liability for maintaining the developments achieved in a project area will devolve entirely upon the State Governments."

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Is there a reciprocal arrangement under which the rural schemes in the United States of America are taken up in consultation with the Indian Ambassador in Washington? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The joke is very good, Sir, but it should be made in Parliament and not here."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—" Does the agreement laying down the administrative procedure include the appointment of American personnel for the execution of any of these schemes? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Hon. Members can ventilate their anti-American views when the schemes are finally settled."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—" I protest against this."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know who will pay for the American personnel who will be sitting on our heads? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" There will be no American personnel sitting on our heads except the personnel at Delhi which the Union Government approve and the shoulders of the Union Government are broad enough to bear the burden."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Does the committee that approves these schemes include an American official also? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" This question should be put in Parliament. I was not a party to the arrangement of this agreement and it is impossible for this Government to answer such questions. These questions prejudice public opinion and I deprecate them."

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Is the Hon. Chief Minister aware of an article by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa condemning these schemes?"

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Dr. J. C. Kumarappa condemns pneumatic tyres also." (Laughter.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"The Hon. Chief Minister told us that he did not know who would pay for the Americans who would be sitting on our heads. Since they are going to work in our State and sit on our own heads, he must be able to say as to who is going to pay for them."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"There will be no American gentleman sitting on my head. If a small portion of the fifty-million dollars which is given as a gift is paid to any officer sitting in Delhi, we should not grudge it."

III.—LANGUAGE OF THE ASSEMBLY.

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I take up the next item, I wish to tell the House that I have sent a circular to the Members requesting them to intimate the languages in which they wish to speak in the Assembly. Only 166 members have replied to it so far.

"The number of Members who want to speak in each language is as follows:—

English only	52
English and Tamil	9
English and Telugu	9
English and Kannada	1
English and Tamil and Telugu	1
Tamil only	52
Telugu only	30
Telugu and Kannada	1
Malayalam	11
Kannada only	Nil.
Total	166

"I want the other hon. Members also to reply to the circular and I hope they will reply soon."

IV.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

11-30 MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I take up this matter, I must tell
*m. the House that this is the first time in our country that a Motion of this sort has been brought before the Legislature. We have no special rules relating to it. So, I am following the rules adopted in England regarding this matter. In England when Motions of

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this sort are made, amendments are not allowed. The hon. Member Mr. C. V. K. Rao has given notice of an amendment. I am not going to allow that amendment. In England, in the House of Commons, when a Motion of this sort was before the House, a question was put to the Speaker. The question was 'Is it not rather unprecedented on an important Motion like this that the Government are putting forward, that although there are two amendments on the paper, neither of them shall be called?' The Speaker answered, 'No; I think it is rather the other way, and, as a rule, on a Vote of Censure, I do not call amendments'. As this is a Vote of Confidence, it is very much the same. So, I am not going to call any amendment. The Hon. the Leader of the House will move the Motion."

SRI C. V. K. RAO:—"On a point of order, Sir. You have said in your ruling that a Vote of Censure and a Vote of Confidence are just the same. I beg to differ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I object to the protest. If the hon. Member wants, there are other ways of expressing his protest. But when I have given a ruling the House should accept it."

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"On a point of order, Sir. The Agenda for the days from the 30th June to 5th July and from 7th July to 27th July has been fixed by a special order of His Excellency the Governor. My point of order is that this House is not entitled to change this Agenda. 'Vote of Confidence in the Council of Ministers' is not an item in that Agenda."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall answer that straightaway. The very fact that this Motion has been brought before this House shows that I have taken the permission of His Excellency the Governor to postpone the Budget discussion and bring up this Motion before the House. If the hon. Member has got any doubt, let him come to my chamber. Let him not put these questions in the open House."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, before I move my Motion, the Hon. the Chief Minister will be making a statement. I shall follow that statement with my Motion."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"With your permission, Sir, I wish to make a very brief statement, as I am responsible for this motion to be brought forward and for changing the order of procedure and the agenda of the House also. Hon. Members are by now fully aware of the reasons and circumstances which convinced me that I must seek a clear expression of confidence from the House. The conditions under which I am working are difficult from every point of view—I could even say most difficult without exaggeration. I cannot discharge my duties nor can my colleagues in the Ministry do it, unless we have a strong and clear backing of the House."

"Our people are well aware of the circumstances which render my position difficult. Even if I accepted all the policies of the

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Opposition, I know they would rather change their policies than support me. (Cries of 'No, no.') I know what they want, and that is, with due deference, chaos. I have undertaken . . ."

(Interruption.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Do not make my statement noisy. I have undertaken . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Sir, on a point of order. It was very good of you to have allowed the Chief Minister to make a statement, but he ought not to take advantage of that and say that hon. Members on this side want to create chaos. It is a reflection upon us, which I hope the Hon. Chief Minister will withdraw."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I hope I will have reason to change my opinion, Sir. But I do not think that when I use the word 'chaos', I am doing anything unparliamentary. Otherwise I should join them. The only reason why I do not join them but oppose their line of action is because I hold this view. I have undertaken . . ."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. the Chief Minister is casting an aspersion on the Opposition by remarking that we want to create chaos."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let the Hon. the Chief Minister continue."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I am sorry that my hon. young Friends think that 'chaos' is an unparliamentary word. It is not. (Interruption.) What I call 'chaos' is the whole of their policy. I have undertaken, as I said, a great and difficult change, and the greatest and the most difficult change is the change in the food policy. I have undertaken many other difficult tasks, especially the most difficult task of finding begged or borrowed money to build up our prosperity and contentment. I cannot do this with a doubt hanging over my head. I cannot impress the world, the investing world, unless I get this decision I desire, namely, a firm confidence in my Government or the opposite of it. I thought the Coimbatore by-election set the matter at rest. But the result of the Aruppukkottai by-election has disturbed my mind. I made a straight appeal, and whatever may be the reason and the circumstances, the result of the polling there is that the voters of that constituency gave an answer adverse to me. (Interruption.) About 40 per cent of the voters of that area went to the polls, and the lady who was set up by the Congress did not secure a majority. She got about 50,000 votes against 70,000 votes secured by the Forward Bloc candidate. The Forward Bloc consists of a few members. Two or three of them are sitting in the Opposition all the same. They are going along with the main body, namely, the Communist body."

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On a point of order, Sir. I think the Hon. the Chief Minister is making a wrong statement. The Hon. the Chief Minister says that the main body is the Communist body. But the main body is the United Democratic Front. I want to correct the Hon. the Chief Minister." (Applause from the Opposition.)

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The main body is the Front. But the Front consists always—by the very phraseology—of several blocks united together to form a common front against me. It was done after the elections. The Forward Bloc and the other parties that go into this United Front are smaller, and I congratulate my hon. young Friends of the Communist Party that they are the biggest block in this United Front. There is no aspersion made in my statement. So I consider it necessary that hon. Members kindly keep the main lines in their minds. I wish to explain the reason why I come and disturb the procedure of the House with a Motion of this kind. I say that these events have disturbed my mind, and as my task is heavy, and as I have to appeal not only for co-operation but also for serious sacrifice to be made by the people, I have to go with a vote of confidence from this House. I consider it necessary that I should have a clear expression of the desire of the House which represents to-day the State as a whole. Whether I should continue in office, is the question I ask. Leading organs of public opinion have expressed the kindly view that I have not enough grounds to doubt my position and this test was unnecessary. But I feel that the nature of the tasks and policies I have initiated and the nature of the tasks I have yet to undertake call for a clear, decisive and firm indication of the confidence of the House. I know there is no persuading some people. In democratic organizations, the party system prevails, and we cannot escape the rigidity of that system. (I am not an admirer of rigidity in anything.) I would like every hon. Member sitting on this side of the House to consider himself free to vote as the God seated in his heart tells him to do. I desire that the same freedom will guide every Member on the other side also including those Members who sit on the front benches. But some of them do not think that there is a God seated in their hearts. I am not a dreamer. I know it is but a platitude to some people and men will vote not according to their present conviction but according to group decision. Even so, I want a clear picture as to where I stand. The battle that the Government have to fight on the food front and in other matters are battles which can be fought only if the support of the House is beyond doubt. Therefore it is I pressed on you, Sir, to give this Motion precedence even over the Budget. The Leader of the House will move this Motion, and I appeal to all who want orderly progress to cast their votes like free men and responsible citizens entrusted with the fate of 60 million people and with hard tasks in front of us."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has read out a statement, which is very important. It is important for him and also for us. It would help . . ."

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if we have copies of the statement circulated to us. May I hope it will be done as soon as possible, say, within an hour or so?"

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following Motion standing in my name, namely:—

'This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister.'

Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister has explained the background for this Motion, and the necessity for giving precedence to this Motion over the Budget discussion. If it is our intention that there should be a discussion on the policies enunciated by this Government, then the Budget discussion is more than enough. But we are not satisfied with that. To understand the background, it is necessary to recapitulate in what circumstances this Government took up office, and in what circumstances our Chief Minister became the leader of the Congress Party and the Chief Minister. He was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly or, for the matter of that, a Member of the Council. We approached him with the request that he should take over the leadership of the Congress Party and also the leadership of the Government here.

11-45 a.m. "As one who was responsible for persuading him to take over this responsibility, I would like to tell the House that when I approached him, I told him that it would make a great difference in the State if he were to take over the leadership of the Congress Party and be the Chief Minister here. With that assurance, he was pleased to take over the leadership of the Congress Party and, as you know, he is now the Chief Minister. After his taking over the responsibilities of Chief Ministership, you all know how the administration is being run and there is ample opportunity either to approve of it or to criticise it when the Budget proposals come up before the House. But now the question that has arisen is whether, as a matter of fact, we, the Members of this Government with Sri C. Rajagopalachari as its head, have got the confidence of the House. As the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to explain, we have come before this House to seek a vote of confidence before proceeding with the Budget discussions because of the result in the Aruppukkottai by-election."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"There was also the Kakinada by-election."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"We are not ignoring the Kakinada by-election. There were three by-elections, one at Kakinada, one at Coimbatore and another at Aruppukkottai. As far as Kakinada was concerned, even formerly that seat was won by a Communist and we thought we had not proceeded far enough to change the hearts and minds of the people of Kakinada in such a way that they would vote for the Congress candidate. We all knew that it would take a little more time for the people of that area to realize that they were doing a wrong thing

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in supporting the Communist Party and that they were voting for chaos when they voted for the Communist Party. It would take some time more for them to realize that and, therefore, we were not bothered about the Kakinada election and we did not set up a Congress candidate there."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"But you supported with all your might the other candidate opposing the Communist candidate."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let the hon. Members allow the Hon. Minister to continue his speech."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"It is our duty to support orderliness and to oppose the Communists and expose their tactics and false claims at every opportunity. We took advantage of the Kakinada election also to do that though we knew that it was not possible, so far as Kakinada was concerned, to convince those people at this stage. But it is our duty to take every available opportunity for bringing to the notice of the people the false propaganda and the tactics adopted by the Communist Party. We were not bothered about the result of the Kakinada election, for, as I have already said, there has not been enough time to change the hearts of those people. But as far as the two elections in Coimbatore and Aruppukkottai were concerned, we were definitely of opinion—and that was what I assured the Hon. the Chief Minister—that there had been a change of heart among the people and that they would wholeheartedly support us. As far as the Coimbatore constituency was concerned, the people there gave a clear verdict. Then came the Aruppukkottai election. There, I agree that there was an adverse verdict. I can very well explain away the result of that election. We could say that it was after all a Parliamentary seat, that our policies were not involved there and, therefore, it does not matter at all. We could explain that only one man was dominating the whole show there, that it was a backward area and that it was not possible to change the hearts of the people there. Such excuses were given but the Hon. the Chief Minister was not satisfied with them."

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—"On a point of order, Sir. The Hon. Minister says, 'It was a one-man's show.'"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not unparliamentary to say that it was a 'one-man's show'."

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—"Anyhow a political party cannot be treated in such a cheap manner even though it is sitting in the Opposition."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I will allow the hon. Member to have his say afterwards. Let the Hon. Minister continue his speech."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I do not refer to any political party, but if the cap fits the hon. Member, let him wear it, Sir. Now, we can explain away the result of the Aruppukkottai election in that way. But the Hon. the Chief Minister was not satisfied with that. He wanted to have the clear verdict

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of the people and the only way for it was another election, an appeal to the electorate. I may take the hon. Members into my confidence and say that, as a matter of fact, his mind was working in that line, viz., an appeal to the electorate. I asked him, 'Is it fair to this House, simply because in one Aruppukkottai constituency the people gave an adverse verdict, to have a general election again, to dissolve this House and then appeal to the electorate?' I appealed to him that it would be just and fair to ask this House whether this Government have got the confidence and the solid backing of this House, and whether in spite of the verdict of the people in one constituency at Aruppukkottai, this House is prepared to give its solid support to the Government, apart from their policies which would come up before this House and on which hon. Members would exercise their vote. It was considered that we should have a clear verdict of this House on the question whether it is their desire that we should continue in office. That is why, leaving aside the Budget programme and all other business, we have come before this House to know its mind. We should know whether this House is prepared to give its verdict in favour of this Government or not. That is the background of this Motion. On this it is not necessary to speak any more. I am sure the Opposition will take this opportunity to ventilate all their grievances in whatever field they might be."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"The Leader of the House says that we want chaos. It is our right to say what we want."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"They are going to say what they want, in their own language. The only thing is I want hon. Members to understand their language when they talk of people and People's Front. When they speak in the name of the people, we should understand what is behind their minds. So, my appeal to all the hon. Members is that when the Communists speak or the Communist-inspired people speak, they should understand their language in their own Marxist style. Please do not be carried away by what they say. When they talk of the people and the People's Front, understand them properly and give your verdict, and whatever be your verdict, we are prepared to accept it wholeheartedly and take all the consequences. I request hon. Members also, when they cast their votes, to realize their responsibilities and the consequences of their action."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. Minister must face the Chair and address the Speaker."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Even while I am facing the other side, I am only addressing the Speaker, Sir."

"Sir, I would request the hon. Members to search their hearts—I won't refer to 'God', because some people may object to it. I am sure they will vote according to what they feel in their innermost hearts and not be dictated to by anybody else. That is my appeal and I formally move my Motion."

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MR. SPEAKER:—Motion moved—

'This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister.'

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the first question that arises in my mind with regard to this Motion is whether it has been moved in time or out of time or at a time when it is not necessary. Sir, opinions may differ with regard to the appropriateness of the time of moving this Motion. But quite apart from the issues on which this Motion is based, personally I am inclined to feel that this is an opportune time to have a motion of this nature before this House, for we came here after a great election held a few months ago. Three hundred and seventy-five representatives of the enormous population of South India have come here to do good to the country in general through this House and through the executive Government. They are charged with the work of ameliorating the conditions of the people. When that is the job before us, we have to consider whether the executive that has been charged with that duty has the support of the public. The support of the public is translated here through the 375 representatives who have been sent here, and that too recently. When doubts are raised as to whether the person who is the leader of the Government is the proper person to lead or not, there should be no confusion in the mind of the public that the right person has been chosen for the occasion. It is in that view, Mr. Speaker, that I consider this a very opportune moment to discuss and vote upon a Motion like the one the Hon. the Leader of the House has chosen to bring forward before this House this morning."

"Sir, we will have an opportunity in the near future to record our confidence in the Ministry on the occasion of the Budget discussion, especially when the Demand for the salaries of Ministers is voted upon. A vote on that Demand can truly be considered as a Vote of Confidence if the Demand is passed and a Vote of No-confidence if it is not passed. That is one additional method of expressing our confidence in the Ministry. When such an opportunity will be there in a few days, some might have wondered why the Government should have come forward with a Motion of this nature now. But I feel that in view of the attitude of some Members of this House, it is well that, before proceeding with the discussion on the Budget in which the Government have adumbrated their policies for the promotion of the welfare of the people for next year, this Motion is taken up, in order that the Government may know whether they have the general approval of this House for carrying on the administration. Therefore, Sir, it is right that this Motion of Confidence in the leader of the Government, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, is taken up now."

"Sir, the issues which the Hon. the Chief Minister has taken to heart seriously are the Aruppukkottai election and the attitude of the United Democratic Front towards the Ministry. I must straightaway say that the three by-elections that have been referred

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to should not be taken into consideration, for they have been held so soon after a general election. Even in that great country of England, the birthplace of democracy, where democratic institutions have been in existence for hundreds of years, a by-election that takes place soon after the general elections is not taken into account seriously in the matter of the confidence of the public in the Ministry. If by-elections go against the Government after a period of, say, two or three years, then it should be considered that the Government, in their policy and action during the two or three years after the general election, have gone to such an extent as to displease the people. But no such thing has happened here. A party which requires an absolute majority naturally requires some time to work its way up and build up its majority and weaken the minorities still further if possible. In its attempt to do so, the party might sometimes go down still further. Therefore, it is too soon to expect a majority party which has won a recent election to get a majority in all the other constituencies where it has recently lost the elections. The Government Party lost the elections in these constituencies only a few months ago. How is it possible for that party to get its candidate elected in the same constituency so soon before some time has elapsed and the Government have done something for the good of the public? In that sense, it is not right to make much of the three by-elections that have taken place recently. Moreover, out of the three by-elections, two were for the House of the People in Delhi and, therefore, the results have a bearing on the administration at the Centre also and not merely on the administration here. In the months of March and April, we were all very anxious whether this State would be having a stable and orderly Government at all. Thank God, we have been vouchsafed a good Government for the present. We are all very much relieved that an elderly statesman, an astute statesman of the type of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar, has come forward to shoulder the responsibilities of Government. It is a great relief not only to the Members of this House but to the general public at large, as is evident from the chorus of approval that came in soon after his assumption of office. Moreover, it is an admitted fact that the Government headed by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar has infused great confidence into the minds of the public and the tens of thousands of officials who have got to carry on the administration from the village to the headquarters here. This is a very heartening feature and we are full of great hopes and expectations of a very good and orderly Government for the next few years.

12 noon. Great hopes have been raised in the minds of the public that many good things will be done to them in the various fields like food production, land reforms and matters connected with the future of the tiller of the soil. Therefore, this Ministry is expected to do a great job and should be given time to do that. How is it possible for it to do everything in a few days? It is necessary that this House should vote for this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry, so that it may do its best for the millions of people. Mr. Speaker, we are very glad that a very good start has been made by this Government. I cannot refrain from referring to that

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great act of decontrol. In my own humble way, I have been shouting for decontrol in the past, in the previous House, without success. It is heartening to see that so soon after the present Government came to power, they decided, under the wise guidance and leadership of Sri Rajagopalachariar, to give up control on food. Control on food must be given up at least for one reason, viz., to create more incentive to the producer to produce more and more foodgrains. I am very glad that the decontrol decision of the Government has been approved by almost every section of the population. Even the hon. Members of the Opposition have welcomed it to a very great extent, though they may not have approved of it in all its details. This is a very heartening feature and I would like to offer my congratulations to the Government on their very wise and statesmanlike action. Some people say that the Government have taken a very bold step. I do not agree that it is a bold step; it is not a gamble or a risk. They have taken a very wise step. The Chief Minister has only taken a wise step, and our congratulations are due to him. I hope that the State Government will succeed in persuading the Government of India to get larger quantities of imported rice so that their decontrol decision may be a success.

"I do not wish to take up the time of the House as my purpose will be best served by urging that the Motion of Confidence in the present Ministry should be supported by every section of this House. I am saying this not only because the State must have a stable Government, but also because of the fact that we are led to entertain a natural and real hope that, in the coming months, this Government will be able to do very much to the people. The Budget proposals of the Government have now been placed before this House and I shall not now speak about them in detail, except to say that by and large, under the present circumstances, the Budget is fairly good. We are not having very many taxes. One of the items of taxation, particularly the surcharge on bus fares is a very reasonable and equitable tax which will bring some money to cover the deficit. It is a very wise way of taxing. This House must approve of such taxation proposals when they come before the House.

"On this occasion, I do hope that a clear Vote of Confidence will be given. The decision given by a majority of votes will also be a Vote of Confidence. But if a large number of hon. Members support this Motion, it will be heartening to the Chief Minister and his colleagues who have to carry on their work for the good of this State."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Some hon. Members have represented to me that it is better if the House adjourns at 12-30. So I have to inform the House that we will adjourn at 12-30 p.m. and not at 1-30 p.m. and meet again in the afternoon at 2-30 p.m."

* SRI V. R. KRISHNA IYER:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Motion is not very necessary now. But we have been told in detail the circumstances under which the Chief Minister of this State has

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chosen to force this Motion on this House and demand a Vote of Confidence and get it passed if the House agrees with the Motion, or accept defeat should the House decide otherwise. I thought that a Vote of Confidence would, according to parliamentary practice, have been demanded in a Ministry run by a political party. Here, in this case, I thought that the Government would have demanded a Vote of Confidence in the Congress Ministry as such, because the Congress is a political party and has programmes and policies and traditions. People would naturally know well in what manner the Congress Party is going to execute those programmes and policies in future, and how it proposes to fulfil its promises to the people. But here, we find that the whole thing hangs by one individual and we are asked to support or oppose this Motion of Vote of Confidence, in a Council of Ministers headed by one individual, viz., Sri C. Rajagopalachari. It is not going to be a vote in favour of the Congress Ministry or against the Congress Ministry or for a Coalition Ministry. The vote is sought for a particular individual whose policies have not been indicated, or adumbrated or not even hinted at in broad outlines. All that we are told is this: 'Here is one individual who has agreed to shoulder the burden of running the administration of the State; he wants that his hands should be strengthened; he must be helped; so give your vote of confidence or lack of confidence in him.' That is to say, this House is asked to put implicit faith in one individual. We do not know what he proposes to do for the State and what the policies of this Council of Ministers headed by him are going to be. Of course he has indicated one major policy, viz., decontrol and derationing, but has thrown no light on the rest of his Government's policies. And so, what are we to vote for? I believe it is entirely wrong to ask for a vote in such circumstances. In the history of parliamentary practice anywhere in a democratic country, I cannot find a parallel to this, where a Chief Minister stood up and said, 'Well, if you have faith in me, vote for me; I am not concerned with my party; are you going to adopt me as Chief Minister or not? If you want that I should introduce beneficent rule, you must strengthen my hands.' It is entirely improper and incongruous for any democratic administration to ask for a Vote of Confidence in that manner without giving out its policies and programmes. The Chief Minister has not yet disclosed these things to the House and still he expects the House to vote on the Motion. My submission to the House through you, Mr. Speaker, is this. We must first of all have a clear notion as to whether it is the Congress Ministry that is asking for a Vote of Confidence. Evidently, it has not been mentioned like that in the Motion and that possibility is ruled out. Similarly, we have also to understand whether we have to deal with the Council of Ministers as such or a particular agglomeration of members captained by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Here, we find that the accent has been placed entirely on the personality of one individual. We have not been enlightened as to what will be the policies and programmes of that particular individual, and what exactly that Chief Minister is going to do. Then, and only then, will we be in a position to judge whether

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that personality can implement those programmes and can do those things for the people. We are not told all those things. We should not even consider such an equivocal Motion, especially when many of us do not definitely know the policies of the individual on whose behalf the Motion is moved. Has a definite programme been chalked out? My submission is this. So far as this particular Motion is concerned, it asks for a Vote of Confidence in an individual, and so it is a case of dictatorship that we are committing ourselves to. It is a Motion bereft of any details of his plan. Let us see what exactly are this Government going to do from what the Chief Minister has already done. I do not know whether it is a Congress Ministry that he is heading or any other. It is a matter on which we want the Treasury Benches to throw some light. Has information been given to the Members of this House about the Government's programme in any speeches or in any written document? To my knowledge, they have not done anything like that. The most important thing that we have to consider is this. What are the proposals put forward by them in the Budget? Also, we must know what the Government have done before the Budget was introduced in this House. We are all aware of what has happened. Even at the commencement of this Assembly, we were greeted with the prohibitory order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Now we have section 41 of the Police Act in force. We know what will happen if the policies pursued by the Government are opposed. The decontrol policy of the Chief Minister, for confidence in whom this Motion has been moved, has to some extent relieved the poor people from the harassment of the officials. We must also take into account other matters in this connexion before coming to a conclusion and giving an opinion on this Motion. Surely, we should not be expected to give a blank cheque. We should consider how far we are to have freedom of opinion, freedom of movement and freedom of association under this one man's rule. When we first met here, there was a check on the freedom of association because of the promulgation of an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. What has been done during the Budget session? We have an order under the Police Act. I have already stated that food decontrol leaves behind it mixed feelings. Food decontrol is tacked on to food derationing. Because of decontrol, there has been some amount of free movement of foodgrains. Along with this, we must also remember the fact that prices of foodgrains have gone up beyond the means of the ordinary people. Formerly, these poor people were depending on the ration shops and now they have to pay very heavy prices for getting their foodgrains. What will be the plight of these poor people, if they have to pay such high prices for the most vital necessities of life, especially with their poor purchasing power? I say that the food derationing has a snag. By combining food decontrol and derationing, one fails to notice the hidden dangers in it. The United Democratic Front wants to view the whole thing with subdued optimism. We must take into account the hidden dangers and so we cannot straightaway say that the Government's policy in this regard is approved *in toto*. The

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Chief Minister said that whatever he may do will be opposed by the Opposition as it is the duty of the Opposition to oppose. That is entirely wrong. On the other hand, we have agreed with a good portion of the decontrol policy. Every one of us will remember that the Government have been taxing the vital necessities of life of the common man by imposing sales tax on food. Again, there is yet another tax burden being imposed on the poor man by increasing the bus fares by one pie per mile. This is not a tax that is going to affect the luxurious limousine-owners. It is only the poor people who are going to be affected by it. Motor bus transport is the poor man's conveyance. The Government have imposed this tax directly on the poor people and thus made it difficult for them to use that conveyance even. I think the present rate is about 4 to 6 pies per mile and if one more pie is added, the increase will work out to 15 to 20 per cent, which is very heavy indeed. In spite of the very sympathetic words spoken about the poor people, the Government are now putting an additional burden on the poor people by this tax. Much has been mentioned about the poverty of the people and their suffering. But instead of giving them relief, additional burdens are sought to be placed on them. This is a very reactionary step.

"Coming to the sales tax, I wish to say that the poor people have at present to pay sales tax on their daily necessities of life like rice, fish, eggs, milk, etc. Is this in accord with the Directive Principles of State Policy mentioned in the Constitution, namely:

'The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.'

Is this the way in which the State is to promote the welfare of the people? Is this the way in which the Government are going to effect equitable distribution of wealth? Do they think that by imposing such heavy taxes on the poor people, they can achieve their objective? Is it one of the modes of promoting equitable distribution of wealth in this country to tax the poor man? Is this the way of increasing the wealth of the country? I am really amazed at these taxation proposals.

12-15 P.M. "Similarly, Sir, what has been done in regard to the irrigation cess? Already there is one cess. Where water is given for irrigation purposes, there is a tax already. There is a levy. I hail from Tellicherry where there is an oppressive levy on the ryot and the farmer for the supply of water. On top of this all, now comes the betterment levy. What does this amount to? There is double taxation on water. As irrigation cess, we collect a tax on water. The farmer is taxed. Now there is the second tax called betterment levy. Is that all? There is a third one called the surcharge on land revenue. What happens in Malabar? It is the ryot, the cultivator, the farmer, that has got to pay the tax and not the janmi. The janmi who is the landlord passes on the revenue payment to the ryot or the producer, so much so the surcharge will be ultimately borne by the poor ryot. If this House represents the ryots and the poor masses of this country and if we really represent the

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people in this House, we must strongly object to the new fiscal measures brought forward by the Government. Elementary principles of public finance demand that there must be no direct taxation on the poor because they cannot bear the burden. But what we do find to-day in the announcement of the Government under the Chief Ministership of Sri Rajagopalachari is that they have made no secret of taxing the poor, taxing them more and more and taxing them to the maximum. Sir, on an earlier occasion, I advocated in this House taxation of the rich on such lines as are permitted by the Constitution. I suggested the introduction of a Death Duty. Why have the Government not considered the suggestion? Is it because they are not prepared to tax the rich who would oppose such a measure? Is it because the rich will manufacture and mobilise public opinion in such a manner as to overthrow the present Government? Why do not they levy a tax on the rich? Why are the poor alone taxed in their food and in their conveyance? Why not they tax the higher ranges of agricultural incomes? Agricultural incomes have increased tremendously in recent times. There are plantations. There are foreign investments and wealthy estates—coffee, tea, rubber and cinchona. These are plantations that earn millions of rupees, and still there is no agricultural income-tax. It is within the powers of this House to levy an agricultural income-tax. We could certainly have had enough money if we had taxed such plantations and big landlords who make much money from out of their lands. We say funds are necessary for financing our schemes. We say we want more revenue. Mr. Speaker, all these can be found if there is a will to find the money. It is no use saying all this can be done if God exists in one's heart. Let us love God by loving His children. Let us love one another. That is real godliness. If godliness is what we want, then I would plead for godliness in the true spirit. It is not in the temple but it consists in our love for the people. It is in that spirit I say, let us have some method of promoting economic equality. The way in which the present Government try to promote it is not the right way. The fiscal measures they have introduced, I have no hesitation in saying, have gone far beyond the extent they should go so far as the poor are concerned and left the rich as they are. There is no relief for the poor in the policy announced by the Government.

"Let us now come to the manner of public expenditure in this country. What does the agriculturist get under the new Budget proposals for the promotion of agriculture? We do not have an increased agricultural staff. We do not know what the Agricultural department is going to do. We have no free or subsidized distribution of manure and improved seeds to the ryots. We have no technical staff to assist the agriculturists in their operations. We have no demonstration farms. How is agriculture sought to be promoted? There is no mention about this in the Budget proposals at all.

"Next I come to education. One of the Directive Principles of State Policy contained in the Constitution is that free and compulsory primary education should be provided to all children in the

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State within a period of ten years. But I wonder if concrete steps are at all taken by the Government in this direction. The present Budget proposals are more or less the same as those of previous years. In Malabar, aided elementary school teachers have been pleading for an increase in their pay which is below subsistence level, which is very meagre. But there is hardly any indication in the Budget to meet their demand. The Budget contains provision for expenditure on some major irrigation projects which have already advanced too far to be abandoned or slowed down. These projects have got to be completed. Even as regards minor irrigation projects, what is being done? We are told very cleverly—there is a lot of cleverness about it in the Budget proposals—that the people benefited by these schemes should contribute fifty per cent of the cost and that the other fifty per cent would be shared between the Central and the State Governments. It is perfectly clear that the ryot will not make a voluntary contribution of even one pie for the starting of a minor irrigation work, and therefore, the Government will not be called upon to make their twenty-five per cent contribution for the purpose. Sir, even the previous Governments had some minor irrigation projects executed. The present Government have completely abandoned minor projects and committed themselves to the major projects since they have committed themselves too much to get out of them. In the matter of primary education, the Government have hardly done anything; but they have made some special provision for grants to Universities and Engineering Colleges. What we ask for is the implementation of the Directive Principles of the Constitution and the pledges contained therein; but the Budget is far away from these. In the circumstances, how can we hail this Government as being one for the people? I, therefore, appeal to this House to vote against the motion. A vote in favour of this Government is a vote for a blank cheque in favour of the Chief Minister. We know that the Chief Minister had been in the Congress, had been out of the Congress and is now back again in the Congress. He was recently in voluntary retirement and he has now come back to give us relief. We do not want to vote for an 'Avatar'. We do not want to vote for those who are not prepared to place their programme before the House and yet want a vote of confidence. What programme have the Government got, I ask? Have we to wait for your beneficent measures to fall like manna from Heaven? Sir, I appeal to this House to be democratic and insist upon a democratic policy, and not vote for 'one man', if we want to work the Constitution in a democratic way. We have, however, had some disclosures in the Budget proposals; there is nothing there for the lower middle class and the poor class; there is nothing there to improve agriculture; and there is no provision for education. Therefore, this is really a case where the rich are patted on their backs and the poor hit the hardest. The poor have no voice, but the rich have a considerable voice in the affairs of the Government. I once again appeal to this House to vote against this Motion."

(The visitors in the galleries clapped their hands.)

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MR. SPEAKER:—"I warn the visitors in the galleries. If they clap their hands again, I will have to clear the galleries."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must confess to you that it is with a good deal of trepidation that I rise to speak on this Motion, as it is not an ordinary Motion as you yourself have been good enough to point out this morning. This is the first time that a Motion of this type has been brought before a Legislature in this country. This is an extraordinary Motion also. Considering the circumstances under which this Motion is brought before this House and considering the fact that the Motion is made after the Budget for the year is presented, I feel this is an extraordinary Motion brought about by an extraordinary situation that has developed. Apart from this fact, the very terms of the Motion are quite unprecedented. We are asked here to express confidence not in the Council of Ministers—if that were so, it would be an ordinary affair—but in the Council of Ministers headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar. The sting is in the adjectival clause 'which is headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachariar'. We have been told or it has been made to appear to us and to the public by Sri Rajagopalachariar and other Members of the governing party that Sri Rajagopalachariar is not an ordinary mortal like any of us, and that he is an extraordinary gentleman. Not only that. They say that he is the chosen representative of the Almighty God who has come to succour this State. It is for this reason that I feel a little trepidation, for I do not know what is in store for us. If the Members of the Opposition to-day dare to vote against this Motion, if the Members of the Opposition dare to express want of confidence in a Ministry headed by the chosen representative of the Almighty God, what will happen, what dire punishment in this life and the life hereafter will follow, we do not know. That is why, when I rise to oppose this Motion, it is with a good deal of trepidation that I do so. Nonetheless, during the last 22 years of my public life, I have been taught—and that lesson has been burnt into my consciousness by the party of which I have the honour to be a member, that our people are greater than any God, and that there is no God above our people. Therefore, it becomes necessary for me to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, i.e., to disclose the secret that is behind this move of the Government. Our people have taught us to follow a certain procedure and a certain conduct in public life. During the general elections they have taught us not to believe people when they say they are such and such people. They have taught us that people's professions have got to be put into the crucible of practice (The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam: 'Hear, hear') and unless they stand the test, their professions should not be taken at their face value. Therefore it is that it becomes necessary for me to ask the House not to look at the words of the Motion only but to probe a little deeper, to delve a little deeper into the circumstances that have led Sri C. Rajagopalachariar and his Ministry to bring in this Motion. We have been vouchsafed a statement by the Chief Minister in this connexion. 12-30 Let us look into the whole question. Why is it we are told p.m."

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that this Motion has been necessitated by the results of the Aruppukottai bye-election? Well, I shall not comment on this election result just now. I shall reserve it for a later occasion. But I may say that no vote of this House is going to efface the verdict of the Aruppukottai bye-election. There are the people who have given the clearest and the most unambiguous verdict against your policy despite the fact . . .”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Let not the hon. Member say ‘your policy’. Let him say ‘Government’s policy’.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“It is rather difficult to get accustomed to the procedure, but no disrespect to the Chair is meant.

“The Chief Minister chose to make this a test election for the policies put into operation by him . . .”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The House will now adjourn and meet again at 2-30 p.m. The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch.”

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, as I was saying this morning, the result of the voting in this House is not going in any way to obliterate the verdict of the people of the Aruppukottai Constituency. If it were democratic considerations that have been guiding our Chief Minister, then this is not the course which he would have adopted. He would never have come to this House asking for a Vote of Confidence and I do not think he is so very naive as to believe that a Vote of Confidence of this House, obtained by means of political manoeuvre and intrigue, as he himself put it in his first press conference immediately after he assumed office, is in any way going to change the verdict of the people of the Aruppukottai Constituency. Then, what is it that motivates our Chief Minister in bringing forward this Motion? It is found in the statement he himself made this morning. He has told us that he has taken a very big responsibility and he seeks not only co-operation but he seeks also greater sacrifice. In order to co-operate with him greater sacrifices on the part of the people will be necessary.

“Let us consider the circumstances under which this statement is being made by him and this Motion is brought before this House to-day. We have the Budget and we know that in this Budget people are being asked to bear a much heavier burden than they were bearing before. To-day people are being asked, the ordinary people, the common people, people whose standard of living has been depressed continually during the last five years of the Congress rule or misrule if I may say so,—these people are asked to bear the heaviest burden. We have the announcement regarding the increase in the bus fares, the betterment levy and all sorts of things. The Chief Minister knows that these are not new proposals that he is making to-day. These were the very proposals that were brought up by the previous Congress Ministry,

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by Mr. Gopala Reddi who was the then Finance Minister. He knows that even inside the Congress Party there was terrible opposition to these measures and ultimately Mr. Gopala Reddi, the then Finance Minister was compelled to withdraw the measures. He knows therefore that not only will there be opposition to these measures from the Members of this House—Members on the Opposition side as well as the Members on the other side—but there will be terrible opposition from the people also. There is bound to be terrible opposition even from among those who are now supporting the Congress, or those who agreed to support this Ministry. To-day I know as a matter of fact that the Krishakar Lok Party will be put in an extremely difficult position to support these taxation proposals and then go and face the people who returned them to this House. There are others who have crossed the floor of the House and joined the Congress. They had been elected in opposition to the Congress on the pledge that they were going to oppose the Congress, but after coming into this Assembly they have succumbed to the political manoeuvres of the Chief Minister. I know these people will find it difficult to support these measures and vote for this Motion. If this Vote of Confidence is not carried, the Budget may not be passed. Therefore it is, the Chief Minister has placed before the Members of this House a picture of chaos. He holds up before the people the Communist-phobia and in that way tries to get a vote in his favour if possible on the Budget in advance, before the Budget is actually discussed. That is his specific purpose. It is an attempt to by-pass the normal procedure that is laid down for the passing of the Budget. Therefore it is that I say there is a purpose behind this. When I say this I realise that we have got to deal with people who are extremely crafty, who are extremely clever.

“The Chief Minister of course has been claiming a monopoly for being truthful. He has always the monopoly of truth and as far as we on this side of the House are concerned, he has been saying that we are untruthful, ungodly and all sorts of things. He also knows that there is such a thing as suppression of fact. That is why I believe, in the courts of law people are asked to utter the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Let us consider how far the Chief Minister utters the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Speaking somewhere the other day, probably in Cuddapah, he said that the people of this State have given a mandate to the Congress to rule this State, because 70 lakhs of people voted for the Congress and only 26 lakhs voted for the Communists. But he forgot one simple fact that the 70 lakhs who voted for the Congress do not become the majority of the voters who took part in the last general elections. It may be that there were a number of parties who contested the elections. But our Chief Minister knows that whatever be the multiplicity of the parties that contested the elections, the one simple fact, the one simple straight issue that was posed before the people by every party including even the Congress party, was whether the Congress party that ruled the country during the last five years should continue to rule it. It was claimed that the Congress alone had

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the right to rule this State, rule the people of this country and administer this country, because it had wonderful brains and administrative experience and had won the freedom of this country. The question was whether that Congress Party should be returned to power and continue to rule the country. This was the question posed by every party, the Congress Party, K.M.P. Party, the Krishakar Lok Party, the Socialists and the Independents. This was the single and straight issue raised by all the parties and the Congress also raised this simple and straight issue. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whenever he went about the country raised this same simple issue and placed his programme before the people. On this issue the people gave a verdict against the Congress. Only 34 per cent of the voters who went to the polls voted for the Congress and the rest voted for the parties that opposed the Congress. Whatever be their party, all of them were agreed that the Congress shall not rule. How then dare the Chief Minister come forward in the face of this clear and unambiguous verdict of the people and tell us and the people that 70 lakhs have voted for the Congress and therefore the people have given them a mandate to rule the State? (The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam: 'Is it suppression of a fact?') It is suppression of a fact that the 70 lakhs of voters represented only a minority of the total number of voters that participated in the general election. It is suppression of the simple and straight issue that the Congress lost and did not receive the mandate from the people to rule this State. The people gave the verdict that Congress shall not rule the State. That verdict of the people of course has been and will be suppressed.

"Thereafter we know how the Chief Minister has come to be in charge of the affairs of the State, how exactly he came to be the head of the Government. We need not waste our time now on all those things. We have discussed it sufficiently. We know also how many have been inveigled into the Governmental group. I deliberately use the word 'inveigled'. Be that as it may. The question now arises; ever since then what is it that the Chief Minister has been saying and doing? Even now in this House in the course of the statement he has made, what is the attempt that he has made to bamboozle the Members? I have known in history, at any rate I have read, that people who preach about God were people who renounced worldly things and worldly life. I have heard of the great Buddha renouncing the kingdom, donning saffron cloth and going about preaching about God. I have also heard of others who left their kingdoms and went about preaching God. But for the first time now we have got an example of a person who leaves his 'Vanaprastha' and comes back to take up the reins of the State and then goes about preaching about God. He requires a police-state, the power of the police on which seven crores of rupees are spent, for the purpose of preaching his God. This is the position to which we have been reduced. (Interruption.) There is of course another example we know. Lord Krishna who was the King of Dwaraka was going about preaching God. We know also in the Gita he was shouting against the non-believers. Perhaps our Rajaji the author of 'Kannan-Kattiya Vazhi' had thought that he himself

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followed in the foot-steps of Lord Krishna and was a reincarnation of 'Kannan' himself as stated in the Gita:

‘यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य क्लान्तिर्भवति भारत ।

अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदाऽऽज्जानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥’

Whenever dharma subsides and adharma reigns supreme, then I, Krishna, incarnate to suppress adharma and re-establish dharma.' This is the English translation of the verse. So perhaps he thought: 'To-day there is lot of adharma in this country because the Communists are getting powerful and the other people who are opposed to the Congress are getting powerful, and therefore I have come here in order to re-establish dharma.' However one thing strikes us as peculiar, and that is this: the fact that there is a lot of disbelief in God, and that there is great necessity to inculcate into the people faith in God, dawned upon our Chief Minister only after the Congress Party lost in the elections in the Madras State and not before. We know he had been writing some books on religion, but the zeal and the urge that he shows to-day in preaching about God in every public meeting,—at any rate, I have not seen in him before, in my long public life, from the time I have known him. I claim to have attended many public meetings addressed by him and heard his speeches in the Congress Conferences and Sessions that I have attended. I have heard a number of his speeches during 1937-39 when he was the Prime Minister of this State. In those speeches, I can say, I have not heard this much of preaching about God which he does to-day. Therefore, it is clear that the idea that to-day there is ungodliness and disbelief in God and therefore it has become very necessary to inculcate faith in God in the people, has dawned upon him suddenly after the Congress has lost at the polls in this State. At any rate, we do not see Chief Ministers in other States where Congress has got a majority, preaching about God as our Rajagopalachari is doing in this State. Only in this State the Congress has lost. Why? Because people have no faith in God! If they have faith in God, they would have voted for the Congress! This is what it ultimately reduces itself to. When a politician, a statesman, a diplomat, suddenly turns to be a preacher of God, using his position as Head of the Government, then it becomes necessary to probe a little deeper into it, to understand the motives behind his preachings. Is it merely a desire to inculcate faith in God in the people or is there something else? Is it an attempt to hide something else? Is it an attempt to masquerade as a devout preacher and conceal something else? I say that all this talk is nothing more than an attempt to hide the anti-people policies that were being pursued and that are now continued to be pursued by Sri Rajagopalachari and his Government. The same policies that were pursued by the previous Congress Government are being continued to-day. Only the continuation is being done along with the preaching of God. But we know that the issue of God is not the issue before us. We know that Rajaji also was a party to our Constitution. He was one of the framers of the Constitution, and our Constitution was sought to be made a Constitution of a secular State, and let us also remember that the Constitution provides for

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an oath or affirmation. Therefore, faith in God or no faith in God, can never be an issue in this House or anywhere in the country, so long as we are functioning under the Constitution, the Constitution of a secular State which it is claimed to be.

"Therefore, let us not confuse the issue. The issue is whether the Government headed by Sri Rajagopalachari commands the confidence, not of this House, but of the people as a whole. That is the issue before the people, and the electorate had given its verdict in the last elections, and if the Government want another verdict, we have no objection. (Interruption from Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Sir, Sri Rajagopalachari wants to point out that the electorate did not give a verdict on the issue of the Ministry headed by Sri Rajagopalachari. ((Interruption from Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Anyway, the Chief Minister has given me a point and I take it that Sri Rajagopalachari wants to dissociate himself from the Congress whose Ministry ruled this State last time."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Sir, I was only explaining that the issue before the people was more general. But, he talked it on to the language of the Motion. In the language of the present Motion, he would not be correct in saying that the issue was my Ministry. I had to interrupt so that he may correct his argument and carry on."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"I maintain, having heard Sri Rajagopalachari's explanation, that the issue before the people was the same although Sri Rajagopalachari seeks to make a distinction between the Ministry that existed before and his Ministry, on the ground that previously some other gentleman, Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja, was the head of the Ministry."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"It would be perfectly open to Mr. Ramamurthi to say that the issue before the people was the general issue of the Congress as a governing party. But, if he says that I am going to dissociate myself from the previous Ministry, he is saying something unfair."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"I did say that the issue before the people in the last general elections was the issue of the Congress as such and I say that again. In fact, I said that the very purpose of bringing forward this Motion is an attempt to tell the people, 'Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister; don't confuse his Ministry with the Congress Ministry; have you got confidence in him or the Ministry that has gone?' He might deny it. It is sought to be made out that this is entirely a different Ministry because Sri Rajagopalachari is the head of this Ministry."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Sir, let me try to put the issue in the same framework put by Mr. Ramamurthi. The issue is that I appeal for confidence in my Ministry, not compared with the previous Ministry, but compared with an alternative Government formed out of Members sitting in the Opposition. That is the only issue before the House."

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* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"In spite of all that, it is a Congress Ministry. Sri Rajagopalachari, when he is the head of the Ministry, is a Congressman pure and simple, and to-day he cannot absolve himself of all the sins of omission and commission that were committed by the previous Ministry. He cannot say that he was not responsible for any of those acts for the simple reason that the policies that were pursued by the previous Congress Government not only in this State but in every State, were pursued in pursuance of the general policy of the Congress Working Committee of which Sri Rajagopalachari himself was a Member for a long time. Therefore, the people of this State had given their fair and unambiguous verdict on the Congress Ministry and all the policies that were pursued by them all these years. Instead of understanding that the verdict of the people was given properly, and that because the Congress had misruled the people it had lost the confidence of the people, instead of learning a lesson and admitting the mistake, Sri C. Rajagopalachari to-day comes forward and says: 'Well, I have come here as a broomstick to completely clean the Augean stables of the Congress?' In fact, that was that he exactly said on the Beach immediately after he assumed office. What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose."

"That the Congress Government was defeated in the last general elections is not an ordinary thing. Sri Rajagopalachari has been going about telling the people that they committed a mistake. In Tirunelveli district, he went about saying that the people had placed some thorns in his way. But, will he consider why the people voted for those people in preference to the Congress? Let us understand the implications of this verdict. Besides, Sir, the Congress had all the advantages. It had the administrative machinery behind it. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru could roam about the country in a Government aeroplane, and a special train could be placed at his disposal for his tour of Andhra Desa. In addition, the entire Press was there. The Chief Minister this morning was referring to some statement appearing in the Press. Well, if all those newspapers could be taken as a guide for public opinion, there would not be 152 Congress Members, but 350 Members. They no longer represent the public opinion. The *Hindu*, the *Indian Express* and all the papers forecast that the Congress would be returned with 350 Members. That was their reading of public opinion. That is the kind of barometer that they have got and that is what they want us to follow. But, we have got a different way of measuring public opinion. We will go to the people and elicit public opinion. Therefore, Sir, despite all the advantages the Congress lost the elections."

"We on this side had tremendous disadvantages too. We did not have the advantage of meeting the electorate even once. Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, the previous Finance Minister, when asked for reasons for his defeat said: 'I had gone to my constituency only for about a week. If I had been there for ten days more, then I would certainly have won the election.' But what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for gander! Sir, seven days were not sufficient for

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Mr. Gopala Reddi to tour his constituency. What about Mr. Ramamurthi and Mr. Nagi Reddi who were not given even a single day to go to their constituencies? That is democracy of the Congress brand. In spite of all this, the people voted against the Congress and there must be something in the verdict of the people. What is the lesson they have learnt? The Chief Minister told us in the last session, 'If there is unity on this side, you cannot win; the Congress cannot be defeated; I will demonstrate it.' Well, the first opportunity had come in Aruppukkottai. Was there disunity in the Congress."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"What about Coimbatore?"

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"In Coimbatore, we had not contested before. But, the Hon. Minister for Finance will see that in Coimbatore town we had increased our votes. In Tondamuttur, the constituency of the Hon. Sri V. C. Palanisami Gounder, we had increased our votes in spite of the fact that the Hon. Minister for Prohibition was camping there. It is true we did not win the election. It is entirely a new constituency for us. The Congress had won the election there because they had appealed to the basest passions of the people, to the communal passions.

3 p.m. "Take the case of Aruppukkottai election. Is it contended that the Congressmen were not united even after Sri C. Rajagopalachari had taken over the administration and therefore they lost Aruppukkottai? But then why did all those godly people who had done so much good for the country and made terrible sacrifices, quarrel? When thieves fall out, truth comes out. That was why they had a terrible reverse. It was because people had come to know them in their true colours. Congressmen were no longer for making sacrifices for the sake of the country and for the sake of the poor and the downtrodden. They were for self-aggrandisement. It was not sacrifice for the people that motivated them. Their God was Mammon whom the Congress had been serving during the last five years while in office. That is why the Congress suffered such a colossal defeat in the recent general elections. In spite of all that had happened against their favour, the Congress still wants to be in office by political manoeuvres.

"Take this policy of decontrol. It is not a new and novel thing. Attempts are being made by means of this policy of decontrol to disrupt the United Democratic Front: What was the reaction of the Communist Party to this policy? I issued a statement stating that it was a risky step that the Government had taken. Because a Communist said that the step was a risky one, he must be dubbed as anti-State. But when the Chief Minister himself stated at the time of announcing the decontrol policy that he was doing so and taking a risky step, he was considered to be doing the correct thing. I mentioned in that statement that we are in the year 1952 and not in 1948.

"The Government say that they have enough stocks. They themselves say that there has been no increase in production. Why is there so much stock? What is the real state of affairs? The

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people have lost the purchasing power. That is why even in the blackmarket prices had fallen. Nonetheless I stated that the anti-social elements would exploit the already starved masses, sooner or later. Is it wrong to point to the danger and ask for steps against them?

"I shall, in this connexion, quote a statement of Sri C. Rajagopalachari when he was the Governor-General of India during the year 1949. Replying to a civic address presented to him on December 15th, 1949, by the Visakhapatnam Municipal Council, he has stated:

"You have referred to another very interesting subject, Mr. Chairman,—'Controls'. I expected cheers from the audience when you said controls should be removed and I was very glad to note they were not so hasty. You have pointed out in your address that there are various shortages prevailing now, including food shortage; and that shortage has increased as a result of controls. Control by itself cannot increase shortage. Where there is shortage, there must be regulation but the dishonesty of people exploits both the shortage and controls, with consequential increase in distress. When we remove controls, the same dishonesty will be there and dishonest people will exploit the shortage in a terrible manner. Urban areas will be at the mercy of exploiters. It is a matter which affects innumerable souls all over the country and those who are responsible for Government do not feel they can take off controls and leave the shortage to be exploited. That is the reason for the hesitation."

Well, we find the same Sri C. Rajagopalachari here in a different capacity. He has suddenly embarked on the policy of decontrol. It is stated that there has been a large accumulation of stocks. While it is asserted by Government that prices of paddy and rice have fallen, I can quote instances where prices have soared up. In Tanjore and Chidambaram the prices have registered an increase. Is it necessary that because Sri C. Rajagopalachari had suddenly changed his mind all others should say ditto? And if you do not do so, you are an enemy of the State!

"Our own past will clearly show that it was the Communists who as early as 1946-47 caught the blackmarketeers who were hoarding grains and minting money out of the blood of the people. The people of Madurai, of Tirunelveli, and of Madras know full well how the Communists caught red-handed the biggest blackmarketeers and exposed their anti-social activities. In so far as the policy of the Government is intended to help the landlords and the blackmarketeers; I declare on the floor of this House that the Communists would continue to launch a relentless campaign against the continuance of such a policy. They would never be afraid of police lathis or bullets (cheers). Whatever the Government may say, I maintain that it is because of the misrule of the Congress during the past that we find ourselves in the miserable state of affairs obtaining at present. The Congress has brought chaos and misery to the people.

"A question has been asked what exactly do we mean by the term 'people'. I say that by the term 'people' we mean the working-class, the peasantry, the middle class and even the honest capitalist. Those idle landlords and blackmarketeers, the parasitic elements in our country, who exploit the poverty-stricken masses and enjoy comfort at their expense, but do not have any role in

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production—I refuse to recognize them as 'people'. But this definition of the term 'people' is not acceptable to the Government. To them people means landlords and blackmarketeers.

"It was due to the anti-people policies pursued by them that the Congress lost the general elections. The people have given a clear verdict against them. Due to the Government's policy, hundreds of thousands of workers and poor peasants were thrown into the streets. Even after Mr. Rajagopalachari has taken over the administration the evil has not stopped. In Tanjore district as many as thirty thousand peasants have been dispossessed of their lands. This is not confined to only one district. In the constituency from which Sri V. C. Palaniswami Gounder is coming, thousands of evictions of poor peasants are taking place. The fever of eviction is spreading from district to district. This was brought to the notice of the Chief Minister at the time when he visited Coimbatore. I rushed from Tanjore to Coimbatore and informed the Chief Minister of what was happening. I spoke to the District Magistrate. Pending legislation, I requested that the *status quo* be maintained. But nothing has been done. It is possible for the Government to issue an Ordinance for enhancing the petrol tax where only a few lakhs of rupees of revenue are involved. But where it is a question of preventing landlords from evicting thousands of peasants and of depriving them of their lands, no Ordinance could be issued.

"Let us take another aspect. During the last session, speaker after speaker from this side of the House criticised the Congress administration and demanded a policy statement from the Government. What was the answer of the Chief Minister? He declared, 'I do not recognize the "hotch-potch" Opposition that is sitting before me'—these were his very words—I recognize only the Communist Party as my Opposition'.

"When Mr. Govindaswami Naicker spoke he was raising the voice of the people. He and others of the Tamil Nad Toilers' party were elected to this House in opposition to the Congress. And so, when he spoke, his was the voice of the thousands of the people of his constituency who elected him in preference to and in opposition to the Congress candidate. They elected him and refused to elect the Congress candidate because, they had found by experience that the Congress had failed them. And yet the Chief Minister says that he refuses to recognize Mr. Govindaswami Naicker as part of the Opposition. In effect he refused to recognize the people who sent him to this House to voice their feelings and their demands. Well, Sir, that is his concept of democracy. We are told that democracy is a concept which we do not understand. The concept of democracy also is the monopoly of the Chief Minister and his party. And we know what that concept of democracy is. As a matter of fact, we know that as Home Minister of the Government of India he was responsible for the Press Law which no democrat in this country is prepared to accept as a democratic measure; no paper in this country, no paper of his own party even, is prepared to accept as anything but a draconic

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measure for crushing democracy. Yet, we are asked to learn lessons in democracy from him and the Government of which he is the head.

"Sir, with this concept of democracy how can he understand what exactly is the demand for the Andhra province or the demand for linguistic provinces? These are merely administrative matters for him. Read the speech he had made as the Home Minister of the Government of India in 1951 in Parliament, when the question of linguistic provinces came up. How did he understand it? To him it was not a problem of the people, but it was merely a matter of administrative convenience: the British Government created the provinces in order to suit administrative convenience; and it was all a minor issue and there were graver issues, and so on . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, is the hon. Member supposed to be quoting me? If that is his position, he is not quoting right; he is adding his own comments to what I said."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I maintain that this very concept of linguistic States that our Chief Minister has, the concept of administrative convenience, shows, if I may say so, the deepest contempt he has for the people. That is why yesterday when a question after question was being asked of him on the letter he wrote to the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal, he took umbrage under the fact that after all it was a private letter between one gentleman and another gentleman. One private gentleman carries on correspondence with another private gentleman. We know what private affairs mean—affairs concerning their families or friends. If Rajaji had written about the welfare of Jawaharlal's family or his friends, we would not have bothered ourselves about it. But, it is a matter concerning the lives of millions of people who today feel intensely for their democratic right to have their province. That is how the people of Tamilnad and of Kerala also intensely feel the urgent and imperative necessity of linguistic provinces. We realise that it is not a problem of mere administrative convenience. We realise it is a very fundamental problem of democracy. If democracy in this country is to flourish, if every single man, woman and child in this State has got to participate in the administration of the State, in the Legislature of the State and in all the activities of the State, the creation of linguistic provinces alone will help them to do so. Then alone there can be democratisation of public life. So long, therefore, as there are no linguistic provinces, all talk of democracy loses its force, because otherwise people cannot practise democracy. That is why, all sections of this House are interested in seeing that linguistic States are set up immediately, because considerations of democracy far outweigh all other considerations. Instead of understanding the democratic urge on the part of the people, he is today trying to take shelter by saying that it is all private correspondence. So long as he is the Chief Minister of this State and he writes to the Prime Minister of India, he writes

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in no other capacity than as the Chief Minister, because he holds an important position here and he writes to another person who holds another important position; and whatever both of them do in this regard can affect the destinies of millions of the State. Moreover, he writes on an issue affecting those very people. Therefore, we are entitled to know what exactly he has written. That is our concept of democracy. But a concept that is anti-people, a concept which means, 'all power to me; believe me; have faith in me if you want anything; leave me to do as I wish; you must have faith in my goodness; and if that is granted, you do not interfere in anything that I might do, but you just keep quiet', is his concept of democracy. We on this side cannot subscribe to that concept of democracy. On the other hand, we see that people who have got to participate in the administration at all levels do not have the necessary set-up for that, and so long as that set-up is not there, people will fight for it. And it is a just fight. It is for that we are fighting. You may call it chaos, but people will not be frightened by this word 'chaos', because they know who it is that has created the chaos. During the last 150 years of direct British rule in this country, as Sri C. Rajagopalachari himself stated the other day in his radio broadcast, they did not succeed, despite their terrific attempts, in smashing our handloom industry which is the pride of our Tamilnad. Where the British Government did not succeed in their attempts for 150 years, the Congress Government succeeded in five years. (Cheers from the Opposition benches.) How was the yarn distributed? There was terrible blackmarketing. The handloom weaver did not get four days' yarn in a month. During the last four or five years we know how the prices increased and how the handloom weaver was forced to purchase yarn in the blackmarket. Instead of protecting the handloom weaver against the mill-owner, the policy of this Government has actually been to protect the mill-owner against the handloom weaver—because by levying sales tax on yarn, this is exactly what you are doing. When the yarn goes in a composite mill, from the spinning to the weaving department, the mill-owner gets it at cost price and he has not to pay extra for the yarn. When the Coimbatore mill-owners sell yarn to the weaving mills at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Calcutta, these mills have to pay sales tax only at one point, that is at 3 pies a rupee. On the other hand, when the handloom weaver purchases yarn, he has to pay sales tax not at one point but continuously at 3, 4 or 5 points, so much so, he has to pay one and a quarter anna per rupee when he gets the yarn. Therefore, actually the mill-owner is placed in an advantageous position vis-a-vis the handloom weaver. That is how the handloom weaver is being crushed. This was how where the British Government did not succeed, the Congress Government has succeeded. If we look at the handloom weaver today in Salem and in every other town, we will see that hundreds of thousands of families are ruined and the weavers are roaming about the country as destitutes, leaving their families. This has created chaos. Has this chaos been created by the Communists? Is it the Members of the Opposition that have created this chaos? Or is it the Congress misrule that has created this chaos? This is a question which the

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people have had to answer. And they gave their answer in the elections. Again in Coimbatore, 12,000 workers were discharged in 1948. Did this not create chaos? Who are the people that are responsible for having created the chaos? Even today hundreds of thousands of workers in the State do not get employment even for 50 per cent of the days. They get employment hardly for two or three days a week. Does not this mass unemployment create chaos? Who is it that created this chaos? Is it the Communists, or is it the Congress that has created the chaos? People have given the verdict that it is the Congress that is responsible, because it is unable to solve a single problem in the country. It cannot solve even a single problem because its policies are wedded to the Imperialists and the landlords. (Hear, hear.) So long as the policy of the Congress is wedded to the Imperialists and the landlords and the Government are determined to help foreign employers like the Binny's and the Harvey's, who have made greater profits during the years of Congress rule than at any time in the 150 years of British rule in this country, and so long as they are protecting their interests, the Congress will not be able to solve a single problem of the people in this country. On the other hand, you will only go on inflicting misery, misery and greater misery on the people. But every attempt at inflicting misery will be resisted, whatever might be the scale of the police force that may be employed against the people. Vast historical forces are on the march and they cannot be stopped by the police or the military. This is what is happening and this is what is sought to be called chaos. But, people will judge who has created this chaos. During the last three or four years, Congressmen went about preaching about us when we were inside the jail or underground; our papers were suppressed and we had no means to tell the facts to these people. The Congress Ministry followed the path which Maxwell followed in 1942. Maxwell and others went about saying that the Congress was responsible for all the things done subsequent to August 1942. Similarly, after putting us in jail, after driving us underground and after denying to us all means and opportunities of telling the people the truth, the Congress Ministry and other Congressmen, following the foot-steps of the Maxwells, the Wavells and the Linlithgows, shouted that we were creating chaos. Congressmen shouted that we committed murders and that we looted people in Telengana, in Andhra, in Tanjore and in Malabar. But, it is in these places where we were working among the people, the people have given their verdict against the Congress. Let this be understood clearly. Instead of learning lessons from these things, they continue their policy of further inflicting misery on the people and throwing greater burdens on them. Only it is being continued by the present Ministry with Rajaji at its head. And in order to hide these burdens that are being put on the people, they are told, 'Believe in God; have faith in God; everything will be all-right'. He preaches to them 'Karmanyevadikarasthe ma paleshu kadachana'. That is the philosophy that he wants to teach people, that is, you have the right only to toil, but not to the fruits thereof. You want people to lead a life of supineness whatever might be the exploitation to which they are put and

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whatever the burden that is heaped on them. You want to benumb, to dull their consciousness and prevent them from resisting these burdens. That is the meaning of preaching about God. Therefore I say, by passing this Motion we will be betraying the interests of the people. Anyone in this House who supports this Motion will be voting against democracy. On the plea of preventing chaos, anti-democracy is being sought to be imposed on the people of this country and in the name of chaos, sovereign rights of the people are being trampled upon and thwarted. To vote for this Motion would therefore be to vote against democracy. It will be a vote against the linguistic provinces. (Interruption.) Yes, I shall also add, it will be a vote against the handloom weaver, against the peasant, against the worker and against the people. It will therefore be a vote in favour of the exploiting section of our people. Therefore it will be a vote for the few landlords whose interests the Ministry is bent upon upholding. I therefore ask this House to reject this Motion."

8-30 P.m. * SRI V. CHIDANANDAM :—" Sir, this Motion of Confidence in the Hon. the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachariar is premature. It is only two months since he took charge. During this period not much has been done and much remains to be done. He was saying that the Communists were his enemy No. 1 and the P.W.D. his enemy No. 2. I feel that he should have called dishonest officials his enemy No. 1. Dishonesty was rampant and is continuing even after the present Chief Minister took charge. When he assumed office, people expected much in the direction of putting down dishonesty. But dishonesty continues to be the same as it was before.

" There were several representations for the abolition of jamabandi. The sufferings of the village officers on account of the enormous supplies they had to make to their superior officers were not at all taken into consideration. I submit that jamabandi should be abolished.

" The children of village officers have not been given even the small school fee concession which the children of N.G.Os. are allowed. Elementary education is not made compulsory throughout the State. We want to abolish illiteracy. How can we do it when elementary education is not made compulsory throughout the State? A large sum of money has not been provided for elementary education, though a decent amount has been provided for higher education. In my opinion, promotion of elementary education is most important and every boy and girl must be compelled to go to school. Otherwise, we cannot achieve cent per cent literacy even after hundreds of years.

" Coming to irrigation projects, I do not think much has been done in our State all these years. In Rayalaseema nothing has been done, and particularly in my district of Cuddapah what has been done is zero. Plans and estimates for the Gandikota project were ready. But the engineers and the previous Ministry were putting off its execution for reasons known only to themselves. This Ministry seems to be adopting the same attitude. Plans and

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estimates for the Lower Sagileru Project in my constituency have been submitted to the Government recently and the project is ready for execution. On the plea that it is not included in the Five-Year Plan, it is not executed. Who objected to its inclusion in the Plan? Ministers in the previous Ministry or the Engineering department were perhaps not interested in taking it up in view of the fact that they had schemes in places in which they were interested. Justice was not done to the public; natural justice failed. We have been suffering from famine and drought year after year for the last five years. We have been agitating and our agitation was not heeded. This year Rayalaseema suffered heavily. There was uproar and a lot of agitation. It took a long time for the Government to recognize the existence of famine and by the time they began to do something for the people, many people suffered and left the area.

" As regards Prohibition, I do not want that people should drink. But I feel that it is not our duty to go on preaching morals and losing a lot of revenue. I know that our Chief Minister is very adamant and persistent that Prohibition should be there. I have read in the newspapers his statement: Prohibition must be there; if it goes, I must also go. I request him not to be so very persistent. When people say that they will drink at their own cost, why should the Government lose the revenue? If he feels that money should not be collected from poor people through drink, let him provide them with free toddy. I, as a Brahman, do not drink and my relatives and Non-Brahman friends also do not drink. But when the workers and labourers want to drink after a hard day's labour, why should that not be allowed? I am not bound to vote as anybody would like me to vote; I can vote according to my discretion. I differ from the policy of Prohibition. Generally I am willing to co-operate with the Hon. Chief Minister. Drink was in vogue even in the old yugas. We read in the Mahabharata that Sukrachariar was drinking. In the story of Kachadevayanai we read that Kacha was murdered by Rakshasas. Even in olden days, drink was considered a sin and drunkards were called Rakshasas. I have no objection if the drunkards are called Rakshasas. Let them be given toddy free; let them not be taxed. A lot of revenue can be got by taxing the imported liquor. The Government have allowed drink to permit-holders. If drink is a sin, it is a sin for all. Everyone must be forbidden from drinking, even with the help of military force if it becomes necessary. There should not be any exemption. People outside the Assembly are criticizing us saying that Ministers, legislators, officers and even Prohibition officers are drinking. Prohibition has not been a success because almost all the Prohibition officials are dishonest. They go to raid a place, drink, take a bribe, charge-sheet one or two persons and go away. There are several such cases on record. If I run an illicit distillery, I supply the officers with drink and also give them money. While illicit distillers earn lakhs of rupees, those who purchase arrack from them and sell, earn thousands of rupees.

" As regards derationing and decontrol, I support the measure. My support will be all the greater if even the zonal system is

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abolished. On account of controls people were put to unnecessary suffering. Cases of violation of the Prohibition Act and food control regulations occupied a good deal of the time of the magistracy. Poor, innocent and ignorant people who transported headloads of rice or paddy were prosecuted, but clever people who transported lorry-loads of rice or paddy illicitly escaped the clutches of the law. The previous Ministry was not bold enough to introduce decontrol long ago because of the false figures furnished by the village officers. The karnams, at the request of Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors, underestimated production. Even if bumper crops were harvested, karnams recorded them as crops with two-anna or four-anna outturn, so as to give the advantage of the remission or reduction of land revenue to the people. If controls go, there will be considerable retrenchment of officers and staff in the Civil Supplies department and some unemployment will result. The officers perhaps did not want their subordinates to be ousted and so they advised the Ministry to continue the controls.

"In the present Budget the cess has been increased to one-third the land revenue. The levy of a surcharge on bus fares will affect the poorest of the poor. Overloading of buses has not been stopped by the present Ministry or the previous Ministry. The Government are not increasing the number of buses on each route. Even though there is competition among bus operators, there is overloading."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Is the hon. Member reading his speech?"

* SRI V. CHIDANANDAM:—"I have simply jotted down the points in a slip to which I am referring now and then."

"I have been against the levy of sales tax on certain articles like foodgrains. At a largely attended public meeting in my constituency, I opposed the levy of sales tax on food or tiffin and coffee sold in hotels. Most of the people who resort to hotels are poor people, though some rich people also may go there. It is not reasonable or just to tax the food of the poor people. The poor should be allowed to get their food and cloth at least without having to pay any tax on them."

"Neither this Ministry nor the previous Ministry has taken up any project worth the name in the Cuddapah district."

"There are many points on which I differ from certain policies of this Ministry and I will talk about them during the Budget discussion. With certain exceptions and reservations, I have no objection to support the Motion. If I vote against the policy of the Hon. Chief Minister at any future date, he may then ask me why I supported the Motion now under discussion. That is why I say that with certain reservations I support this Ministry generally."

3-45 P.M. * MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support wholeheartedly and unhesitatingly the Motion of vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari, moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House this morning. It has been my privilege to have been a Member of

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the last Legislative Assembly from its inception in April 1946 till its dissolution in April 1952. I have seen the Prakasam Ministry, the Omandur Ramaswami Reddiyar's Ministry and the Kumaraswami Raja's Ministry rise and fall. Those Ministries had good men of outstanding ability, but unfortunately the various measures which they put through the last Assembly for the good of the people at large were received otherwise, and, therefore, they became unpopular, and with them the Congress Party generally became unpopular. It is yet too soon to assess the capabilities of this new team of Ministers. But one thing is certain. This State has never before had, nor is it likely ever to have, a leader of such world-wide fame, mental calibre, conspicuous ability and political greatness as our grand old Rajaji. (Applause.) It was a kind Providence that inspired the Congress Party, which was in the grips of a deep sense of frustration after the last elections, to appeal to, and eventually persuade, Sri C. Rajagopalachari to accept the leadership of the party and form the Government. Millions of people in this State are now happy in the thought that the affairs of our State are in good hands, nay in the hands of one who is the most capable in the whole State, and that he will guard our State from the traps and dangers of anti-social elements in our country. I am surprised that much ado is being made about the recent bye-election in Aruppukottai Parliamentary constituency. I can understand all that fuss if those elections had been held six years ago under the old conditions. Now with adult franchise, it does not necessarily mean that the result of the bye-election in the Aruppukottai Parliamentary constituency reflects the views of the electors. They are a whole mass of illiterate people led by others like sheep to the polling station, and told to put their ballot papers into this or that box. They do not know whether they are supporting the Congress Party or other parties. Much propaganda had been done by other parties. The Congress Party had been too self-complacent and that is why they suffered reverses in the last elections. It is futile to worry about the result of a bye-election. We must not forget that the whole country has been upset by anti-social and anti-Congress elements, and that the people have not yet got over the infection infused into them. I am surprised that our Chief Minister should have staked so seriously upon the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election. It is a small thing which he should have ignored. However, I appeal to our Chief Minister not to worry about the deal of fuss being made about the matter but to stand by his declaration in this House that he is out to save this State from the traps and dangers of anti-social elements. I am sure that all those in this House who are well-wishers of the country and who stand for orderly progress in this State will join me in the prayer that Providence will spare our Chief Minister for many more years, and grant him health and strength to guide the destinies of our State."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion that has been moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House. I do not understand why the Hon. the Chief Minister Sri C. Rajagopalachari has brought forward this Motion at a

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time when the Budget is to be discussed. At a Press Conference, he gave two reasons for this Motion. One reason is the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election and the other is the action of the Opposition in abstaining from attending the House when His Excellency the Governor addressed the joint session of both the Houses. Now, this morning he has given only one reason for this Motion, and that is, the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election. He has not mentioned anything about the attitude of the Opposition to His Excellency the Governor's Address to both Houses of the Legislature. I do not understand why the result of the Aruppukottai bye-election has upset the Chief Minister so much. Who asked the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari to visit Aruppukottai as Chief Minister? Even if he visited that place, why should he make it a test case? When he has chosen to make it a test case, where is the objection to stick on to the stand he took at Aruppukottai? What was lost in Aruppukottai cannot be gained in Madras. I am reminded here of an old Tamil proverb that some one twisted his moustache in Tiruchirappalli for something which happened in Madurai. The Chief Minister himself said that he made the Aruppukottai bye-election a test case, and the result is that he lost the case. The verdict of the Aruppukottai people is very clear. I cannot appreciate the remarks of the nominated Member on the other side who spoke just before me when he said that the people of Aruppukottai are just like sheep. If they voted for the Congress they are sensible people, but if they voted against the Congress they are sheep! People who cannot understand what is meant by election can talk like that. The real difficulty of the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari is this. The previous Congress Government had done many acts of commission and omission. I need not repeat them all here. That is why the verdict of the people went against them in the recent elections. The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari may have thought that that set of Congress people deserved to lose the elections, and that because he had now come in to the political arena, the people would follow him. There he was disappointed. That is why this Motion has been brought before this House. He himself said this morning that he was solely responsible for this Motion, and even though confidence in the other Ministers also is sought to be secured, the Chief Minister definitely said that he was responsible for this Motion. I cannot claim any acquaintance or friendship with the Chief Minister as the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi does, and much less with other Ministers. I do not know anything except what has appeared in the press. I do not know anything about all these Ministers. I say that the Chief Minister has lost contact with the masses. I do admire his intelligence. He has occupied important positions. He has occupied the position of the Governor-General of India. He must have been a very clever man. But Mr. Rajagopalachari of 1952 is not the same as Mr. Rajagopalachari of 1937-38, and he is not qualified to lead the State in 1952. The people of 1952 are quite different from the people of 1937-38. I can say this much, Sir. In 1937, when he was leading this State as Chief Minister, he once said that people were like children, they did not know what was

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best for them, and that he, as their guardian, would look after them. I do remember that this appeared in the papers. I can now say what happened in one of the villages in my constituency. People are now educated. In my constituency in Tanjore district, on the Coleroon bank there is a village. There is no direct path to that village, and one will have to walk two miles to reach that village. When I went there for canvassing votes, the people there gathered in a public place. An old, illiterate and blind man was asked to decide for whom they should vote. That old man had the assurance from the people that they would follow his lead. The old man began by saying, 'See, after all the Government is for the people; the Congress Government said that they were for the people; overnight they have brought forward so many legislations; did they consult us about any one legislation; so my opinion is we must vote against the Congress.'

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I am not surprised that you won."

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM:—"That blind man is so cultured and so educated. He knows why the Government are here, what are their legislations, and what are their measures. That old man is able to know all this. That is the type of people in 1952. The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the people of 1937 were children. But now they are able to say what they want. So, Mr. Speaker, if Mr. Rajagopalachari has really understood the position, he would not have gone to Aruppukottai. He has not stood for an election and visited villages just as you have done, I have done, and every one of us has done. That is why we asked him to stand for election. It is not for anything else. He got into the Legislative Council by nomination and became the Chief Minister. This was discussed in the press and argued before the High Court also. I do not want to go into that question now. He said he courted nomination in spite of the fact that there was a direction against that course from the Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I ask, Sir, where is discipline. He says that he is a Congressman. If he wants to be the leader of the Congress Party here, he must obey the President of the Indian National Congress. The President of the Indian National Congress has definitely said to the Congress Party in Madras, 'If it is your idea to have him as leader of the party, please get him elected.' He has disobeyed the President of the Congress. The other day, when this question was discussed, the Chief Minister was vehemently justifying the action of His Excellency the Governor in nominating him as a Member of the Council. To my surprise, he rose and read Article 164 of the Constitution, and said that if the Opposition Members had read Article 164, they would see that their arguments fell to the ground. I was wondering what there was in Article 164. This article gives power to His Excellency the Governor to have any man in the street as a Minister for six months, by which time he must get himself elected. If the Hon. the Chief Minister does it, there will be no quarrel. Why did he read out Article 164 when the Opposition asked him why he sought nomination under Article 171. Of course, he

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claims to understand the mind of the Opposition, and says that we are here to create chaos. I say he is here to create confusion. When he is asked why he was nominated to the Council under Article 171, his answer is that Article 164 gives power to His Excellency the Governor to nominate him.

"This leads me on to another question. That is, Mr. Rajagopalachari is not at all acquainted with the present position in our State. He was Chief Minister in 1937-38 when the Congress was in a majority. He has never stood for election in a general constituency. I think that he was previously elected by the Graduates' constituency and by postal ballot. Then he happened to become the Chief Minister. If he has stood for election and visited villages personally, he would be able to understand the real needs and grievances of the villagers. But as one sitting here, he cannot understand the needs of the villagers. He must have mass contact. As a lawyer, he might have had mass contact, but he stopped his practice in 1921. Recently he was Governor and then Governor-General, and he moved with Ambassadors and such other people. Now he is moving with mittadars and others like the Hon. Mr. Subramaniam and the Hon. Mr. Palaniswami Goundar.

4 p.m. "We cannot expect him to understand the real feelings and opinions of the people of 1952. That is why I say he is not at all qualified to lead the Cabinet here in the year 1952. The Cabinet in the year 1952 is quite different from that which existed in the year 1937.

"Further, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar has got a peculiar habit. He says one thing and acts differently. Unfortunately I do not find him in his seat. I wanted to tell him one thing, because I had no occasion to speak to him. Sir, before he was elected Leader of the Congress Party, so many statements appeared in the press to the effect that Sri Rajagopalachariar would not come and accept the leadership of the party. He himself said that he was not at all prepared to accept the leadership of the party and many people were misled. Certain Members of this House even made a bet, and I know some experienced Members lost a rupee each, because they made a bet that Rajaji would not come back into the political arena. But subsequent events have revealed that he had from the beginning the idea of accepting office and what he had said was only false. This is how he says one thing and acts in a different way. I shall give some other instances. When he was addressing some meeting last month after he became the Chief Minister, he said that this time there would be no taxes. Subsequently when he went to Rayalaseema, he said that there would be taxes and that the people should be prepared to pay them. In Coimbatore he was speaking in a ladies' meeting, and what he said there was this. 'You, ladies, you must be prepared to sell your jewels to pay taxes to the Government.' This was uttered by the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, the Chief Minister of the Madras State. Now he comes before this House and says, 'Give me your confidence. I have got schemes and I will go ahead with them.' But unfortunately he has not disclosed to us what those schemes are. I am

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sure he would not have disclosed them even to his Cabinet Ministers. Now, let us connect this with the statement he made before the ladies in Coimbatore to the effect that they must be prepared to sell their jewels in order to pay taxes to the Government. He has got schemes, I infer, to reduce the people of this State to such a condition where they will have to force their wives and daughters to sell their jewels to pay the taxes. Did the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar understand the implication of his statement when he asked the ladies to be prepared to sell their jewels to pay taxes? Only when the people are not in a position to pay the taxes imposed on them they will have to go and ask their wives and daughters to sell their jewels to pay the taxes."

SRI S. RAMASWAMI NAYUDU :—"As a means of utilizing dead capital."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—"Even to the extent of selling their *thalis*!"

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"We can very well understand that their economic condition would be brought down to such a low level. Then, when the ladies are asked to sell their jewels to pay the taxes to the coffers of the State, to whom will that money go and for what purpose will it be utilized? I do not understand what the implication of the utterance of the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar was when he was addressing that meeting. He says now he has got schemes. When he comes before the House to seek its Vote of Confidence, he must place those schemes before it. But he has not done so. Since he assumed the Chief Ministership of the State, has he said anywhere what the policy of this Government is? In the first radio speech to which I listened, there was absolutely nothing except invoking the blessings of God and offering prayers to Him. Subsequently when he was announcing the policy of decontrol of foodgrains, I listened to his radio speech and he said, 'Your paddy can be moved from one place to another without restriction'. But the people and the officers were expecting to know the real state of affairs in the country. No doubt everybody wanted decontrol and derationing. But, at the same time, everybody wanted to know the real state of affairs when control was removed. We, as laymen, and Collectors and other officers are not expected to know the real state of affairs in the State. And the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar as Chief Minister ought to tell the people the real state of affairs. He must have told us 'We have got so much stock. We are expecting so much of *kurum* crop. The blackmarketers have got so much. So the country will be put on its own feet if decontrol is introduced.' This is what we expected. But even to-day those particulars are not given."

"Then, even when he was removing control and rationing, what was the date when that order was to take effect? I remember he said in his speech that decontrol and derationing would come into force forthwith. But it was only on the 15th of the month that one could receive the orders. Immediately after the radio speech, I met the Collector but he was not aware of the new policy."

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He said, 'We will have to procure and send if on'. For two or three days even the Collector of the district was not able to know what the real position was. For about a week so many persons were arrested and put in jail. Who is responsible for it? As an administrator, he must see that simultaneously the order takes effect in the various districts. Is it difficult to do that?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"How many persons were arrested and put in jail?"

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"I know that about seven persons were arrested in Tanjore. Now, the order was not communicated for several days. Any order to take effect immediately must be communicated at once; otherwise, it will not benefit the people concerned. Some gentlemen said that Rajaji is an able and good administrator and a clever man and that he knows everything. But this is the sort of orders he has passed and the Hon. Sri Subramaniam wants to know how many people were arrested. He does not know the implication of what I am mentioning."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I have taken note of it and I shall reply to it."

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"For about a week nobody knew and even the officers did not know what they should do. Even chowkidars were arresting people. The people in the villages had to suffer."

"Sir, another important thing I want to say is this. Under Rajaji's regime, dishonest people are encouraged. In the year 1937 or 1938 when he was the Chief Minister of this State, he passed a legislation called the Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act. No doubt there was a demand for that Act. But what happened was, honest debtors were penalized, and people who did not pay interest were given relief ultimately. Dishonest people were encouraged and people used to say at that time: there is a Tamil proverb, கடன் பட்டாசு நெஞ்சம்போல் கஸ்திகுண்டு இவர்களை வேந்தன்; but under Rajaji's regime it should be கடன் கொடுத்தார் நெஞ்சம் போல் கஸ்திகுண்டு."

"At present, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has decontrolled and de rationed foodgrains. Of course, it was long overdue. But in effect what has happened? Dishonest people have been encouraged here also. By the time this policy of decontrol was announced, procurement had been finished and the middle class mirasdars and the poor people had parted with their surplus paddy. Only the rich mirasdars had their stocks with them, because the Government officials did not go to them first as usual to seize their stocks. Hence, immediately after the decontrol order was issued, these rich mirasdars and rich merchants were greatly benefited because of the temporary rise in price. Even those people who were loyal and obedient to the officers and who measured out their paddy as soon as the officers came were penalized. Here again in effect, dishonest people have been encouraged. I do not say for a moment that this motive was in the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari's mind. But as he is said to be an efficient administrator,

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he ought to have anticipated the consequences of such an order when he passed it. Otherwise, the State will go to dogs under his leadership. If he does not anticipate all these things and take precautionary measures, it shows he is inefficient. He is a 1937 Chief Minister and in the year 1952 he is not at all qualified to be the Chief Minister. Further, in 1937 the Congress Party had a huge majority and there was not much of an Opposition. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari who was then the Chief Minister was not accustomed to opposition. The important fact that the Opposition is a part of the machinery of a good Government has not been properly understood by the present Government. We are here not for the sake of mere Opposition, and the Treasury Bench is there not to say that the Opposition is here only to create chaos. The Opposition's real function is to help the Government. Wherever there is a flaw, it is the duty of the Opposition to point it out to the Treasury Benches with a view to rectify it. But, if the Treasury Benches take the view that the Opposition people are there only to create chaos, they are not fit to be administrators in a democratic country. This is how I conceive the position of the Government vis-a-vis the Opposition. The Opposition's function has not been correctly understood by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. I do not say this about the other Hon. Ministers. The other Hon. Ministers will say ditto to everything that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari says.

"One more thing I want to say is this. Whenever an Opposition Member rises, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari shows his hand towards him and asks him to sit down. Many a time he has taken the role of the Speaker, and that attitude is adopted by his Hon. Colleague Sri C. Subramaniam also, who is learning politics under the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Very often he asks an hon. Member to sit down when the Speaker is there to guide the deliberations of the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—"No, it is wrong. It is an insult to the Chair. Let the hon. Member withdraw it."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"I withdraw it. Whenever this thing happens"

MR. SPEAKER :—"I know better than the hon. Member what to do. He is new to this House."

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"Sir, I did not mean say disrespect to you. But I want to say that there is a waving of the hand by some Hon. Minister whenever hon. Members on this side of the House rise to speak. That is why I say they are not accustomed to an Opposition at all. That is exactly my view. Whenever an Opposition Member rises, there is an anxiety on the part of the Treasury Benches and particularly the Chief Minister, the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, to ask him to sit down. If they had been accustomed to Opposition, they would not do so. On every occasion the Treasury Benches must be anxious to know the viewpoints of the Opposition and not to float them. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the Opposition is very strong, people who are not

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accustomed to opposition and who are not tolerating opposition are not qualified to become Chief Ministers to lead the State. In this respect the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is not qualified to be the Chief Minister. Of course, the other Hon. Ministers also seek a Vote of Confidence from the House. They do not know anything about the policy of the Ministry. Whenever they go about on tours, they say, 'Sri C. Rajagopalachari is there; everything will be all right in the State.' That is the only report we see in the papers about their speeches. What their policy is, is not known. Nowhere has any Hon. Minister said, 'This is our policy.' Only recently the Hon. C. Subramaniam made an attempt at some place to talk about the food policy. When Ministers say that Rajaji is there and everything will be all right, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari in turn says, 'There is God above and everything will be all right in the State.' This is the state of affairs to which we have been reduced. What are their real schemes? What are they going to do to rectify the errors of omission and commission of the previous Ministry? What steps are they going to take to set the whole thing in order? Who are going to be the beneficiaries in this regime? We know absolutely nothing in these matters. Now, the Chief Minister comes and says, 'Give me your confidence. I will go ahead with my schemes.' What are the schemes that he has got? The only thing that we are able to see, as one of the hon. Members put it, is dictatorship. He has been a dictator from the very beginning. He has not disclosed his mind even to his colleagues. He must speak out his mind and disclose his schemes to us. Even to-day in his written statement, he has not stated his schemes for the benefit of the public. He has simply said, 'Vote for me'. That is the attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari. This is nothing short of dictatorship. He wants the vote of this House only to dictate to the whole State. At this stage, when the Budget is to be discussed, where is the urgency about this Motion? Why should this Motion of Confidence be taken up before the discussion on the Budget? The Budget is a very important thing. There is the interim Budget. We have to pass a revised Budget now. The importance of the Budget has been overlooked. It is wrong that Sri C. Rajagopalachari, an experienced administrator as he claims to be, should overlook the importance of the Budget and give only a secondary importance to Budget discussions. This is against the interests of the public and calculated simply to enhance one man's prestige. Consequent on the adverse result in a recent bye-election, which he made a test case, he now comes before this House seeking a Vote of Confidence for the purpose of going ahead with the schemes which he is not prepared to disclose. So, Mr. Speaker, it is not at all democracy. He wants dictatorship. In the interests of democracy, in the interests of political honesty, in the interests of proper administration and in the interests of proper attention to the welfare of the people of this State, I request the House to reject this Motion."

* Sri P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU (Raja of Vizianagaram):—
"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it came as a slight surprise to me when I heard

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yesterday that a Motion had been introduced by Mr. Rajagopalachari asking for a Vote of Confidence of this House. I could not understand why this Motion was introduced, unless it was meant to bolster up a personal opinion or statement made by the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari on the eve of the Aruppukkottai election. In a speech on the eve of that election, he seems to have made a statement that if the Congress candidate there was defeated, it would amount to a vote of 'No-confidence' in him. The Congress candidate was defeated and it amounts to a vote of 'no-confidence' in the Congress Party. He therefore feels that by coming before this House and getting a verdict in his favour, he can reverse the verdict of the electorate and obtain from us a sort of patting on the back saying, 'Please continue in office'. As you know, the party to which I belong did not state at any stage in the evolution of their programme in the Legislature for the coming five years, for which period I have been elected, that they would support the Congress Party if they were in office, or any other party in the United Democratic Front. Our reason for not supporting the Congress is obvious. We contested the elections against the Congress Party as we felt that it was our duty to oppose the Congress Party in all stages of their policy, which is opposed to what we believed to be the ideal of true socialism in this country as stated in our election manifesto. Unfortunately, the situation has been or has become extremely complex with the existence of an element in our body politic which is international in its socialistic affiliations. I am not going to argue with the Communist Party Members about the merits of the international socialist movement. The Socialist Party to which I belong, feels that as long as the Communist Party takes to internationalism as understood by them for the furtherance of socialism, we cannot be with the United Democratic Front. We felt that the United Democratic Front was and is being accentuated, or I should say, is being run with that motive of internationalism, I may be wrong and for the sake of the good of the country I hope I may be wrong. However, I can illustrate this point by a small conversation which I had the other day with a Communist Party friend. He said to me that he was sure that the Socialist Party had disagreements within its own ranks. Whether this friend expected me to agree with him and let down my own colleagues, I was not able to understand. I put forward the same argument to him and told him, 'I am also a student of Communist politics. I have been following the activities of your Party in the various countries of the world; and as long as the Communist Party in India is going to be nationalistic to the extent to which Tito is in Yugoslavia, I may not oppose the Communist Party.' To this, he violently took objection and said, 'You cannot expect us to be Tito-ites', meaning thereby that no Communist Party Member in India can be as nationalistically interested in the country as Tito is, in Yugoslavia. In my opinion, Tito is not a traitor to his country. As I have already pointed out, if we have objection to the United Democratic Front, that objection is theoretical. The Front may change and we also may change. That is a matter for the future. But at the present juncture, the Motion of Confidence brought forward by Rajaji does not in any

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way change our attitude to the Congress Party. He has asked for a Vote of Confidence in him which the Aruppukkottai constituency did not give. I cannot give that Vote of Confidence. In my Vizianagaram constituency I contested the election against the Congress. I would be quite unfaithful to the pledge I have given to that constituency if I voted for the Congress now. There is really no specific reason for this Motion. It has come just before the Budget. The Budget shows completely what the Congress Party proposes to do in the coming year. We have necessarily to take up that Budget. There are many things in the Budget which I and my party would object to. I cannot specifically lay my hand at this stage on any issue, because I think that is a matter which should be debated later. But I must express the view that the Budget has not in any way demonstrated the intention of the Government to spend money for ameliorating the conditions of the people. They are taxing the people. They have not gone to better sources wherefrom they could easily get money. The Government are not prepared to tap those sources and have left them free. There is only one feature in the Budget which possibly may approximate to some justice. However, it all depends on how far the Congress Party proposes to do justice in connection with that legislation. They are proposing to introduce a progressive tax on land holdings in the State of Madras. It would start on a ridiculously low level. When it goes to higher levels, it would be a standard tax which would not affect the big mirasdars and land-holders. If this tax was intended to be levied on big land-holders, it could be stated to be a progressive tax. However, as yet, how exactly the Government propose to work this tax has not been stated. So, I think I should reserve my criticism on this proposal till the Government give details about it. In the meantime, I can only state that it is not fair on the part of Mr. Rajagopalachari on the eve of the Budget discussions to ask for this Vote of Confidence. It amounts to a blank cheque. It amounts to a cheque to be drawn without any limit from the funds which may be made available in the bank in his account. You can draw from the bank only as much as you put into it and you cannot draw out of the capital of the bank itself. Mr. Rajagopalachari's Ministry is only two months old. I may concede that he is not personally responsible for the past policies of the Congress, because he was not Chief Minister of the Madras Government at that time. Therefore he may escape on that plea. But, generally speaking, the present Budget is a continuation of that of the previous Congress Ministry. To that extent he is responsible. He must now show to the electorate, not only the Congress electorate but also to all the other electorates, that he is prepared to deposit something into the Bank of Goodwill from which the Congress has drawn everything in the past. He has not done that till now. It is with some amount of reluctance I have to state that until a future date when Mr. Rajagopalachari is prepared to demonstrate or show definitely what he proposes to do in that direction, we must abstain from showing confidence in him or his team of Ministers."

* Sri K. P. GOPALAN:—Mr. Speaker, Sir, regarding the Confidence Motion, I wish to urge that it must be rejected. I am

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very thankful to the voters of the Aruppukkottai and other constituencies, because they have returned the United Democratic Front candidates and at the same time, shaken this Rajaji Government. The issue before us is whether the Congress Government has got a policy to better the condition of the people or not. We are for rejecting the Congress Government and forming an alternative democratic Government headed by people drawn from anti-imperialists and anti-feudalists, because this Government has no policy for the benefit of the people.

"So far as Malabar is concerned, 30 seats were contested 4.30 p.m. during the last election and the Congress Party secured only 4 seats out of these. One seat was won by the Hon. the Minister for Law, Mr. Kuttikrishnan Nayar. He was opposed by Mr. E. M. Sankaran Nambudripad who was underground and was not given freedom to do election propaganda and so could not do election propaganda. That is why our Hon. Minister from Malabar is sitting here to-day. Otherwise, I am sure he would not have been returned from Malabar: The Communist and the K.M.P. parties joined together and formed a united powerful front, and with the help of the Muslim League and the Socialist Party gave a crushing defeat to the Congress. Never in the history of the Congress did it get such a crushing defeat as in Malabar. Why were the people against the Congress? Why are they against the Government headed by Rajaji? People know that Rajaji's Government is a Congress Government which has got a policy against the people. Let me give some instances to show why the people hate the Congress, and the Congress Government is anti-people. I came from a constituency called the Payyanur Constituency. Seventeen people were shot dead by the Police in this constituency alone. I will deal with the place, amsam by amsam. At Pulimgom amsam, six houses were set on fire. At Vaikara, eleven houses were set on fire by the Police and in Kuttur two houses were burnt. In this particular area, a lady who was in an advanced state of pregnancy was beaten by the Police. I would also give her name. She was one Vanathadichi Kalyani. In the same place in a Muslim house, Muslim ladies were asked to stand naked and the Police beat them. In Aremam amsam, 13 houses were set on fire. At Aleppatamba, 17 houses were burnt. On the Independence Day in 1950, the Police raided several houses, set fire to them and raped women. At Paralan amsam, one person was shot dead and the body was tied to a bamboo and paraded by the Police in the village and they threatened the same fate to the people. A small boy by name Chittayil Sankaran, aged about 14 years, was beaten by the Police after tying him and hanging him head downward, with the result he has become blind. At Perungom amsam, 13 houses were set on fire. Police sub-inspectors like Sankaran Nair, Jamedar Ramachandra Menon, head constable Kunhi Ahmed and Police Sub-Inspector Kumaran, are responsible for these atrocities. One person, P. Kunjappan, was beaten by the Police and thrown in the open street. At Palattal, six Communists were shot and taken to a pit and buried before they actually died. Communist prisoners, when they asked for water,

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were given urine to drink. If they refused, they were forced to drink it at the point of the bayonet. Property worth lakhs of rupees were looted by the Police. This is what happened in Malabar in 1948. In Cannanore Jail, three convicts, who were Communists, were taken to a nearby hill and shot down by the Police. One Police Circle Inspector was responsible for this. Several representations were made to the Government for an enquiry into this matter, but no action was taken by the Congress Government. Now let me refer to one great Congressman, Myarath Sankaran. How did his life end? He was brutally beaten by the Police at Edakad and taken to the Central Jail, Cannanore. He died there. He is the person who built the Congress in Malabar. This is why the people of Malabar turned against the Congress. They supported the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the K.M.P. Party and the Muslim League Party and gave a crushing defeat to the Congress. I would request the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari to come to Malabar, to visit my constituency and see what the police had done in those places in the name of the Congress Government. I challenge the Government that I can bring to this House all the women raped by the Congress Police and the persons who were deprived of their hands and feet and whose houses were burnt and who were tortured by the Police during the Congress rule in the last five years. Sir, the Malayalee people are very patriotic. They know that the Congress fought for the freedom of the country against the British Government. They then supported the Congress. But they will not support the Government now headed by the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari which is a Congress Government adopting the policy of the Congress. They understood from experience what a Congress Government is.

"The Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the Communists brought about chaos in this country. In the places I have mentioned, only people and Communists were shot because they asked for food and no policeman was ever hurt. Who brought about chaos then? He said that the Communists were not believers in God. I ask, is it loyalty to God to ask people to drink urine? Is it your faith in God that makes you use violence and torture the people and shoot the people?

"Sir, moreover, the present Government is a Government of the capitalists. You might have seen that thousands of workers are being thrown out from the factories. There are certain standing orders in the factories and they are intended only for the benefit of the capitalists and for helping the capitalists. Standing orders should be such as will benefit the workers who are the down-trodden people. The workers have made several representations in this matter, but never have they been heard. For instance, in Cannanore, we sent two workers to the Labour Commissioner to represent that the standing orders relating to factories in that area be changed. But they were never heard. According to the standing orders, the Manager can dismiss any worker whenever he likes. In the Constitution, it is stated that a person cannot be punished twice for the same offence. But what happens

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in the factories is that a worker can be dismissed as per the standing orders. At the same time, suppose the worker resorts to strike, he will be punished by the court also. That is why this Government is considered as a Capitalist Government by the workers. The standing orders remain unchanged and they should be changed soon.

"Then, Sir, the Government have recently issued certain orders according to which the pay of a municipal worker is Rs. 25. We all thought that the pay of Rs. 25 was the basic pay. But when I enquired about this at the office of the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, I found that the basic pay is only Rs. 7 and the balance was only allowance. So, this Government pays Rs. 7 to a municipal servant, only seven rupees! Now you consider what you pay to the Governor of this State—thousands and thousands of rupees a month. According to the Venkataramayya Award, Rs. 22 should be the minimum pay for a textile worker. But this award is being rejected by the mill-owners throughout the State. Did the Government do anything in this regard? Never. Take the handloom weavers. The Government constituted a High Power Committee. What is the decision of this Committee? A worker should be paid Rs. 16 and given annas six per knot. The Government are going to implement this, taking full advantage of the poverty of the workers. In our proposals we said that Rs. 30 should be given for a certain period as a relief measure without reducing the wages and that the Government should give six annas per knot and that the worker should be given the balance as subsidy or annas twelve per knot. But nothing has happened. The handloom worker is going through a life-and-death struggle. What have the Government done? Nothing. The Government want the price of cloth to be reduced. I want to ask the Government whether the handloom weavers get yarn at the ex-mill rates. They do not. There are numerous intermediaries in the yarn trade with the result that each bundle goes up in price by Rs. 2-4-0 over the ex-mill rate. In Malabar, thousands of handloom workers are starving and they are on the point of death. They have sold everything that they had. At Delhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told our representatives that for Travancore-Cochin he would give Rs. 10,000 as relief for Alappuzha workers. But our Government are persistent in saying that they will never bring in any scheme of giving relief in cash. I am sure the Rajaji's Government are not going to do anything for handloom workers. That is their policy.

"The nursing orderlies in the Ophthalmic Hospital at Madras 4-45
are working for 19 hours a day for a very small salary. The P.m.
scavengers get an increment of only Re. 1 for every five years.
The minimum living wage for workers has not been fixed by the
Government. Not only the minimum living wage for workers
has not been fixed, but they are dismissed and thrown out of
employment suddenly and their wages are being reduced by force
everywhere by the capitalists. The Government adopt a policy
of helping these capitalists. What have the Government done
to remedy this? Regarding beedi workers, in Cannanore the

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workers get a daily wage of Rs. 1-14-0 per thousand. In Palghat they get Rs. 2. A Calicut worker gets Rs. 2-2-0 per day. But now the Government have fixed Re. 1-2-0 a day as the minimum pay for a beedi worker if he makes 1,000 beedies. This will show whether this Government are standing for the working classes or for the capitalists. It is clear from what I have said that this Government are standing for the interests of the capitalists. There is no doubt about it. That is why we oppose this Government. I can give more examples in this matter.

"Regarding the new taxes, the Malabar people are peculiarly situated. Suppose a tenant goes to a janmi and undertakes to cultivate his lands, he has to give in writing to the janmi that he will pay the taxes on the land and the pattam also to the janmi. If there is an increase in the land-tax, the tenant will have to pay it and not the janmi. If the bus fare is increased, the poor man will suffer. So also is the case with this betterment levy. Suppose there is a factory and the factory owner makes a huge profit out of electricity given by the Government. Will this Government be bold enough to ask the factory owner to part with a portion of the profit and give it to the Government because the Government have given electricity? If the Government had such boldness they could have brought many other measures. But they have not done it. Why should the Government ask the poor peasants alone, if the land had become fertile and gone up in value on account of irrigation, to pay a tax to them, on the increase in value of the property? It is because the Government think that the peasants are poor people, submissive people and there is nobody to support them. I submit, Sir, that the peasants will oppose this. Our country will rise against this measure."

"Formerly, Congressmen used to say that the Communist party was not following constitutional methods. Even Sardar Vallabhai Patel said, 'Let them follow constitutional methods, go to the Parliament with a majority and there form their own Government'. We accepted this challenge and came to this House. Only when we came here we understood that 152 members had more strength than 166. That is what I understood from the things that happened here. Sir, all these amount to cheating the people. Unless we unite and overthrow this Government, there is no salvation for our country. The second thing I saw was this. When I was in the Vellore Jail for many years in the detention camp, there were policemen and Police officers standing in and around the jail. When we came to attend this Assembly for the first time we saw many Police officers standing in and around the House, at the gates and so on. There were Inspectors and big Police officers everywhere. With due respect to hon. Members sitting here, I ask, what is the difference between the Vellore Jail and this House? (Interruption.) There are some fans here, that is the difference. This is what my hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram says. Yes, that is the only difference. I submit to hon. Members of this House that the Budget presented to the House is a Police Budget."

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"Because of these new taxes, the purchasing power of the ordinary man has been reduced, the purchasing power of the workers has been reduced. The Government know that the people will rise against these taxes and that is why they want a big police force. Nothing has been provided in the Budget for the poor non-gazetted officers, the peasants and the workers. The Government have allotted a big sum in the Budget for the Police to be kept behind C.R. That is what the Government have done, and that is why I call the Budget a Police Budget."

"Now, the Chief Minister has said that the Communists do not believe in God. I do not want to speak about this because my hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi has spoken very well on this issue. I submit this Government during the five years they were in office have become anti-national, anti-people and anti-country and they have undone whatever the national movement did during the last fifty years, by the sacrifices of the great national leaders and the ordinary people of the country. The Congress represents the monopoly capitalists, the janmis and the zamindars and the imperialists of this country. Even the top-ranking Congressmen want to purify the Congress, but I say, they cannot do it. Even God cannot lift the Congress from its degradation. That is why the United Democratic Front people want to fight the Congress and change this Government. It is the duty of every patriot, it is the duty of every man who loves the country and who is fighting for peace and freedom of the country to oppose this Motion. I appeal to the Muslim League Members here to reject this resolution. The Congress will not help the poor Muslims of Malabar. They never helped the Muslims of Malabar, the Muslim worker, peasant or the merchant. The Congress is always against the Muslim people of Malabar. I am sure therefore that the Members of the Muslim League Party will reject this resolution. I also appeal to the Members of other parties and their leaders to see that we are not the people who are creating chaos as was described by the Chief Minister. During the five years of Congress rule, you know who created chaos, who shot down the poor people, who raped the women and who made people die of starvation. I submit to the House that the Motion should be rejected, because the Congress Government cannot give any help to the people; the Congress Government cannot keep the prestige of the nation, the Congress Government cannot better the life of our people, they cannot raise the standard of living of the people, the workers and the peasants; they cannot bring forward any measures for the betterment of the common masses, the working class people. They can't do anything for the industrialization of our country. They cannot do anything for the betterment of the country. So, it is the duty of every patriot, every party man to see that this resolution is rejected and this Government is overthrown at once. This is not a question between Rajaji and the Communist Party; this is a fight between two policies, one standing against the people and the other for the people. It is a question between two international policies, one standing with the imperialist camp and the other in favour of the democratic camp, one standing for war and the other

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standing for peace, one standing for oppressing the people and the other for helping the people. I know the final victory will be ours. So, I request every Member to overthrow this Government by rejecting the Motion brought forward by the Hon. Finance Minister. With this appeal, I finish my speech."

* SRI K. VENKAIAH :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, before going into the Motion I want to tell my Friends here that the Mover of this Motion has some motive in bringing forward this Motion. The Chief Minister made the Aruppukottai election a test case and failed there. He gave a word of honour and said that if the people failed to express confidence in him in that election, he would resign. He should have resigned if he wanted to keep his word of honour. He did not do so. But now he comes to this House and asks this House to express confidence in him and his Ministry. Already we know that this Government of which he is the head, has done nothing to the people. During the two months it has been in office it has continued the policies of the previous Government. The landlords in the countryside are just ruling the people and they are oppressing them. They have taken a heavy toll during the last five years and they are now preparing to take more. Many poor people, poor peasants, have been evicted from the lands when they demanded some reduction in the lease amount. In Guntur district, thousands of peasants cultivating what are called 'banjars' have been evicted. These poor agricultural labourers are being squeezed by the village officers. The corrupt officials are oppressing the poor villagers.

" Then at Chirala, there is the I.L.T.D. Company which is a foreign concern. It is owned by Britishers. The management of the Company insulted the workers. The workers went to the management to represent their grievances; when the committee of the workers elected and recognized by the management, saw the manager, he not only insulted them but asked them to get out. To save the prestige and self-respect of their nationality, the workers struck work. Immediately the management asked the Government for Police help and within half an hour he Police were there. Not only that. When the workers struck work and continued the strike inside the factory, instead of standing behind the workers who were there to save the prestige of the nation, the Government and the Labour Commissioner said that it was an illegal strike and thus gave a handle to the management to put down the workers. The workers stood firm. After a week of negotiations, the 5 p.m. Commissioner for Labour himself gave a promise that the workers could join work and that, if the management victimized the workers, he would look into it. The management also said that there would be no victimization. But the management have now victimized 14 workers. The Commissioner who sat there and settled the dispute is not there now even when there is suspension of workers. That is the attitude of the Government and their officers here. The Government and their officers stand behind the imperialists exploiting the country and allow the labourers to become the victims of this exploitation. That is the policy of the present Ministry as also of the previous Ministry.

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" Therefore, Sir, to keep his word of honour given to the people of this State that if the people of Aruppukottai did not express confidence in him he would not be in office but would resign immediately, the only thing he should do is to resign. Instead, he comes here and asks us to express confidence in him. Have the conditions changed within these two months? Sir, he was saying this morning that he had taken a great risk in the removal of controls and rationing. Of course, it is a risk. The people have been disgusted with the controls and the bureaucratic methods adopted by the Government and their officers in implementing them. The paddy of even poor peasants owning 5 or 6 acres was taken away under procurement. In many cases, the peasants were taken to the Court. In my district, many peasants were taken to the Court and after protracted proceedings for about 1½ years, they were fined. The peasants then appealed to the Appellate Court which gave a decision against the Government. In spite of repeated efforts by the popular organization and popular leaders, the Government refused to just allow even the poor peasants owning 5 or 6 acres to enjoy the benefits of free market. Then, Sir, if a teacher or a peasant living in a town wants to get paddy from his village, he has to pay bribes to the village officer and the higher officers for a permit. Like that, thousands of people have suffered due to procurement and transport difficulties.

" About rationing, the Hon. the Finance Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam once stated that in our State 10 per cent of the people depended for their food on rations. It is not true, because the rations that were given were insufficient, and in almost all the places where there was rationing, there was black-marketing also, and the people had to resort to it to feed themselves. There was paddy available and the people were purchasing it under the very nose of the Government and their officers. Rationing failed not because the people did not co-operate, but because the Government did not take action against the landlords and the black-marketers who were the real hoarders. As a matter of fact, I know that certain millers were selling even 'E' forms for a price ranging from Re. 0-8-0 to Rs. 2 per bag. In that way, the anti-social elements were given freedom during the last five years, and the same conditions continue even now. Therefore, Sir, though we are glad that the poor peasant is allowed to sell his grain in the open market, that transport hurdles have been removed and that there is now an open market for people to get the necessary quantity of rice, still we feel that the hoarder is left free. The landlord who does not work in the field and who just grabs paddy from the tenant is left free to carry on his crusade, against the tenants. Such difficulties are there. So, the Chief Minister has taken a risk. The Communist Party, as also the Democratic Front as a whole have made it clear that there is danger of black-marketing again and that the people might suffer due to lack of controls and rationing. If proper steps had been taken against the hoarders and the black-marketers, then conditions would have been different. But, they have not been taken. Yet, the Chief Minister comes

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here and says that he has taken a risky step. When the controls are removed, the people are satisfied. But, after a time when that policy fails and when prices rise, there is a danger and he will have to pay the necessary price for it.

"Therefore, Sir, the Motion of Confidence moved by the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam is just to see that the differences within their group are patched up and that certain Members who are undecided may join their party. That is the intention behind this Motion. Otherwise, there is no necessity for this. We have seen recently on the floor of this House the relative strengths of the different parties. But, I know there are certain Members on this side as also on the Government side, sitting in between these two blocks, who are very much embarrassed by the position taken up by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. On the food problem also, the Chief Minister did not consult even his own party. He could have consulted the Leader of the Opposition when he removed the controls. He did not do that because he has got his own policy, the policy of just looking after the interests of landlords, millers and other black-marketers, and the Members on the other side also know that. Therefore, I feel that this Ministry is not competent to be in office.

"Sir, we know how the elections were conducted in this State, and how the Chief Minister has been nominated by the Governor. In the recent bye-elections, the Ministers took part and even a Central Minister came here to take part in the elections. The Government machinery was used to canvass support for the Congress candidate. Now, the Chief Minister asks for a Vote of Confidence. What is the good? He has faced the electorate and that point has been decided there. The people have expressed that they have no confidence in his Ministry. In order to keep his word of honour, he should resign. But he has rejected that course and come here with a Confidence Motion. He even asks his party Members to be honest and express their opinion. It is an opportunity for us all to be honest and to say to the people whether this Ministry has got a programme which will promote the interests of the people. I would therefore say, if you, Mr. Speaker, permit me, that with the confidence reposed in us by the electorate, we must vote against this motion and show to the people that we can form an alternative Government which can be democratic. Besides, during the course of his speech, Mr. C. Subramaniam said 'We do not want to face the electorate again; we do not want to take that step'. We need not go to the electorate if a Government is formed by the United Democratic Front which has a programme which will solve the problems facing the people. The electorate has already expressed its opinion. But, if the Government want to approach the electorate again, we are confident that this Government cannot win. If the Government are patriotic enough, if they are anxious that democracy should be maintained in this country, then the only thing that they have got to do is to vacate their office and allow the United Democratic Front to run the Government. Let them see whether the Democratic Front is able to form a stable Government or not. The Democratic Front has got its own programme and it will definitely do more good to the people and serve them much better than the Congress.

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"The Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has made a statement that the Democratic Front is not going to support him though he implements the programme of the Democratic Front. It is completely wrong. The Democratic Front has evolved its own programme and wishes to follow it in minute detail. It wants to implement it and take the co-operation of all in implementing it. If the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari changes his programme, adopts the programme of the Democratic Front, convinces the Front that there is no other motive behind and comes and joins the Front, then all of us can implement the programme and he will have the support of the Front. But what he did was only to abuse the Democratic Front which is bent on implementing its programme. With these words I appeal to one and all to oppose the Motion moved by the Leader of the House."

* SRI S. VEMAYYA :—“అధ్యక్ష మహాశయ, కానకనాథ కాంగ్రెస్ పక్ష నాయకులు ప్రతిపాదించిన ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన తీర్మానాన్ని విశేష జాగ్రత్తగా చింతిస్తున్నాను. మొట్టమొదట ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన తీర్మానం ఎందుకు చేపడింది, ఏ కారణాలవల్ల ప్రధాన మంత్రి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదని ప్రకటించారో అనే విషయం అర్థం కావడంలేదు. ఏ గొప్పతనం దూచి ఈ మంత్రి వర్గం అందులో ముఖ్యంగా కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీ వారి నిశ్చయాలను సమీక్షించుకున్న ఈ మంత్రి మండలిని ప్రకటించారో అర్థంకావడంలేదు. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారి గత ఆయుధం కేంద్ర పరిపాలన తిరిగి మనముకు తెచ్చుకోవడా ఏ సమయమోకాదో ఈ తీర్మానంపై అభిప్రాయ ప్రకటన చేయలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రజా శత్రుత్వలుగా మారిన గత కాంగ్రెస్ మంత్రుల అడుగుజాడలలో నడచే కాంగ్రెస్ పక్షంవారి ప్రభుత్వం వద్ద వద్దని ప్రజలు ఈ మధ్య జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్నికలలో తీర్పు చెప్పారు. మాకు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం వద్దని ప్రజలు మొరలు పెట్టుకుంటున్నా, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కొన్ని ఎత్తుగడలలో కాంగ్రెస్ ను తిరిగి అధికారంలోనికి తీసుకొనివచ్చారు. ఇప్పుడు ఈ తీర్మానంకూడా వారి రాజకీయ ఎత్తుగడలలో ఒక భాగమేనని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“గత విడుదల సందర్భాలలో కాంగ్రెస్ వారు హరిజనులపట్ల చాలా ఇబ్బందులకు గురి చేశారు. రాజకీయ వాధితులకు ఖామిని దానం చేయడమనే మిషన్ అనేక మంది హరిజనులకు వారు విండ్ల తరబడిగా సాగుచేసుకొనుచున్న భూములనుంచి తొలగించివేశారు. ముఖ్యంగా నా నియోజకవర్గమైన నెల్లూరులో కాంగ్రెస్ వారు చేసిన దుండగాలు అన్నీ ఇన్నీ కావు. అసహాయులు అమానుకులు అయిన హరిజనులను కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులమని చెప్పుకోనే పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములు అనేక విధాలా హింసించారు. అటువంటి భూస్వాముల సంస్థ అయినటువంటి కాంగ్రెస్ ను కనాడు అధికారంలోకి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిమీద విశ్వాసమున్నదని ప్రకటించడానికి ఏ హరిజనుడు సమ్మతించడం ప్రధాన మంత్రి గుర్తించవలసియున్నది. ఈ రాజకీయ వాధితులకు ఖామిని దానం చేయడమవల్ల అనేక మంది హరిజనులు ప్రభుత్వంవారి సాయానికి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన భూమినుంచి తొలగించబడ్డారు. ఈ రాజకీయ తాదాకులు ఈ ఖామిని స్వయం సేవ్యం చేస్తున్నా అంటే అటువంటిదేమీ జరగడంలేదు. నూటికి నూరుమంది రాజకీయ వాధితులు తమకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇచ్చిన భూమిని సాగుచేయడంలేదని నేను గట్టిగా చెబుతున్నాను. వారు ఈ భూములను తమిళనాడుకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు వారికి ఖామినిదానం చేశారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. అధికారికంగా కృత్రిమంగానే ఇలాకా వార్తలు అని కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులను అడుగుతున్నాను. తక్కువ ముక్కలచేసుకొని రాత్రుక, మలకక, కప్పించి, చేమలపల్లి నిస్సారమిస్తే

[Sri S. Vemayya]

[30th June 1952]

జానరక్షాకాన్ని సాగులోకి తీసుకొనివచ్చిన హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు అదంతా విధానమిది. కష్టించేకాదు, చివరకు ఫలసాయం అనుభవించేదిదాకాదు. ఈ న్యాయాన్ని అమలుజరిపే కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం, ప్రజాపిత సంస్థ ప్రజాపిత ప్రభుత్వమని ఎవ్వరూ చెప్పకాలరు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. భవవంతుణ్ణి మరి భవవంతుణ్ణిచేసే ప్రభుత్వం. శ్రమశీలం రక్షమాంసాలు పిండి వీల్చే ప్రభుత్వం. అటువంటి ప్రభుత్వం అధినేత అయిన రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిపట్ల ప్రకటించవలసినది విశ్వాసమా? కాంగ్రెస్ వారు శ్రమశీలం విశ్వాసాన్ని వివాదోపేక్షలో యారు. వారి సంస్థ బూర్జువా సంస్థ. వారి ఆశయాలు బూర్జువా ఆశయాలు. ఇక కల్లనీళ్లు తుడవడానికి హరిజనులకు సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేస్తామంటారు. కాని అవరణలో చేసేదిమాత్రం వారు చెప్పేది ఒకటి, చేసేది యింకొకటి. ఇది వారికి సహజమై పోయింది. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి ఈ జిత్తులు ఎత్తులు వాగా తెలుసును. మేడివండు మాటలు చెప్పడంలో ఆయన కడుసమర్థుడు. గత అయిదేండ్లలో హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు చేసిన అన్యాయాలు చాలా ఉన్నాయి. హరిజనులకు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ ఎన్నో మేళ్లు కలుగజేస్తూఉండని చెప్పకున్న కాంగ్రెస్ వారి వారికి అన్యాయా చేశారు. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారికి ముందున్న బ్రిటిషు ప్రభుత్వంవారుకూడా కాంగ్రెస్ వారంత నిర్దాక్షిణ్యంగా తరిపాలించలేదు. అద్వైతర్ల ప్రభుత్వంలో అధికారశోభ త్పత్తిగాను వేదరస హరిజనులకు కొన్ని బంజరు భూములు సాగుకు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. హరిజనులు గత ఎనిమిది, తొమ్మిది సంవత్సరాలనుంచి ఎంతో వ్యయప్రయాసలొచ్చి ఆ బంజరు భూములను సాగుకు యోగ్యమైన వాటినిగా చేశారు. కాని హరిజనుల దురదృష్టవశాత్తు ఈ రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి వంటి కొందరు కాంగ్రెస్ భూస్వాముల చేతులలోనికి పోయినది. వారు అధికారిలోనికి వచ్చిన తరువాత ముతాను బలవరమొక నేమి త్రం రాజీయవాధికులకు భూదానం అనే పేరున వారివారి అనుజరులకు, అధికారులకు భూములు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఇవ్వబడ్డ భూములు చాలావరకూ ఘమారు వది సంవత్సరాలుగా హరిజనులు సాగు చేస్తూ ఉన్నటువంటివే. ఆ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు హరిజనులపట్ల ఈ విధంగా చాలా అన్యాయంగా ప్రవర్తించారు. ముఖ్యంగా మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో అనేక సందర్భాలలో 144 వ సెక్షనును ఉపయోగించివూడా హరిజనులు సాగుచేసుకుంటున్న భూములను లాగివేసుకొన్నారు. ఇకంతా అత్ర తక్షణం బుద్ధితో చివరియిటువంటివే. మాటోటి వేదవారు ఈ అన్యాయాలను గురించి అధికారులతో మనవిచేసుకొన్నా అధికారులు విమోచయలేని స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. ఈ అన్యాయాలన్నీటిని తలచుకొంటూ వివిధంగా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి విశ్వాస ప్రకటన చేయగలతూ అర్థం కావడం లేదు. గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు అమలు జరిపిన రాజీయ వాధికులకు భూదానం అనే విధానంవల్ల అధికారశోభ త్పత్తి కుంజువడిందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“అంతేకాకుండా హరిజనులను పోలీసులు అనేక విధాలుగా వాధలు పెడుతున్నారు. ఇదంతా భూస్వాములచేస్తూవున్న దారుణ కృత్యాలే. మా జిల్లాలో ముఖ్యంగా కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో పలుకుబడిగల వారమని చెప్పకునే అనేకమంది భూస్వాములు హరిజనుల తమ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇచ్చిన భూములను వ్యవసాయం చేసుకోనివ్వడం లేదు. ఇటువంటి విషయాలను హరిజనులు పోలీసు అధికారులకు తెప్పకున్నా, వారు అన్యాయం చేసినవారిని మందలించుటకు బదులు ఫిర్యాదుచేసిన హరిజనులనే కొట్టి కొట్టి వాధికులైనా తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి వర్తనలు హరిజనులను కాంగ్రెస్ పట్ల ఎటువంటి విశ్వాసమూ లేకుండా చేసినది. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో శ్రీ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని వివిధంగా మేము సమర్థించాలా అర్థం కావడంలేదు.

[30th June 1952]

[Sri S. Vemayya]

“కాంగ్రెస్ వారి దృష్టిలో హరిజనులకన్న రాజీయ వాధికులు ఎక్కువగా కనిపిస్తున్నారు. కాని ఇదే మహత్వాంధి గాదు కాంగ్రెస్ వారికి చాలా వ్యతిరేకం. ఈనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారు గాంధీగారు చెప్పినదానిని మన్నించడంలేదు. ఆయన హరిజన బంధువుగా ఉండమని అడిగినై ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ వారు హరిజన శత్రువులుగా మారి పోయారు. ఈ విషయంలో ముఖ్యంగా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులమనే పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములు చేసిన, చేస్తున్న దురంతాలు చాలా ఉన్నవి. వారి పలుకుబడి, అంగలం, అర్థబలంమాచి అధికారులు వేదవారికి ఎటువంటి న్యాయం చేయడం లేదు. సరిగదా, వేదవారిని వాధిస్తున్నారు. ఈ మధ్య నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని గోపూరు తాలూకాలో జరిగిన చిన్న విషయం గురించి మనవిచేస్తాను. ఆ జిల్లాలో ఒక హరిజనుడు సాగుచేసుకొంటున్న భూమిని ఒక రాజీయ వాధికునికి బలవంతంగా అప్పగించబడింది. ఆ హరిజనుడు ఈ విషయం ఆర్.డి.ఓ. గారికి మనవిచేసుకుంటే ఆయన ఏమీ సహాయం చేయలేదు. ఈ భూములు ఇవ్వడం విషయంలో రాజీయ వాధికులే బ్రీఫరెన్సు ఇవ్వవలసిన ప్రభుత్వంవారు జారీచేసిన జి.ఓ.లో ఉన్నదని ఆయన చెప్పారు. అంతేకాకుండా పోలీసువారిలో హరిజనులు తమకు జరుగుతున్న అన్యాయాలు మనవిచేసుకొంటే వారు హరిజనులను కొట్టి రిమాండులో ఉంచుతున్నారు. ఇటువంటి పరిచాలలో వేద సాదలకు ఎటువంటి న్యాయం ఉంటుందో గుర్తించవలసినదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“అంతేకాకుండా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఒకవైపున హరిజనాధికారులను పెక్కుకుంటూవూడా తర ప్రభుత్వం కన్నావూడా హరిజనులపట్ల నిర్దాక్షిణ్యంగా వర్తించు ఉన్నారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇదివరలో ఉన్న వర ప్రభుత్వంవారు డి.సి. లాండ్స్, సి.డి. నెట్లర్లు మొదలగు భూములను హరిజనులవంటి భూమి లేనివారికి ఇవ్వవలసినవై ఉద్దేశంతో కొంత భూమిని వారికి రిజర్వుచేసినారు. కాని ఈ భూముల విషయంలో చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. భూస్వాములు తమ పలుకుబడిని ఉపయోగించి అధికారులను స్వాధీనం చేసుకొని ఈ భూములను వేదవారికి వక్రమంతా చేస్తున్నారు. ఈ భూములను రిజర్వుచేస్తూ జారీచేసిన అర్డర్లలో landless labourers అంటే మొట్ట పది ఎకరములకు లోపు మాగాణి రి ఎకరములలోపు ఉన్నవాళ్లని వ్రస్తాది. ఈసాకు మాగాణిని విమాత్రమూగూడా భూమి లేనటువంటివారికి చాలా అక్రమం జరుగుచున్నది. సాధారణంగా హరిజనులలో భూములు ఉన్నవాళ్లు తక్కువ. మాటికి, తొలబెకొమ్మిది మందికి పెంట్లు నేలకూడా ఉండదు. అటువంటివారు భూమికి వరభాస్తు పెట్టుకుంటే వారిని ఆలకించే దాత కనపించడంలేదు. కొద్దిగా భూమి ఉన్నవాళ్లకి భూములు ఇవ్వబడుతున్నవి. పెంట్లు భూమి లేనివారికన్నా నాలుగైదు ఎకరముల భూమి వ్రస్తవారు ఎక్కువ తరతుబడి కలిగిఉంటారు. అటువంటివారు కొద్దిగానో గొప్పగానో ముట్టుజెప్పగలరు. అటువంటివారికి భూములు సాగు చేసుకోవడానికి మంజూరు చేయబడుతున్నాయి; కాని, ఇతరులకు పెంట్లు భూమి లేనివారు అట్లాగే ఉండిపోయినారు. ఈ అన్యాయాలను తొలగించవలసిన నేను ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ జి.ఓ. ను సవరించి ఎంతమాత్రం భూమిలేని వారికి బ్రీఫరెన్సు ఇవ్వవలసినదని ఉత్తరువులు జారీ చేయవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను.

“మరొక విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారం నేకరించిన తరువాత రాజీయవాధికులకు భూదానం చేయడం అపవేయవలసినదని అన్నారు. దీనివల్లకూడా కొంతమందికి అన్యాయం జరిగిందని అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇదివరకు ఉన్న ప్రభుత్వంవారు రాజీయవాధికులకు భూమిని ఇవ్వడంపై నామినేషన్లతో తమవత్తు వారికి గ్రామాలలో ఉన్న మంచిభూములన్నీటిని కట్టబెట్టారు. ఇంక భూములు

[Sri S. Vemayya]

[30th June 1952]

అధికకుండా చాలావేదలు ఉన్నాయి. గత అయిదేళ్లలో ఇప్పుడు అధికారంలో కాంగ్రెసువారు ఒక పార్లమెంట్ అయినా హరిజనుల విషయమై చేర్చబడక పోవడం చాలా తోచనియ్యమైనటువంటి విషయం. కాంగ్రెసువారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చినందు వల్ల హరిజనులకోసం చాలా ఉపకారం జరుగుతూ ఉంది అనే విషయం నేను నమ్ములేను. ప్రభుత్వంవారు సివిల్ డిస్టెలిటీస్ అక్టు అమలు జరిపితేగాని దానిని ఆవరణలో సరిగా అమలు జరపడం లేదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో హరిజనులు సవర్ణులచేత నిందింపబడుతున్నారని అందరినూ తెలుసును. కాని, అధికారులు హరిజనులకు ఎటువంటి సహాయము చేయడం లేదు. సాంఘికంగా హరిజనులను భంగపరచిన వారిని శిక్షిస్తామని అంటారేగాని ఆ విధంగా జరగడంలేదు. అవసరమైతే పోలీసులు హరిజనులను కాపాడడానికి ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారేగాని వారిని ఉద్ధరించడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సహాయపడడం లేదు. అస్పృశ్యతానివారణ సుపార్జంగా అమలు జరుపబడుతుంటేనేగాని హరిజనులు సంఘంలో తాము కూడా ఒక భాగమని సగర్వంగా చెప్పుకోలేదు. కాబట్టి హరిజనుల కళ్ల నీళ్లు తుడవడానికి మాత్రమే ప్రయత్నం చేయక గాంధీజీ సదుద్దేశాలను సరిగా అమలు పరచడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నిస్తుందని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

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P.M.

“శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కంప్లైట్స్ తోలగించామని, అది ప్రజలకు చాలా ఉపకారం చేస్తుందని అన్నారు. డి-కంప్లైట్స్ వల్ల ప్రజలు తాత్కాలికంగా సంతోషిస్తారేమోగాని రానురాను ఎన్నికలకు గురికావలసి వస్తుందో తెలుసుకోగలుగుతారు. ప్రస్తుత డి-కంప్లైట్స్ విధానంవల్ల మాలినాలి చేసుకొని బరితేవారికి భాగ్యం సక్రమమైన ధరలకు లభ్యం అవుతుందని నేను విశ్వసించలేను. వచ్చే నెలలో భాగ్యం ధర పెరుగుతుం జనంపై ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఇదివరకే గవర్నమెంటువారు జిల్లాలో భాగ్యం సేకరించారు. అక్కడ మిగిలిఉన్న భాగ్యం వి కొద్ది మంది భూస్వాముల చేతుల్లోనే ఉంటుంది. మాలిలు ఇతర వేడ ప్రజలు ఈ భూస్వాముల దండూపాక్షిచ్ఛాలమీద ఆధారపడవలసి వస్తుంది. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులకు అవకాశం కల్పక చేయకుండుటకుగల తాలూకాలలో చౌక డిపోలను ప్రారంభించవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“మా జిల్లాలో మొట్ట తాలూకాలలో ఈ సంవత్సరం కర్రలవల్ల రైతులు చాలా ఇబ్బందులు పడుతున్నారు. కంటలు పోయినవారికి రమిడ్ యిస్తామని ప్రభుత్వం వారు అన్నారు. కాని అనేక సందర్భాలలో రెవిన్యూ అధికారులు రైతులవద్దనుంచి కస్తీలు వసూలు చేస్తున్నట్లు మాకు ఫిర్యాదులు వస్తూ ఉన్నవి. ఈ విధంగా జరుగకుండా దూడవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి వైస వారు విచ్చాటుచేసిన మంత్రివర్గంవైస విశ్వాసం ఉన్నదో లేదో తెలుపమన్నారు. మా నియోజకవర్గం లిసుకొని దూచినట్లయితే శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి యందు అక్కడి ప్రజలకు ఎంతమాత్ర విశ్వాసం లేదని చెప్పవలసి ఉంది. వారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత ఏ మహత్కార్యం చేశారని చార్జి విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలా నా కెంతమాత్రం బాధపడడం లేదు. ఇంకేకాదుగా గత అయిదే సంవత్సరాలలో కాంగ్రెసువారు జరిపిన పర్యలు లిసుకొన్నట్లయితే ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసువారిని అనేక విధాలా మామిస్తున్నారని కూడా తెలుసుకోవలసి ఉంది. ప్రజలలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారియడం విశ్వాసం లేదని చెప్పడంలో యెంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మాట్లాడుతూ యన్.కె.టి. విషయం తాను చూచుకుంటానని ప్రతిజ్ఞ చేశారు యన్.కె.టి. విషయమై చేస్తున్న ప్రయత్నం అన్నారు. యన్.కె.టి.కి తగిన భరణం సరిగా కేంద్రప్రభుత్వంవారివలె ఇస్తూ

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ఉంటే మేము యన్.కె.టి. విషయం మాట్లాడవలసిన మాట ఎంతమాత్రం ఉండదు. కాని, యన్.కె.టి.లు పడుతున్న అవస్థలు ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించాలి. యన్.కె.టి.లు కూడా గత ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసుకు ఓటు ఇవ్వలేదని గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. యన్.కె.టి.లకు యలమెప్పులు హద్దుగా యివ్వాలని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“డి.సి. భూములు సీ.పి. నెట్లర్లుకుగాను కేటాయించిన భూములలో జరుగుతున్న అన్యాయాలు మరల ప్రభుత్వంవారి దృష్టికి తీసుకొని రావలెను. ముఖ్యంగా ఇదివరలో కాంగ్రెసు మంత్రిగా ఉన్న గోపాల రెడ్డిగారి స్వగ్రామమైన బుచ్చిరెడ్డి, చారలలో దూచినట్లయితే రిజర్వేషన్ చేయబడిన భూములు చాలావరకు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులనే వారి భక్తులూ నే ఉన్నట్లు కనిపిస్తుంది. వేదవారి వేరువెప్పి భవంతులు భూమిని నేడ్యం చేసుకొంటున్నారు. ఈ విషయాలను తమ స్వాధీనం చేయవలసినదని రెవిన్యూ అధికారులకు విశ్వ విండుకొన్నా ఎటువంటి ఉపకారం జరగడం లేదు. భూస్వాముల వల్లిడికి తట్టుకోలేక అధికారులు న్యాయం చేయలేకపోతున్నారు. ఈ విషయాలన్నీ విచారణ చేయవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇంకా అస్పృశ్యతా నివారణగురించి నా యభిప్రాయాలు తెలియచేస్తాను. హరిజనోద్ధరణపై ప్రత్యేకంగా హరిజన వెల్ ఫేర్ డిపార్టుమెంటు అనేదానిని ఏర్పాటు చేశారు. దీనివల్ల హరిజనులకు ఎటువంటి ఉపయోగము కలుగుతూ ఉంది. సాంఘికంగాను అర్థికంగాను హరిజనుల జీవిత విశేషం అనేవిషయాలు గురించి గవర్నరుగారి ఉత్తమానంలో మనకేమీ తెలియజేయబడలేదు. గవర్నరుగారి ఉత్తమానంలో భారత ప్రభుత్వం లేకున్నదని కాంగ్రెసు వర్గీయుల ముతావాదో తెలుసు. ఈ విషయమున్నీ జాగ్రత్తగా పరిశీలించి దూచినట్లయితే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎంత ఆశ్చర్య పక్షపాతులూ విడితమవుతుంది. తమ అనుకరులైనవారికి భూములిచ్చి ఇతర రాజకీయపాధికులకు ఇవ్వకపోవడం చాలా అన్యాయం. ఈ ఇచ్చినభూములలో కూడా చాలావరకు హరిజనులవి. కాబట్టి హరిజనుల వద్దనుంచి లాగుకొన్న భూములను వారికి తిరిగి ఇప్పించే ప్రయత్నం చేయవలసినదని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇంకేకాదు. విద్యావిషయంలో కూడా హరిజనులకు చాలా అన్యాయం జరుగుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. హరిజనుల చాలా విద్య గురించి ఎవ్వరు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవడం లేదు. లేవని డిపార్టుమెంటువారికింద హరిజన చాలా పాఠశాలలు ఉన్నంతవరకు విద్యాభ్యాసం హరిజనుల విద్యవల్ల ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొంటారని అనకోవడానికి అన్యాయం కనిపించడంలేదు. ఏ డిపార్టుమెంటువారు సరియైన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవకపోవడం వల్ల హరిజనులకు విద్యావిద్య కుంఠపడుతుంది. ఈ లేదు పాఠశాలల విద్యాభ్యాసం అవ్వడవల్ల సరిగా అభిమాంపి చేస్తుంటేనేగాని పండ్ల తులు సరిగా ఉండవని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“హరిజనోద్ధారకుగాను Harijan Welfare Department అని ఒక ప్రత్యేక భాగమనేసినామని కాంగ్రెసువారు చెప్పవచ్చు. కాని దీనివల్ల హరిజనులకు అవకాశం కల్గినా ఉపకారం జరగడం లేదు. హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు స్కాలర్ షిప్లు ఇచ్చి సబ్సిడీలలో కూడా చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. రాజకీయ విశ్వాసంకంటే కూడా ప్రవేశపెడతయడం చాలా విచారకరం. కాంగ్రెసువారికి దాగులుగా ఉండేవారి పిల్లలకే ఉచితవిద్యా స్కాలర్ షిప్లు ఇవ్వాలి. పరిస్థితులలో విర్వర్తాయి. అంతేకాకుండా hostels లో చేర్చుకోనే విషయంలో కూడా వాటిని నిర్వహించే విషయంలోనూ చాలా లోటుపాట్లు ఉన్నాయి. స్కాలర్ షిప్లకు కేవలం ఒకటింటిలో ఉండవలసివచ్చింది. అక్షర పక్షపాతం ఈ hostels నిర్వహణలో కాగనగా విడితమవుతుంది. హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు hostels లో చేర్చుకోవడంలో కూడా

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ఇబ్బందులు పెడుతున్నారు. ఒక సంవత్సరం పరీక్ష తప్పిన విద్యార్థిని 100 hostelsలో చేర్చుకోమని అంటున్నారు. ఇది చాలా అన్యాయం. శతాబ్దాల తరబడి విద్యాగ్రంథం లేని హరిజనులకు సౌకర్యాలు ఇస్తామని చెబుతూ ఒక సారి ఫయలు అయినట్లుంటే వారికి హాస్టల్ లు ఉండనివ్వమని అనడం న్యాయం కాదు. ఈ విషయంలో హరిజన విద్యార్థులకట్టు మరికొంత దయార్థి హృదయంతో వర్తించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇక మన ఎదుటనున్న తీర్మానవిషయం ఆలోచిద్దాము. ఈ తీర్మానములో ఘాతుకు లేనివారికి కట్టాకింద ఎంతోకాలంనుంచి ప్రభుత్వంవారు కూడా గవర్నమెంటు ఘాతుకులను సాగుకు ఇవ్వడం ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో జరుగుతూ ఉంది. కాని వారు ఈ ఘాతుకులని తీర్చి వేడవారి దగ్గరనుంచి మార్కెట్టు వ్యాట్యు తీసుకోవడానికి యత్నించేవారు కాదు. కాని ఈ నాకు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు వచ్చిన తరువాత హరిజనులవంటి నిరుదేవుల తమకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు సాగుకు ఇచ్చిన ఘాతుకుల బజారు ధర (market value) చెల్లించాలని అంటున్నారు. ఇది అన్యాయం. బజారు ధరలపై ఘామి కొనుక్కోగల శక్తి వేడవారికి ఉండదు. ఇటువంటి నిబంధన ఉండడంవల్ల కూడా హరిజనులు ఘామిని సంపాదించలేకుండా ఉన్నారు. దబ్బు పెట్టుబడి పెట్టగలవారికి ఘామి దక్కుతుంది. ప్రభుత్వంవారు యదార్థంగా ఘామిలేనివారికి ఘాతుకు ఇవ్వాలని సంకల్పిస్తే, ముఖ్యంగా పెంటు ఘామి లేని వేడవారికి ఉచితంగా ఘామిని ఇవ్వడం నుంచి. ఇదివరలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు మార్కెట్టు వ్యాట్యు కట్టుమని ప్యాసుచేసిన జి.ఓ. లు ప్రకారంగా హరిజనులకదనం చూర్కెట్టు వాల్యూ తీసుకోవడం మనది చేస్తున్నాను. బ్రిటిష్ గవర్నమెంటువారు నిర్ణయించుకున్న ఈ మార్కెట్టు వ్యాట్యుకట్ట రద్దు చేయమని కోరుతున్నాను. హరిజనులు, ముగల, యానాది మొదలైన తరగతుల వారు చాలా వేడవారు. ఈ కారణంవల్లనే వారికి కొంత ఘామిని మా జిల్లాలో విజయ్ చేయబడింది. అటువంటివారికి ఆ ఘాతుకు దక్కుచున్నందున వేడ ఘామిస్థానుల వేడం చేసుకుంటున్నారు. అయితే మనకు తెలుసుకంటే ఈ జాతులవారి ఘాతుకుల ధన వంతులు అక్షరమింతుకుంటుంటే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు విమి చేయలేకుండా ఉన్నారనేది చాలా శోచనీయమైన విషయం. వేడలకు ఉపకారం చేయలేని ప్రభుత్వం వై ఎందుకు విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలో నాకేమీ అర్థంకావడం లేదు. వీడవారైనా అధికం కాను, సామీకంగాను అభివృద్ధిపరచడానికి అమలు జరుపుతున్నామని చెప్పి ప్యాసు చేసిన కానములు అవరణలో పెట్టకపోయినపుడు ఆ కానముల ప్రయోజనం విమి ఉండదు. ఇటువంటి కానాలు మ్యునిసిపాలిటీ డిప్యూటీలలో చేయవలసినవి. ఈవిధంగా వారిచే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని విలపరచడం తగదు. అందువల్లనే ఈ ప్రభానిలోనూ, అయ్యన మంత్రమండలిలోనూ వారు విశ్వాసంలేదని చెబుతూ ఇంకా విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—“ Mr. Speaker, I belong to the Tamil Nad Toilers' Party. The Members of my party who opposed the Congress candidates in the elections were returned to the House in large numbers. So, I am bound on principle, to oppose this Motion.

“This motion was sprung on us all of a sudden within the course of one or two days. When the Budget was presented to this House on the 27th June, there was no mention whatsoever about this Motion. All of a sudden today we find ourselves faced with this Motion. Of course the Chief Minister was good enough to make a statement as to why he was forced to bring a Motion of this kind before the House. From what I am able to see from

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the statement, it appears as though the Chief Minister is not sure of his strength in this House to get the necessary approval for his financial policy and he wants a reassurance from the entire House so that he may run the Government according to his whims and fancies. That the Hon. the Chief Minister was having the support of a majority in this House has been evident ever since the House began to function. We saw it in the election of the Speaker. We have seen it in the defeat of the several Motions and Resolutions moved by the Opposition. Hence it is evident that the goodwill of a majority of this House is with the Hon. Chief Minister. When such is the case, why has this Motion been brought forward at this juncture? I am not able to understand the motive behind this move.

“Personally speaking, I have great regard for the Hon. the Chief Minister. He is a good politician, a good administrator and above all, a good statesman. But when such a man, instead of giving straightforward reasons for seeking a Vote of Confidence from this House, goes on saying, ‘I have undertaken a tremendous responsibility; so before embarking on policies which require a tremendous sacrifice from the people, I want a reassurance from this House to strengthen my hands.’ I can only say that I am unable to understand the logic behind it.

“But, one thing I want to submit to the House. This is a Motion which is given undue prominence in this House. Four days have been allotted for debating this Motion. A day's debate costs nearly Rs. 5,000 to the State . . .”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ May I point out, Sir, that we, on this side, are not responsible for this arrangement; it was the Leader of the hon. Gentleman's Party who wanted so many days.”

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—“ Whatever it is, some days have been allotted for this discussion.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Your leader asked for fifteen days, not four days.”

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER :—“ These four days' debate costs Rs. 20,000. When the State is crying for finance and the Government are trying to impose additional taxation on the poor people, where is the need for a debate for four days on a Motion which is not at all necessary? Whatever it is, Sir, what made the Hon. Minister to bring forward this Motion? It is for him to explain later. Anyhow, in the statement made by him and the speeches of his supporters, I do not find any valid reason for this Motion. That is one thing.

“Regarding the Motion itself, I want to raise one question of constitutional difficulty. Our Constitution says that we are having a Sovereign Democratic Republic, but this Motion asks for vesting powers in a certain gentleman, because the Hon. the Chief Minister wants everybody to have confidence in him, so that he can carry out his policy without interruption or obstruction. That is what he wants in this Motion. If that is the case, does he want to

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assume the role of a dictator, thereby infringing all democratic principles guaranteed to us under the Constitution? Of course, I do have the greatest respect for the Hon. the Chief Minister, because as an eminent politician, as an astute statesman, and as a man, he has better knowledge of men and things. But yet he must have some reasons for bringing forward this Motion which he is not pleased to divulge. I believe he must have thought about it before coming forward with this Motion. This would lead to the assumption of dictatorship by a particular individual. That is opposed to democratic principles. By putting this Motion before the House, does he mean to suggest that all the Members are not aware of the provisions of the Constitution? It is said often by the Hon. Chief Minister and others that the Communists are out for breaking the Constitution and all that. But, what about the Motion that is now brought before the House? It leads to breaking the Constitution and to the denial of rights guaranteed to the citizens under the Constitution. Therefore it is my humble opinion that the Motion before the House is not in order.

Coming to the Motion itself, in order to strengthen his hands to carry out some policies which he has chalked out for the benefit of the people, the Hon. the Chief Minister wants a reassurance from the House. But, from the observations that he often makes in the House, I think he is assuming a sort of dictatorship. The use of such expressions as 'chaos,' 'misconception of ideas,' 'you are my Enemy No. 1.' and so on, indicates that the Hon. Chief Minister seems to think that the Members on the Opposition benches are here to create chaos, that they have misconception of ideas and that they are the enemies of the Government and of the people. I may submit to him and to the House that he is not correct in his views of the Opposition. Of course, he may think that the U.D.F. as a whole is his enemy, but he openly expressed that the Communists are his Enemy No. 1. Whatever his views about the Communists may be, he should not make a general statement so far as the Members of the U.D.F. are concerned, because it consists of several parties each having its own membership, and all of them have come together on a certain understanding to work out a minimum programme agreed to among themselves. That does not mean that all the parties which constitute the U.D.F. agree with every one of the Communist ideals or the K.M.P. ideals or some other ideals. Every group that forms part of the U.D.F. has got certain principles of its own but all of us are agreed that the Congress should not be allowed to run the Government as that is the verdict of the people. But rightly or wrongly, the Congress is now in power. The Members who have been returned to the House on the strength of their election manifesto that they would oppose the Congress, should see that they have a group of their own so that they could act as a check and turn out the Government if they go wrong. That is our object and nothing more. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari thinks that it is against all canons of decency or morality. I think he is not correct. Therefore, I submit, that we as Members sitting on the Opposition benches, are here simply to see that

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things go on properly, and if anything goes wrong, it is our duty to point it out to the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Members of the Government and the party in power. As everyone knows, the Congress Ministers who were holding office previously committed all sorts of mistakes. So, people got an aversion to the Congress and thought they should go. People thought that the acts committed by the last Ministry were responsible for what had happened. Anyhow, Sir, there was a general aversion on the part of the people towards the party in power, and the Congress Party was condemned by the public, and even the man in the street and the man at the top and everybody thought that the Congress Government should go and somebody else should take up the reins of Government. It was on that issue that some of us who are sitting on the Opposition benches were returned to the House. We could not form the Government though we tried our best. Though we have come in a large majority, it was our bad luck that we could not form the Government, for reasons which I could neither give out, nor is it desirable to do so, as I am not competent to say anything about the matter. But, somehow we have not been put in power and the other party, although it is in a minority, has been put in power. One thing that was said against the U.D.F. was that it consisted of several groups and therefore it was not competent to run the Government. But, does not the same thing apply to the Congress Party, because they also have no absolute majority of their own? They have also got into an alliance with other parties. The successful running of the Government by them depends upon their alliance with other parties. Suppose the other parties go out for some reason or other, then there will be a deadlock and there will again be trouble. Whatever it is, so far as we are concerned, as I have already submitted, I have absolutely no grievance or complaint against any Hon. Minister. Personally, so far as the Hon. Chief Minister is concerned, I know something about him, I know him as a revered leader. So far as the other Hon. Ministers are concerned, except one Minister, the Hon. Mr. Marickavelu Naicker, I know very little about them and so I am not competent to say anything regarding their competency for the offices they all hold. Apart from that, Sir, sitting as I do on the Opposition benches, on principle, I am bound to oppose this Motion.

Then, Sir, several things were said by the speakers who preceded me, criticising the action of the Chief Minister and the Members of the Cabinet. I for one could say, that so far as the food policy of the Government is concerned, it is a very bold step which has been taken by the Hon. the Chief Minister. I do welcome that and the Members of my party also welcome the step. But, we have got to say one thing in regard to that. Several statements were made on the platform and in the press both by the Hon. the Chief Minister and by the Hon. the Minister for Finance, that in implementing the decontrol policy they would see that the prices are brought down to the control rate or even below that. We are anxious to see that the Government take steps to bring down the prices to the control level or even lower than that. As

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it is, we hear reports that in some districts the prices have gone up, in some districts, they are on a par with the control rates and in some other districts they have gone down. And it is too soon to say anything about the merits or demerits of the policy adopted by the Government. So, I leave it at that.

"Sir, I started by saying that I belong to the Toilers Party. Of course, the toilers are the poorest section of the people in South India. We are sent here in large numbers to protect their interests and whenever anything is done in opposition to their interests, we are bound to oppose it. Now, in the Budget that is presented to us, I find a surcharge on bus fares and a surcharge on land revenue. I would like to submit one thing with regard to these taxation proposals. Whatever might be the revenue that may be got by taxing the bus people, in actual practice it is the man who actually pays that is taxed. That person is the labourer, whose interests I am bound to protect in this House. Therefore, when the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Members of the Cabinet impose a tax on the poor, I am bound to oppose it. Secondly, it is said that the landlords also are to be taxed; in other words, taxes are to be levied on land also. There again, the man who actually pays is only the labourer and not the man who owns the land. The landowner has these taxes collected from the labourer in proportion to what he pays to the Government. Therefore, ultimately the man who is hard hit is the labourer. Therefore, Sir, I for myself and the Members of my party are bound to protect the interests of the poor man and the labourer and we oppose these taxes.

"There is one thing more which I wish to urge. It was also referred to by one of the hon. Members of this House. It is about the Prohibition policy of the Government. True, it is a moral reform and nobody denies it. We are not here to teach morals, but we are here to see to the interests of the State. The Budget that has been presented to this House shows a deficit of some three or four crores of rupees; and in order to make up the deficit additional taxation is proposed. But, from my experience of the working of this Prohibition policy so far, I would like to submit that it has not worked properly. Whatever it is, there is a feeling on the part of the general public that this policy should go. Whether it is a moral reform or whatever reform it is, the general feeling of the people is that this Prohibition policy should go, and that the revenue that is lost to the State as a result of the introduction of Prohibition would be not only sufficient to cover the present deficit but would also enable the Government to take up irrigation projects and other development schemes. Therefore, it is high time for the Hon. Chief Minister and the other Members of his Cabinet to take steps to do away with Prohibition once for all or at least amend the Prohibition Act suitably. Because Prohibition was introduced when the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar was the Chief Minister, he and the other Members of his present Cabinet may feel some compunction about the removal of Prohibition. Such a feeling is quite human. Anyhow there are other

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Colleagues who may advise the Hon. the Chief Minister that Prohibition is unwanted by the public, that the State is incurring a heavy loss of revenue on account of Prohibition and that the excise revenue accruing after the abolition of Prohibition could be used not only for meeting the deficit in the Budget but also for the execution of many department schemes.

"If the Hon. Chief Minister takes steps to satisfy all these conditions, I do not think there will be any difficulty in running the Government. We are not interested in seeing that a particular man runs the Government. We want that things are done in a proper manner and whoever it is that runs the Government we are not concerned. Because the policies pursued by the previous Congress Ministry were detrimental to the interests of the public, we condemned the Congress Party and wanted it to be out of office. When that Party comes here and says that they will run the Government, let them run the Government. But let them run the Government on proper lines and scrap those policies which are not wanted by the public. It smacks of obstinacy when the Hon. Chief Minister says: I cannot think of abolishing Prohibition and if Prohibition goes, I also must go out of office. It is the duty of the Members on this side of the House to comment on the action of the Ministers. I oppose the Motion."

SRI O. KORAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, ഇന്നു നിലവിലുള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയം സംബന്ധിച്ചും മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ ഗതിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും അതിന് എതിരായി ജയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള മെമ്പർമാർ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുന്ന അവസരത്തിൽ നാട്ടിൽ ഉണ്ടായ സർവ്വഗതാധിപത്വം എന്തെല്ലാം മാറ്റം വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു കാട്ടുമായി ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു വിഷയമാണ്. ഇന്നത്തെ സ്ഥിതി നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതിന്നു പറയത്തക്ക വലിയ ഒരു മാറ്റം നാട്ടിൽ വന്നിട്ടില്ല എന്നാണ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട ആളുടെ ജീവിതത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള അനുഭവം. കുന്നമതായി കോണ്ഗ്രസ് ഗവണ്മെന്റ് വളരെ അധികം പണം ചിലവു ചെയ്ത് നടത്തി കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു പ്രശ്നമാണ് ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണം. എന്താണ് ഈ ഹരിജനോദ്ധാരണത്തിൽ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതി എന്ന് ചിന്തിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അവർ പഴയ നിയമത്തിൽ നിന്ന് പുറംതള്ളിയിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു മാതൃകയായ അവരുടെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളും വലിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ ഉദ്ധാരണത്തിന്നു വേണ്ടി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് അടുത്ത കാലത്ത് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിട്ടുള്ള രണ്ട് നിയമങ്ങളാണ് അവസരപരിഹാര നിയമവും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശന നിയമവും. ഇത് രണ്ട് നിയമങ്ങളും ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പാസ്സാക്കി വിട്ടുകയറ്റിയതെ അവ പ്രായോഗികമായി നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ചിന്തിക്കുന്നില്ല. നിയമങ്ങൾ നടപ്പിൽ വന്നിട്ടുകൂടി ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്ക് മനുഷ്യരുടെ പ്രാഥമിക അവകാശങ്ങൾ പോലും അനുഭവപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. ചില സ്ഥലത്തു ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ വൃത്തിയുള്ള വസ്ത്രം ധരിച്ച് പോയെങ്കിൽ അവർ അടിക്കാറുള്ള നിലയാണ് ഇന്നുള്ളത്. ഹരിജന മർദ്ദനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് അധികാരസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ നില്പോട്ട് ചെയ്യാൻ അവർക്ക് രക്ഷകിട്ടുന്നില്ല. കറുപ്പുനാട് താലൂക്കിൽ ബാലുശ്ശേരി എന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു ഒരു ഹരിജന മർദ്ദനം നടന്നു. അവിടത്തെ സബ് ഇൻസ്പെക്ടറെ സമീപിച്ച് ഹരിജന പ്രതിനിധി കർ സങ്കടം ബോധിപ്പിച്ചപ്പോൾ അവരെ ഭീഷണിപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ഭയപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്ത് ആ പോലീസ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥൻ ചെയ്തത്. കോഴിക്കോട് താലൂക്കിലും ഹരിജന മർദ്ദനം അവരുടെ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളും വലിച്ചു കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. തമിഴ്നാട്ടിൽ ഹരിജന മർദ്ദനങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി അവിടത്തെ ഉത്തരവാദിപ്പെട്ട പോലീസുദ്യോഗസ്ഥനോട് സങ്കടം ബോധിപ്പിക്കാൻ ചെന്നപ്പോൾ അവരെ കഴുത്തിൽ പിടിച്ച് തള്ളുകയാണ് അവിടെ ഉണ്ടായത്. ജൂൺ 13-ാം തീയതി തിരുവനന്തപുരത്ത് ഒരു ഹരിജന സ്ത്രീ വീട്ടിൽനിന്നു പുറത്തേക്ക് പോയതിന്റെറശേഷം മടങ്ങിവന്നിട്ടില്ല. പല വിധത്തിലുള്ള ഭൂവിവാദങ്ങളോടുകൂടി അവർ മരിച്ചുകിടക്കുന്നതായി പിന്നീട് കണ്ടു. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ കോഴിക്കോട് താലൂക്കിൽ എലത്തൂരിൽ ഒരു ഹരിജന സ്ത്രീ സംശയകരമായി മരണപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും ഇതുവരെ അധികാരസ്ഥാനം ഒരു നിവൃത്തിയുമില്ല കണ്ടുപിടിക്കു

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much of the time of the House in referring to the Budget proposals. In a nutshell, this Ministry has presented a Budget which is going to tax the people more. When the people have been crying for the last five years for a reduction of the taxes that have been levied by the previous Ministry, this Ministry comes forward with proposals for new taxation like the levy of a betterment fee and a surcharge on bus fares. This is the way in which the Ministry is trying to meet the needs of the people! When the crying need of the people of the backward and famine-stricken Rayalaseema is for the allotment of more and more funds for irrigation, communications and education, here is a Ministry that cuts down the allotment for irrigation on the plea that the Central Government are not giving any financial help for capital outlay on irrigation schemes. The scheme of the Budget is the slowing down of the pace of irrigation projects and the imposition of burdensome taxes on the common man. The present Budget is in no way different from the previous Budgets. The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam has been telling us that it is only a famine Budget. It is not only a famine Budget; it is a police Budget and nothing more and nothing less. Representing as I do the Kurnool district in Rayalaseema, I have to speak about the conditions in Rayalaseema and how the present Budget proposes to meet the needs of the people there. After the Congress Party has been defeated in the elections in several parts of the State, Rajaji has come into power to get a majority for that party in this House. He and his Ministry are trying to placate the people of Rayalaseema by including four Members hailing from Rayalaseema in the Cabinet. Sri Sanjeeva Reddi and Sri Sitarama Reddi were Ministers in the previous Ministry and they have done nothing for the people of Rayalaseema. Even with four Rayalaseema Ministers in the Cabinet, the people of Rayalaseema have no confidence in this Ministry. The people do not care how many places in the Cabinet are offered to Rayalaseema people. They care more about the allotment of funds for irrigation, education, communications, electricity, etc. Irrigation, electricity, education, communications—these are the crying needs of Rayalaseema to save it from the recurring famines and devastating cyclones. With four Rayalaseema people in the Ministry, let us see how the present Budget is trying to meet the crying needs of the people and how in actual practice this Ministry is helping Rayalaseema. Under Capital Outlay on Irrigation it is proposed to spend Rs. 9 crores. Under the head of 'Unproductive Works', the present Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 22 lakhs for Rayalaseema. The Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 15 lakhs for the Upper Pennar Project. These are all the major projects that are sanctioned for Rayalaseema. This is how justice is being meted out to Rayalaseema. Very recently we have seen a devastating famine there. Very recently there was a terrible cyclone which caused loss to the extent of several lakhs of rupees to the peasants of Rayalaseema. On such an area, the Ministry proposes to spend Rs. 22 lakhs under Capital Outlay out of a total provision of Rs. 9 crores. And this is done on the plea that the Centre is not giving any money for Grow More Food schemes or food production

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schemes! Rajaji says that he has no money and that he cannot take up any food production schemes. He even wants to slow down the pace in respect of schemes that are in execution. Rajaji and the Minister for Public Works deny this. But in practice we see the slowing down of many works that have been taken up in Rayalaseema. Under the head 'Unproductive irrigation works', the previous Ministry set apart for last year Rs. 13½ lakhs. This Congress Ministry proposes to give us Rs. 7½ lakhs. There has been a reduction of Rs. 6 lakhs. This is the way Rajaji wants to placate the people of Rayalaseema after including four Rayalaseema people in his Cabinet! This is the justice meted out to Rayalaseema when a Minister hailing from Rayalaseema is in charge of Public Works! There are no proper roads. The peasant in the far interior villages has no facility to take his surplus produce to the market and get a fair price. He is at the mercy of the local merchants and landlords to sell his surplus produce. What does the present Ministry propose to do to improve communications in Rayalaseema? The previous Congress Ministry was kind enough to give us about Rs. 15½ lakhs. The present Ministry proposes to give about Rs. 7 lakhs. In the grant for the improvement of communications also, there has been a reduction of Rs. 8½ lakhs. This is how Rayalaseema is being developed. The people of Rayalaseema cannot be misled.

"Another crying need of Rayalaseema is electricity. The people of Rayalaseema have been watching with patience the construction of the Mettur and other hydro-electric projects. What is the hydro-electric project that this Ministry proposes for Rayalaseema? Out of the total provision of Rs. 8 crores for electricity schemes, a paltry sum of Rs. 8 lakhs is proposed to be given to Rayalaseema for providing some thermal stations in some municipalities that have long been neglected. This is the way the present Ministry including the Minister for Public Works who hails from Rayalaseema is helping Rayalaseema!

"This is the justice that Rajaji is meting out to the people of Rayalaseema. A few more examples I can quote when the Budget is discussed. For the present, this is enough to show in a nutshell how this Ministry is trying to mislead the people of Rayalaseema by saying that four Ministers in the Cabinet are from Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema is backward for lack of education. Under 'Education' we are allotted about Rs. 22 lakhs. Rs. 1½ lakhs has been allotted for the Engineering College at Anantapur and another Rs. 50,000 has been allotted for the improvement, or for the building, of a Girls' High School in Proddatur. This is all that we are given for the construction of buildings for schools and colleges. Our P.W.D. Minister is not going to give us any buildings under 'Medical', but he has been kind enough to give a sum of Rs. 1,000 for a hospital in Kalahasti. No more is given for improving medical assistance in Rayalaseema. Due to the effects of starvation and the recent famine, malaria is rampant in Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema has always been earmarked for all kinds of diseases, and particularly malaria. This is the justice that we see meted out to

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Rayalaseema for improving the conditions of health there! I am only giving a few examples to show the real position of Rayalaseema, and I say that this Ministry is not working in the interests of Rayalaseema. Let Rajaji remember that the Rayalaseema people are not so innocent as to be misled by the fact that four Ministers are from Rayalaseema."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is saying the same thing a number of times."

* SRI C. PULLA REDDI:—"I have to stress upon this again and again because Rajaji has been playing the trick upon the people of Rayalaseema. Members from Rayalaseema, to whatever party they may belong, should take into consideration not the number of Ministers from Rayalaseema, but what the Cabinet has done to Rayalaseema in the matter of education, irrigation, and other productive enterprises. They should take into consideration the amount spent by the Cabinet for the development of Rayalaseema. Not only has there been no improvement, but there has been a substantial reduction in a number of items. The people of Rayalaseema have been demanding the Gandikota, Siddheswaram, and Upper Sagileru projects. These projects have been the crying need of the people of Rayalaseema. What has the present Ministry done in regard to all these? The previous Ministry started the so-called Krishna-Pennar project. It wanted to take water from North Siddheswaram down to South Arcot as far as Cuddalore. How do the Government propose to distribute the waters? It is one-fourth for Rayalaseema and three-fourths for the southern districts. What is the area to be submerged? One hundred and thirty villages in the Nandikotkur taluk in Kurnool district will be submerged. In a whole taluk of 120 villages, the present Krishna-Pennar project proposes to submerge 60 villages, i.e., more than half of the villages will be submerged. The Somasila project in Cuddapah district will submerge not dry lands, but a very rich soil, black cotton soil, which costs Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 per acre. Our villages will be submerged if water is to be taken from the Krishna-Pennar project to the South. This is the injustice sought to be done, and the four Ministers from Rayalaseema have so far not raised their voice against these projects. When the Hon. Mr. Ranga Reddi came to Siddheswaram, he said that they were going to have the projects one way or the other. I want to tell the Members of this House, to Rajaji and other Ministers, that Rayalaseema people have made enough sacrifices already. They have made sacrifices to execute the Mettur project and they have made sacrifices to execute the Pykara project. The people of Rayalaseema are not going to make any more sacrifices for others when they themselves are suffering from starvation and cyclone. We will not see our houses submerged and our lands submerged in order to satisfy the needs of other people. Nobody need think that I am against the improvement of the South. That is not the point. I only say that the Government have not done justice to the people of Rayalaseema. We want the Gandikota project and the

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Siddheswaram project to water all the lands of Andhradesa. After satisfying the needs of the Andhradesa, if there is water still left in the Krishna valley, none of us will stand in the way of its being taken to the South. Before meeting our own demands, we will not allow water to go to the South. We will not allow the lands of Rayalaseema to be submerged in order to feed the people of the South who are more prosperous already. Let Rajaji remember that if, in spite of this opposition, in order to wreak vengeance on the people of Andhra and Rayalaseema for having thrown out the Congress from their areas, he proceeds to execute the Krishna-Pennar project, we, the people of Rayalaseema will not allow the execution of the project which will submerge our lands and villages in order to satisfy the needs of other people in the South.

"I now come to the taxation proposals, especially the one relating to betterment levy on land. Let us not for the moment take into account how many lakhs of rupees the present Ministry will get out of this tax. I want to point out only one aspect of this proposal. Under this taxation measure, what will happen is this. A man who takes water from a tank or a project constructed after 1943 is asked to pay about Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 1,500, in instalments of course. What does this mean? It means that the man who takes water from a tank that has been constructed after 1943 is asked to purchase not anybody else's land but his own land. This is one aspect of the problem. Let the Members of this House think over this problem deeply. Let Members go to their areas, and ask the peasants who take water from tanks constructed after 1943, to purchase their own lands. Let us also think for a moment whether people from other villages will come forward to demand new projects if they are to purchase their own lands. Nobody on earth will come forward and demand the construction of new tanks, if the betterment levy legislation is to be on the Statute Book. This betterment levy is a special weapon against the interests of Rayalaseema. This tax will stand in the way of constructing projects in backward areas like Rayalaseema. Let Members of this House, whether they belong to the Congress, or the K.L.P., or the Communist Party, or any other group, understand that this betterment levy is a special weapon against the development of projects and tanks especially in backward areas, and, as a Member coming from Rayalaseema, I oppose this betterment levy tooth and nail. I appeal to Members of all parties to oppose this levy. I say that this Motion of Vote of Confidence in the Ministry means a vote for the betterment levy, which will work against the construction of irrigation projects in backward areas.

"One more point, Sir. The Hon. Mr. Subramaniam, Rajaji and other Ministers have been threatening the House, 'Either you keep us in power for ever; or you face the chaos of the Communists'. I want to give a few instances to show who is creating chaos, whether it is the present Ministry or the Communists and other people who are opposing this Ministry and working for the interests of the people. The Zamindari Abolition Act came into

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force in 1948. There are so many loopholes in this Act. The people thought they would get some rights over the land. How has the Ministry worked this Act? The Settlement Officer went to the place and decided that many inam villages came under the Act. But the Government, instead of accepting the verdict of the Settlement Officer, set up a Tribunal which is negating all the decisions of the Settlement Officer and giving all the lands to the inamdars, mirasdars and the zamindars. In my own taluk, in Karivena village, there has been a long struggle between the peasants and the shrotriyamdar. The Settlement Officer came and inspected the village. He declared that the lands came under the purview of the Act. But the Tribunal is there, and therefore the quarrel between the peasants and the shrotriyamdar has not been settled. Because the quarrel has not been settled, and because the peasants have not been given rights over the land, the shrotriyamdar with the help of the Police is throwing out hundreds of peasants from their lands which they have been tilling for the last 20 years or more. I ask, Sir, who is creating chaos? Is it the Communists and the people who are demanding the implementation of the Act to give rights over land to peasants or the Congress Ministry which is delaying matters and which is keeping in cold storage its own Act, and giving permission to the shrotriyamdar to neck out the peasants? In Sangameswaram village, the Rent Reduction Act was applied. The Collector gave orders to the peasants that the shrotriyamdar could not lease out the lands or cultivate the lands, himself, or collect rent from the peasants. He asked the Tahsildar to fix new rates under the Act. That order was issued in October 1951. Up to this day, i.e., after a lapse of ten months, no rates have been fixed and no collections have been made from the people. Because of this loophole, the shrotriyamdar with the help of the Government and the Police is throwing out the peasants from their lands, which they have been cultivating for the last 20 years or more. The shrotriyamdar went to the Collector and said that those lands did not come under the Rent Reduction Act, and that the peasants had no right over the lands. The Collector then gave an order to the shrotriyamdar to take possession of the lands and to throw out the peasants. Who is creating chaos, I ask the Hon. Minister Sri Subramaniam: Is it not the Congress Government who do not want to implement their own Act, who kept it in cold storage and drove out the peasants from the land?

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"I will give another example about a village in Kurnool taluk from which two Ministers, the Hon. Sri Sanjeeviah and the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi are hailing. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi knows well about that village where there is a tank bed of about 70 acres. It is a very interesting matter. It shows the way in which our Hon. Ministers are working. In that village, in 1908, about 44 years ago, the British Government acquired 70 acres of land for the construction of a tank, but the tank breached because of neglect. The poor people, after 1940 were given that tank bed under the Grow More Food Scheme. For the last about twelve years, the people have been enjoying possession of

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those lands and getting some morsel of food out of them. They have been demanding the right of patta over the lands. But the landlords find their own people sitting as Ministers in the Government offices here in Madras, and they have the cheek to say that because the tank bed has been neglected, the lands must go back to the original landholders of 1908. Those lands were acquired only on payment of compensation to the landholders, and were later on given to the poor people. They have invested some capital and twelve years' labour over those lands. They have placed all their confidence and belief in those lands and they have laboured for the last twelve years. Now I am told that under a Board's Standing Order, since the tank has been abandoned, the tank bed lands must be given back not to the poor people but to the landholders who are already possessing 100 acres and more. When the Hon. Sri Sanjeeviah was not a Minister but was a Member of Parliament, he himself took up the issue and represented matters both to the Collector of the district and to the Madras Government. He also demanded that the lands should not be given back to the landlords but should be given to the poor people who had been in possession of them. But the Collector has proceeded and has enquired whether those landlords who have applied for the lands now were the original landlords of 1908, and the Government propose to give those lands back to the landlords.

"Well, Sir, the Hon. Sri Subramaniam has been saying that he is going to wage a war on Communism by waging a war against poverty. I ask him, 'Is this the kind of war you are going to wage against poverty?' Sir, the poor people for the last so many years have been demanding the right of patta over the sivoyijama lands. They have been paying penalties year after year for the last twenty years. Still they have not been given pattas. After famine and after a cyclone, in the taluk of Nandikotkur, the Congress Ministry has collected Rs. 20,000 as penalty over those sivoyijama lands. It is not kind enough to give them the pattas but it is kind enough to take the lands forcibly from the Harijans and give pattas to the landlords. Sir, our own Minister, the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi has acquired in this connection some lands in Siddapuram tank, Atmakur taluk. But he is not kind enough to give pattas over sivoyijama lands to the poor people who have been tilling them for the last twenty years. Sir, this is the kind of struggle that the Hon. Sri Subramaniam wants to wage against poverty.

"Sir, I shall give one more example. In Pagidala village, there is a lagoon tank of 500 acres. The Government have spent Rs. 5 lakhs, removed the water, and brought 500 acres under cultivation. For the last three years, mostly Harijans have been tilling the lands there. But this Ministry comes forward to sell those lands at the rate of Rs. 1,000 per acre. Which Harijan possesses a thousand rupees to purchase the land which he has been tilling for the last three years, when his own purchasing power is so low that he is not able to purchase his own food and

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his own clothing? This is the kind of war that this Ministry is going to wage against poverty. Still the Ministry accuses us that we are standing for chaos. Who is standing for chaos? Is it the Congress Ministry that does not want to give lands to the poor people but leaves them to starve or is it those people who stand for the distribution of lands to the poor people?

"Sir, Hon. Ministers are asking us to give them a Vote of Confidence. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi is one of them. Though we come from the same district, I am not speaking with any personal grudge, but I want to bring to the notice of the House how he is trying to administer his department. There was a representation from the people of Atmakur about the panchayat board. The maladministration that is existing there and the malpractices adopted by the president of the panchayat board were brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister through telegrams and memoranda. The president of the panchayat board himself came to Madras, not to seek monetary help for the improvement of the panchayat board but to work for the removal of the executive officer who was standing in the way of his malpractices. The Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi was not kind enough to hear the wishes of the people and meet their demands. He was not kind enough to institute an enquiry into the corrupt practices of the president of the panchayat board. But he immediately gave the order to transfer the executive officer from Atmakur. Why? Not because the Atmakur people demanded it but because the president of the panchayat board who happened to be a supporter of the Congress wanted his removal. After the transfer of the executive officer was effected, thereby exhibiting the all-powerfulness of the panchayat board president to transfer the executive officer from one place to another, the Hon. Sri Sankara Reddi has ordered an inquiry in order to placate the people and mislead them. After having seen the all-powerfulness of the panchayat board president and after knowing that he has got the backing of the Minister in charge of that department itself, which officer will be bold enough to inquire into these matters and report on the corrupt practice of the panchayat board president? This is not a criticism directed against an individual but against the way in which our Hon. Minister is administering his department.

"Now, taking the Budget as a whole, the Government do not give us a proper share of their allotments for schemes of electricity or education. This Ministry has only tried to mislead the people of Rayalaseema by giving them four seats in the Cabinet. The Members from Rayalaseema only want that the betterment tax should not be levied and that more grants should be given for the development of Rayalaseema. I humbly request those who want to see the development of backward areas to oppose this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry and put the Ministry in its proper place. Rajaji to-day wants a Vote of Confidence. The people have already given their verdict. In the general elections, the people have declared in no unmistakable terms that they do not want this Ministry now. After the Congress Minister came

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into power, the people of Kakinada have given their verdict. The people in the Aruppukottai constituency in Tamil Nad have also given their verdict that they do not want this Ministry to be in office. But here, in order to get through the Budget proposals and the taxation measures, the Ministry wants to bind the hands of the Members by seeking a Vote of Confidence. I appeal to hon. Members not to fall a victim to the tricks of Rajaji but to oppose this Motion and see that this Ministry is removed from office."

* SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion of Confidence in the Ministry that the Leader of the House has moved to-day. The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has, in his statement, definitely said: 'Either all of you, irrespective of party affiliations, vote for this Motion, or else I will resign and then there will not be a Congress Ministry but there will be chaos.' It is assumed here that chaos will be created by the Opposition, namely, the Communist Party and others. Sir, this kind of threat has been held out not only here but also elsewhere all over the world, and not only now but for a very long time. But, in spite of these, the progressive forces, the democratic forces in the world have come together and to-day half of the world is under a People's democracy. But the kind of democracy that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is practising to-day, and the kind of democracy in the name of which he wants a Vote of Confidence from this House is a very peculiar kind of democracy. It is a democracy which puts upon the heads of the people a nominated Chief Minister. It is a kind of democracy in which the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari wants to rule by Ordinances. The other Hon. Ministers are only his children. Many of them have no past history of service to the country in the struggle for freedom. They have all been gathered together. It is this Ministry which wants to rule by an Ordinance every day and with the help of the Police. If the Assembly has to meet, it seeks the protection of the Police under one pretext or other. If it wants to impose a tax, it takes recourse to an Ordinance. Like that, unusual methods are adopted by the Ministry. When this kind of democracy exists, I want, in the name of the people, that this Motion should be rejected."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member will continue his speech to-morrow. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 10-30 a.m. on Tuesday, 1st July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

[1st July 1952]

Extension of nationalization of motor transport outside Madras City.

* 18 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) the stage at which the nationalization of bus services in South Arcot, Chingleput and Nellore districts decided in 1950, as per answer to Question No. 23, dated 9th August 1950, reported on page 287 of the last Legislative Assembly Proceedings, stands at present; and

(b) whether the Government will state the names of the districts for which schemes of nationalization of bus transport, have been worked out and the stage at which they stand at present?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“(a) The Government have since decided to defer extension of nationalization of motor transport outside Madras City.

“(b) The Government have taken no decision.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“May I know, Sir, for what reasons, the matter has been deferred?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“Sir, it has been deferred for administrative reasons and also because of the policy of Government at the present moment not to extend nationalization outside Madras City.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“May I know, Sir, whether the nationalization of the Madras City Transport is a paying one or not and, if the answer is in the affirmative, whether the Government will consider the desirability of extending this nationalization outside Madras City?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“This question does not arise out of the main question.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“May I know whether the employees under the nationalized system of transport are considered as N.G.Os.?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“What has that to do with this question?”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“May I know, Sir, whether there is any proposal before the Government to give up the nationalization of motor transport in the City of Madras and hand over the bus transport to private management?”

MR. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“Not for the present, Sir.”

[1st July 1952]

Report on the development of islands in the West Coast.

* 19 Q.—SRI A. APPU : Will the Hon. the Minister for Rural Welfare be pleased to state whether the report of the Special Officer appointed by the Government to investigate the possibilities of developing the Islands in the West Coast of the State has reached the Government, and if so, what steps the Government propose to take thereon?

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“Yes. The Government have called for the remarks of the Board of Revenue on the various recommendations made by the Special Inspecting Officer, and the Board is examining the report in consultation with the Collectors of Malabar and South Kanara. It is premature to say anything definite in the matter just at present.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“May I know, Sir, how long it will take for the Government to pronounce its final opinion on the matter?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“I cannot exactly answer that question now. The report is being examined by the Government.”

SRI A. APPU :—“May I know, Sir, whether the Government are aware of the disabilities of the islanders for want of communications, medical aid and educational facilities?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“These are the exact questions that have been dealt with by the Special Officer and they are being examined by the Government.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to state what the important recommendations of the Special Officer are?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“I am afraid, Sir, I cannot deal with them now in detail.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“May I know, Sir, when the report of the Special Officer reached the Government?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“On 31st March 1952.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“May I know, how long ago was the Special Officer appointed?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—“It was somewhere during the month of December last that an officer was appointed by the Government to investigate the possibilities of developing the Islands. His visit to the islands was delayed as no boat could immediately be made available to him. Meanwhile another officer was appointed and that was, I think, some time in January. The Officer took two months to report.”

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 1st July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

* 16 Q.—

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon Member Sri K. T. Kesaram has written to me that he is not putting this question standing in his name.”

Formation of the road from Kondotti to Vazhakkad.

* 17 Q.—JANAB K. M. SEETHI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state—

(a) at what stage the construction of the extension of the Vazhakkad road branching from Kondotti in the Kondotti Erka in Ernad taluk now is; and

(b) when it is likely to be completed?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ (a) & (b) The work of forming the road from Kondotti to Vazhakkad was originally included in the District Board Village Road Programme and the road has been formed up to mile 4/4. In order to expedite the work, the work of forming the remaining portion of the road as also the metalling of the entire stretch of the road and the construction of minor bridges on the entire road has been included in the Five-year Plan of Post-War Road Development and will be executed as quickly as possible.”

JANAB K. M. SEETHI:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the road will be further extended beyond the limit to which it is now proposed? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ Notice.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the road contemplated is a metalled road or the usual kind of road in Malabar district, namely, an aggregation of gravel heap? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ At present it is only a metalled road.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—“ I am only asking whether it is a metalled road and not merely a gravel heap spread out on the road which will be unfit for wheeled traffic.”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ Metalled road is one which is metalled and not merely gravelled.”

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" If a boat was not made available in time, may I know Sir, why the Officer had to be changed? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—" By the time a boat was made available, the officer first appointed had to go on some other duties, and so another officer had to be appointed."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" While the Special Officer had taken only two months for investigation and report, the Government had already taken three to four months for examination of the report. May I know, Sir, how much more time the Government will take roughly for concluding the examination of the scheme? "

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHIRAMA RAO :—" The recommendations of the Special Officer have to be studied by the Government very carefully before any pronouncement can be made."

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

II.—MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that I have received the following message from the Hon. the Chairman, Madras Legislative Council, dated the 30th June 1952 :—

' I transmit a copy of the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), as agreed to by the Council without any amendment and signed by me.' "

III.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—cont.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I want to fix a time limit of 30 minutes for each speaker. I have no objection to giving more time to any hon. Member who wants more time to speak. The hon. Member Mr. Venkatasiviah may now continue."

*SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Yesterday I was telling the House that the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari and his Government have a peculiar conception of democracy. Democracy in this State is at present functioning on the strength of the police force and Ordinances, and it is not functioning on the strength of the people behind it. That certainly is the reason why this resolution of confidence has come before the House. The people at Aruppukottai and Kakinada have given a verdict that they have no confidence in the present Government. The general elections held earlier have also shown clearly that the Government do not enjoy the confidence of the people. By just asking for a vote of confidence from this House, the Government want to repair the damage of the defeat they had at Aruppukottai. The Government have brought this resolution of confidence knowing that they have a majority in this House. There must be

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something behind this and that something is that the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari who heads this Government is himself a peculiar democrat as is evident from his own past history. He is a democrat who has always been depending upon repression and the police. It is quite clear from his own past history. He was perhaps the first Congressman who, while in office not long ago in 1937, arrested a public worker, a Congressman who was in the Socialist Party. He was the first Congressman who, while in office, sanctioned the shooting of workers in Chirala and Chittivelasa. He was the Congressman in office who, for the first time in the history of the Congress Governments, banned the Communist Party. He is also the Congressman who has got himself nominated first to the Council and who has now issued Ordinances to impose taxes. That is his past history.

" When in connexion with the election in Aruppukottai he made a straight appeal, he banked upon the very big projects he had taken up, for the success of his candidate. He thought that the stopping of the assignment of lands to political sufferers, the grant of school fee concessions to the children of non-gazetted officers, teachers and local board employees, and more than all, his policy of decontrol, would be real trump cards which would get his candidate through. But the people know what these things meant and they said 'No. We do not believe in your professions', and voted against his candidate.

" On the last occasion he declared that he was Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party; many others also had declared themselves to be the enemies of the Communist Party and so his declaration did not in any way alter the situation so far as the Communist Party was concerned. He need not tell them that he was their Enemy No. 1, for the Communist Party knew very well the past history of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. If he was Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party and he was going to be against them, the Communist Party knew how to take care of itself and nobody need bother about it. But, he has been Enemy No. 1 of the people right from the beginning as he relied upon repression and as he imposed taxation, not taxation of the rich but only of the poor. All the taxes he imposed while he was the Chief Minister previously and the taxes he has introduced even now are only taxes on the poor man. This is further in evidence in the Budget which he has presented to the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" All these points were discussed yesterday and the hon. Member should not repeat what was mentioned yesterday. If he goes on in this strain, I am afraid I will have to cut short the time of the hon. Member."

SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—" Sir, my speech cannot be a repetition of what other hon. Members have said."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I would like to tell the hon. Member that repetition is not allowed by the Rules of the House."

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* SRI P. VENKATASIVIAH :—“ Coming to his proposals in the Budget, I find that he allows the backward areas to become much more backward and in some places to remain in the same condition in which they are. I come from a constituency which is backward in the sense that it is lacking in irrigation projects, roads, civic amenities, education, etc. This constituency was neglected during the Britisher's time; it was neglected during the time of the first Congress Ministry and also during the last Ministry. People might perhaps argue that a project called the Kandleru Project was executed during the time of the last Ministry. I would only say that this was a big fraud played upon the people of Vinukonda. The estimate was to the tune of four lakhs but it went up to six lakhs and odd in the end. To-day, after two years of its completion, not even one acre is being irrigated under this project. There were breaches in the feeder canal quite near the headworks. There were representations that these feeder canal breaches should be repaired, but the Government have been sleeping over it; they carried out some inadequate repairs which have again been washed away by the floods. In this Budget a sum of Rs. 2,000 only has been allotted for repairs to a breach of nearly 100 feet in the canal. No excavation was done; it was low level ground and, in fact, a puddle wall has to be built up in masonry work to prevent breaches, but the Government think it is unnecessary, and they have allotted just Rs. 2,000 for earthwork repairs. I am quite sure that in the coming days when there would be rains, this also would be washed away.

“ So far as roads are concerned, Vinukonda is very backward. No roads were taken up all these years and there was only one earthen road which was taken up quite recently. I hope the road would be metalled after some time.

“ So far as the administration of the Vinukonda taluk is concerned, I can only say that, during the elections and after the elections, and even after the present Government was formed, and perhaps till Sri C. Rajagopalachari declared himself Enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party, the officials in that constituency—Police and Revenue officials—were behaving in a considerate manner, but after Sri C. Rajagopalachari declared himself the enemy of the people, there has been a change in the outlook of the officers themselves. It seems that when the police go to investigate a case, the only kind of investigation they know is to catch hold of any number of people, whether connected with the particular incident or not, and beat them, manhandle them severely and even maim them. Recently there was a case which I had to take to the District Collector. In this case the police knew very well that a particular man was not connected with the incident, but yet he was taken to the police station where he was manhandled and beaten very severely from 8 o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock. The man went to the Government doctor there and obtained a certificate. I would have liked to produce the certificate for the benefit of the Government and some of us here but I am sorry I was not able to get it and I am not having it with me now.

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I faced the Collector with this certificate. He only said, ‘ Well, you can go and file a case with the Revenue Divisional Officer against that particular police official.’ Well, if we file a case against a police officer, the whole department joins together and defends that police officer and they come out successful. Even if they do not come out successful, the man who complained will be taken to task at some time or other in connection with some other matter, and he will be dealt with again in the same manner. It has been happening all these years. There was a murder case in Badrupalem. The people in the village gave a clue to the police that the incident happened through a certain source. The police ignored this and instead took the people to task. A score of people were taken to the police station where they were manhandled and severely beaten and, in fact, a potter was just left within an inch of his life. Such things are happening even after Sri C. Rajagopalachari who is in charge, perhaps, of the police department has come to power.

“ In regard to the revenue administration in this taluk, the Tahsildar and also the Sarishtadar-Magistrate have to discharge two or three functions like treasury work, revenue work and the magisterial work of trying cases launched by the prosecution. They are overworked. When people go to him in connection with cases, the Sarishtadar-Magistrate is not able to take up the cases. They have to wait for the whole day at the end of which the case is adjourned, and again they have to come on the adjourned day and things go on like this. The people are put to much hardship. These people have to come from distances of 20 and 30 miles undergoing much hardships because there are no proper roads and bus services. Representations were made that the Sarishtadar-Magistrate's functions should be reduced and that a Sub-Magistrate should be appointed at this place but, till now, even after this Government has come into existence this question has not been taken up.

“ So far as famine relief work in this constituency is concerned, the Hon. the Revenue Minister, while he was at my place some time back inspecting the famine relief works, was perhaps satisfied with the kind of work that was being carried on. When he visited the gruel centres people complained of the bad taste and the unhealthy nature of the gruel supplied. I do not know exactly what opinions the Hon. the Revenue Minister has formed on this matter. Very detailed and lengthy representations have been made to him about the requirements of the taluk. I do not know till now what the Hon. Minister is thinking about them, but we know that he promised that, as the soil and the physical features of Vinukonda taluk were just like those of Rayalaseema, this taluk would be treated on the same footing as Rayalaseema in regard to its development. Whilst I am thankful for this opinion which he expressed, I am rather doubtful whether I should accept that opinion after I listened yesterday to what an hon. Friend of mine was saying with regard to the special footing on which Rayalaseema was to be placed.

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" This, Sir, is the kind of treatment that this constituency has been having at the hands of the previous Ministry and also this Ministry. Now, the Leader of the House wants that confidence should be expressed in the Council of Ministers headed by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. Well, the past history of Sri C. Rajagopalachari is there! The Ministers are going about making all kinds of promises every day. Even the Leader of the House himself went and said in a certain place that they were making promises too easily and it was difficult to implement them. They make promises but they do not implement them. That seems to be the policy which has always been followed by the Ministry.

11 a.m. " The Hon. the Minister for Revenue was telling this House in the last sitting that even the children were crying out for Nandikonda, and it is a fact that everyone was expressing the feeling that the Nandikonda Project should be taken up. The Revenue Minister was pleased to say that people could take it that one-fifteenth of the Cabinet was with them, and he also made the promise that as soon as he reached Madras, he would order a preliminary investigation, something like a layman's investigation. Those were the exact words used by the Hon. Minister. But, Sir, the other day he was saying that the people were shouting for Nandikonda, but his advice to them would be not to press much for that Project just now but direct their attention to the present plight of the people in the famine-affected areas and try to get through the famine. That is how he made the promise there and that is how he comes here and tells this House something quite different. Let me tell another instance to the House. The Hon. Sri Ranga Reddi, the Minister for Public Works, goes to Kurnool and says to the people that they might take it that the Krishna-Pennar Project would be taken up somehow or other, but after he comes to Madras, he tells this House that the Government have not taken any decision in the matter. There he spoke as though everything had been done by the Government for taking up the Project, but here on the floor of House, he denies the entire thing. That is how Hon. Ministers are saying one thing to the people outside and another thing on the floor of the House; and they deny what they have said to the people. It is like that, the Ministry is functioning: the Ministers break the promises made to the people, and deny what they have said to the people.

" The Leader of the House wants a Vote of Confidence and the Chief Minister has made an individual appeal to every individual Member here. The present Ministers belong to the Congress Party and they have been followers of the Congress policy from the beginning, and so, they cannot be absolved of their responsibility for the actions of the previous Ministry. The previous Ministry have killed 300 people—Communists, non-Communist sympathisers and people who were suspected of being sympathisers of the Communist party—and the most pitiable thing is that three young boys have been killed from my own taluk.

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One of them is Balavajram, a boy of sixteen or seventeen years who belonged to the agricultural labour community. He was taken out from his house, tortured for two or three months, then bound hand and foot and shot. Then the same fate befell, Subba Rao. He was tortured for three or four months, bound hand and foot and shot to death. The third case was that of Khaja Mian, who was the brother of a policeman. The policeman was imposed upon and deceived; he was told by the police officer that his brother was merely wanted for purposes of interrogation and just for some information. The poor policeman was enticed to bring his brother to the police station, and when accordingly he was brought to the station, he was taken by the police people to the camp, subjected to torture like the others, and finally he was also shot to death bound hand and foot. It was how the police people behaved and the same policemen have been allowed to still function under Rajaji's Premiership. Those are the people whom he defends just as the other day he defended the action of the Police Commissioner. I have some personal experiences to tell the House. My two brothers were taken to the police camp and kept there for months together, for their only crime of being my brothers, and even my seventy-year old mother was not spared; every week and every ten days, she was harassed by the police people asking her: Where is your son? Give us information about him. She is aged, weak and unable to move about, and with all that she was not able to go to any relative because the relatives were afraid of the police, lest they should harass them also for taking her into their house. It is only some 25 days back my brother died because the police tortured him so much. When he returned from the police camp he was a mere skeleton and his health was very much shattered; he languished for three or four months and finally he died because of the torture he underwent at the hands of the police. Another brother of mine complained of shooting pains in the region of the heart every day and on alternate days, and he complained that the police had beat him with the butt end of the rifle on the chest. I may tell the Government: It is like that you have treated every Member here; it is like that you have treated people outside; it is like that you have treated the Communist Party, and it is like that you have treated every democrat in the country who has come here as the representative of the people, and it is like that you are going to treat the people, and it is on the basis of those things that the confidence vote will be registered.

" The Hon. the Chief Minister was telling the House yesterday that there would be chaos in the country; rather he said that the Communists want chaos and nothing else. What he meant was that if the Congress was compelled to resign, there would be re-election, and if there is to be no Congress Government, it would be all chaos and nothing else. That is how he wanted to threaten the people and have a vote of confidence. That threat did not work, and I tell you to-day, half the world is being governed by people's democracy and half the world is with the

[Sri C. H. Kanaran]

[1st July 1952]

ആരാണ് ഇതിന് ഉത്തരവാദി? പുതിയ നിയമം ചുമത്തിയതുകൊണ്ട് വ്യവസ്ഥയ്ക്ക് നടത്തം കഴിയാതെ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. മാത്രമല്ല, 1951-ൽ ചർച്ചയ്ക്കുന്നതിന് 1 ക. 1 ന്ന നികുതി ഉണ്ടാക്കിയ സ്ഥലത്ത് 360 ക്ക് ചിലവാണ് ഉറപ്പിക നികുതികൊടുക്കാൻ അവർ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടത്. ഇതിനെ എതിർക്കുന്നത് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കാർ ഉൾപ്പെടെ എല്ലാ വിഭാഗക്കാരും വാദിച്ചു. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് സ്ഥാനത്തിലായി നിന്ന ശ്രീമാൻ എ. പി. രാമൻ തന്നെ നിവേദനം സമർപ്പിച്ചു. കൊടുത്ത നികുതി മടക്കുകയും എന്ന് ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പറഞ്ഞുവെങ്കിലും ഇനിയും മടക്കിക്കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ ഏകദേശം 50 ക. ആക്കി. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ നമുക്കറിയാം ഒരു പുതിയ നികുതി ആയുർവ്വേദ വൈദ്യന്മാരും കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നു. ആൽക്കഹോൾ (Alcohol) ഉണ്ടെന്ന കാരണത്താൽ ഒരു ഗാലൻ 35 ക. കൊടുക്കണമത്രെ. ഇത്ര അധികം നികുതി ചുമത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ വൈദ്യം ചെയ്യുവാനും മരുന്നു വില്പനയ്ക്കും എതിരെ സാധിക്കും എന്ന് ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ഇത് ഊർജ്ജത്തിലെ വൈദ്യന്മാരെ, സുഖദൈവ മന്ദിരം വൈദ്യന്മാരെ, നല്ല നിലയിൽ കാണുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണെന്നു അല്ല നാട്ടിലുള്ള വൈദ്യന്മാരെ നശിപ്പിച്ച്, അവിടെ വൈദ്യം നശിപ്പിച്ച്, മരുന്നു നാട്ടുകാർക്ക് വാങ്ങുവാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ നാട്ടുകാർ വൈദ്യസഹായം ഇല്ലാതെ മരിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ എന്നല്ല ഇതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം. എന്തിന് ഏറെ പറയുന്നു. കാരണം ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങൾ എടുത്തുനോക്കിയാലും സ്ഥിതി ഇതുതന്നെയാണ്. അഴിമതികളായും അങ്ങനെയും വലിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. പട്ടിണികിടന്നും ജീവിക്കാൻ മാർഗ്ഗമില്ലാതെ കർക്കർ ഉപയുക്തം. സാധാരണക്കാരന്റെ കടലും വലിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുപോയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ പട്ടിക തെറ്റാക്കുകയോ കാര്യം മന്ത്രിമാരും അത് കണ്ടു വായിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു എന്തിന് അന്വേഷിക്കുകയും അല്ലാൻ കാരണമെന്താണ്, കാര്യം നോക്കുകയും എന്തിന് എന്താണ് കാരണം ആണ് മനസ്സിലാക്കുക. നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി പറയണം. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി ഒരു തീരുമാനമെടുക്കണമെന്ന് പറയുന്നു. മി. രാജഗോപാലാചാരി സർ. പക്ഷത്തിലുള്ളവരും എരുപത്തിയഞ്ചു വയസ്സ് ആദ്യകാലം മുതലാണ് നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി എടുത്താൽ വരിക. നിഷ്പക്ഷമായി ചിന്തിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ശ്രീമാൻ പ്രകാശത്തെപ്പോലെയും ശ്രീമാൻ കേളപ്പനെപ്പോലെയുള്ള അനാധി കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് വിട്ടുപോയവരല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ നയത്തിന്റെ കൂടെയല്ല ഈ വിശ്വാസപത്രമേയെന്നു നോക്കുകയോ ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ അന്നുവെച്ച് കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ പറയുകയല്ല എന്നാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ ചോദിക്കുന്നത്. ഈ നാട്ടിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ആസൂത്രികളുടെ നിലയനുമാണെന്ന് എടുത്തു നോക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. ഇവിടെയുണ്ട് ആസൂത്രികളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ ശ്രീമാൻ കോരൻ പറഞ്ഞപോലെ പണം കീഴയിൽ വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടു തന്റെ പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടുകയില്ല. തെളിയില്ലേ? തെളിച്ച് ആരും അറിയാം എന്ന് മന്ത്രിസഭ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. കോഴിക്കോട് ആസൂത്രികളിൽ മാത്രമല്ല മലിനമായിട്ടും നിങ്ങളുടെ കീഴയിൽ നോട്ടങ്ങളോ റേറ്റിങ്ങ് തീർച്ചയായും അഡ്മിഷൻ (admission) കിട്ടും ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ കിട്ടാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ഇല്ലെങ്കിൽ പരാമർശം എവിടെയാണ് കൈക്കൂലിയും അഴിമതികളും ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഭരണം അന്തർവിട്ടുള്ളത്. കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണത്തിന്റെ ഫലമായി കൈക്കൂലിയും മറ്റു അഴിമതികളും വലിച്ചിടുകയാണ് കാരണമെന്ന്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ആദ്യം മുൻപ് കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഫീസാണെന്നു ഇന്ന് കൊടുക്കുന്നത്. സൗജന്യ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, പ്രാഥമിക വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം എന്നൊക്കെ പറഞ്ഞത് എവിടെയാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ആ വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങളൊക്കെ എവിടെയോ പോയി മറഞ്ഞുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. പക്ഷെ ആളുകൾ മലിനം കോളേജുകളിൽ ചേർവാൻ യോജി ഇവിടെവെന്ന് ഫലം കിട്ടാതെ നാട്ടു മുഴുവൻ തെങ്ങിനടക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ആളുകൾ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനുവേണ്ടി എത്രതന്നെ ധനം ചെലവ് ചെയ്തു മുന്നോട്ടുവന്നാലും ശരിയത്ര പ്രയത്നം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു പകരം അത് തടസ്സപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന ഒരു നയമല്ല മന്ത്രിസഭ കൈക്കൊള്ളുന്നത് എന്ന് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ചെറിയ ജലസേചനപദ്ധതികളുടെ കാര്യമെടുക്കുക. എന്റെ നാട്ടിൽ ഒരു അണക്കെട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിനു ഏകദേശം 1 1/2 ലക്ഷം ഉറപ്പിക ചെലവ് ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം തടയാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണ് ഈ അണക്കെട്ട് ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. പക്ഷെ ഫലം എന്താണ് ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം ചോർന്നുപോയി കൊണ്ടിരിക്കും. വെള്ളം കിട്ടിയാലും ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും ശരി നികുതികൊടുക്കണം. ഇതിനെ യാതൊരു ഫലം കിട്ടാതെ ഒരു അണക്കെട്ടിനുവേണ്ടി ആയിരക്കണക്കിളുള്ള ഉറപ്പിക 1 1/2 ലക്ഷം ഉറപ്പിക ചിലവാക്കിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇത് മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ വെച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഞാനും ശ്രീമാൻ കൃഷ്ണനും ഇത് മന്ത്രിയോട് പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അത് എന്താണ്

11-30
a.m.

[1st July 1952]

[Sri C. H. Kanaran]

പാലാപ്പട്ട കൃഷിക്കാരെ രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. 1949-ൽ ആണ് കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ഭൂമി ഈ ആവശ്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഏറ്റെടുത്തത്. പാവപ്പെട്ട കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ കൈയിൽനിന്ന് ഉള്ള നിലം തട്ടിപ്പറ്റിയ നിയമപ്രകാരം തട്ടി എടുത്ത അതിനു മൂന്നു കൊല്ലമായിട്ടും ഒരു പൈപോലും വിലകൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഒരു മറ്റൊരു ഉള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റാണെങ്കിൽ ന്യായമുള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റാണെങ്കിൽ വില കൊടുക്കുകയില്ലേ എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നത്. ഇതിനെ സ.ബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള മെമ്മോറാണ്ടം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പക്ഷെ ഇതുപോലും ഒന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. അതുപോലെ അടുത്തകാലത്തായി പുതിയ നികുതികൾ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ വന്നതിനുശേഷം പുതിയ നികുതികൾ നാട്ടിൽ വന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞു തുടങ്ങി. അതാണ് പരാമർശം. മത്സ്യം ഉണ്ടെന്ന ചാപ്പകൾ ഉണ്ട്. പെട്ടെന്ന് വിറ്റു തീർക്കാൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത മത്സ്യം ഉണ്ടെന്നു. അതിനു ഇന്ന് കെട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ള നികുതി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരു മത്സ്യം ഉപ്പു വാങ്ങിയിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ 30 ഉറപ്പികയാണത്രെ നികുതി. ആകെ ഒരു മത്സ്യം ഉപ്പുകൊണ്ടു ഉണ്ടെന്ന മത്സ്യം വിറ്റു കിട്ടുന്നത് 40 കാ 45 കാ ഉറപ്പികയാണ്. അത്രേ സമയത്ത് നികുതി 30 ക. കൊടുക്കണമത്രെ. ഇതിൽ എത്ര ന്യായമാണ് ഉള്ളത്? ഇങ്ങനെയൊന്നെങ്കിൽ ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥയ്ക്ക് നടക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാണെങ്കിൽ കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പറയുന്നത്, ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് മലബാറിലേ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കാരടക്കം ഒരു മെമ്മോറാണ്ടം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. അത് മന്ത്രിസഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ ഉണ്ടാകണം. ഇതിനോടും പുറമെ മലബാറിൽ ഒരു പ്രശ്നത്തെപ്പറ്റി പ്രത്യേകം പാത്രമുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. മലബാറിൽ വാങ്ങിക്കൊടുക്കുന്ന പാട്ടും ചുരുക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട് വേണ്ടത്, കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ സാധിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടി കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാർ പറയുന്ന നിയമനിർമ്മാണം ചെയ്യണമെന്ന് 1934 മുതൽ പ്രചോദനങ്ങൾ ആരംഭിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ശ്രീമാൻ, രാജഗോപാലാചാരികൾ തന്നെ അറിയാം ഇതിന് വേണ്ടി പല കമ്മിറ്റികളും ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട് അവസാനം കഴിഞ്ഞ മന്ത്രിസഭ കാലത്ത് മന്ത്രി രാധാകൃഷ്ണൻ ഇവിടുത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കളായ ഒരു സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി ഒരു നിയമം കൊണ്ടുവന്നു. “മലബാർ കടിയായ നിയമ ഭേദഗതി” എന്നപേരിൽ. പാട്ടും വലിച്ചിടുകയാണോ കടി കഴിപ്പിക്കുകയാണോ അധികാരം കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഒരു നിയമമാണത്. കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാർ മാത്രമല്ല, കെ. എം. പി. മാത്രമല്ല, സോഷ്യലിസ്റ്റുകാർ മാത്രമല്ല ഈ നിയമസഭയിലുള്ള മൂന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് എം. എൽ. എ. മാർക്സിട്ടി ഈ നിയമം അനുകൂലം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്—മലബാർ എം. എൽ. എ. മാർക്സിട്ടുകൾ പക്ഷം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്—ജനാധിപത്യമാണത്രെ എന്നിട്ടും മിണ്ടുന്നില്ല എന്ന് പറഞ്ഞാൽ, ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു എന്ത് ജനാധിപത്യമാണത്. ഇങ്ങനെയൊന്നെങ്കിൽ ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭ നാട്ടിന്റെ ഗുണത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ള മന്ത്രിസഭയാണോ ഇതെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു. ചുരുക്കിപ്പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഈ അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലങ്ങൾ ഭരണം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, നിങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്ന നിയമം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ, ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ, നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ—ഞാൻ ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നില്ല—ഏതെങ്കിലും തരത്തിൽ ഓഹിക്കാണല്ലോ നാട്ടിനെ നന്നാക്കുവാൻ ഈ മന്ത്രിസഭക്ക് സാധിക്കുമെന്ന് എന്ന് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. പല വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങളും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ സംബന്ധിച്ച വാഗ്ദാനങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ലേ? അതിലൊക്കെ വാഗ്ദാനം ചെയ്തവരുടെ ഒരു നിങ്ങളുടേതാണ്. ഈ പട്ടിക അവർ നോക്കട്ടെ എന്നാൽ അറിയാം. അവർ അല്ലെന്നതിനുള്ള കാരണം. രോഗനിവാരണ കാരണ ഇവിടെയല്ല കൊടുക്കേണ്ടത്. ഞങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരു പദ്ധതിയുണ്ട് “ബന്ധിതനിന്നു അടിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകും വീട്ടിൽ വന്നു അമ്മയുടെ മുറിയിൽനിന്നു കരയുക” എന്ന്. അതുപോലെ അടിക്കൊണ്ടു ക്ഷാമനിവാരണ, അന്വേഷണകമ്മിറ്റി, പക്ഷെ കരയുന്നത് അസംസ്കൃതയുടെ അകത്ത് വെച്ച്. മുന്നോട്ടു പോകാൻ ഒരുക്കമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മാത്രമേ നാട്ടുകാർ പിൻതാങ്ങുകയുള്ളൂ. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെതിരായി നിന്നുകൊണ്ട് ജയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചില ആളുകൾ ഇപ്പോൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ കൂടെ കൂടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്; മറ്റൊരാളിട്ടുണ്ട്. ശ്രീമാൻ മാണിക്യവേലു നായികർ ഇതിനു ഒരു ഉദാഹരണമാണ്. ഡെപ്യൂട്ടിമാന്റുകളിൽ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ളവർ രണ്ടാമതും തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നൽകട്ടെ; വോട്ടെടുക്കൽ സമീപിക്കട്ടെ; എന്നിട്ട് ജയിക്കട്ടെ. അല്ലാതെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ജയിച്ചതിനു ശേഷം കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ കൂടെ ചേർന്നുകൊണ്ട്, ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ കൂടെ ചേർന്നുകൊണ്ട്, വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയം കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നതു ന്യായമാണോ എന്ന് നോക്കുക. ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ വിശ്വാസ പ്രമേയം എന്ന് വോട്ട് ചെയ്യുക എന്നുള്ളതിന്റെ അർത്ഥം എന്താണ് നിഷ്പക്ഷ

[Sri C. H. Kanaran]

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മായി ആലോചിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ നാട്ടിന്റെ പട്ടിണിയുദ്ധത്തിന് മോട്ടോയായതല്ല. നാട്ടിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം ഇല്ലാത്തവർക്ക് പേണ്ടിയല്ലെ വോട്ടുചെയ്യുക. നാട്ടിൽ പോലീസ് മദ്യം നടത്താൻ വേണ്ടിയല്ലെ. അസംബ്ലിയിൽനിന്നു കാര്യം കൈമാറ്റം എടുക്കുന്നതാണ് നീങ്ങുക അറിയാമല്ലോ 144 പാസ്സാക്കിട്ട്. ഇതു എന്തൊരു രക്ഷയാണ്; രാജ്യത്തിൽ കഴപ്പാണത്രെ. എവിടെനിന്നാണ് ഇവർ കഴപ്പും കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചത്? നാട്ടു കാക്കൾ ശബ്ദിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ല ശബ്ദിച്ചാൽ കഴപ്പായി. നാട്ടുകാരെ പട്ടിണിയിട്ട് നവരേണിനു ചാത്തിയു. ശോക്കം വേണം ജനങ്ങളെ വെടിവെച്ചുകൊല്ലുവാൻ. പട്ടിണിക്കാർ മരിച്ചിയാൽ വെടി, ലത്തീ, ജയിൽ, തൂക്കമരം ഇതാണ് കൊടുക്കുക. ഇതിനെല്ലാം ഏതിനായി ശബ്ദിച്ചാൽ അതു വലിയ കഴപ്പായി."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House has listened with amused interest to the explanations that have been offered by the Hon. Chief Minister and by his disciple, the Hon. the Minister for Finance, and the reasons that have motivated the introduction of this Resolution. I believe, Sir, that these explanations that have been offered for tabling this resolution cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. One of them is that the United Democratic Front decided to boycott the occasion when His Excellency the Governor addressed both the Houses. I do not think that the Council of Ministers is so simple-minded as to assume that even if this Resolution is adopted by this House, the United Democratic Front would ever abandon altogether the method of boycott as a mode of drawing attention to any political issue in which they are interested. One would have assumed that this Council of Ministers, brought up as they are in the traditions of Gandhism, would have adopted a different mode of bringing about a change of heart. Instead of adopting this method of bringing forward a Vote of Confidence in themselves, I would have assumed that some of these Ministers would have adopted the Gandhian methods of squatting on the doorsteps of the several leaders of the Opposition and indulging in a hunger-strike and thereby inducing a change of heart in them. I submit, Sir, that the first reason that has been advanced is ludicrous.

"The second reason that has been advanced is, according to them, that they harbour certain misgivings that perhaps the people of this State do not want them. I am happy to note that these misgivings are at last beginning to dawn upon the Council of Ministers. But now, Sir, regarding this second explanation I submit that they are straining at the gnat of an Aruppukottai bye-election while swallowing the whole camel of the spectacular defeat of the Congress during the recent General Elections, at which practically every important Minister was unseated. That did not induce in them the inescapable conclusion that the people of this State did not want them to continue in office. But now, this one single Aruppukottai bye-election has induced this misgiving in them, that the people of this State do not want them. If this reason is genuine, namely, that they are actuated by the democratic tradition, that a Government should respond to public opinion, and if public opinion indicates that it does not want it, it should resign, then I for one would have applauded them for bringing this Resolution. But I do not think, that it is out of regard for democratic traditions that this Resolution has been

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brought before this House. Sir, let us examine the record of the Congress Ministry in the matter of accepting and following democratic traditions. Let us take the Aruppukottai bye-election itself. It was an election to a Parliamentary constituency. One would have assumed that Rajaji would have placed before the electorate the contending policies, namely, the Congress policies with regard to the Five year Plan or the Government of India's foreign policy and contrasted them with the policies which are being advocated by the other parties. Far from doing this in the spirit, in the genuine spirit of democratic traditions, he placed before the electorate an utterly irrelevant red herring. The electorate of Aruppukottai was told that the main issue that was posed in a Parliamentary constituency was whether Rajaji should continue as the Chief Minister of the Madras State or not—not as the Prime Minister of the Union Government, but as the Chief Minister of the State Government. I submit that this attempt to draw a red herring across the trail was contrary to the spirit of democratic traditions. I am glad that the people of Aruppukottai have treated this gross impertinence in the way it deserved.

"Let us take another instance with regard to the democratic traditions followed by the present Ministry. The Congress Party 11-45 a.m. treated the continuance of integrated controls, as almost an article of faith with them, and carried on a trade against those who advocated a relaxation of controls, or those who advocated the abolition of controls, and they accused all those who favoured decontrol of foodgrains as representatives of vested interests. In spite of the continuance of integrated controls being an article of political faith with the Congress Party, on which their members were returned, this Ministry without coming to this House and asking this House to give its opinion on the momentous step of removal of food control, Sir, without even consulting, according to my information, the members of the Congress Legislature Party itself, and giving them an opportunity to express their views, abolished procurement and rationing of foodgrains. The Legislature was faced with a fait accompli. I ask, Sir, with this a democratic procedure to adopt? By this one act alone the pretensions of this Ministry to be highly responsive to democratic traditions stand exposed.

"Now, Sir, I submit that the second reason that is advanced for moving this Resolution, viz., that they are hyper-sensitive to democratic trends, is not a genuine explanation. What then is the real motivation? I submit, this motion has been moved merely as a piece of face-saving; for it is well-known that Mr. Rajagopalachari issued a challenging appeal during the Aruppukottai elections, namely, that the Aruppukottai electorate should vote only for the Congress candidate, otherwise, it would mean, that the people in this State do not want him to be the Chief Minister. It was almost a promise given to the electorate, namely, that if they did not vote for the Congress candidate, he would resign. Sir, the record of the Congress Government has been one long record of broken promises, and the refusal of the

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Ministry to resign is going to be another broken promise. Now, to circumvent the pledge, to retrieve this colossal blunder which was committed in the Aruppukottai elections, we are being asked to vote for this Confidence Motion. In so doing, through a four-day debate a sum of 25,000 rupees of the tax-payers' money is going to be spent for this colossal and costly blunder committed at Aruppukottai.

"Sir, I submit this is not the only explanation for moving the present Motion. There is another explanation also. I would like to recall to you the recent statement made by His Excellency the Governor in which he said that Mr. Rajaji is a man who weighs his words. I accept that this is a correct characterisation of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I do not believe and I do not think any impartial observer believes that so capable and so astute a man as Mr. Rajagopalachari would, in a moment of vain glory, by inadvertence have uttered that remark of his during the Aruppukottai election. I believe, that that statement of his was a calculated risk, which Mr. Rajagopalachari was taking. It would certainly have occurred to him that the possibility, nay, the likelihood of the Congress being defeated at Aruppukottai existed. But why was the statement made despite that risk? That statement was in consonance with the political strategy which the Congress Government is following to-day. It is a well known fact that many elements of the upper strata of the peasantry in South India are disgusted with the past Congress practices and past Congress programmes and policies, and in some cases enraged by the mild reforms which the Congress Party brought forward during the last five years. It was indeed a sight for the Gods to see representatives of Mirasdars being supported by the United Democratic Front, and the candidates of the United Democratic Front being supported by the mirasdars during the last general elections! Mr. Rajagopalachari has now to face this peculiar feature of the political situation in South India, namely, that the upper layers of the peasantry which were the strongest base of the Congress in South India have unfortunately slipped away from their hands. He appealed to the class consciousness of the upper strata of the peasantry of Aruppukottai, and asked them to cast their vote not on the basis of communal or personal considerations but to vote for the Congress, the only party which could effectively defend them from Communism. If they should vote otherwise, he the sole bulwark against communism would resign and then, woe unto them, Communism would swamp them. Now that is the political calculation, that is the type of political blackmail with which Mr. Rajaji fought the Aruppukottai election. That is the strategy he played there. And that is the policy that is being tried in this House also. Now what is the issue raised by Mr. Rajaji here in this Motion? According to him the issue that this Motion raises is 'orderly Government *versus* Communist chaos!' He asks Members 'search your hearts, listen to the voice of God within you and vote for this Motion'. What is this God, this inner voice which he wants some Members

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to listen to? It is the voice of class consciousness. He assumes that there are certain non-Congress groups and individuals in this House who are genuine representatives of a class which the Congress Party really and more effectively represents, namely, the upper strata of the peasantry. Now the appeal he makes is to their class consciousness, and he appeals to them that the interests they represent will be better defended by their being on his side. He again warns them. If you do not support this Motion, my Ministry will resign—and then *Après moi le deluge*—After me, the deluge, the deluge of communism which will overwhelm and destroy you. The appeal he has made here is the same as he made at Aruppukottai, the appeal to class bias.

"Let me now go to another aspect of the matter. This resolution is very peculiarly worded. It is not a Vote of Confidence in any kind of Congress Ministry. It is for a Vote of Confidence in a special type of Congress Ministry. It asks for a Vote of Confidence in a Ministry headed by Mr. Rajagopalachari. In other words a distinction is sought to be drawn between previous Congress Ministries and this Ministry. In other words it is a clever attempt to escape from the sins of omission and commission committed by previous Congress Ministries. That is to say, it is an attempt to dissociate the present Ministry from the past Ministries, so that it may not be made guilty for the mistakes committed by the previous Ministries. I submit this is not a new technique in politics. Rajaji, as a member of the High Command, was responsible for the policy and for the administration of the Congress Ministries in this State. So, he cannot escape from that responsibility. If, for instance, the Congress Ministries were defeated during the recent elections, it is due to the policy recommended by Rajaji as a member of the High Command. Therefore, no distinction can be made between the past Ministries and the present Ministry. I submit this is no new phenomenon in politics, namely of trying to find scapegoats to escape responsibility and appease the discontent of the masses. We have found in Indian politics the phenomenon of Purushothamdoss Tandon being made a scapegoat, so that Jawaharlal Nehru may appear as a champion against obscurantism, the better to fight the general elections. Now the same is being done with regard to the previous Ministry. It is being made a scapegoat so that the present Ministry may not be blamed for its actions. So I submit this is nothing new. This technique was perfected in Russia where the Kremlin bureaucracy has discovered a series of scapegoats to escape responsibility for its own folly. Let me recall to you Sir, that of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party which led the October Revolution of 1917, except for Stalin and another survivor, and two others like Lenin who died natural deaths, all others have been liquidated for alleged Trotskyist sabotage, to escape from the discontents which arose as a result of the wrong policies and miscalculations of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Coming to India, during the period 1942-47 the entire Communist Party of India followed the lines of policy laid

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down by Mr. P. C. Joshi and the Kremlin. But when that policy failed, Mr. Joshi was blamed, was made a scapegoat and expelled. Now let us take the case of a Member of this House, Mr. Jeevanandam. He was characterised as an American agent during the period of adventure 1948-50 for having the temerity to express doubts about the policy which the Communist Party was following. I shudder to think what would have happened to him if he had lived in Russia."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"Sir, on a point of order, I wonder whether all this has any bearing on the Motion before the House."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is no point of order. Let the hon. Member continue his speech."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—"Now, Sir, there is another aspect of this particular Resolution, which I would like to comment upon. The Ministry is making a desperate effort to convince people that this is something new, something distinct from the previous one. The intention behind this Resolution is to show that this is not the usual type of Ministry headed by nonentities or mediocrities like previous Ministries, but something wonderful, headed by a master statesman. That is the intention behind this Resolution. The present tendency within the Congress is to develop a leader cult, (even during the last elections one noticed it). Congress went about canvassing votes not on the basis of the Five Year Plan but asked the voters to vote for the Congress candidate though he be a donkey or a mule, because their vote for a Congress candidate was a vote for the 'great leader', Nehru. Unfortunately for them, that particular tactics of building up a cult of leadership did not succeed in South India. Hence, the necessity for the Congress to build up a South Indian Messiah. This new cult, Rajaji himself has tried to foster. He has claimed that he is the chosen instrument of God, God's ambassador-plenipotentiary on earth. It will not be long, indeed I would not be surprised, if one day Rajaji claimed to be God, himself. When the Chief Minister appealed to the people to pray to God for rain and when the rains came in this State, some of the Congressmen began to look upon him as God, and that he has been responsible for the recent rains. If this be true, then, I would submit that it is time we sent up a special Resolution to the Union Government asking them not to waste the taxpayer's money any more in carrying on research on how to bring about the artificial rain. All that is necessary to do in the way of giving help to any particular State where there is suffering due to drought is to send Rajaji there as the Chief Minister of the State. That will be a very simple procedure and a simple method to adopt, which we can even recommend to the United Nations Organisation for adoption, as an unfailing method of increasing food production. Mr. Rajagopalachari wants to make himself out to be the sole and indispensable bulwark against an alleged Communist menace. Let us analyse the Resolution. The issue posed by this Resolution according to Mr. Rajagopalachari is: Either you want a Congress Ministry for the maintenance of order or you want a U.D.F. Ministry, which will

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bring Communist chaos. That is the issue in this Resolution, according to him. I submit, Sir, this is bluff which has to be called. Let us take the Communist programme. There is not one atom of truth in the statement that the programme of the U.D.F. is a Communist programme. As a matter of fact, the Socialist Party will even welcome a U.D.F. Government for this reason. (Cheers from the main Opposition benches.) Let not my friends anticipate me; the applause is premature because my remarks are not going to be complimentary. I say that we would welcome a U.D.F. Government only for the purpose of exposing the U.D.F. We believe that even if a United Democratic Front Government is formed, they cannot bring about socialism in this country. What does the U.D.F. advocate? The U.D.F., which is sponsored by the Communist Party at present, is advocating policies which have been proved to be bankrupt as a result of experience. Let me draw the attention of this House to the fruits of this policy which was carried out effectively during the years 1946 and 1947 both in France and Italy. We had what was called a Popular Front Government in France in 1946 headed by De Gaulle, in which some Communist members held important Ministerial positions. At that time Mr. De Gaulle was called progressive, but to-day he is characterised as fascist. Did not that Government with Communists in it try to establish more firmly than before the French imperialist rule in the French colonial territories? Did they not impose their colonial rule over North Africa? I submit that if the Communist Party wants to administer the capitalist system in South India through the United Democratic Front, they will be rejected by the masses as categorically and as forthrightly as the Congress Party has been rejected during the recent elections. Therefore, my submission is: for Mr. Rajagopalachari to say that this is an issue of ordered Government versus Communism is not correct. The issue really is between capitalism as administered by the Congress and capitalism as administered by the Communists through the United Democratic Front. I would like to see that the electorate is educated properly in regard to this matter, and that education can best be done through the bitter experience of a United Democratic Front Government. Unfortunately, Sir, the masses in the country have not learnt enough from past experience, viz., that when the Communist Party says one thing, it means something different. I submit Sir, that if we examine the programme of the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party we will find that it does not stand for communism or socialism. It stands for capitalism, or what they call progressive capitalism. To-day they are discovering progressive capitalists and progressive industrialists, who are independent of the so-called American and Anglo-American influences. That is why I say that the issue at present is not as between the Congress programme and the Communist programme, but as between one type of capitalism and another type of capitalism; and therefore, the Socialist Party will have no hesitation in rejecting and voting against the Resolution moved by the Hon. Finance Minister.

"Let me now turn to another point. The motive underlying the resolution may possibly be to create the impression that this

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മെനം ആ ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽ വരുന്ന ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങളെ സൂക്ഷ്മപരമായ നിരൂപണങ്ങൾക്കൊരു തിരുത്തുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കാ എന്നാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ കൊടുത്ത പ്രതിജ്ഞ. ഈ പ്രതിജ്ഞയ്ക്ക് വിപ്ലവപരമായ നിലയിൽത്തന്നെയാണ് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുശ്രയിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വാദപ്രകാരം പരിഗണിക്കാതെ ഈ വമ്പിച്ച ഭാരം ഏറ്റെടുക്കുവാൻ വന്നതിൽ കാണിച്ച സാഹസ്യത്തിന്റെ അപലപിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളുടെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ കൂടുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ ഒരുക്കമില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനുശേഷം ഈ സംസ്ഥാനം ഒരപത്തിന്റെ വക്കുതെത്തിയിരുന്നതായും എന്നു തോന്നുമറ്റുള്ള ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിയിലേയും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ സമാധാനപരമായ ജീവിതത്തിനും ജനങ്ങളുടെ ക്ഷേമത്തിനും അഭിവൃദ്ധിക്ക് നിഷ്ഠയായ ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റ് രൂപീകരിക്കുന്ന കാര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനുശേഷം ഞങ്ങളുടെ ആപ്തിയിൽ വെച്ച ഒരു കൂടിഞ്ഞുചേർന്ന നടപടി. ആ ചോദ്യത്തിൽ സംബന്ധിച്ച പലരേയും ഇന്നു U.D.F. കക്ഷിയിൽ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇന്നലെ നടന്ന പ്രസംഗങ്ങളിൽ honesty യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും political morality യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും സംസാരിക്കുന്നതായി കേട്ടു. Honesty യെയും political morality യെയുംപറ്റി സംസാരിക്കുന്നതെങ്കിലും അവർ അതിന്റെ പാഠങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതാണ് എന്നു സംശയമാണ്. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ തത്വസംഹിതയും ആദർശത്തിനും വിശേഷമായ തത്വസംഹിതയോടും ആദർശത്തോടും കൂടിയുള്ള ഒരു പാട്ടിയുടെകൂടെ ചേർന്നു നാട്ടിനെ കമ്യൂണിക്കേഷൻ ശൂന്യതയിലേക്കും നയിക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നവരോടു കൂടേന്നു കാണുമ്പോൾ ഈ പദ്ധതിയോടൊപ്പം വെറും അധഃശബ്ദങ്ങൾ അല്ലെ എന്നു തോന്നിപ്പോകുന്നു. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ ശക്തിമന്തയായ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി ഈ അസംബ്ലിയിൽ മെമ്പർമാരായി കടന്നുകൂട്ടുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചില സാമ്പത്തു നാൾ ഇന്ന് മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ വിശേഷകക്ഷിയായ, മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ തത്വസംഹിതയെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയോടുകൂടിയ കക്ഷിയായ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷിയോടുകൂടി ചേർന്നു പ്രവർത്തനം നടത്തുമ്പോൾ അവർ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി കിട്ടിയ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു രണ്ടാമതു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിന്നു നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്നു. ഒരു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് കഴിഞ്ഞ് ഗവണ്മെന്റ് രൂപീകരിക്കുന്നത് നാട്ടിനെ സമാധാനപരമായും ജനങ്ങളെ ഗുണകരമായും ഒരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു വേണ്ടിയാണ്. അതാണു കക്ഷിയുടെ ബോധം പരീക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി തങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു പുതിയ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടത്തിയാൽ അത് കഴപ്പും വേർതിരിച്ചുപോകുന്നതായ സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം നയിക്കുവാനോ ഒരു സുസ്ഥിരമായ ഗവണ്മെന്റു നാട്ടിനെ പുരോഗതിയിലേക്കു നയിക്കുവാനോ ഒരിക്കലും സഹായിക്കുകയില്ല. എന്നിട്ടും ചിലർ പ്രസംഗിച്ചതായി കേട്ടു മെമ്പർമാർ തങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ രാജിവെച്ചു ഒരു പുതിയ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പു നടത്തണമെന്ന്. ജനങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചടത്തോളം ഒരു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ സുസ്ഥിരമായ ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റ് രൂപീകരിച്ചു നാട്ടിനെ മുന്തിയൊട്ടെക്കൊണ്ടുപോകുകയാണ് ആവശ്യം. മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനെപ്പറ്റി പല അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളുണ്ട്. കഴിഞ്ഞ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ കെട്ടുകൾ ഞങ്ങൾ നല്ലപോലെ മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവർ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ പരാജയപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളത് ഞങ്ങൾ മറച്ചുവെച്ചിട്ടില്ല. പക്ഷെ സമാധാനപരമായ ഒരു ജീവിതം സംഗീതപ്രായമാക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടിയാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കക്ഷിയുടെ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ അനുശ്രയിക്കുവാൻ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയത്. മലബാറിൽനിന്നു വന്ന ഒരു എം.എൽ.എ. ചെയ്യ പ്രസംഗത്തിൽ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗുകാരോട് ഒരു അഭ്യർത്ഥന പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. നിങ്ങൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ എതിർപ്പിനെ വോട്ടുകൾക്കൊണ്ടാണ് തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ജയിച്ചത്. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് നിങ്ങളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത വോട്ടർമാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തെ മറന്നിച്ച് ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ രാജിവെക്കുവാൻ വോട്ടാചയ്യണമെന്നു ഞങ്ങളും പറഞ്ഞു. അദ്ദേഹം വലുതായ ഒരു ചിന്താശക്തിയിൽ പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നു ഞാൻ പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു തന്നിട്ടുള്ള മൻഡേറ്റ് (Mandate) വ്യക്തിസാമ്പത്തുളള ജനകീയസഭാസമ്മേളനങ്ങളെ മൈലിവിശ്വാസത്തിൽ അടിയുറച്ച തത്വതത്വസംഹിതകളെ ഇല്ലാതെ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷിയായി സഹകരിക്കുകയില്ല എന്ന നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു Mandate ആണ്. മൈലിവിശ്വാസത്തെ നിഷേധിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളായി സഹകരിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജക മണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ അധികാരം തന്നിട്ടില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് കക്ഷിയെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കേണ്ടിവന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഞങ്ങൾ ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള അവരുടെ ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങൾ ജനങ്ങളുടെ മുമ്പാകെ തുറന്നുകാട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ

[1st July 1952] [Janab Kunhi Mohamad Shafee]

കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷിയെ വിശ്വ വിശ്വാസത്തെയും നയങ്ങളെയും അവരും ഞങ്ങളും തമ്മിലുള്ള വ്യത്യാസത്തെയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ ജനങ്ങളോടു വ്യക്തമായി ഞങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷി ദൈവവിശ്വാസമില്ല, മത വിശ്വാസമില്ല, വ്യക്തിസാമ്പത്തുളള ഇല്ല. സ്റ്റേറ്റ് സകലതും ആർജിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് മത ക്ഷയത്തെ വ്യക്തിപരമായ പുരോഗതിയെ ഇല്ലാതാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടുള്ള ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയാണ് കമ്യൂണിസം എന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നു. ജനികൾ അനുശ്രയിച്ചിരുന്നത് കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരെയായിരുന്നു എന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. പക്ഷെ നിങ്ങളെ അനുശ്രയിച്ചിരുന്നത് ആരാണെന്നു എന്റെ അനുഭവം വെച്ചു പറയുന്നു. ഒരു മാലിഖാൻ വാങ്ങുന്ന—ആയിരം ഉറപ്പികയാണെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അറിവ്—ഒരു ജനിയുടെ മകനും കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കക്ഷി ഏജണ്ടായിരുന്നു എന്നിട്ടു എതിരായി എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ പ്രവർത്തിച്ചിരുന്നത്. അതു പരസ്യമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്. അതുപോലെ തന്നെ ഒരു ജനിയായിരുന്നു എന്റെ നേതാവായ ഉപ്പിസാഹിബിന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനെ എതിർത്ത കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥി എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിവരിക്കരുത്. കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ ഭരണവൈകല്യങ്ങൾക്കൊരു എത്രയോ അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങൾ തീർച്ചയായും ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ട്. അതു പരസ്യമായി പറയുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അതുപ്രകാരം തന്നെ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാരെപ്പറ്റി നാട്ടിലുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം, ആശങ്കകളെ അഭിപ്രായം, ഞങ്ങൾ വോട്ടർമാരുടെ മുമ്പാകെ വെച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നിട്ടു അവരുടെ Mandate വാങ്ങി ട്രാൻസ് ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഞങ്ങൾ സ്വന്തവകുലമായ മുസ്ലീംകളുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളും താല്പര്യങ്ങളും സംരക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിന്നു വേണ്ടിയും നാട്ടിന്റെ പുരോഗതിക്കും ജനങ്ങളുടെ പുരോഗതിക്കും വേണ്ടിയും ഞങ്ങളുടെ കഴിവനുസരിച്ചു പ്രവർത്തിക്കും എന്നുള്ള പ്രതിജ്ഞയാണ് ഞങ്ങളുടെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലെ ഭരണകർമ്മം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. എന്റെ മലബാറിലെ കമ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് സ്റ്റേറ്റ് മന്ത്രി അദ്വൈതചൈതന്യം ഇന്നത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ ശോച്യമായി മന്ത്രിസഭ ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ വിചാരിച്ചാൽ എന്നാണ് വാഗ്ദാനം ചെയ്തതെന്നു ഞാൻ ചോദിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. നിങ്ങളുടെ ഐക്യമുന്നണിയിൽ നേതാവായി തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്ത മന്ത്രി ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന ആ കാലത്തു ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടായ അനുഭവം എന്നാണ്; മലബാറിലെ മുസ്ലീംകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച വ്യാജങ്ങൾ പറഞ്ഞുപറഞ്ഞിരുന്ന വിശ്വാസിച്ചു വെള്ളപ്പുഴാളത്തെപ്പോലും മലബാറിലേക്കു മാച്ച് ചെയ്യുവാൻ ഇടയാക്കിയ ഒരാളെയാണ് ഇന്നു നിങ്ങൾ നേതാവാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ളതു എന്ന സംഗതി മറക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. മലബാറിലെ മുസ്ലീംകൾ വ്യാപാരത്തിൽ ഏർപ്പെട്ടിരുന്ന സകല തുറകളിലും വ്യാപാര തകർപ്പു വ്യാപാരസാമ്പത്തുളള ഇല്ലാതാക്കുവാൻ ഇടയാക്കിയ പി. സി. സി. സെക്കിന്റേറ്റിക്ൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചു നിങ്ങൾ നേതാവാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള ആ മന്ത്രി ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ ഭരണവൈകല്യം പിടിച്ചു ഭരണം നടത്തുന്ന കാലത്തായിരുന്നു. അതു മറക്കാൻ നിങ്ങൾ ഞങ്ങളോടു പറയരുത്. ഇന്നു ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ മറിച്ചിട്ടു പകരം ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭ രൂപീകരിക്കുവാൻ പറയുന്നത് ഈ മന്ത്രിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലാണ്. ഈ കാര്യത്തെ മറന്ന് നിങ്ങളെ അനുശ്രയിക്കും എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിചാരിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ നിങ്ങൾക്കു വിശ്വപ്രായാശ്ചിരം എന്നു ഞാൻ പരസ്യമായി പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. മലബാറിൽ നടക്കുന്ന പോലീസ് അക്രമങ്ങളുടെ പട്ടിക മലബാറിലെ ഒരു മന്ത്രിമന്ത്രി ഇവിടെ വായിച്ചു കേട്ടു. പോലീസ് അക്രമത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഞങ്ങൾ തലവമുട്ടിയിരുന്നില്ല. അന്ന് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മന്ത്രിസഭയെ നീക്കംചെയ്തു അധികാരസ്ഥാനം പിടിച്ചെടുക്കണം എന്ന ചിന്ത ആഗ്രഹിച്ചിരുന്നു. ചില നേതാക്കൾ ജനങ്ങളെ കഴപ്പും പിടിച്ച സ്ഥിതികളിലേക്കും അക്രമത്തിലേക്കും ഉന്തിനിൽക്കുവാൻ സമാധാനം പാലിക്കുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഏകദേശം ന്യായമായ നടപടികളെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്ന പതിവ് മുസ്ലീംകൾക്ക് ഇല്ല. പക്ഷെ അന്യായമായി പോലീസ് നടത്തുന്ന അക്രമങ്ങളെ മുസ്ലീംകൾ ഏതു കാലത്തും എതിർക്കിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് ഒരു പക്ഷപ്പെരമാന്തം മാത്രമാണ്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് സാമ്രാജ്യത്വം ശക്തിമന്തയായി വാണിരുന്ന കാലത്തു—സൂപ്പർ അസൂമിക്കാത്ത സാമ്രാജ്യത്വം തങ്ങളോട് എന്തു ഗര്വ്വം സോപ്തമായിപന്തളത്തോടുകൂടി ഭരണം നടത്തിയിരുന്ന കാലത്തു—സാമ്പത്തുളള അതിവേഗ നിരയുധരായി ധൈര്യത്തോടുകൂടി ആറുമാസക്കാലത്തോളം അവരെ നഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുകയുണ്ടാക്കിയ സാധിക്കാത്ത പുറത്താക്കിയ പരമ്പരയുമാണ് ഞങ്ങളോട് എന്നു നിങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കരുത്. ആ പാരമ്പര്യം ഇന്നും ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഉണ്ട്. അക്രമത്തെയും അന്യായത്തെയും അനിശ്ചയതയും വെച്ചുപുലർത്തുന്ന ആരെയും ഞങ്ങൾ എതിർക്കു തന്നെ

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has given a clear verdict that they do not deserve to be in office? Of course, the opposition against the Congress candidates frittered away as there were a number of parties and there was a lot of division amongst them. However, the results are there for anybody to judge. In this House which consists of 375 Members, the Congress could manage to get only 152 seats. Naturally, they have got to seek the aid of other parties. Mr. Rajagopalachari knows it very well. The past history of the Congress is also known to him. That is the very organization which sent him out of this State. People remember what took place at Thiruparankundram. The very people who are now backing him hurled stones at him there. I do not mean actual stones. They did not want him in this State and they even called him a traitor, for he spoke the truth. Thus he was sent out of this State at that time. Now he has come back as the Chief Minister of this State. If the Congress Party had secured about 300 seats or even 250 seats in this Assembly, would Mr. Kamaraj have gone to Mr. Rajagopalachari for his aid? That is the direct question that I would like to put to the Chief Minister. Simply because they were in trouble, they went to him and requested him to take up office here in the name of the Congress. In those circumstances only they went to him and brought him back from his seclusion. I take the words of the Chief Minister at their face value. He said that he was retiring from politics. He came back to Madras to enjoy a retired life. How did they drag him out of his retirement? There was an article in the Tamil journal, *Kalki* to the effect that asking Rajaji to take up the reins of the Government would look as ridiculous as asking Ramana Maharishi of Tiruvannamalai to come and take up the post of a Commissioner of a Municipality. That article only blinded the leaders of the Congress Party. They thought that Rajaji was not going to take up this job. They were not very serious about it. They simply went to him asking him to take up the leadership, because they were not united among themselves. There were groups and there were cliques in the Congress Party. I have also been a victim to this kind of cliques. The Father of the Nation had himself said that there were cliques working in the ranks of the South Indian Congressmen. That clique sent Rajaji out of this State. That is the clique which sent many of us out of the Congress organization. I had the privilege to belong to the Congress organization some time back. We were honestly working in that organization. We went forth our view-points honestly before the last Ministry. But the last Ministry was helping its own henchmen and the Ministers' own community men. That is how the Congress organization has come to this dismal state. In Chingleput, I may bring to the notice of the House that one of the previous Congress Ministers, who is no more here, managed the whole thing. It was all his patrimony and he helped his own men. His own men were put up as candidates and people who had really done some real sacrifice did not find a place. They were neglected. That is what happened in the South Arcot district also. In that district, the Tamilnad Toilers' Party would not have come to the limelight but for the faults committed by the Congress bosses. There, one particular community—I do not mean any disrespect to anybody—viz., the Reddi community had the

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entire privilege of conducting the Congress organization. In Chingleput, Vellala Mudaliar, in Coimbatore some Gounders who are big landlords, in North Arcot some Reddiars and in some other places some other particular community people were being helped. This kept on going and it was stinking. So, some honest men like me (laughter) had to leave the Congress. It is because of this, leaders like Sri Prakasam, Acharya J. B. Kripalani and others left the Congress and formed a separate party. We have formed a separate party not for the purpose of creating chaos in the country, but for saving the country from this political exploitation. That is the state of affairs under which the Chief Minister has been brought to office. That is how they have managed the affairs. Now, they are asking the confidence of the House. Let us examine a few of their past deeds—first, the vexatious policy which they have been perpetuating in the country in regard to this food control. We have been clamouring for decontrol of a different type. We wanted decontrol and at the same time we wanted an reduction in prices. Now what has happened? The ordinary man, say, a labourer in the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills, has to pay a very heavy price for the rice that he has to purchase. What happened after decontrol? Of course, there is plenty of rice. It is not being hoarded by the capitalists as it was done formerly. But, at what price is it available? The Chief Minister can, of course, manage to purchase rice at Re. 1-8-0 a measure and so he does not mind about the increase in prices. It does not affect him. I can also manage to purchase rice at that price. What is the condition of the labourer or the common man? He is suffering a lot. It is very difficult for him to manage with his meagre wages. If this decontrol policy is to be a success, the Government must see that the prices prevailing in the market at present go down to the level of controlled prices. We have been clamouring for a reduction in prices. The Congress press has been painting a very wrong picture to the outside public that we are fighting against decontrol and so we are the real enemies of the country. It is wrong to say that we do not want decontrol. We want decontrol, but at the same time we want that prices should also go down, so that the ordinary labourer may have a fair deal.

“ There has been a complaint that there is lack of rains due to disafforestation. In season and out of season, there has been a talk about this silly Vanamahotsavam. What is the real meaning or description of this? Of course, there are no trees and there is paucity of rains. We do not get seasonal rains as there are no trees to attract sufficient rains. Instead of growing more trees they should see that the cutting of trees is stopped. What have the past Congress Government done on the other hand? They were giving waste lands and forest lands—lands grown with all types of vegetation, to the political sufferers, i.e., thyagis. I have instances on record to show that one Member,—a Congress M.L.A., from Tirunelveli, got 150 acres of land on which trees were originally grown but which are now under cultivation. In Kodaikanal, an area covering 65 acres has been given to a Congress boss and so much area has been disafforested.”

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SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" On a point of order, Sir, when a Motion of Vote of Confidence is discussed, I see that most of the Cabinet Ministers are absent from the Treasury Benches . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" That is no point of order. Let the hon. Member continue his speech."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" I was giving some instances to prove that the late Congress Government, though it did certain things with good intention, did certain other things which went against what they desired. I can cite the authority of Dr. B. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, to prove what I say. He has clearly stated in a document ' Food and Agriculture in Madras State ' that much forest land has been destroyed. He describes the area affected thus : ' Imagine there is a road of 60 feet in width from Kanya Kumari, that is Cape Camorin, to the Himalayas in the North. The forest area destroyed by the last Government is equal to the area of this road.' So much of forest has been disafforested by the Congress Government. At the same time they come and ask us to plant trees every year and they have no records to show how many trees are planted every year, how many live and grow and whether there are tree guards to protect them. The Government should do such things properly and not create a farce. On the one hand they say, ' plant more trees ' ; on the other hand they go on giving forest lands to people who cut down trees on the lands and bring them under cultivation for their own benefit.

" Then, what has happened in the matter of procurement? I had the opportunity of visiting the villages in my constituency and noticing the misdeeds perpetrated by the officials. I am not referring to individual officers. But as a whole, they committed lots of misdeeds in Chingleput. They did not go to the big zamindars, the big mirasdars and landlords. They went to the small landholders having two or three acres of land, producing just 20 to 30 bags of paddy and squeezed all that was available. That is why the verdict of the people went against the Congress. Chingleput is supposed to be a Congress stronghold. More than fifty per cent of the seats has gone to other parties there. Seven seats went to other parties and Congress got only six seats. Of these six Congressmen, some were persons who were fighting against the Congress in those days and crying hoarse against Congress rule. They walked into the Congress camp and got selected. We cannot judge the work of this Government on the basis of what they have done in the last two months. But we will take into account all that the Congress Government did in the last six years.

" Coming to Prohibition, I admit it is a moral measure. It is a good measure. Let me disclose a small secret of my life. I had been myself a liquor merchant before the introduction of Prohibition and you must believe me, Sir, when I say that I have not taken even one drop of liquor in my life (Hon. Members : ' Very,

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good.') I am saying this because there are some Congressmen who still drink. (An hon. Member : ' You were once a Congressman.') I was once a Congressman but still I am a good man."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I find visitors in the galleries also clapping their hands. I warn them once more. If they do it again, I will have to clear the galleries."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—" Sir, Prohibition is a very good measure. But are the people prepared to abide by it? Why should we be blind to realities? What is now happening in the villages? If any Member disputes what I say, I would request him to go with me and see for himself what is going on there. There, illicit distillation is carried on a large scale without any fear. They do it with the blessings of the officials themselves. That is the snag. The Officials are against the Government. You are sitting here and they tell you that everything is going on well. You immediately issue bulletins that Prohibition is a success. What was the object of Prohibition? It was to reduce the number of people addicted to drink. Now the number has increased ten-fold. They drink all sorts of nasty stuff like varnishes, paints, sulphates and French polish, with the result that their health has been spoiled. Statistics will show that the patients in hospitals suffer from several types of stomach diseases caused by the consumption of such stuff. These diseases were not there before Prohibition came into force. People were hale and healthy. Now many people take to drink and that too to improper stuff. The officials give them their secret sanction. I request the Government to be more practical in their policy.

" There is a law that people should not smoke in the cinema theatres during the matinees, and that during the other two shows smoking should be in a restricted form. I want to know whether this is strictly enforced. The Government are not checking this effectively. Even educated people who are expected to be law-abiding, smoke openly, so that the law is disobeyed rather than respected. I am drawing your attention to all this, because however good a measure may be, so long as the people do not want it, you have no moral right to bring in such a measure. It is only a faddist who will force such measures on the people.

" I shall then come to sales tax, which our Chief Minister had the privilege of introducing in our State. Of course, he will now turn round and say that there is dearth of funds, that the Government have lost 18 crores of rupees due to Prohibition, and that they must have the sales tax to improve their revenue position. Sir, I was one of those who supported the sales tax when it was introduced. But how it has affected the people very much, I have realised only after practical experience. To cover the deficit in the Budget, we cannot resort to sales tax which is all-pervading and which embraces everything in the country. It does not leave out anything, and I am afraid the only thing that it has not touched is something which I shall not say because it pertains to ladies who are present here today. Sales tax must be such as will not affect

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foodstuffs. We have been clamouring for the lowering of prices. We have brought to the notice of the Government that prices are going up. I am not sure what is going to happen in future. Whether this Government will be thrown out or whether they would succeed in getting a majority for the Motion, let me tell them, if they continue in power, that the people are disgusted with their sales tax. I want that sales tax on foodstuffs must be removed.

“ Why the Congress Party and the Congress Government have come into so much disrepute, the Cabinet must be in a position to gauge. Five years ago, no man dared to oppose the Congress. But now in every street corner there are anti-Congress slogans raised and there are many candidates arrayed against the Congress candidate. Let us now take up the charges brought by Mr. T. Prakasam against the old Ministers. If you really meant business, you should have instituted an enquiry against those Ministers even though they are not in office now. The charges were charges of corruption. You must have constituted a Committee of Enquiry and sent up these charges to it for enquiry and proper investigation. If the Ministers are aboveboard, they will go before the country again and seek their confidence. If the charges had been enquired into, people would have been satisfied. If individual Ministers were responsible for corruption, they would have received proper treatment from the people. But that has not taken place. No enquiry was held. What is the result? The entire blame for their misdeeds fell upon the new entrants into the Congress, and though they fought the elections under strenuous conditions, they could not secure a majority. I only request the Government to institute an enquiry into the charges brought by Mr. T. Prakasam. It is their duty to do so. Then only the party will rise in the estimation of the people.

1 p.m. “ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am no Communist. When the Communists were levelling charges against the police, the party in power was inclined to think that they were their hereditary enemies, and they never cared to pay any attention to the charges. As I said, I am no Communist, yet I am bringing to your notice the atrocities that I have myself seen committed by the police on the villagers in some villages of the Chingleput district. My friend Mr. Ramachandran who is in the Congress ranks will vouch for the truth of my statement. In Vembodu and Tirupporur (Chingleput taluk) the police were let loose on the villagers; they were molested and their women were raped. These atrocities were committed with a view to extract some details and information for feigning a case against some individuals. It was the Congress bosses that were behind these things. The local police committed all sorts of horrors which are beyond description. If the Chief Minister means business, he should at once send a circular to the police officials and the departments concerned that they should not adopt such repressive methods, which the Congressmen allege the Communists would do if they were to come to power.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member has taken half-an-hour. He should conclude his speech.”

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* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—“ One word more and I will finish. Why did we leave the Congress? We left it because, as you said Mr. Chief Minister, the Congress stables were stinking; and you have now come to clean them.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member should address the Chair and not the Chief Minister.”

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, with pangs of separation and a painful heart we left the Congress organization and we left it only recently. Before us the Socialists left the organization. Long before them, the Communists left the Congress, because the old things were continuing. If you really mean that your party should be in power or your party should become stronger as ‘ the party that struggled hard to obtain freedom,’ which I do not believe—if, at least weed out the vested interests from that party.

“ Lastly, Sir, I say nobody is indispensable for anything. This Ministry is supposed to be headed by ‘ C.R.’ ‘ C.R.’ no doubt is a noble man. We want his services. But is ‘ C.R.’ indispensable? Our Father of the Nation was there. When he was alive we thought he was indispensable; nobody ever imagined that he would be shot dead. But after him we are all living, we are still existing. We are planning in our own way. So nobody is indispensable. Gandhiji is no more; but our country has not gone to dogs. The skies have not fallen on us. If ‘ C.R.’ is not going to be at the head of affairs, chaos will not overtake us. We will give the people a proper Government if a chance is given to us.

“ Thank you, Mr. Speaker.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The House will now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 2-45 p.m.”

(After lunch—2-45 p.m.)

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is really a peculiar occasion when speaker after speaker got up and spoke opposing the Motion. We find that none from the Congress benches got up either to speak in support of the Resolution or against it. The Leader of the House told us that he had given them the option to vote on this Motion as they liked. I presume he has also given them the option to speak. But unfortunately till now there has been no speech from the other side. And on account of this, it is getting a little monotonous—always hearing speeches criticizing and condemning the Congress policies. That is why I want the Hon. the Chief Minister to allow Members from the Congress benches. (Interruption.)”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ The Hon. the Chief Minister suggests that you may provide the change.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Unfortunately I am sitting on the side of the Opposition. The Hon. Minister for Finance is there to do everything for the Chief Minister.”

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MR. SPEAKER :—" I am not able to follow the hon. Member. What is it that he is saying? "

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I am only saying that till now not a single Congress Member has spoken . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" I am not able to follow the hon. Member. "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" He was disturbed by my joke, Sir. "

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I hope at least after my speech some of the Members from the Congress benches also will speak, so that we could answer some doubts or questions which they might raise. Perhaps the Hon. Minister wants to give every opportunity to his partymen to attack the Communist Party, because tomorrow and the day after, they will get more opportunities. To make this a real debate, to know the viewpoints of the Members on the other side, it is better that they also speak, so that we may reply to the points and clear the doubts that might be raised by them, and state our attitude towards this Congress Cabinet.

" Sir, coming to the Resolution proper, before it was moved by the Leader of the House, the Chief Minister intervened and made the position clear as to why he has brought in this resolution, and at this stage. I am not able to understand why such a high priority should be given to this Resolution at this stage. In the ordinary course of events, in other countries where democratic practices still exist, such as in England where the Chief Minister has himself agreed that democratic practices exist, such Resolutions will be brought in only during the course of the Budget debate or during the discussion on some Bills, if the party in power is defeated on any particular question. We are about to discuss the Budget and vote on the Demands. If any of the Demands are voted down, then it will be just and proper for the Government to bring in such a resolution. Now this Resolution has been brought in with a purpose. Whatever might be the reasons which impelled the Hon. the Chief Minister to bring in this Resolution, I feel that the discussion that we would be having during the Budget discussion is being repeated now. There are some taxation proposals in the Budget, and most of the Members of the Congress benches are not at all happy over those proposals. The Congress Members, though they might not vote against the taxation proposals, are not even given an opportunity to express their opposition to the taxation proposals, by bringing in this Resolution at this stage. This Resolution has been brought in not to obtain the confidence from this side of the House, but only to see that the Members on the Congress benches are kept mum. They are thus forced to support this Motion, because if they opposed the Motion the Ministry would go. This Resolution has been brought in firstly to bind the hands of the Congress Members. Secondly there are some other hon. Members in this House who do not want to overthrow this Government, though they are not in agreement with the policies that this

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Government are pursuing. They think that if this Resolution is defeated, the House will be dissolved, and they might be forced to face a fresh election. To tie the hands of these Members also this Resolution has been brought in now. For these reasons I do not think this is the proper occasion, or the proper time to bring in this Resolution. If this had been brought forward during the Budget debate or after the Budget had been discussed, then there would appear to be some purpose or some meaning.

" Now let me refer to the speech of the Hon. Minister not as a text-book but as an examination paper and try to give him an answer as to why we oppose him. In spite of the fact that he has been going round and round the State, he could not get the support of the people. That has been proved; at least in one constituency he failed to get the support of the people. If the Hon. the Chief Minister thinks that his policies have been accepted or he has effected a change in the minds of the people, I would suggest to him another method by which he could test it. Let him ask one of the Members from the Congress benches to resign and put up a candidate in that constituency to test his strength, and let him see whether he could get at least the same number of votes that was got by the Congress candidate on the previous occasion or whether he is defeated. That is the only proper course open to the Leader of the House. He has not done that. Instead, he has brought in this Resolution. In his statement made in this House asking for the support of Members for this Resolution, the Hon. the Chief Minister gave some reasons why they should support this Resolution. I will just read a few sentences and then try to answer him. He has said: ' I have undertaken, as I said, a great and difficult change, and the greatest and the most difficult change is the change in the food policy '. Whenever we attack the policy of the previous Government, the Hon. the Chief Minister says that he is not responsible for it, that it was the previous Government that did it, and he had no hand in it. But I want to ask how his policies are different from the policies of the previous Government. His administrative machinery is pursuing the same policies. They have not been changed at all. The socio-economic system is kept intact. He has not changed the old policies. He has not even given an inkling whether he intends to change them or not. That is why we feel this Government are pursuing the same policies as the previous Government. An additional factor is, while the Ministers in the previous Government never called to their aid the Almighty God, our Rajaji in season and out of season, wherever he goes, brings in God, and in the name of God opposes the Communists."

MR. SPEAKER :—" This is being repeated over and over again."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" There is a point which I would like to make about this. Even in putting this food policy into force, he says it is God that has given them this policy. On every occasion he makes this statement, and that is why we on this side are forced to take up this issue at every stage. He says that the controls have been removed. Of course the policy of

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control is not liked by the people, because they are vexed with the administrative machinery and the way the policy was administered. Controls are not bad in themselves. Even the Hon. the Chief Minister agreed with that view. If the policy of controls is administered in the way his predecessors administered it, naturally people get disgusted, not with the idea of controls but with the machinery of these controls. While speaking on controls, I want to bring to the notice of the Hon. the Chief Minister one fact. He has been saying that prices of foodstuffs will be brought down to the level of the control prices. What has become of this promise? Prices are every day going up. If you go through the papers you will notice that the prices of foodstuffs are going up, even in the district from which I am coming. Even in the Circars the prices are going up. What is his answer to this? How long are we to wait for the prices to come down? If some suitable steps are not taken immediately, prices would go up very much as the coming months are lean months. Our suggestion is that the Government must take some steps to see that prices do not go up. Simply opening some fair price shops is not sufficient. Some machinery to see that the prices are brought to the level of control prices should be set up. Without doing this, to say, 'I have done away with controls and that is a difficult job' is nothing but deceiving the people. The people have already defeated the policy of controls. They themselves violated the principle of control and rationing and distribution. At this juncture the Hon. the Chief Minister has introduced the policy of decontrol. But what has become of the purchasing power of the people? This is a point that we have to consider. It is going down. Whereas stocks of rice are plentiful, as the purchasing power of the people has gone down they are unable to purchase rice. On this everybody is agreed. The Hon. the Chief Minister is supposed to be in charge of this welfare State. What has he done for the poor people? What are his suggestions and plans to improve their lot? Till now, he has not done anything. On the other hand he advises people to be contented.

8 p.m. "All these morals are being preached to the people. He can advise others to be contented. Can the Chief Minister say that he is content with the salary he is getting? Can he say that the Non-Gazetted Officers are content with the salaries they are getting? There is no use in preaching as a Messenger of God or an Avatar of God or God-incarnate. Being a human being himself, he must satisfy the people. In the papers we see His Excellency the Governor saying that the Hon. the Chief Minister is taking only one salary. If the rule is that everybody should be contented was the Chief Minister content with the salary he was getting as Governor-General or the salary he is getting as Chief Minister? At the same time, he advises others to be contented. Wherever he goes, this is the only advice he gives. I would request him not to repeat such preachings hereafter, as they are not going to fill the bellies of our poor starving people. However much he may say that he has given the moon to light their houses and food by decontrol, the basic factor is there that the purchasing power of the people has gone down and the prices are soaring high. The

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Ministry has done nothing except opening fair price shops here and there. They are not sufficient and something must be done to see that the prices do not go high.

"The Chief Minister further says—

'I cannot impress the world, the investing world, unless I get this decision I desire, namely, a firm confidence in my Government or the opposite of it.

If we peruse the speeches he has made during the past 3 or 4 months, we find that his only aim is to win the confidence of the people and to get money somehow or other. To float loans and get money does not depend upon a particular individual however great he may be. It depends upon the capacity of the people to subscribe to the loans and not because the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, the God-incarnate, is here as Chief Minister. He wants the absolute confidence of this House, and then only, he feels, he can remain in office and get money to do, perhaps, some good things. This is another reason why he has appealed for the Vote of Confidence.

'In another place, he says—

'... I say that these events have disturbed my mind, and as my task is heavy, and as I have to appeal not only for co-operation but also for serious sacrifice to be made by the people, I have to go with a vote of confidence from this house.

This is an important point which I want to bring to the notice of every Member of this House including the Members belonging to the Congress Party, who have also got a right to vote against the Motion. How are we justified in supporting the Ministry which asks the people to sacrifice more? We know that people have sacrificed at the call of Mahatma Gandhi and other National leaders for winning Independence. Here is the Chief Minister who asks the poor people for more sacrifices, whereas the purchasing power of the people is going down.

"Sir, in one of the speeches made in Rayalaseema, in Cuddapah, the Hon. the Chief Minister is reported to have said, 'I am going to put some baggage on the donkeys.' (Interruption from the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari.) Any way, I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister to show some consideration to the people. The people are not donkeys. They may not be as intelligent as any of the hon. Members of the Cabinet. Such examples in whichever manner they are given are not at all proper. It is an insult to the people. Because the Ministers are in a vantage position, does it mean that they could go round and round comparing people to donkeys carrying baggages. I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister not to speak like that hereafter at least. It might have been all right in 1937 when he was taken to be a demi-God or God. Now the people are very intelligent and they are capable of understanding what is going on around them, and whether the leaders are really going to help them. The very example is repugnant. I am not speaking of myself. I have heard many people complaining about this. Perhaps the Chief Minister gets only reports which boost him up and not reports like these.

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"Sir, in another place he appealed to women to give away their *thalis* or *mangalasutrams*."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Sir, I have no objection if the hon. Member refers to small details. But he is misrepresenting them. I did not say anything about *thalis*. I said about gold. If the hon. Member wants to quote anything for any purpose, let it be accurate. I do not mind the application of it if there is accuracy in the quotation. But neither the application nor the quotation is correct in this case."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—"It depends on the man . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"Sir, I do not wish to interrupt the proceedings. But the argument has been going on over and over again on an irrelevant idea, and it should be stopped at some stage without my interruption. I did not say anything particular about donkeys. Everyone knows that people are not donkeys and I am not putting baggages on donkeys. I am putting taxes on gentlemen and women. I think it would be better if the hon. Member tries to understand the meaning of the phrases I use when speaking to the common people."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—"Sir, I am interrupted. My difficulty is the time at my disposal is limited. If I have as much time as the Hon. Chief Minister has, I can reply to every point he raises."

"Sir, the taxes are already high and the burden on the middle classes particularly has reached the maximum and their backs will break if they are taxed further. It is quite evident. But the Chief Minister wants the people to give away even their gold. In the villages, the poor peasants have gold only in the form of *thalis* and I want to know what else he means by gold. Is he of opinion that the people are being buried in gold? Or is he thinking of rich people and big merchants and landlords and not of poor people? I would go a step further and say, if what he means is gold, there is nothing left except *thalis*? I oppose this Motion on this ground."

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

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—"Sir, much of my time has been taken away by the Chief Minister."

"In another connection, he said: 'The problem of unemployment has got to be faced to the extent practicable and the matter is engaging our close attention'. These are the very words he used. I therefore oppose this Motion in the name of the middle class people and in the name of the N.G.Os. His only purpose is retrenchment and nothing else. He further said that if the salaries of N.G.Os. are increased, they would be tempted to spend away the few rupees in smoking or they would get married. That is the advice he has given to the N.G.Os. I do not know

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if he is advocating birth control. I know certain Congress leaders advocated birth control previously and I do not know whether the Hon. the Chief Minister is supporting birth control. The Hon. the Chief Minister is never tired of asking people to pray and pray for ever. But at the same time, is he doing anything to help the poor and the middle-classes? No; on the other hand he is retrenching the employees belonging to the middle-classes. Added to all these he has come forward with this Motion. The Hon. the Chief Minister has been good enough to remark that the Communist Party is out for only chaos. But I say now on the floor of this House that we the Communists are for orderliness first and foremost. If I am allowed the privilege, I am even prepared to discuss with the Hon. the Chief Minister and try to correct him. But I am sure he will not accede to my request, for he is an old man and well experienced and he would not care for the advice of the younger generation.

"If the Hon. the Chief Minister is good enough to do things in a constitutional manner, we the Communists would never oppose such acts. But what is it that the Hon. the Chief Minister is doing? He is continuing the policy of protecting the big zamindars and the rich capitalists. If such a policy is pursued I can assure the Hon. the Chief Minister that he can never expect any co-operation from us."

"The police atrocities have not subsided. In my own district as many as forty people have been killed. I ask, is this the way by which the Government . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member, Mr. Nagarajan will now speak."

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—"Mr. Speaker, while speaking on this Motion one is led to recall the days of the general elections. I submit that there is an intimate connection between this confidence Motion that is now brought before us and the situation that obtained just three or four months ago."

"In the recent general elections the Congress set up as many as 350 candidates for a total of 375 seats. They were able to win only 152 seats. Everybody knows that there were several parties opposed to the Congress. There was not a single united party opposed to the Congress. Had the energies of all the parties been combined against the Congress, I am sure that the Congress would not have gained even these 152 seats which it has now won. But such a thing was not to be."

"With the advent of Sri C. Rajagopalachari into the picture, the whole scene took an entirely different shape. All the forces against the Congress combined together and formed themselves into the United Democratic Front. I know for myself how much labour was involved and what pains we had to take in bringing all the divergent elements opposed to the Congress into a single party, viz., the United Democratic Front. The strength of the United Democratic Front rose to 166. The Congress had only a strength of 152. According to constitutional procedure, and

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consistent with democratic traditions, we the members of the United Democratic Front thought that we would be called upon to form the Ministry. But what is it that we found instead? An entirely unconstitutional procedure was adopted. We still maintain that the way in which this Ministry has been ushered into office is contrary to the provisions of the very Constitution which we are now expected to follow in all its essentials. There is nothing in our Constitution which refers to a majority or minority party. There is only one Article, viz., Article 163 which says that there shall be a Council of Ministers in every Part A State to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. In the light of what has been said in that Article, let us consider what has happened. The United Democratic Front came into being although after a great deal of labour and evolved its own programme and policy. I hope even the Chief Minister will not grudge giving us the credit for all the labour we undertook to form the Democratic Front. But in spite of the fact that our strength was well above that of the Congress we were not called upon to form the Ministry. Instead a bad tradition has been set up. A bad tradition in the history of the legislature of our State has been set up, with our Hon. Chief Minister being nominated as a Member of the Upper House as he was not an elected Member of this Assembly. It is really very unfortunate that such an unconstitutional procedure has been adopted.

"Coming to our last session, I want to make one or two observations. We opened the session with an order issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. I ask, is this the way in which in a republican country like ours, legislators are to be treated? Instead of our coming to the Legislature in a joyful mood, we were subjected to all sorts of scrutiny near the gates. That was how we made a beginning so far as our legislative work is concerned.

"In the promulgation of that order—I do not mind whether it was the Chief Minister or the Commissioner of Police who was responsible for issuing such an order—the Members of the United Democratic Front felt that their prestige had been very badly hurt. Till that very morning we never thought of staging any demonstration or anything of that sort. We the Members comprising the United Democratic Front were engaged at that time with the formulation of our own programmes and policies to establish an alternative Government. But when we were faced with an order under section 144 and we found that our prestige was at stake we decided, and rightly so, to have our own say in the matter. This led to the now-famous episode of our leader Mr. Prakasam on the occasion of the Governor's Address. The aftermath of that little incident was amply witnessed in the Upper House. Much has already been talked about that episode. I need not go into the details. I once again maintain that it was no other thing except the promulgation of that order that provoked us.

"Has there been any improvement in this session? No, surely not. It has begun in the same fashion. Every time we

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begin a session I think it has become a habit for us to begin with the policeman first. With the recently supplied identity cards we have to gain our entry into the Chamber. Is this the way in which we experiment with democracy? Previously it was an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. Now it is an order under section 41 of the Police Act. The order has not been withdrawn. It is there still. Again it is this prohibitory order under section 41 of the Police Act that has provoked the Members of the United Democratic Front. That is why we boycotted the Address by the Governor to the Members of both Houses."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"But your party's press release says quite a different thing."

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"Perhaps it may be so; but the fundamental thing that provoked us was the order under section 41 of the Police Act. When we were so provoked, we might have coupled some other issues also with it.

"The other day we saw the Ordinance promulgated by the Governor. A Budget secret had somehow leaked out. The Chief Minister had admitted that much. We the Members of this House were not aware of anything that had happened. We were completely ignorant of the leakage. Before the information reached the Members of this House the Press had come to know of the Budget proposals. I maintain that the passing of the Ordinance was wrong. 3-30 p.m.

"When the Assembly was going to meet so soon after the passing of the Ordinance there was no necessity for it according to us; nor was it proper to pass it, especially as it was one concerning taxation, at a time when with the beginning of the people's Government, the people were all thirsting for a change in the incidence of the taxation they have been bearing all these years and wanting to be relieved of their burden to a considerable extent. If we are not able to afford relief to them, I plead with all the earnestness at my command, at least let us not add to their burdens. After the passing of the Ordinance and after the House came to know that there has been a leakage of Budget secrets—quite an unfortunate thing over which even we sitting on this side of the House do not feel happy—we thought that something drastic would be done in that matter. So many things have happened about that matter in this House the other day. Anybody would naturally hope that the concerned Minister would resign. The leakage has to be located, and the Hon. the Minister for Finance being in charge of the Budget ought to have resigned, or the Chief Minister himself could have resigned, or the entire Cabinet could have resigned, or some such thing could have happened. That would have satisfied the people, not because the Congress Government had fallen, but because they were doing the right thing under very bad circumstances. One wrong has led to another; the Budget leakage has had its repercussions upon the people, and the common people who have been taxed, the poor people, the middle classes and the lower middle

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classes will have to bear additional burdens in the shape of a surcharge on bus fares. In that connection, I wish to submit to you, Mr. Speaker, that it is not merely a question of paying one pie more per mile. It will be more. For example I can quote to you what is happening in the railways; they charge five pies per mile for a third class passenger. And if a person has to travel five miles, he does not pay two annas and one pie at the booking office but he pays three annas, and by the rounding off process, the Railway company is profiting to the extent of eleven pies; it is their unearned profit, their unearned increment and the Railways are able to make enormous profits not merely through their normal, legal charges but also on account of this rounding off. In these days of dearth of pies—we are not having a lot of them—unless they are going to be supplied in large quantities to the transport authorities, I think the conductors will be taking more from the people in addition to what is legally and rightly due from them. I beg to submit that no relief in the matter of taxation has been given to the people. The Hon. the Minister for Finance says that we have a deficit Budget, the deficit being Rs. 3½ crores and that we have no means of making it up except by way of taxation. For that purpose, we have chosen as our first target the poor people and it is they that have got to bear the burden. I wonder how in this state of affairs the Government are going to do any good to the people, especially the poor. I can say without fear of contradiction that they have not been able to provide anything in the Budget for ameliorating the condition of the ordinary people. If that is the case, what is the use of the continuance in office of this Government? They have rightly come forward with a Vote of Confidence, and I appeal to every Member of this House to look into the position very carefully, and to see that this Government, which is incapable in itself, or rather unable on account of financial or other reasons, to solve any of the problems of the common people and help the most hard hit people of this land, is not allowed to continue in office. Let me take the case of the N.G.Os. The problem of the N.G.Os. is an ever-recurring problem; it is more or less a domestic problem. If there is anybody who should be more interested in solving it than others it is, I submit, the Congress Government themselves, because it is a matter of vital importance to them. Unless the permanent services are kept happy, unless our friends and relatives in the lower ranks of Government service are able to live a contented life, a life without want, I think they would not be able to give the State good service, and we will not be able to expect of them anything appreciable in the matter of the total quantum of work that they turn out for the benefit of the State. We ourselves do feel that we should not keep them in this position; our N.G.Os. need our succour at this time. It may be answered that certain concessions have been shown to them in the matter of the education of their children and medical facilities. But, Sir, I have heard several N.G.Os. telling me that the school fee concession will not help many N.G.Os. because there are so many of them without children of their own to educate, but have others entirely depending upon them for whom this concession will not

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apply. Many have a widowed sister or a widowed daughter, for instance. I need not tell hon. Members here that such dependants will be a greater burden for any householder and a permanent and perennial problem for him. Unless and until we extend this concession to the dependants of N.G.Os. also like a widowed sister or a widowed daughter, it will not be of much help to the N.G.Os. If such a thing is done, it will be a relief to them and it will be much appreciated by them.

“In conclusion, let me say this. First and foremost, particularly on account of the way in which this Government have come into being, secondly, on account of the position in which they are finding themselves, thirdly on account of the leakage of the Budget proposals, and fourthly on account of their inability to do anything substantial to the people for want of finances and for so many other reasons, there will be no purpose served by the continuance of this Cabinet in office in this State. I would, therefore, recommend to every Member, whether sitting on my side or on the other side, to ponder over the matter and vote against the Motion, so that an alternative Government, preferably a Government of the United Democratic Front, can be formed and given a chance to run the administration of this State. We may see whether they will be able to run the administration properly; it is only if they are given a chance, it can be seen whether they can run the administration efficiently. So let them be given a chance and let them prove their mettle if they can.”

* SRI P. JEEVANANDAM :—“மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் இந்தச் சட்ட மன்றத்தில் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கின்ற இத்தீர்மானத்தின் பேரில் சகோதர அங்கத்தினர் களிப்பலர் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். அப்படிப் பேசியவர்களில் அனேகமாக சர்க்கார் தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்கள் யாரும் பேசவில்லையென்பது கவனிக்கத்தக்கது.

“ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்திற்குப் பின்னணியாக, அடிப்படையாகக் கூறிய வார்த்தைகளை கவனத்தில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, இந்த நடைமுறையைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் முதலில், குறிப்பாக சர்க்கார் தரப்பிலிருக்கின்ற தேசபத்தி மிகுந்த, தேசியப் பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்த அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ஆச்சார்ய சுவாமி அவர்கள்—மன்னிக்கவேண்டும், ‘சுவாமிகள்’ என்று அவரைச் சொல்லும்போது, கடவுள் இலாகா என்று அவர்களை சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள் கோயமுத்தூரில். ஆகையால் கடவுள் இலாகாக்காரரான ஆச்சார்ய சுவாமிகள் என்று சொல்லுகின்றேன்.

“ஆகவே, ஆச்சார்யார் அறிக்கையில் கூறினார்கள் : ‘எனக்கு இந்த “ரிஜிடிடி” இருக்கிறதே, அதில் ரொம்ப உறுவு கிடையாது; தாராள நோக்கத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுடையவன்; ஆனால் ஜனநாயகம், கட்சி முறை, அதில் அனுஷ்டிக்கவேண்டிய கட்டுப்பாடு இவைகளெல்லாம் தவிர்க்கமுடியாதனவாக இருக்கின்றன. இருந்தாலும், இந்தத் தீர்மானம் முக்கியமாக என்னிலிருந்து எழுந்த தீர்மானமாதலால், இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில், எதிர்த்தரப்பு, சர்க்கார் தரப்பு என்கின்ற பாகுபாடு பார்க்கவேண்டியதில்லை. நெஞ்சில் இருக்கின்ற கடவுள் அவரவர்களுக்கு என்ன சொல்லுகின்றதோ அப்படியே நீங்கள் நடந்தால் சரி’ என்று. இதே முறையில் நானும் எதிர்த்தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன் : ‘ஆச்சாரியார் எட்டடிக்கூறியிருக்கிறாரோ, அதே முறையில் நீங்களும்—சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பில் இருக்கின்றவர்கள்—உங்கள் நெஞ்சில் இருக்கின்ற கடவுள் சொல்லுகிறபடியே நடந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும்’.

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

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"சிலருக்குக் கடவுளின் பேரில் நம்பிக்கையில்லாது இருக்கலாம். தூர திருஷ்டவசமாக, ஆச்சாரியார் 1952-ம் வருஷத்தில் எல்லோரையும் கடவுள் மயமாக்கப் பார்க்கும் அதிருஷ்டம் இந்தச் சட்ட மன்றத்தில் காணக்கிடைக்க வில்லை. ஆனால், இந்தியக் குடியரசு சட்டம் இருக்கிறதே, அது கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையுடையவர்கள் மட்டும் தான் சட்டசபைகளில் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. மனிதத் தன்மையுடையவர்கள், மனசாட்சியுடையவர்கள், கடவுள் நம்பிக்கை இல்லாதிருந்தாலும் அவர்களும் இருக்கலாம். கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர்களும் இருக்கலாம். ஆகவே, நானும் இருக்கலாம், ஆச்சாரியாரும் இருக்கலாம். அதுதான் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கின்ற தூரதிருஷ்டம்.

"ஆச்சாரியார் என்ன கூறுகின்றார்கள்? மனசாட்சியுடையவர்களும், அவருடைய அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர்களும் அந்த அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்தச் சட்டமன்றத்தில் இருக்கின்ற, எந்தத் தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களாக இருந்தாலும் சரி, எல்லோரும் அவருடைய அறிக்கையை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். நான் எதிர்தரப்பு அங்கத்தினர்களுக்குக் கூறுகின்றேன்; ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் 30 வருஷங்களுக்கு முன்னே தேசியப் பிரசாரகராகவும், ஜலைவராகவும் இருந்திருக்கிறார். நானும், பள்ளிக்கூடத்தில் படித்துக்கொண்டிருந்த 13 வயதுப் பையனாக இந்தப்போதே அவரைப்போலவே தேசியப் பரம்பரையில் வந்திருக்கின்றேன். அப்படியிருந்தும், ஆச்சாரியாரும் மாறி வந்திருக்கிறார். நானும் மாறி வந்திருக்கிறேன். இப்பொழுது அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் கடவுள் பிரசாரகராக அவர் இருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் கம்யூனிஸ்டுக் கட்சியில் ஒரு முக்கியஸ்தனாக நான் இருக்கின்றேன். நான் ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவன். ஆச்சாரியார் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார்க் கட்சித் தலைவராக இருக்கிறார்.

"இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் ஆச்சாரியார் என்ன கேட்கிறார்? 'எனக்குப் பரிபூரண ஆதரவு நீங்கள் தரவேண்டும்.' அதுதான் தீர்மானத்தில் இருக்கிறது. எதையும் செய்வதற்கு அதிகாரம் கோரப்படுகிறது அதைத் தான் அவர்கள் அறிக்கை சொல்லுகிறது. நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் ஆச்சாரியார் சொன்ன பின்னணியில் கூறுகிறார். 'நீங்கள் மார்க்ஸிய பாணியில் எப்படிப் பேசுகிறீர்களென்று தெரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டும். மார்க்சியவாதிகள் செய்த பிரசாரத்தில் உங்களை அப்படியே இழந்துவிட்டார்கள். நீங்கள் அந்த மார்க்சிய பாஷையில் ஒருபோதும் சிக்கிவிடக்கூடாது.' சரியான பாஷையில் பேசியவர்கள் வோட்டு எடுத்து விட்டு என்ன சொல்லுகிறார்? கேட்டால், ஆச்சாரியார் சொன்ன மாதிரி, இங்கிருக்கின்ற 375 பேர்களும் ஆத்ம சோதனை செய்துகொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார். ஆத்மசோதனை செய்து இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தின் பேரில் வோட் போடுங்கள் என்று சொல்லுகின்றார். அதைத்தான் நானும் எல்லோரையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"தீர்மானத்தில் சொல்லியிருப்பது என்ன? ஆச்சாரியார் சொல்லுகிறார்; 'என்னாலும், என்னுடைய சகபாடிகளாலும் (Colleagues) இன்றைக்கிருக்கிற கடினமான, கடுமையான சூழ்நிலையிருந்தால், பொறுப்பை ஏற்று நடத்தமுடியாது.' இந்த சூழ்நிலை என்ன? அதை எல்லோரும் கவனிக்க வேண்டும். நாங்கள் இச் சட்டசபையில் காரியங்களை நடத்த விடுவதில்லை யென்று அவர் சொல்லுகிறார். யார் சொல்லுகிறார்? சர்க்கார்த் தரப்பிலிருக்கிறவர்.

"எதிர்த்தரப்பில் இருக்கின்றவர்களுக்கு கொள்கைகள் கிடையாது; அவர்களுக்கு ஒரே ஒரு கொள்கை உண்டு. அதாவது என்னை எதிர்ப்பது ஒன்றுதான் அவர்கள் கொள்கை. இந்த ராஜ்யத்திற்கு எவ்வளவு நன்மை இன் செய்தாலும், 6 கோடி மக்களுக்கு நன்மை இது என்று அவர்களுக்குத் தோன்றுகிறதோ, அதே கொள்கையை நாங்கள் கொண்டுவந்தாலும் அவர்கள் எங்களை ஆதரிக்கமாட்டார்கள். அதே கொள்கையை நாங்கள் மீறக்கொண்டு வந்தாலும், அதே நிமிஷத்தில் அவர்கள் தங்கள் கொள்கைகளை மாற்றிக்கொண்டும் என்னை எதிர்ப்பார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு என்னை எதிர்ப்பதென்று தான் கொள்கை' என்று அவர்

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கூறுகிறார். நான் மிகப் பணிவோடு எடுத்துச் சொல்லுகின்றேன். 30 ஆண்டுகள் இந்த நாட்டின் தலைவராக இருந்திருக்கிறார் சக்கரவர்த்தி ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள். அவருக்குச் செலுத்தவேண்டிய மரியாதையை அவருக்குச் செலுத்திக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்: 'இது உண்மைதானா? ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்களே, உங்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன், இது உண்மைதானா?'

"பிப்ரவரி மாதம் 3-ம் தேதி ஒரு லக்ஷம் பேர் கொண்ட ஒரு கூட்டம், 3-45 P.M. ஒரு பிரம்மாண்டமான கூட்டம்—காங்கிரஸ் எடுகள் 3 லக்ஷம், 5 லக்ஷம் என்று சொல்லும்—கடற்கையில் நடந்தது. ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் அந்தக் கூட்டத்திற்கு வந்திருந்தார்கள். அன்றைக்கு எங்கள் மதிப்பிற்குரிய தோழர்கள் ராமமூர்த்தியும், நாகி ரெட்டியும் சிறைச்சாலையில் இருந்தார்கள். அப்படி அவர்கள் சிறையில் இருந்ததற்காக எங்களுக்கு யார் பேரிலும் எதிர்ப்பில்லை. என்னை மீண்டும் பெரோலில் விட்டிருந்தார்கள். என்னை மீண்டும் ஜெயிலில் வைக்கட்டும். ராமமூர்த்தியைச் சதி வழக்கில் சேர்க்கட்டும். நாகி ரெட்டியைக் கைது செய்யட்டும். எனக்கு வேண்டுமெல்லாம் இதுதான்; 'மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கை, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கையை கடைப்பிடிக்கட்டும். அவர்கள் அவைகளை அடல் நடத்தட்டும். நாங்கள் முன்னணிப்படைமாக நின்று தொண்டு செய்கிறோம். எங்களுக்கு ஆளப்பற்றி அல்ல; கொள்கைகளைப்பற்றித்தான், அபிப்பிராய மாறுபாடுகள். காங்கிரஸிலுள்ள தனி நபர்களைப்பற்றியல்ல எங்களுக்கு, திட்டங்களைப்பற்றிதான். மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான கொள்கைகள் தான் எங்களுக்கு வேண்டும். எங்களுக்குக் கொள்கையைவிட ஆள் முக்கியம் அல்ல' என்று ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக்கட்சியார் அன்றைக்கே ஒரு லட்சம் பேர் கொண்ட கூட்டத்தின் மத்தியில் கூறியிருக்கிறார்கள்.

"கொள்கை எங்களுக்குக் கிடையாது" என்கிறார் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார். எங்கள் கொள்கையெல்லாம் ராஜாஜியை எதிர்ப்பது ஒன்று தான் என்று கூறுகிறார். என் என்று கேட்கிறேன்? ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியை எதிர்ப்பதற்கு ஒரு ஐக்கிய முன்னணி அவசியமில்லை. அவர் ஒருவரை மாதிரி எதிர்ப்பதற்கு ஐக்கிய முன்னணி ஒன்று ஏற்படுத்தப்படாவிடாது மேயானால், அதைப்போன்ற அவசிய மற்றதான வேறு ஒரு கட்சி இந்த நாட்டில் இருக்கமுடியாது. ஒரு ராஜாஜியை எதிர்ப்பதற்காகவா 10 லட்சக் கணக்கான மக்கள் இந்த மாகாணம் முழுவதிலும் வோட்டுபோட்டார்கள்? காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய அதிகார பலத்தை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய பண்பலத்தை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய திமிர் நடத்தையை எதிர்த்து, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய ஜபர்தஸ்துக்களை எதிர்த்து, இவ்வளவையெல்லாம் எதிர்த்து, 10 ஆயிரக்கணக்கில் வெள்ளம் வெள்ளமாக திரண்டு வந்து வோட்டு போட்டார்கள். அன்று வட சென்னையைப் பார்த்தவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். மக்கள் எவ்வளவு உற்சாகத்துடன் வோட்டுப்போட்டார்களென்று. ஸ்ரீமான் சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் வட சென்னையைப் பார்த்திருக்கவேண்டும். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் பார்த்திருக்க வேண்டும். பார்த்திருந்தால் ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கு மக்கள் எப்படி வெள்ளமாகப் பெருக்கெடுத்துவந்து வோட்டு போட்டார்கள் என்று தெரிந்திருக்கும். சுமமா அல்ல! எத்தனையோ இடைஞ்சல்களிடையே மற்றவர்கள் எவ்வளவு ஆசை வார்த்தைகளைக் காட்டியும் கூட, மனப்பூர்வமாக வோட்டுப்போட்டார்கள். எதை எதிர்த்து அவர்கள் வோட்டுப் போட்டார்கள்? ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் அடக்கு முறையை எதிர்த்து, ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் நாக வேதனைகளை எதிர்த்து, ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் மனிதத்தன்மையற்ற காரியங்களை எதிர்த்து, இவ்வளவையும் எதிர்த்து, அவர்களுடைய சொந்த அனுபவத்தினால் (through their own experience) மக்கள் வோட்டுப் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைத் தூரதிருஷ்டவசமாக சக்கரவர்த்தி ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பரக்கமுடியவில்லையென்று நான் கருதுகின்றேன்.

"இதை ஏன் நான் இங்கே கூறுகிறேன்? மக்கள் வெள்ளம் வெள்ளமாக வந்து என் எங்கள் கட்சிக்கு வோட்டுப்போட்டார்கள் என்பதை நீங்கள் உணர்ந்து கொண்டீர்களா? அவர்கள் எதற்காக எங்களுக்கு அப்படி வந்து

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

[1st July 1952]

வோட்டுப்போடவேண்டும்? சொந்த அனுபவத்தால், காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் அடைந்த எல்லையற்ற துன்பத்தை, காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் நடந்த எல்லையற்ற கொலைகாரச் செயல்களை, காந்தி பக்தர்களால், அகிம்சா வாதிகளால் நடத்தப் பட்ட பலாத்கார, அராஜக போலீஸ் வெறித்தனத்தை அடக்கவேண்டும், ஒடுக்கவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே உத்வேகத்தால் நான் எங்களுக்கு வந்து வோட்டுப் போட்டார்களே தவிர அவர்களுக்கு ஒன்றும் தெரியாமல் வோட்டுப் போடவில்லை. காங்கிரஸ் தரப்பிலிருப்பவர்களைத்தான் கேட்கிறேன்? ஐந்து ஆண்டு காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் மக்கள் உண்ண அரிசி கேட்டார்களே கொடுத்தீர்களா? இல்லையே! மக்கள் உடுக்கத் துணி கேட்டார்களே, கொடுத்தீர்களா? இல்லையே! வேலை செய்கிறோம் உடலில் தெம்பு இருக்கிறதே வேலை கொடுங்கள் என்று கேட்டார்களே? கொடுத்தீர்களா? இல்லையே. ஐந்து ஆண்டு கழிந்தும் இப்போது கனம் இராஜாஜி அவர்கள் முதன் மந்திரியாக வந்திருக்கும்போது உணவைக் கிணணி அரிசி கேட்டால் பஜகோவிந்தம்? போடுங்கள் என்கிறார். குடிசைத் தண்ணீர் இல்லையே என்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் செய்ய வேலை கிடைக்கவில்லையே என்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் போடவேண்டும்? அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் வாழ்க்கை நடத்த பணம் போதவில்லையே என்றால் செலவை சிக்கனம் செய்துகொண்டு பஜகோவிந்தம் போடவேண்டுமாம். காங்கிரஸ் தரப்பிலுள்ளவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன்? எற்காகவெல்லாம் பஜகோவிந்தம், பிரார்த்தனை செய்யப்போகிறீர்கள்? உழைக்கும் உழைப்பாளிகளுக்கு மனச்சாக்கி உண்ணும் உணவில்தான். சோற்றில்தான் ஏழை மக்களின் மனது ஈடுபடுமே தவிர கடவுள் பற்றிய பிரசங்கத்தால் ஒரு நாளும் உருவாக முடியாது என்பதை நான் சொல்லவில்லை. மஷூர்தமா காந்தியார் அவர்களே இதைப்பற்றி சொல்லியிருப்பதை கவனித்து அன்பர்கள் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

“நாளெல்லாம் இந்த அரசாங்கத்துக்காக உழைக்கும் அரசாங்க உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள்” எங்கள் வருவாய் ரொம்பவும் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது. வாழ வழியுள்ள வகையில் எங்கள் சம்பளத்தை கூட்டிக்கொடுங்கள்” என்றால் அதற்கு உபதேசம் செய்கிறார் ராஜாஜி ‘சிக்கன வாழ்வை மேற்கொள்ளுங்கள், பற்றற்ற நிலையில் உங்கள் கடமையைச் செய்யுங்கள்’ என்பதாக.

“பற்றற்ற வாழ்க்கையைப்பற்றி கீதையிலே சொல்லியிருக்கிறது: ‘பற்றுக் பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை அப்பற்றை பற்றுக் பற்று விடற்று’, என்பதாகத் திருக்குறளில் சொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அரசாங்கத்தின் தலைவர் கோடிக்கணக்கான மக்களுக்கு வாழ வழி வகுத்துக்கொடுக்க வகையின்றி, வறுமையிலே வாடி வதங்கும் தொழிலாளி வர்க்கத்தின் வருவாயை கூட்டிக்கொடுத்து அவர்கள் துன்பத்தைத் துடைக்க முன் வருவதற்கின்றி, நிலையற்ற ஒரு அவல நிலையிலே அல்லல் பட்டுத்திரியும் விவசாய பெரும்பகுதி மக்களுக்கு நிலையான வாழ்வை சிருஷ்டித்துக்கொடுப்பதற்கு திறமையின்றி பஜகோவிந்தம் போடுங்கள், பஜனை செய்யுங்கள், செலவைக் கூட்டி வாயைக்கட்டி சாதமின்றி பரியால் செத்துப்போங்கள் என்று சொல்வதா நியாயமானது?

“மஹான் வந்தார் மழை பெய்து விட்டது என்று ஜாலராபோட்ட பத்திரிகைகள், இன்று பைகாரிலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை, மேட்டூரிலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை, பாபநாசத்திலே தண்ணீர் இல்லை. மின்சாரம் இல்லை மின்சாரம் வெட்டு அமுலுக்கு வந்து விட்டது? அதனால் பத்தாயிரக்கணக்கான ஆலைத் தொழிலாளிகள் வேலையின்றி திண்டாடுகிறார்கள் என்ற நிலையில் இன்று அந்த மஹான் இப்போது எங்கே போய்விட்டார் என்பதைப்பற்றி ஏன் சிந்திக்கப்போகிறது? பஜகோவிந்தம் போடுங்கள் என்பதுதான் அதற்கும் பதில்?

“இங்கே இருப்பவர்கள் எல்லோரும் ராஜாஜியை எதிர்க்கத்தான் இருப்பதாகச் சொன்னாரே, அந்த ராஜாஜியை நான் கேட்கிறேன். 1937-ம் வருஷத்தில் ராஜாஜி இங்கே இருந்தார். நானும் சோஷலிஸ்டு பக்தி விருந்தேன். அப்பறம்தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியாக மாறினேன். அப்போதும் கம்யூனிஸ்டு, சோஷலிஸ்டு கட்சியிடம் எதைச் செய்தாரோ அதைத்தானே இப்போது செய்கிறார்கள். அன்றைக்கும் நாங்கள் என்ன செய்தோம்.

“கடன் நிவாரணச் சட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்தீர்களே, உயிரைக் கொடுத்து அந்தச் சட்டத்திற்கு அலாசகமாக நாங்கள் பொதுமக்களை ஒன்று திரட்டியது

[1st July 1952]

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

யார், நான் கேட்கிறேன்? ஜமீன்தாரி ஒழிப்பு மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வந்தீர்களே ஒரே மூச்சாக அதற்கு இரவு பகல் என்று கருதாமல் ஒத்துவழிப்பு தந்து உழைத்தது யார், நான் கேட்கிறேன்? கொள்கையற்ற நிலைமையில் நடப்பது நாங்கள் என்பதாக ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார். கொள்கையற்ற நிலையில் நடப்பது நாங்கள்? காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களா? நன்றாக யோசிக்கட்டும். காங்கிரஸ் சகோதரர்களை நான் கேட்கிறேன்? காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி நிறைவேற்றிய லபல தீர்மானங்களை எல்லாம் அதிகாரத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் நிறைவேற்றி வைத்தார்களா? பெங்களூர் காங்கிரஸ் மகாநாட்டுத் தீர்மானம் என்னவாயிற்று? கராச்சித் திட்டம் என்னவாயிற்று? உங்கள் கட்சி பதவியில் இருக்கும்போது ஏன் அந்தத் தீர்மானங்களை நிறைவேற்றி வைக்கக்கூடாது? இதிலிருந்து யாரிடம் கொள்கையில்கூட என்பதை சிந்தித்துப்பாருங்களேன். காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்காக தேச விடுதலைக்காக பாடுபட்டு உழைத்து பற்பல தியாகங்கள் புரிந்த பலப்பர்கள் இன்று இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்கிறேன். அவர்கள் தாப்பிலுள்ள சகோதரர்களையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன். உங்கள் பக்கத்தில் யார் யார் இப்போது இருக்கிறார்கள்? அன்று தேச விடுதலைக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போட்டவர்கள், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு விரோதமாக பிரிட்டிஷ்காரனோடு சேர்ந்துகொண்டு கங்காணித்தனம் செய்தவர்களான ராஜா சாரும், மகாராஜாக்களும் உங்கள் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கிறார்களே? அவர்களையெல்லாம் கட்சியில் சேர்த்துக்கொண்டு இயங்கி வருகிற உங்கள் கட்சி ஒரே கொள்கை உடையதுதானா? ஒரே கொள்கை உடையது என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ள வெட்கமில்லையா? (Cries of Shame! Shame!!)

“காங்கிரசுக்கு ராஜாஜி எப்படி வந்தார்? சென்னை மாகாணப் பிரதமராக அப்படி எப்பொழுது ஆனார் என்பதெல்லாம் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியுமே. கொள்கையற்ற கொள்கையை கடைப்பிடிக்கும் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியின் தலைவர் ராஜாஜி வாய் கூசாது எங்களை கொள்கையற்றவர் என்று சொல்வதை நினைக்க அவருக்கு பதில் என்ன சொல்வது என்று தெரியவில்லையே! காங்கிரஸ் பதவிக்கு வாக்கூடாது, அதன் கொள்கைகள் நமக்குத் தேவை மில்லை என்ற ஒரே கொள்கையைக் கொண்டுதானே ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று. டில்லியிருந்து திரும்பிய ராஜாஜி, அமைச்சர் பதவியிலிருந்து ஓய்வு எடுத்துக்கொண்டு வந்த ராஜாஜி ஆடிப்பாடி அமர்ந்த தேவனே என்று அரசியல் துறவறம் பூண்டு பஜகோவிந்தம் போட்டுக் கொண்டு குற்றாலத்தில் ஓய்வு எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தபோது அல்லவா சென்னையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று. ஐக்கிய முன்னணி உருவாகி விட்டதேயென்று காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் அல்லவா அவர் காலில் போய்விழ ராஜாஜி தேர்தலுக்கு நிலலாமலே ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியை எதிர்க்கவாறிச் சருட்டிக்கொண்டு எழுந்து புழக்கடை வழியாக உள்ளே ஓடிவந்தார். அவர் பிரதமராக வரமாட்டார் என அவர்கள் பக்கத்து பத்திரிகைகளை ஒலமிட்டபோதும் கூட ‘இதோ நான் வந்து விட்டேன்’ என ஓடி வந்தது ராஜாஜி அல்லவா? ராஜாஜி பதவிக்கு வருவார் என நாங்கள் எண்ணவே இல்லையே. அப்படியிருக்க அவரை எதிர்க்கவேண்டுமென்ற கொள்கையை அப்படி ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணி உருவாயிற்று என்று ராஜாஜி சொல்கிறார் என்பதைப்பாருங்கள்?

“அடுத்தபடியாக ஒன்று, ராஜாஜியின் அடுத்த துணைவர் நிதி மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்களும் ராஜாஜி சொன்ன வார்த்தைகளுக்குப் பக்க பலமாக கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியை ஒரே பயங்கமானதாக சிருஷ்டிக்க வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்தோடு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை பிரேரிக்கும்போது ஒரே தாக்காக கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியைத் தாக்கினார்கள். சென்னைச் சட்டசபையின் முதல் கூட்டத்திலேயே ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நான் இது வரையிலும் கண்டிராத வகையில், சென்னை பிரதமராக ஐம்பத்திரண்டிலே பதவியெற்ற பின்தான் நிதானம் தப்பி கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளை விரோதி நம்பி ஒன்று என்பதாகப் பேசினார். எனக்குத் தெரியும், அவர் இதுகளும் இப்படி நிதானம் தப்பி பேசியதே கிடையாது. இப்போது ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் ‘ஐக்கிய முன்னணி கட்சியார் நாட்டில் அராஜகத்தை விளைவிக்க முயற்சிக்கிறார்கள்’ என்பதாகப் பேசினார். யார் அராஜகத்தை விளைவிக்க முயல்கிறார்கள் என்பதை அவர் அவ்வாறு சொல்வதற்குமுன் சற்று

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

[1st July 1952]

யோசித்துப் பார்த்தாரா? இல்லையே. கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டு கட்சியை தாக்கி விட்டால் மாத்திரம் பொதுமக்கள் மனதை மாற்றிவிடமுடியுமென்று எண்ணி விடவேண்டாம். கொள்கையற்றவர்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டுகள் என்று சொல்லித் தர ராஜாஜியை நான் கேட்கிறேன். எங்களுடைய திட்டங்களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். ஒவ்வொன்றாக எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். முதலில் இந்த நாட்டில் உழைக்கின்ற விவசாயப் பெருங்குடி மக்களின் வாழ்க்கை நிலை உயரவேண்டும், தரித்திர நாராயணன்களின் (காந்தியர் பாஷையில் சொல்லுகிறேன்) வாழ்க்கை நிலை உயர்த்தப்படவேண்டும். விவசாயத் தொழிலில் உழைப்புக் கேற்ற வாசம், கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன். அந்தக் கொள்கையை மாற்றிக்கொண்டோமா? இவ்வாறு சொல்வது அராஜகமா? மில்களிலே உழைக்கும் பாட்டினி மக்கள் ஏமாற்றப்பட்டாது. ஜீவனச் சம்பளம் அவர்களுக்கு கிடைக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம். இது அராஜகமா?

4 p.m.

முப்பது ரூபாய்க்குள் வரி செலுத்தவேண்டுமென்று இராஜ்யத்தில், விவசாயிகளில் 100-க்கு 80 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களையும், பெரு வாரியான நடுத்தர விவசாயிகளையும் காப்பாற்றத்தக்க விதத்தில் வரி விதிப்பு இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம். இது அராஜகமா? எங்களுடைய சர்க்கார் நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் ராஜாஜியைக்கொண்டு வந்தோம் என்று சொன்னார். கனம் ராஜா முத்தையா செட்டியார் சொல்லும்போது 'அவர் வர மாட்டேன் என்று சொல்லி இருந்தால் பிரளயம் வந்திருக்கும்' என்று சொன்னார். அவர் வருகிறேன் என்று சொன்னதால் பிரளயத்திலிருந்து இந்த ராஜ்யம் காப்பாற்றப்பட்டது என்றும் சொன்னார். நமது மதிப்பிற்குரியவரும் மொம்பவும் முக்யஸ் தருமான அவர் கொள்ளை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். நாம் இன்னொரு பக்கத்திலும் பார்க்கவேண்டும். குத்தகைக் கொடுமையை ஒழிக்க வேண்டும். விவசாயிகளுக்கு வருமான வரி போடவேண்டும் என்று சொல்வது அராஜகமா? மொழி வாரி மாகாணத்தை அமைக்கவேண்டும், அதற்குத் தகுந்த பிரதிநிதித்துவம் வேண்டும் என்பது அன்று ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தலைவராக இருந்த காலத்திலேயே எழுப்பப்பட்டது. இப்பொழுது அதைவிட எத்தனையோ மடங்கு அதிகமாக அது கிளப்பப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அப்பொழுது தான் மக்கள் சுபிட்சமாக வாழமுடியும். மொழிவாரி மாகாணம் அமைத்தால் தான் மக்கள் சுபிட்சமாக தங்களுடைய கலாச்சாரம் நசுக்கப்படாமல், தங்களது இஷ்டம்போல் வாழ முடியும், அதற்குச் சந்தர்ப்பம் கிடைக்கும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதற்காகவே இந்த கிளர்ச்சியை ஆரம்பித்தார்கள். இந்த மொழி மாகாண பிரச்சனை இப்பொழுது வந்தது அல்ல. சமீபத்த கர்னாடகமும், ஐக்கிய கேரளமும், விசால ஆந்திராவும், புதிய தமிழகமும் ஏற்படவேண்டுமென்று அன்றைக்கே கிளப்பப்பட்ட விஷயம் அது. அதற்கு திருவாங்கூர் தமிழர்களிடையே நாயகம் பிடித்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். அங்குள்ள தமிழர்களுடைய ஆர்வத்தைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். காரைக்காலில் இருக்கும் தமிழர்களுடைய ஆர்வத்தைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். அவர்களுடைய போராட்டம் எவ்வளவு கடுமையாக இருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். விசால ஆந்திராவும், ஐக்கிய புதிய தமிழகமும். சமீபத்த கர்னாடகமும் வேண்டுமென்று தான் மக்களிடத்தில் நாம் சுதந்திரப் போராட்டத்தில் சொல்லி பெருவாரியான வோட்டுகளைப் பெற்று வந்தோம். இன்னும் மக்களுடைய உரிமைகளை மேலும் மேலும் பெருக்குவதற்கும் அவற்றை உருவாக்குவதற்கும் பல கோஷங்களைப் போட்டு வந்தோம். அதை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு மக்களுக்கு நாம் உரிமைகளைக் கொடுத்த தீர்வேண்டும். இப்படிச் சொல்வது கலகத்தை விளைவிப்பதா? அராஜகத்தைக் உண்டாக்கி கொண்டிருப்பதா? இதை யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். கோடானு கோடி மக்கள் வருஷக் கணக்காக ஜீவிப்பதற்கு வழி யில்லாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஒருவர் ரேஷன் கார்டை கையில் வைத்துக் கொண்டு ஒரு வாரத்திற்கு வாங்க முடியாமல் இரண்டு நாளைக்குத்தான் அரிசி வாங்குகிறார். சில இடங்களில் இரண்டு நாட்களுக்குத் தான் அரிசி கொடுக்கிறார்கள். ஏழைகளைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்கு நாட்டில் புதிய நிர்வாகம் வேண்டும். அவர்களுடைய குறைகளை நீக்கும் தலைமை நிர்வாகம் நமது ராஜ்யத்தில் ஏற்படவேண்டும். இப்பொழுதுள்ள என்.ஜி. ஒக்களும், குமாண் தாக்களும் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். நாலு ரூபாய்க்கு கடவுளைப்

1st July 1952]

[Sri P. Jeevanandam]

பிரார்த்தனை பண்ணுகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜியிடம் கை ஏந்தி நிற்கிறார்கள். இதை நன்மைப்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்றுதான் யு.டி.எப். மக்களிடத்தில் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்திருக்கிறது. அதற்காக கோடிக்கணக்கான வோட்டுகளை மக்களிடத்தில் வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இவ்வளவும் அராஜகத்திற்கு என்று சொன்னால் அது எவ்வளவு தூரம் பொருந்தும் என்பதை எண்ணிப் பார்க்கவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இவைகளை நிர்ணயிக்க முடியுமா என்பதை நமது ராஜாஜியைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் லட்சக் கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள்? கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டுகளை எதிரிகள் என்று மதிப்பானேன். மக்களுக்கு அராஜகத்தைச் செய்யவா லட்சக்கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறோம்? எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கும் சர்க்கார் அங்கத்தினர்களும் மக்களிடமிருந்து லட்சக் கணக்கான வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கி வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் அச்சாங்கத்திற்கு விரோதமாக இருப்பார்கள், சர்க்கார் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்கள் விரோதமாக இருக்க மாட்டார்கள் என்று சொல்லும்பொழுது ராஜாஜியின் கருத்து தான் என்ன என்று நான் அறிய விரும்புகிறேன். அவருடைய கருத்து தான் பிரதிபலிக்கிறதே யொழிய வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. இந்த நாட்டில் ஒரு கோடியே இருபத்தாரு லக்ஷம் வோட்டர்கள் காங்கிரஸ் அல்லாதாருக்கு வோட்டுக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய கருத்தைப் பற்றி ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள் என்றால் அது நம்முடைய அதிர்ஷ்ட வசமோ அல்லது துரதிர்ஷ்ட வசமோ. ஆகவே யு.டி.எப். கொள்கையில் அராஜகம் இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அது எவ்வளவு தூரம் இருக்கிறது என்பது தான் தெரியவில்லை. கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகர் சர்க்கார் பக்கத்தில் போய்விட்டால் சமாதானமாகி விடுமா? அதே மாதிரி கனம் கே. வினாயகம் இந்தக் கட்சியில் உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால், நாட்டின் பழங்குடி மக்களின் வோட்டுகளை வாங்கி இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் வந்து உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால், அது அராஜகம் ஆகி விடுமா? கனம் பக்தவத்சலு அந்தப் பக்கம் போய் உட்கார்ந்து விட்டால் அது சமாதானமாகி விடுமா? (பலத்த கரகோஷம்.) இந்த நிலைமையைக் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் உட்கார்ந்திருக்கும் அத்தனைபேரும் அராஜகத்தைச் செய்கிறவர்கள் என்ற தீர்மானத்திற்கு வந்ததன் நோக்கம் என்ன? அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக்கு ஏற்பட்ட வெற்றியால் தமக்கு மனக்கலக்கம் ஏற்பட்டு விட்டதென்று ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார். அங்கு பார்வையெட்டாக தான் வெற்றிப்பெற்றது. கம்யூனிஸ்ட்டு கட்சி அல்ல. பார்வையெட்டாக்கைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் மூன்று, நான்கு பேர்கள் இங்கு இருக்கிறார்கள். அது ஒரு சிறு குழு. அந்தச் சிறியக் குழுவையும் இன்னும் பல குழுக்களையும் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டதுதான் இந்த யு.டி.எப். அராஜகம் இருந்திருந்தால் அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணியார் வெற்றி பெறுவார்களா? ஐந்து வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் விளைவுதான் இன்று அருப்புக்கோட்டையின் வெற்றி. உலகச் சமாதானத்திற்கு வழி காட்டிய காந்தியைப் பின் பற்றும் நீங்கள் இந்த ஐந்து வருஷத்தில் செய்த ஆட்சியின் பலன்தான் இன்று அருப்புக்கோட்டை விளைவு. காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் கொள்கைதான் இதற்குக் காரணம். இதை அவர்கள் ஒத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். அங்கு ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பேசியதற்கு முதல் நான் அங்கு கோயிலப்பட்டியில் நான் பேசினேன். அதற்கு முந்திய நாள் அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் கூட்டத்திற்கு சமார் இருபத்தைந்து ஆயிரம் பேர்கள் வந்திருந்தார்கள். முப்பது ஆயிரம் என்று கூட மதிப்பிடலாம். ஆனால் அன்று அங்கு நடந்த காங்கிரஸ் கூட்டத்திற்கு 250 பேர்கள் கூட போகவில்லை. இதற்குக் காரணம், ஏன் என்பதை நான் சொல்லத் தேவையில்லை. நாங்கள் கொலைக் காரர்கள், கொள்ளைக்காரர்கள் என்றும், மக்கள் விரோதிகள் என்றும், சமூக நாய விரோதிகள் என்றும், புல்லுருவிகள் என்றும், விஷப்பாம்புகள் என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாங்கள் போடும் கூட்டத்திற்கு கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் வந்து வேண்டுமானாலும் பார்க்கட்டும், எப்படிப்பட்ட கூட்டம் கூடுகிறது என்று. அவர்களுடைய கூட்டத்திற்கு ஏன் பெருங்கூட்டம் வருவதில்லை? இந்த ஐந்து வருஷத்தில் அவர்கள் நடத்திய ஆட்சியின் காரணம் தான் அது. எவ்வளவு நல்ல பெயரை மக்களிடத்தில் அவர்கள் சம்பாதித்திருக்கிறார்கள். என் சம்பாதிக்கவில்லை என்று கேட்டால் அதைத்தான் சொல்ல மறுக்கிறார்கள். அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதியில் இருக்கிற மக்கள் யார்?

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அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதி மக்கள் பிற்போக்காளர்கள் என்று நமது நிதி மந்திரி கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் சொல்லுகிறார். அதாவது பின் தங்கியவர்கள் என்று. அங்கு நடந்த தேர்தல் (one man's show) ஒரு மனிதனுடைய நாடகம் என்று வேறு சொல்லுகிறார். அருப்புக்கோட்டையை எடுத்துக் கொள்வானேன், ஏன் காங்கிரஸை எடுத்துக்கொள்வதில்லை? அது கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் செல்வாக்கு மிகுந்த இடம் என்கிறார். அதன் சரித்திரத் தைப் பார்த்தால் தெரியும், அது காங்கிரஸ் கோட்டையாக இருந்த விஷயம். அருப்புக்கோட்டை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் அங்கு ஐந்து தொகுதிகள் இருக்கின்றன. அங்கு நந்து பிரதிநிதிகள் வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அருப்புக் கோட்டை, கோயில்பட்டி, தொகுதியிலிருந்து மூன்று பேர்கள் காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்களாக வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் சர்க்கார் தரப்பில் இருக்கிறார்கள். இன்றைய தேர்தலை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அருப்புக்கோட்டை தொகுதியில் ஸ்ரீ ராமசாமி ஜெயித்திருக்கிறார். அவருக்கு முதுகுவாத்தூரில் மெஜாரிட்டி போட்டு. ஜெமீனாக கொடுத்த பிறகும் முத்துக்குளிக்கும் இடத்தை சொந்தமாக வைத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிற ராமனாதபுரம் ராஜா அவர்கள் . . .

(At this stage the Hon. Speaker sounded the gong to indicate that the hon. Member's time was up.)

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I cannot congratulate the Hon. the Leader of the House for bringing this motion at this time. Perhaps, in his judgment, this is the most fitted and psychological moment. However, there are some who really regret that this has been done at this time. Because, in spite of the stormy scenes that we witnessed at the beginning of the session, we have been settling down to normal business and now, this bombshell has spoiled the whole atmosphere and stirred up feelings of bitterness and acrimony. However, it is not our fault. This is, perhaps, one of the phases in the war of attrition which is to be waged against the Opposition. The gauntlet has been thrown and it has to be picked up. However, we all know that the result of this battle is not going to determine the fate of the war.

“Sir, when I read in the newspapers that Rajaji had been sworn in as the Head of the Government of the State, my thoughts went back to that memorable day of August 15, 1947. On that day, graphic descriptions were given of the swearing-in ceremony of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was reported that in the course of the swearing-in ceremony, Panditji stopped for a while and his face flushed with colour. What was the reason? He was asked to repeat the statement that he was a nominated Member. Panditji looked at Lord Mountbatten. He, with a sympathetic smile, reminded him that he was a nominated Member, and it is reported that, with some uneasiness, Panditji took his oath of office. Sir, that small incident speaks volumes in favour of democracy. As a true democrat, even in such an emergency, Panditji did not want to lead a popular Government as a nominated Member. But what do we find here in our State? We have chosen the hard path of democracy, not because it is the most efficient system of Government, not because it is the shortest cut to our goal, but because the acceptance of other systems of Government would involve the sacrifice of certain principles which we all cherish and which we all desire to treasure in our hearts.

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Therefore it is that we have accepted democratic institutions. Now because our democracy is in its infancy we all wish that our great leaders who have contributed for the establishment of our free country on sound democratic lines, should establish precedents which will stand the test of time. But what is it we witness in our State? With regard to the formation of this Government, there is nothing more to be said now, because the Prime Minister and President of the Congress has expressed his own opinion. He has said that the Madras episode is not a precedent. He has further stated that the Article dealing with nomination of Members to the Council is really intended for the nomination of specialists and experts and is not intended to favour politicians who want to fill up a vacuum in their party politics. To me, it is a round condemnation of what has taken place in this State. So what our leaders have to do at the first stage of our march on the road to democracy is not to create precedents which are not to be followed. If that is done, ‘Woe unto Democracy,’ in this State!

“Sir what was the position in this State when the present Ministry was formed? The only known device that is accepted by democracy to test the popularity of a party or of a Government is general election. There was this general election under our Constitution recently, and that too based on adult franchise. In that, the Congress Party was returned only in a minority. Though there was no single party which had a greater number of followers than the Congress Party, it is an accepted principle that all the other parties stood for election and won against the Congress. Therefore, as people who believe in true democratic principles, the normal course which one would expect the Congress to follow is either to stand down or form a coalition Government in conjunction with other parties. But that was not what was done in this State. The minority assumed the reins of Government and began or attempted to create an artificial majority and support for the Government. Sir, it may be that after the elections, the Congress Party was like a ship without a rudder or the solar system without the sun. So we can very well appreciate when Rajaji stepped in at such a critical juncture. We give him full credit for his intention and for his desire to save the State from chaos, as he puts it. Our objection is to the method which he has adopted to become the Chief Minister of this State. Leaving aside legal quibblings and hair-splitting arguments, any impartial observer can say that the method adopted is of questionable constitutional propriety. Our Constitution provides and contemplates such contingencies. It allows a man who is not a Member of the Council or of the Assembly to be a Minister or the Chief Minister for six months. Therefore, if it was really the intention of our Chief Minister that he should step in to save this State, nothing would have prevented him from doing so without becoming a nominated Member. He could have very well stood for election within six months. Look at the precedent followed in Bombay. There, the Congress Party wanted a suitable leader; but he was defeated in the general elections. Before he assumed leadership, he was elected to the Legislative

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Council. Not only that. In fairness and with a desire to preserve the best traditions of democracy, and feeling that the Ministry is one which is responsible to the Assembly, he stood for election in an Assembly Constituency and got himself elected. I think Rajaji could have followed the same course and could have become a Minister by becoming a Member of this Assembly by election. The argument that is advanced for his not doing so fails to carry conviction. Because it was stated before this House more than once that he could not face an election because of his old age. We refuse to believe in that statement. For, in spite of his old age, Rajaji is capable and competent to shoulder the whole responsibility of administration of this State. Therefore we cannot accept the plea of old age. Moreover in placing this Motion before this House and asking us to vote for the present Ministry, the Hon. Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, has hinted that the Members of the Opposition are not made of such a good stuff. Sir, I may inform the House that some Members of the House here in the Opposition have succeeded in coming to the Assembly without visiting their constituencies even once in the recent elections. Similarly, in spite of old age, Rajaji, might become a Member. His partymen may go and canvass for him. All this might be done. So, Sir, the excuses given for not facing the electorate utterly fail to carry conviction to us. Therefore, Sir, we were all sorry when we first heard, after the general elections, about the unprecedented developments taking place in this State. Even now it is not too late for Rajaji to keep to the spirit of the Constitution.

“ Sir, while we are debating a Motion of Confidence in the present Council of Ministers, without anticipating the discussion that may take place on the Budget proposals, it is but fair that we make a passing reference to them. It is now five years since we attained our Independence. And during the last five years it was a Congress Government that was ruling over this State. It is now two years since the Constitution of Free India came into force. The first election under the new Constitution has taken place recently. Now, in this long period of five years, what have the Government done to implement their programmes and policies or attain the objectives of the Constitution? We find that the policies of the State have been broadly laid down in the Directive Principles of the Constitution mentioned in Articles 36 to 51. Those Articles visualise a system of social and economic order based on equality of opportunity, social justice, right to work, right for adequate wages, full employment, and a measure of social security for all citizens. They further enjoin that the wealth and resources of the country shall be so distributed as to subserve the common good and that the operation of the economic system should not result in the concentration of income and wealth to the common detriment. Now have the Government been able to do anything or to move in anyone of these directions? The first duty to which the Government ought to have addressed themselves after attaining Independence is that they should have overhauled the existing administrative machinery. We know that

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a top-heavy administration is the legacy of the foreign Government. It was based more or less on the model of a Police State. We are not working for a Police State, but for a Welfare State. I am not for one moment suggesting that the change from a Police State to a Welfare State can be accomplished in a single day or by a single stroke of the pen. Sir, five years is a sufficiently long period, at least to make a beginning and to lay the foundation on a sure basis. Now, Sir, I do not want to deal in detail with any of these questions at this stage, because the time at my disposal is short. However, I would suggest that it is an acknowledged principle that the first duty of every Government is to provide the three essential needs of life, food, clothing and shelter, to which I may add employment also.

“ I will deal with the food problem in some detail in one or two minutes. Now, what is the success or achievement of our Congress Government in the field of food problem?

“ For the three years ending with 1950, the acreage in India under cereals was 183.8 millions and the quantity produced was 42.1 million tons. For the three years ending with 1939, the acreage had been 167 millions only but the quantity produced was 46.16 million tons. Thus, you will find that, in spite of the increase in the acreage, the production has gone down for an acre from 619 lb. to 565 lb. 4-30 p.m.

“ Coming now to this State, the estimate for 1950-51 was 10,000,126 acres and the average for the previous four years was 10,328,000 acres. In 1951-52, the estimate is 9,873,000. Thus, we find a decrease both in the acreage as well as in production. I do not want to trouble the House with further statistics relating to the West Coast and Malabar and the other districts. It is sufficient to say that as far as the whole of India is concerned, it is the problem of cereals, and as far as this State is concerned, it is a problem of rice. Even according to the statistics furnished by the Government of India and by this State Government, it is definitely known that production has not increased during the last few years in spite of the fact that the Grow More Food campaign was conducted in all its intensity, spending crores and crores of rupees. We have now before us the Five-Year Plan. It is said that it would cost 1,797 crores of rupees by 1956. And what is the achievement expected by the authors of the Five-Year Plan? This is what they say: ‘ With all the efforts that the first Five-Year Plan will represent, it will be possible barely to restore by 1955-56 the pre-war standards of consumption in regard to essentials like food and clothing ’. We must understand the implications of this statement. It is stated that by spending 1,797 crores, and that too successfully, we will be relegated to the position we were in in the year 1939. That is the achievement of the Congress Government. They want now after five years or more of rule, to spend Rs. 1,797 crores in order to restore us to the position we were in at the time the Britisher was holding our country. This observation has certainly not done credit to the Congress Government. The first suggestion made by the leaders

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was that they would wage a war against poverty and they would try to raise the standard of living of our people. What is our standard of living to-day? The National Income Committee submitted its report in the year 1949 and it is estimated that the *per capita* national income of the country is a sum of Rs. 255. The Planning Commission has reviewed it and has observed that considering the index of prices or the rise in prices to the extent of 450 per cent, there is no increase in the *per capita* national income as it was published previously. The previous known figure was Rs. 65, and Rs. 65 multiplied $4\frac{1}{2}$ times certainly goes beyond 255. Therefore it is clear that five years of Congress rule, five years of Independence, has not helped us in anyway to raise our standard of living, nor has there been any attempt to supply us with the necessities of life such as rice, cloth and shelter. That much, Sir, with regard to the food position.

"As regards the cloth position, it is stated that there is a glut in the cloth market; but still we know that prices are ruling very high and it is beyond the competence or capacity of the ordinary man to purchase cloth at the ceiling price. It is just like a beggar going in front of a decent tea shop where articles are being displayed and he wants them, but is unable to pay for them and purchase them.

"I do not want to take up more time of the House by dealing with the question of housing. I may, however, submit that there is tremendous unemployment in the country. Member after Member has referred to the collapse of the handloom industry. The Directive Principles in the Constitution have enjoined on the Government that cottage industries must be protected and must be encouraged. But still we are in a dilemma, because the Government have no policy or priority in regard to this matter. They want to encourage mill goods, while at the same time they want also to give protection to the cottage industry. We know that these are to a certain extent inconsistent with each other. The result that we find to-day is certainly due to the fact that, before either the Government or the people, there was no well-thought-out plan which has taken note of the implications of the policy they were going to pursue.

"Members have also referred, Sir, to the concessions given to the N.G.Os. and the Aided school teachers, and I do not wish to refer to that subject. It is all good so far as it goes; it gives relief to persons who are able to earn Rs. 300 and less. But what about those who are unable to earn even Rs. 3 a month? Our Directive Principles lay down that within ten years the State should provide free and compulsory education. Knowing the fact that our educational progress does not keep pace with the increase in population, I wonder when we can provide education, free and compulsory, till the age of 14 for our masses. That is the net result or the balance sheet of the Congress Government for the last five years.

"Sir, now they want a verdict that that Government should continue still further. We do not know when this Congress rule

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will come to an end. The organization which fought for the freedom of our country was headed by trusted leaders who led the freedom struggle, and so, the people, believing in their words, naturally installed the Congress Party in office. They said: 'We are your men, we promise you the millennium; but there is some teething pain, some trouble due to the partition and other attendant circumstances; it is all a passing phase and in another few years, the millennium will be before you.' That was the promise made to the people and so they installed the Congress Government in office.

"In this connexion, I want to tell a short story, Sir. A virtuous man died, and he was produced before Chitrakupta, who keeps a correct account of the virtues and vices and the good deeds and misdeeds of all men. When the virtuous man was produced before him, he said: 'You are a very virtuous man, you are 99.9 per cent virtuous; but there is a small sin which you have committed. Which do you want to have first, to enjoy for the virtues or to suffer for the sin'. The man thought, 'I have only 0.1 per cent sin, and therefore I shall finish the suffering for it first, so that I can have eternal bliss afterwards'. It is in that way that the masses were told that there was some small trouble and the millennium would be before them very soon. I hope, Sir, that what happened to that virtuous man will not happen to the people of our country. The story goes that that man was sent to hell first; his sin was that he had paid a few annas to a poor man who purchased an angle-hook for fishing; he had caught only one fish by the time the man was dead but by the time he entered hell, his sins began to accumulate as the angler continued to catch more fish and the man who was 99.9 per cent virtuous had not even an opportunity to see Heaven at all. Let not such a sin fall upon the people of this country just because in a weak moment, they had thought it fit to install the Congress Party into office."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH:—“అధ్యక్షా, ఈనాడు ఈ సభలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విశ్వాసశీర్షానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చారంటే దాక్కురు పట్టుని నీతారామయ్యగారు చెప్పిన సామెత ఒకటి నాకు జ్ఞాపకం వస్తున్నది. ఒక ఆడమనిషికి బిడ్డలులేకండా ఉంటే, ఆమెను 40 రోజులు 40 మార్లు అశ్వర్థ ప్రదక్షణము చేయమని చెప్పారట ఆమె అదే ప్రకారమే రోజు ప్రదక్షణలు చేస్తూ నాకడుపులో బిడ్డ ఇప్పటికేంత పెరిగిందో అని దిశము కడుపు ముట్టి చూచుకొంటూ యుండేదట. అదే విధంగా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు వారి మృతివరకు వచ్చి రెండు నెలలైనదో, లేదో, అప్పుడే మేము ప్రజానీకముయొక్క విశ్వాసము ఎంత సంపాదించాము మైన వారికి ఎంత విశ్వాస ఉన్నది అని ఈ విశ్వాస శీర్షానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చినట్లున్నది. అసలు వారికి అనుమానమెందుకు వచ్చిందో అర్థము కావడం లేదు. ఇది ఎట్లున్నదంటే, ఇద్దరు మనుష్యులు పని చేస్తూ యుంటే అందులో ఒకడు తన గుండెలో ప్రాణమున్నదా లేదా అని ప్రక్కవానిని తన ఎడమవ చెయ్యిపెట్టిచూడమన్నాడట. అసలు ప్రాణమే లేకపోతే ఎట్లు పని చేస్తూ యుండగలడో మరియు తక్కువవానితో ఎట్లు మాట్లాడగలడో అర్థము చేసుకోగలిగితే, ఈ మాదిరి అడిగి యింకా ఉంది. అదే

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మాదిరిగానే వీరి తీర్మానము కూడా ఉన్నది. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప వైఖరి లతో రాజకీయాలలో ప్రవేశించారు. ప్రజానీకముయొక్క అభిప్రాయాలను సులభంగా తెలుసుకోగలదు. ఇట్లుండి కూడా తమ పెరి విశ్వాసమున్నదా లేదా అని ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానం ప్రతిపాదించడంలో వారికి ప్రత్యేక కారణముండకపోదు.

“అసలు ఆరువ్యూహం ఉపవిన్యకలలో కాంగ్రెసు ఓడిపోయినట్లయితే తాము ఓడి నట్లుని చెప్పారు. ఈ ప్రతిజ్ఞ బాగానే ఉన్నది. దీనిని అందరు ఒప్పుకోవలసిందే కాక ఎప్పుడయితే ఆరువ్యూహం ఉప విన్యకలలో కాంగ్రెసు ఓడిపోయిందని తెలిసిందో అప్పుడు మీ ఇది ఇట్లు విన్యకలలో సహజంగా ఉండుటకు ఉచితముగా వేరే ఒక పన్నుగడ పన్నువలెనని చివరికి విజ్ఞాపించుటకు ముందరికే సహజంగా ఉండుటకు కాసే సభలో ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకువచ్చి తమ తమ మంత్రివర్గం వెనక విశ్వాసముం డేది, లేనది ఈ తీర్మానంలో తేలిపోవలసిందని అంటున్నారు. ఇది ఎట్లున్నదంటే బయట కొంతమంది పిల్లవాండ్లు అడుగుంటూయుంటే, అందులో ఒక పిల్లవాడు ఇంకొక పిల్లవాడిని కొట్టితే వాడు ఏడుగుంటూ ఇంటిలోకి వచ్చి తండ్రితో ఇట్లు బయట ఒక పిల్లవాడు కొట్టినాడని చెప్పుకొంటే అప్పుడు తండ్రి నిన్ను బయటవేరే పిల్లవాడు కొడితే నీకు ఇక్కడ మీ అమ్మను కొట్టు సరిపోతుంది అని అన్నాడంటే, అట్లాగే బయట ఎవరో కొడితే లోపలికివచ్చి అమ్మను తన్నినట్లు, బయట ప్రజలచే ఎన్ని కలలో పోడినట్లు ఇప్పుడు కాసే సభలో ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రతిపాదించి నగ్గడమంటే ఆర్థం లేదు. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ కాసే సభలోను బయట ఏమి చెప్పుతున్నారంటే యు.డి.యఫ్. సంస్థ అనునటువంటి కేవలము కమ్యూనిస్టులలో కూడుకొనినటువంటి సంస్థ అనియు, వారి ఆశయమంతా ప్రజలను రాష్ట్రాన్ని అల్లకల్లోల పెట్టి ఆరాజకముచేయుటే అనియు, వారి కొక నీతినియమములు ఏవీలేనివి అని ఆరాజకములోనున్న వారి తన విజ్ఞాపించుట వ్యతిరేక ప్రచారంచేసి వారిని పడగొట్టుటకే ఎప్పుడూ ప్రయత్నిస్తుంటారని ఇదంతా chaos and confusion కేసి చెప్పుచుంటారు. అయితే ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.యఫ్. లో ఉంటున్న మేమంతాముందు కాంగ్రెసులోనే ఉండి దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యం కొరకు అన్ని విధాలపెట్టుకొని ప్రజాసేవ చేసిన వాళ్లమేనని, కాని ఇటీవల కాంగ్రెసు అనుసరిస్తున్న మార్గాలు మాకు సచ్చక పోవడంవల్ల మేము కాంగ్రెసును విడిచిపెట్టి యు.డి.యఫ్. అనే సంస్థను స్థాపించి ప్రజాస్వామికం కొరకు దేశ ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము కొరకు సదా కృషి చేస్తున్నటువంటి వారమనే విషయాన్ని వారు మరచి పోతుండని చెప్పుచున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు రాజకీయాలలో అడుగుపెట్టి నప్పుడే నేను కూడా రాజకీయాలలో అడుగుపెట్టాను. అయితే వారు foremost నాయకులుగా ఉండేవారు. నేను వాలంటీరుగా నాశ కానుసారము ప్రజాసేవకు కృషి చేస్తూవుంటిని.

4-45
P.m.

“1947 వ సం॥ ఆగస్టు 15 వ తేదీన దేశమునకు స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చి నప్పుడు ప్రజలు చాలా ఉత్సాహపూరితముగా సర్వకష్టాలు తొలగిపోతాయని అనుకొన్నారు. కాని తరువాత క్రమముగా ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితులు వారనుకొన్నట్లు మారలేదని కొద్దికాలము లోనే తెలుసుకొన్నారు. కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులు మనకు ఇదివరకు వచ్చినది రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యం మాత్రమేగాని ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము కాదని పండిత నైర్రామ అంటు న్నారు. ప్రజలకు అత్యవసరంగా కావలసిన కూడు, గుడ్డ ఇవ్వలేని స్వాతంత్ర్యము ఉంటేనేమీ పోలేకోమా, అర్థము కావడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులు వారి ప్రభుత్వము, పెద్ద పెద్ద ధనస్థులను జమీందారులను అండగా పెట్టు కొని రాజకీయాధికారాలతో సంతోషిస్తున్నారు. సామాన్య ప్రజానీకముయొక్క ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితులు ఎట్లున్నవని వీరికి కాబట్టినట్లులేదు. కాబట్టి ప్రజానీకముయొక్క

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ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యమునకును వారి ఆర్థికాభివృద్ధికీకాని పాడుపడనటువంటి కాంగ్రెసును వదలి మేము ప్రజలకు ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యమును చేకూర్చే నిమిత్తం ప్రత్యేకంగా యు.డి. యఫ్. అనే సంస్థను ఏర్పాటుచేసి చేసికొనియున్నాము. అంతేగాని యు.డి.యఫ్. సంస్థ అంటే chaos అనిగాని confusion అనిగాని అనడం దాన్ని అర్థంచేసుకోక పోవడమే. నిన్నటి రోజున శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కంట్రాట్లు తీసివేసినారంటే వానిలో ప్రజలు చాలా ఉత్సాహపడుతారని, తృప్తిపడతారని, ఈ సమయములో ఈ Confidence తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకొనివచ్చేటప్పుడు ఈ కంట్రాట్లు వల్ల ప్రజలు గొడవ తీరిపోతుందని ఆ విధంగా వారి విశ్వాసాన్ని సంపాదించ వచ్చుననే అభిప్రాయంతో ఈ పన్నుగడ పన్నునారు. నిజంగా ఈ కంట్రాట్లువల్ల సామాన్య ప్రజానీకమునకు మేలు కలుగుతుందా అంటేలేదు. భాగ్యపు ధరలు ఎప్పుడైతే వివలవిడిగా విడచిపెట్టారో అప్పుడు ధరలు సహజముగా పెరిగి పోతాయి.

“ఇప్పుడు కంట్రాట్లు తీసివేయడంవల్ల కలిగిన మేలేమంటే ప్రజలు ప్రభుత్వ యోగ్యతలను బాధనండి తొలగించబడ్డారు, అంత తప్ప వేరే మేలు ఏమీ కలుగలేదు. దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినదని పేరుకేగాక ప్రజల ఆర్థికస్థితి సౌకర్యాలు ఏమీ వాగు పడలేదు. దీనికి మనకు రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యమే వచ్చినదిగాని ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యము రాలేదంటారు. ప్రజలు వారి కష్ట సుఖాలగురించి ఏమీ మొరపెట్టుకొన్నా శ్రీ రాజగో పాలాచారిగారు దేవున్ని ప్రార్థించమంటారు. ప్రజలను దేవున్ని ప్రార్థించమని చెప్పుదూ శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మూతము ఇద్దరిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నారు. వారిద్దరు ఎవరంటే వ్యాపారస్తులు, ధనక రైతులు. వ్యాపారస్తులకు ‘మేము మీకు సర్వాధికారము ఇచ్చి నాము. భాగ్యాన్ని న్యాయంగా ప్రజలకు అమ్మి ప్రభుత్వ విధానానికి తోడ్పడండి’ మరి రైతులకును ‘మీకు ధరల ఇబ్బంది లేకుండా చేశాము, గనుక మీ భాగ్యాన్ని మీ ఇష్టమువచ్చిన ధరలకు అమ్మకొండి, ఆహార పదార్థాలు ఎక్కువగా పండించి ప్రభుత్వానికి ఆహార కొరతలో ఇబ్బందులు రాకుండా మాత్రము చూడండి’ అని వారికి చెప్పారు. వీరి మధ్య సామాన్య ప్రజలు, మధ్య ప్రజానీకమే కష్టపడుచున్నది. రైతులు ధరలు ఎక్కిస్తారు, వ్యాపారస్తులు అధిక లాభాలు తీసుకుంటారు, కనుక కంట్రాట్లు తీసి వేయడంవల్ల వచ్చే లాభమంతా వ్యాపారస్తులకు రైతులకేగాని సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికి గాదు. మనకు స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినదా ప్రయోజనం లేదు. ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యములేని కేవలము రాజకీయ స్వాతంత్ర్యముతో ప్రజల పరిస్థితి ఎట్లు వాగుపడగలదు. కనుకనే దేశానికి ఆర్థిక స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని చేకూర్చే ఆశయముతోనే మేము కాంగ్రెసును వదలి యు.డి.యఫ్. అని సంస్థ స్థాపించుకొన్నాము. అదే ఆశయముతోనే కృషిచేస్తున్నా ముకూడా. అటువంటి యు.డి.యఫ్. ఈ నాడు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు విమర్శిస్తున్నారంటే, మేము సహించలేము. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప వేదాంతి పొరుగుకుడు, మేధావి ఉదంతా సరే ఒప్పుకుంటాము, వారు భారతము, మొదలగు వేదాంత గ్రంథాలు వ్రాసినారు. అందుకు వారిని గౌరవిస్తాము, వారికి సమస్య రిస్తాము కాని రాజకీయాలకు సంబంధించినంతవరకు వారు రాజకీయ పరిస్థితిలో చాలా అగ్రగణ్యులై యుండవచ్చు కాని, ఈ నాడు ఇతరులయొక్క ఆశ యాలు, కార్యక్రమాలు గమనించకుండా మా అభిప్రాయాలను వ్యతిరేకిస్తూ, విమర్శిస్తూ నామీద విశ్వాసము మాత్రము ఉంచండి అంటేమాత్రము మేము ఏమాత్రము ఒప్పుకోము. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఇదివరకే రాజకీయాలు వదలిపెట్టి వేదాంతంలో మగ్గులైనటువంటివారు అట్లే ఉండకుండా మరల రాజకీయాలలో జోక్యము కలుగజేసుకొనుట చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. ఇప్పుడు కూడా వారికి రాజకీయాధికారముయొక్క భ్రమ, ఆశ ఇంకాపోలేదు. రాజకీయాధికారమంతా తమ చేతుల్లోనే ఉంచుకోవలెనని ఆశిస్తూ యుంటారు.

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah] [1st July 1952]

ఇతరులకు భిన్న వర్గీయాలకు ఆ ఆధికారము లేదనుకొంటారు. ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.ఎఫ్. లో ఉన్నవారే మొదటి కాంగ్రెసులో ఉండి దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యానికి పాటుపడినవారే. అదే ఆశయముతోనే ఈనాడుకూడా పాటుపడుతున్నారు. మనము మీద ప్రజాసౌకర్యానికి ఆధికారవృద్ధిని చేకూర్చగలిగిన నాడే మనదేశము సుఖపడుతుంది. స్వాతంత్ర్యము యొక్క ఫలితాన్ని అనుభవిస్తుంది. మండిట్ జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూ వారి ఆత్మకథ లోనూ Glimpses of World History లోనూ తరువాత Discovery of India లోనూ కూడా వ్రాశారు. అందులో సామ్రాజ్యవాదము మనకు పనికిరాదు, మనకు కావలసింది ప్రజాస్వామికము, సామ్రాజ్యవాదులు మనకు వ్యతిరేకులు అని అన్నారు. కాని ఈనాడు మనదేశము కామన్వెల్త్ లో మెరుగుగా చేరింది. ఒక సారి Round Table Conference లో మహాత్మాగాంధీగారిని మీరు ఎవరు ప్రతినిధి అని అడిగితే, నేను దక్షిణ నారాయణుని ప్రతినిధి అని అయినా చెప్పారు. మనదేశానికి చిహ్నంగా ఉండవలసింది బ్రిటిష్ రాజ్య కీర్తిపత్రం కాదని అప్పుచేయవలసింది. మనదేశానికి సామ్రాజ్యవాద దేశమైన బ్రిటిష్ దేశంలో సంబంధం ఉండరాదు. Commonwealth లో చేరడమనేది మన ఆశయాలకు, సిద్ధాంతాలకు, ప్రజాస్వామి విధానానికి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ఇప్పుడు మనదేశము Commonwealth మెరుగుగా చేరింది అంటే, మన గుర్తు గాంధీగారు ఇచ్చినటువంటి దక్షిణ నారాయణుడా, లేదా Commonwealth యొక్క గుర్తు అయినటువంటి రాఫ్స్ గారి కీర్తిపత్రమా? మనము మహాత్మాగాంధీగారి సిద్ధాంతాలకు, ఆశయాలకు కట్టుబడి ఉండాలనంటే మనదేశము నిజమైన ప్రజాస్వామిక దేశము కావలెనంటే, మనదేశానికి అధిక స్వాతంత్ర్యాన్ని సంపాదించుకోవలసి మనము గాంధీగారి పవిత్ర టువంటి దక్షిణ నారాయణుని చిహ్నాన్ని అలంబించవలసి యుంటుంది. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. మొదట స్థాపించబడినపుడు వాకిలివెర్చుకు వస్తుందని యు.డి.ఎఫ్. అనుకూలం. కాని వారి ఆశయము దేశంలో సుదీర్ఘ ప్రజాస్వామికాన్ని నెలకొల్పడమే. ఇప్పుడు యు.డి.ఎఫ్.లో కమ్యూనిస్టులు అంటున్నారని అంటున్నారు. ఈనాడు కమ్యూనిస్టులపై వారు చాలామంది ఆనాడు కాంగ్రెస్ లో ఉండేవారు. అదిలో కాంగ్రెస్ ఒక యు.డి.ఎఫ్. గా ఉండేది. ఆనాడు ఆంగ్లంలో మల్ వాదులు, అవివాదులు, ఇతర అనేక వ్యవధాలవారు ఉండేవారు. ఆనాడు విదేశీయుల చేతులనుంచి హిందూ దేశాన్ని దాస్య విముక్తిచేయడమనే ప్రధానాశయంతోనే వివిధ వ్యవధాలవారు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో చేరారు. అదేవిధంగా ఈనాడు వెబ్బుడిదారులు భూస్వాములు మొదలైనవారిలో సంఘస్థ కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థయొక్క ఆధికారంనుంచి ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని తప్పించే ఉద్దేశంతో కాంగ్రెస్ ను ఎన్నికలలో ఓడించుచున్న వివిధ పార్టీలకన్నిగా యు.డి.ఎఫ్. అంతే కాకుండా మా యు.డి.ఎఫ్. యొక్క కార్యక్రమము, విధానాలు ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలపైన ఆధారపడియున్నవి. మేముకూడా ఆ రోజులలో దేశ స్వాతంత్ర్యముకొరకు కాంగ్రెస్ లో ఉండి అందరితోపాటు అనేక త్యాగాలుచేసి నానా పాట్లుపడి కృషి చేసినవారమే అయితే, ప్రస్తుతము కాంగ్రెస్ లో ఉన్నటువంటి వారు కొంతమంది నిన్ను, మున్నటిదాకా కాంగ్రెస్ విధానాలకు వ్యతిరేకంగా కృషిచేస్తూ యుండినటువంటి వారున్నారు. సరే ముత్తయ్య చెట్టియార్ గారు మున్నటివరకు కాంగ్రెస్ ను oppose చేస్తూ వాకిలి వ్యతిరేకంగా నడుచుకొంటూ యుండినటువంటివారు ఈ దినము కాంగ్రెస్ పక్ష సభ్యుడనిపించుకొంటున్నాడు. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. లో అనేక రాజకీయ పార్టీలు, భిన్న వర్గీయులున్నారుని విమర్శించు కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులు, ఒకటో ముత్తయ్య చెట్టియార్ వంటివారు కాంగ్రెస్ లో ఇప్పుడు చేరియున్నారుని మరిచిపోయారు కాబోలు. ఈనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారిలో మాకు విదేశీ భాలు రావటానికి ముఖ్యమైన కారణం ఒకటిన్నది. మఱిటివాళ్లు అనేకమంది కాంగ్రెస్ లో చాలాకాలము ఉన్నారు. మేముతా ప్రతి పోరాటంలోకూడా పాల్గొ

[1st July 1952] [Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah]

పాల్గొన్నాము. అనేక సంవత్సరాలపాటు జైల్లో ఉన్నాము. మహాత్మాజీ అడుగు జాడల్లో నడచాము. కాని, స్వాతంత్ర్యం సంపాదించిన తరువాత కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ యొక్క రూపమే మారిపోయింది. త్యాగాలు, నిస్వార్థులు అయిన అనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ వారికన్నా నేడు కాంగ్రెస్ లో పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములు, వెబ్బుడిదారులు అధివృద్ధి నిరోధకులు పెచ్చుగా ఉన్నారు. స్వాతంత్ర్యము రానిముందు జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూ గారు సంఘంలో విప్లవాత్మకమైన మార్పులు రావాలని పదేపదే చెబుతూ ఉండేవారు. అధిక రంగులోనూ, ముఖ్యంగా వ్యవసాయ రంగంలోను ఎన్నో మార్పులు చేయాలని ఆయన అభిలషించేవారు. సంఘమేనేది మూలమే ఉండాలని ఎప్పుడూ ఒకేమాదిరి స్పష్టంగా ఉండరాదని ఆయన అనేవారు. Status quo ను నిలబెట్టుటకు ప్రయత్నం చేసేవారు. అధివృద్ధి నిరోధకులకు ఆయన వెల్లడించేవారు. మార్పు అనేది సంఘ జీవితంలో సహజమైనదని ఆయన చెప్పేవారు. ఈ విషయాలనే ఆయన ఉద్ధృంధాలలో వ్రాశారు. ఆ అభిప్రాయాలే, ఈనాడు మేము కాంగ్రెస్ ను సంస్థను వదిలి దానిక ప్రత్యర్థులుగా ఇక్కడ నిలబడటానికి ప్రేరేపించాయి. నేటి కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ భూస్వాముల సంస్థగా మారిపోయింది. సర్వజనాంగీకారమైన ప్రజా సామాన్యానికి శుభకరమైన విషయాలంటే కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ వివశించుకొనే పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడింది. పాత పద్ధతులు, భూజుట్టిన భూస్వామ్య విధానం అది నిర్మూలించలేక పోయింది. దేశకాలవాతాన గుణంగా విధానాలలోనూ మార్పులురావాలి. ప్రపంచంలో ఎన్నో మార్పులు జరుగుతున్నాయి. ప్రజాశక్తులు విజృంభిస్తున్నాయి. ఈ మార్పును గుర్తించకుండా కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ అధివృద్ధికి గురిబండ తయారైంది. ఈ స్థితిని మంచి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము మేలుకోవాలి. అంతవరకు కాంగ్రెస్ ను ప్రజలు అభిమానించిరు.

“ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు యు.డి.ఎఫ్. ను కలగూర్గింప పార్టీ అని అవశేషం చేస్తున్నారు. వారు ఒక విషయం మాత్రం గమనించాలి. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. లోని సభ్యులమైన మేము సాధారణం ఎన్నికలలో ఏ పార్టీ ticket వైతగాని స్వతంత్రులుగా గాని విజయం పొందినప్పటికీ, మా ఆశయం అధివృద్ధి నిరోధకమైన కాంగ్రెస్ ను ఓడించుటే అని గుర్తించాలి. అదే సంకల్పంతో మేము ఎన్నికలలో పోటీచేశాము. జయించాము. ఇప్పుడు ఇక్కడ కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీని ఎదిరిస్తున్నాము. కాని ఈనాడు మాకర కాంగ్రెస్ ను ఎదిరించి జయించిన సభ్యులు కొందరు ఇప్పుడు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచుకుంటు తెలుస్తున్నది. ఒకటో వారు వారి అధికారాలను, ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలకు వెప్పిన మాటలను మరిచిపోయారని అనుకొంటున్నాను. అధికారంలోవున్న వర్గమే ఎప్పుడు విస్తారయిందరే ఇంటుంది. ఆ విస్తారయానికి వెల్లినవారికి విదో ఫలహారం లభిస్తుంది అలాగే అధికారం ఉన్నవారిని ఆశ్రయించడానికి అనేకమంది అపేక్షించవచ్చు. కాని మా యు.డి.ఎఫ్. శివాలయం వంటిది. ఇక్కడ వివాది, మారేడు పుత్రులే తప్ప తినుబండగాలేది లభ్యము కాదు. ప్రసాదాలకోసాని ప్రాకులాడక ప్రజలకిచ్చిచూడు వెల్లించందని వారిని కోరుతున్నాను. అధికారమనేది అందరిని ఆశ్రయించవలసి చేస్తుంది. ఆ పెబ్బాన్నామే ఆ ఆధికార గర్వమే కాంగ్రెస్ ఈనాడు అత్యవతీతమైపోతూనికి కారణము. అధికారాలకోసాని, ప్రసాదాలకోసాని ప్రాకులాడకూడదు.

“మన రాజ్యాంగ నిర్మాతలు ఒకరకమైన అలంకార శాస్త్రము అలవరించు కొన్నట్లు కనిపిస్తుంది. అన్నిరకాల అలంకారాలనుంచి కొంత తీసుకొని, వాటిని కలిపి కలిపి ముద్దచేసి ఒక వికృతాలంకారాన్ని తయారుచేసినట్లుగావుంది మన రాజ్యాంగము. అలాగే రాజ్యాంగంలోనుంచి కొంత, అన్వేషియో రాజ్యాంగములోనుంచి

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah] [1st July 1952]

కొంత, రిటర్న్, ఐర్ లాండు దేశాలనుంచి మరకొంత తినుకొని కలిపి పాంపెట్టి వంట చేసినట్లుంది ఈ రాజ్యాంగం. దీనిని వివిధ వర్గాల పోల్చులా లేక పాంపెట్టా పోల్చులా నా కేమి తెలియడంలేదు. ఇంకవంటి లగావులకపు రాజ్యాంగం గమకనే దేశము నానాటికి అభ్యాసమైపోయింది. ఒకసారి ఒక రాజ్యాంగ శాస్త్రవేత్త ప్రభుత్వమంటే rich class యొక్క working committee భవిష్యత్తు పట్టి అని వర్ణించాడు. మన ప్రభుత్వాలకూడా అలాటివే. వేరే ప్రజల ప్రతినిధులకు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాలలో అవకాశంలేదు.

“రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు గొప్ప psychologist అని చెప్పాను. సమయానుసారము ముందుముందుగా రాజగోపాల ప్రజల reactions అలాగింది కా. అసిన చర్యలు తినుకొంటాయంటారు. ‘Rubs ou the wrong side’ అనే న్యాయాన్ని అనుసరించి ఇప్పుడు బడ్జెట్ తీర్మానము రాబోతున్నది, ఈ సమయంలో కంట్రోల్స్ తీసివేస్తే అమాయకమైనవంటి ప్రజానీకము తృప్తిపడకుండాని ఇక వారి గొడవ తీసి పోతుందని, ఆ విధంగా ఈ బడ్జెట్ అమోదాన్ని సులభంగా సహించవచ్చునని ఈ కంట్రోల్స్ సమయాలకుగా తీసి పోతారు. ఇంక ఏమి ఇప్పుడు చేయాలిచేసిన బడ్జెట్ చూస్తామంటే, ఈ బడ్జెట్ లో గొట్టు వచ్చిందని చెప్పే వీరు ప్రజానీకంపై అనేక రకాల పన్నులు విధించారు. ఇప్పటికే ప్రజానీకముగా పన్నుల భారంతో క్రుంగిపోతుంటే ఇవి చాలవని చెప్పి, పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములను పదవి పెట్టి, మరికొంత ప్రజానీకంపైనే పడుతున్నాయి. ఈ విధంగా ఈ బడ్జెట్ నిరాశాజనక ఒక నీతి నియమముగాని, ఒక వ్యర్థంగాని లేకుండా బడ్జెట్ లో గొట్టు వచ్చిందని ప్రజల నీతి గతులు గమనించకుండా విచారించగా అవకాశవశమనే ధర్మ చేశారు.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర విషయంగురించి మనవిచేస్తాను. ఏనాటినుంచో భాషా రాష్ట్రాలను ఏర్పరుస్తామని కాంగ్రెసు ప్రజలకు వాగ్దానం చేసింది. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర మిస్తామని చెప్పారు. Three-man-committee కొన్ని సూచనలుకాడ చేసింది, ఆ సూచనలను ప్రభుత్వం అమలు జరుపడంలేదు. వైగా ఆంధ్రలో సర్కారిని, రాయల నీరు అని విభేదాలు కల్పించడానికి తన శక్తినంతా ఉపయోగిస్తుంది. కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ చేసిన వాగ్దానాలను మన్నించకపోవడంవల్లనే కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం ప్రభావి మానాన్ని కోల్పోతున్నాయి. ఆంధ్రలో జాతీయ ఆశయాన్ని అణగారోక్కాలని ప్రయత్నిస్తున్న ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంతోకాలం మనకూడదు. ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం కావాలనే ఆంధ్రులెవడు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని విలపించలేడు.

5 p.m. “తరువాత క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. రంగారెడ్డిగారు ఈ మధ్య కర్నూలు జిల్లాలో మాట్లాడుతూ, క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు తప్పక నిర్మించ బడుతుంది అని అన్నారు. ఇక్కడ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు రంగారెడ్డిగారి అభిప్రాయము కొంతవరకు సరి అయినదేనని అన్నారు. కాని రంగారెడ్డిగారు మద్రాసుకు తిరిగివచ్చి తాను కర్నూలులో క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు గురించి చెప్పిన విషయం పై విధంగా కాదన్నారు. ఢిల్లీనుంచి ప్రకటించడమే వార్తలను చూస్తుంటే ఇంకా కోసలా కమిషను ఎటువంటి నిపార్డు పంపలేదని తెలుస్తుంది. అంతేకాకుండా మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వము క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ కావాలని పట్టుబడుతుందని కూడ కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వ మంగిలారు చెప్పారు. క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మిస్తే ఆంధ్రదేశానికి తీరని నష్టం కలిగించవారభతారు. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల దేశీయ హక్కులను గుర్తించకుండా దక్షిణాదిపక్షాన్ని జిల్లాలకు క్రిష్ణా జిల్లాలను తగ్గించుకపోవడం విమల్యాయమా గమనించండి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రులకు తమిళులకు విభేదాలు తెచ్చిపెట్టేదే. ఆంధ్రదేశములోని నదీజలాలు ఆంధ్రులకు ఉపయోగపడ

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కుందాచేనే ప్రయత్నమే ఇది. కావేరి జిల్లాలను మరో ప్రాంతానికి తరలించుకు పోతామంటే ఏ తమిళుడైన అంగీకరిస్తాడేమో అలాగింది. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల అవసరాలను గమనించకుండా క్రిష్ణా జిల్లాలను ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు తీసుకుపోవడం అన్యాయం. క్రిష్ణా నీటిని దక్షిణాదిపక్షాన్ని సౌత్ ఆర్కాటుకు తీసుకువెళ్లడం అంత అవసరం కాదు. దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటులో భూగర్భంలో ఎంతో నీరు ఉంది. ఆ నీటిని కై తీస్తే ఎంతో లాభముంది. ఆ జిల్లాలో లిగ్నైట్ నీటి పారల మధ్య ఉన్నది. ఆ నీటిని తోడి వేస్తే నేగాని లిగ్నైట్ ను పైకి తీయడానికి వీలులేదు. ప్రకృతి దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు జిల్లా ప్రజలకు రెండు మహా ఖనులను ఇచ్చింది. ఒకటి నీరు, రెండవది లిగ్నైట్. ఆ నీటిని తోడూనికే 50 వేల కిలోవాట్టుల శక్తి కావాలి. ఈ శక్తిని ఉత్పత్తి చేయడానికి కావలసినంత బొగ్గు ఉక్కడ ఉంది. ఆ బొగ్గును ఉపయోగించి నీరును జయటికి తోడి వేయండి. నీరును తోడి బొగ్గు తొవ్వండి. ఆ ప్రాంతమంతా సస్యశ్యామలమై నిత్య కల్యాణము, పశుపరణవడానికి ఇంకేమి కావాలో నాకేమి అర్థం కావటంలేదు. ఎక్కడో నాలుగువందల మెల్ల దూరాన ఉన్న క్రిష్ణానీటిని క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల కోర్కెలను మన్నించకుండా తెచ్చి దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు ప్రజలకు మేల కలుగజేస్తామంటే అందులో పురుషార్థమేమిటో గమనించండి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ఆంధ్రులకు తీరని నష్టం కలుగ జేస్తుంది. ఆంధ్ర ప్రజాసామాన్యాన్ని ఈవిధంగా బాధించడంకన్నా ఎక్కడెక్కడ నడు పాయలను అక్కడ సద్వినియోగం చేయడం మంచిది. సిద్ధేశ్వరం, నందికొండ, పులి చింతల ప్రాజెక్టులు కట్టండి. క్రిష్ణా తీరవాసుల సహజమైన, న్యాయమైన హక్కులను మన్నించండి. నందికొండవద్ద అనకట్ట కట్టినచో లక్షలాది ఎకరముల భూమిని పాగు లానికి దీనుకొని పచ్చుటే కాకుండా, 50, 60 వేల కిలోవాట్టు విద్యుచ్ఛక్తిని ఉత్పత్తి అవుతుంది. దానితో దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటు జిల్లాలోని లిగ్నైటును ప్రవ్వ వచ్చు. దక్షిణ ఆర్కాటులోఉన్న లిగ్నైటును ప్రవ్వనట్లయితే దక్షిణాది జిల్లాలకు కృష్ణా నీటిని తీసుకొనివెళ్ల సవసరం ఉండదు. ఏ ప్రాంత ప్రజలయొక్క ఆవిమానాన్ని పోగొట్టుకో నక్కరలేదు. ఈ విషయాలను గమనించకుండా క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నార్ ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించటానికి ప్రయత్నించే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని విఅంధ్రుడువిశ్వసించడు విశ్వసించలేడు.

“ఇంక, ఎఫ్.జి.ఓ. ల విషయములో చూస్తే, వారు సంవత్సరముల తర్బడి వారి భేతములు, అలవెన్సులు చెప్పుచేయవలసినదని మొర పెట్టుకొంటుయింటే, రాజ గోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చిన తరువాత ఏదో నామమాత్రముగా వారి కంటిసీకు తుడుచుటకు కొంత విద్యాసౌకర్యాలు, చికిత్సా సౌకర్యాలు ఇచ్చి గొప్పగా మేలు చేసినట్లు చెప్పుచున్నారు. కాని ఈ స్వల్ప సౌకర్యాలు వారి నిత్యజీవితావసరాలకు ఏమి తోడ్పడవు. సరికదా, ఏదో ఈ సౌకర్యాలైనా కలుగ జేసారుమోంటే మరు సటి దినమునుంచీనే రైతులచిమింట ప్రారంభించేశారు. కొంతమంది ఎఫ్.జి.ఓ. లను తీసివేసినారని మిగతా ఎఫ్.జి.ఓ. లు తమ ఆసంతృప్తి తెల్పకుండా చేయుటకుగాను ఎఫ్. జి. ఓలకు విద్యా సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేసినారని ప్రజలు, ఉద్యోగులు అనుకొంటు న్నారు. ఇదే వారు ఎఫ్.జి.ఓ. లకు చేసిన మేలు.

“ప్రజలకు ఏ ఘనకార్యాలు జేశామని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు తనమీద విశ్వాస మున్నదాలేదా అని ముప్పులనుడుగుచున్నా నాకు తెలియడంలేదు. ఇతరుల కార్యక్ర మాలు, విధానాలు-అవి ఎంత ప్రజాహితకరమైనటువంటివైనా, ఎంతమంచివైనా, వారికి వచ్చవు. పరిపాలనాధికారమంతా ముత్తముగా నారి చేతులలోనేఉండుకొని వారి ఇష్టానుసారమే జరుగవలెనని అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఇతరుల సలహాలు ఒప్పుకోమంటారు గాని అందరికీ తమ పై శక్తుకము విశ్వాసము ఉండవలసంటారు. యు. డి. ఎఫ్. యొక్క విధానాలు, కార్యక్రమాలు ఎంతమంచివైతప్పటికీ ఏరికీ వచ్చవు. సంపూర్ణ రాజ

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కీర్తనాకారము వీరి స్వాధీనములో ఉండవలసినట్లు. ఇదంతా చూస్తే వీరిది నియంతృత్వ సిద్ధాంతమే అని చెప్పక తప్పదు. ఇటువంటి వీరు ఏర్పాటుచేసే బువంటి మంత్రివర్గము పూర్తిగా ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతానికి విరుద్ధమైయుంటుంది. యు.డి.ఎఫ్. పార్టీవారికి ఆత్యధిక మెజారిటీ ఉన్నప్పటికీ, మొత్తం పార్టీ ఆయుధమువంటి కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీతోనే మంత్రివర్గము ఏర్పాటుచేశారంటే, ఇది People's Ministry అని అనడానికి ఏమి వేరు. అటువంటివర్గము రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు నామీద, నా మంత్రివర్గముద విశ్వాసమున్నదా అని ఎట్లు అడుగగలరో ప్రజలెట్లు ప్రభుత్వముపై విశ్వాసముంచ గలరో అలాచింతమోకాదు. ఇటువంటి అనవసర తీర్మానాలవల్లను పర్సనల్ లిబర్టీ public money వృథాగా ఖర్చుచేయడం, సభ్యులకు టి.వి. లు రావడంతప్ప ప్రజలకు మాత్రము మేలుకలుగదు. కనుక ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నామని తెప్పకూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.

'When wilt Thou save the people?

O, God of Mercy, when?

Not Kings alone, but nations!

Not thrones and crowns, but men!

Flowers of Thy Heart, O God, are they;

Let them not pass, like weeds, away—

Their heritage a Sunless day:

God save the the people!'

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Confidence Motion comes at a particular period in our history. It is not without significance that it comes after the Budget has been presented. The Budget makes the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam, almost forces him, to say that our economic position in India and particularly in Madras State is in a very bad condition. But he does not tell us how the present problems particularly in the export trade, in the case of the unemployed and in the case of the falling purchasing power are going to be solved by him. He wants a blank cheque for himself and wants that all these burdens should be shoved on to the common man. That is the gist of his Budget speech and Sri Rajagopalachari wants complete power under the cloak of an emergency. This has been, in fact, not merely our experience but the experience of other countries too. There have been dictators—fascist dictators,—who almost created a sense of emergency, a sense of a very great impending danger in the minds of ordinary men. They told them, ‘There is a great danger here again. The Bolsheviks are around the corner. They will come and devour us. Therefore, you give me all powers and I am going to save every one of you and the entire nation.’ That has been the tactics of Hitler; it has been the tactics of General Franco. Every time Hitler wanted to have a war he used to have a plebiscite. Even the Government that heads the French nation repeatedly asks for a Vote of Confidence because it is having an anti-national policy—the very same policies that are being pursued by Sri Rajagopalachari. Sri Rajagopalachari wants to create in us the very same sort of an emergency and the very same kind of anti-Communist phobia, and he wants

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to tell us that he alone and no other person is going to solve this problem. We are here to solve all these problems including the economic problem by the most democratic means, and our Constitution actually lays down that democracy is its corner-stone. Now, Sri Rajagopalachari and his Ministry have actually indicated the policies that they are going to pursue. They are nothing but anti-democratic policies. Now there is a great demand on the part of the bourgeois in South India that they should take away all their burdens and put them on to the shoulders of the working class. They want to cut their wages. They want perhaps to see that a good number of men are rendered unemployed. Sri C. Rajagopalachari is already leading them. He has already told us that he is going to render unemployed a number of people in the Civil Supplies Department. That is how he is going to show us the way and lead the economy of this country, and because he is going to lead the economy of the country in such unpopular paths it is going to raise a lot of discontent, and to meet that discontent he wants emergency powers and confidence in him so that he can assume a dictatorial role. That is the precise meaning of the Confidence Motion. But, apart from this, let us know what Sri Rajagopalachari is.

“ Mr. Rajagopalachari is no stranger to us. If I remember aright, he is taking part in politics from 1920 or so. Mr. Rajagopalachari has been throughout an opportunist of the very first rank. He has been telling us here in the Assembly that the Communists are his ‘enemy No. 1’. During 1942-43 he was the greatest friend of the Communists. He would attend all their meetings then. I am told that in one of the meetings sponsored by the Communists, Mr. Rajagopalachari had said that there were two plans, one was the plan of Herr Hitler and the other was the Socialist plan adopted by the Soviet Union. Now I would like to know under what plan—the fascist or the socialist—the Budget can be classified. Now we are asked to entrust our destinies to such an opportunist who would so easily sail with the wind. I believe that the destinies of our people ought not to be entrusted to such people.

“ The very first announcement, Mr. Rajagopalachari made before the Members of his party was that the separation of the judiciary from the executive was something bad and that he did not like it. The hon. Members may know the history of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Mr. R. C. Dutt who was a great patriot and who was the author of several great books which inspired all patriots was the first person who said, ‘If democracy is to function in India it is only possible by separating the judiciary from the executive.’ Unfortunately 150 years of enslavement have bred in us a number of slavish ideas which we will have to get rid of by a thorough judicial reform. I will give you one instance. In India men are not punished for what they do but for what the police imagine they could have done. That is the whole tragedy in India. Policemen in India are also supposed to be astrologers and soothsayers. They went into our brains and

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found that we were going to have a demonstration. Even thoughts which are interpreted as having existed in our brains are also crimes and that is the biggest atrocity in our law. On that basis a number of people were arrested. Many of us, on this side of the House, have almost been ruined by this policy. It was Mr. Saxena, when he was talking on the Preventive Detention Bill, who said that politicians in India were made to rot in jails, each for at least five years. That is the whole tragedy here. I ask, in all seriousness, are the Members of the Government nationalists? Do they claim to belong to the Indian National Congress that carried on a struggle for emancipation? Are R. C. Dutt and the great men who came after him who demanded the separation of the judiciary from the executive Communists? This principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive finds a place in the very Constitution of India. Why then do they oppose it? Actually the reason can be found in the very pronouncements of Mr. Rajagopalachari himself. Mr. Rajagopalachari has got a very great fondness for the Police. In fact he said on one occasion,—I think it was on the occasion of his address at a Police Officers' Conference,—that but for the Police—I think I will be more correct if I say, 'but for the C.I.D. and Special Branch Police'—the Congress regime would not have existed. We know, as a matter of fact, this Special Branch has been the cause of the ruin of our own political movement. It was for that reason the Congress opposed the Rowlatt Act in those old days, and the fight for democratic rights was the corner-stone of our national existence. Mr. Rajagopalachari wants that the judiciary must be controlled by the Police, and this thing, we must note about him.

"In his address at the meeting of the Congress Legislature Party, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the bureaucracy—by bureaucracy I mean Government officials—was the greatest blessing to the Indian nation, and that no Member of the Legislature should interfere with the working of a bureaucrat. There was a time when it was said that there should be no Indian Civil Service. There was also a time when it was said that the Heavens would fall if there were no Indian Civil Service Officers, and that wherever an Indian Civil Service official was posted everything would be all right, and that if anybody interpellated about their conduct in the Legislatures or unnecessarily interfered with their work, the whole administration would be spoiled. I know, Sir, among Indian Civil Service officers, there were very many great men. Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao was one such person. There were among them patriots also. But from 1939, a new type of Civil Service is being bred in India. The officials think that they are not responsible to the people at all. In the old days, the Deputy Collectors, the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies, the District Collectors, and even the Registrar of Co-operative Societies like Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao used to go to the people and discuss with them the policies of the Government. In fact they were half patriots themselves. But from 1939 onwards emergency powers were given to these

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officials and they were told that their will was law, that there was no appeal against any action taken by them and that there was nobody to question them. Anybody who questioned their actions was sent to jail either under the Defence of India Act or under the Preventive Detention Act; and many other sections like Section 151, Criminal Procedure Code, were also used for this purpose. The result was that there was an autocracy of the officialdom. Unless and until this autocracy of the officialdom is got rid of, the Constitution is going to be a mere scrap of paper. As I understand it, the people of our country under the present Constitution have got sovereign rights. The Constitution does not deny any right to anybody so long as they are citizens of India. I ask the Gentlemen on the Government side to read the speeches of our great national leaders. It was Mr. Gopalakrishna Gokhale who said, 'With this wooden bureaucracy, with this soulless bureaucracy no kind of progress is possible.' From 1940 onwards another type of officials had been added on to the already existing wooden bureaucracy. Whatever this new type of officials do is law. I ask in all seriousness, is one man's rule law? That is exactly the way how District Administration is being carried on. I know in my own district of Nellore a particular District Magistrate well merited the odium of the people including some members of the Congress Party, but a Member of the Board of Revenue who came to enquire about his conduct found him to be the best man living on earth. I ask, are these officials thinking of themselves as the old Nawabs? Are they administering law, I ask? Mr. Rajagopalachari was telling us that there is, on one side, law and order and, on the other side, chaos. I ask Mr. Rajagopalachari, 'Does he want this kind of law investing the bureaucrat with autocratic powers, with powers which nobody will be able to question unless one wants to risk his own personal liberty?' The Government have ousted the jurisdiction of the Courts in almost all the pieces of legislation they had passed with the result that whatever the officials do is supreme.

"There is another thing with regard to these officials or bureaucrats. Most of the correspondence they carry on is treated as confidential. Nothing they do is public. I say that under a democratic regime there should be no correspondence which is treated as secret. Why are the Government afraid of anything becoming public? The administration will become pure only when Government do everything in public. I will give you an instance. There are the District Urban Co-operative Banks. The Registrar tries to dump a number of his cousins and persons who are his friends on these banks as Secretaries and so on, by just saying that the banks are working badly and that they require departmental supervision. If a bank does not take a particular Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies suggested by the Registrar as its Secretary, serious consequences are threatened such as the refusal of the loans by the Provincial Bank. Though the Registrar says that he does not want to send any of his men, still in the D.O. letters he asks the banks to take the men recommended by him as Secretaries and so on. This confidential

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correspondence, so long as Government encourage it will ruin democracy. If the Constitutions were to function properly a new kind of set-up has to be introduced. On of the important things which we on our side are not going to tolerate is the Hon. Minister telling us while answering questions, 'that it is not in public interest to disclose the facts . . .'. This land belongs to us all and nobody can have a monopoly of anything.

" Mr. Rajagopalachari thinks that every one of us is corrupt. Previously Congressmen used to go to the officials for permits, etc. That is why Mr. Rajagopalachari thinks that all men are corrupt and that there are no pure men in the country. We had our forefathers, very great men. We had our forefather Mahatma Gandhi. We had our forefather Ramakrishna Paramahansa. I ask, 'Is it honest nationalism to say that all men in India will be corrupt and therefore there should be no interference with the District Administration?' I say that Mr. Rajagopalachari is not the person who should lead this country or for the matter of that this State at this particular time.

" Mr. Rajagopalachari has a very great fondness for the Police. We have found that the Police always invent things. If a person were to possess even a copy of Bepin Chandra Pal's speeches, his house would be raided, and every time there was a raid in and around the place where he lived, his house would also be included for a raid. I ask, how long do the Government want this regime to continue? Are the Police the rulers of this land? The position has become so bad that the Police are not doing their jobs properly. I would really say that the Police in India have been the ruin of our country.

' Sir, I will give you some instances. When Mr. Rajagopalachari's Ministry came in 1937, we had a great amount of love for his Ministry. At that time precisely communal riots broke out in Nellore. I asked, why? It was said that it was fomented by the Police, because they said that the Congress Ministry was inefficient, it was a Hindu Ministry and that it would not bring about communal harmony. That is the way how the Police created a big havoc.

" There is another thing I would like to ask. There was the Criminal Tribes Act and it was a very inhuman Act, and not to have repealed it earlier reflects upon democracy. Under that Act they called men criminals. That was a most atrocious act. It was repealed not by Communist agitation but by the agitation of the Congressmen themselves. Immediately the Act was repealed, we know what happened. The policemen said that robberies increased after the Criminal Tribes Act was repealed. Therefore they wanted to sabotage the Congress movement in the country. There is also one other thing. The Police people will come and say, 'Well, the U.D.F. is coming and therefore we must have law and order strictly enforced.' But, I ask, is there law and order to-day at any rate so far as this State is concerned? I know that in Nellore pick-pockets go about freely in open day-light armed with knives and swords and even at 6 p.m. when ladies go

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about in the streets with their jewels on, these pick-pockets come and snatch away their jewels and if anybody intervenes, he is threatened with the sword. That is the sort of thing that is going on in Nellore. And Sir, for the last six months in Nellore, we are not going out into the streets after 9 o'clock in the night. In fact, the position is such that one Assistant Editor of an anti-Communist Weekly told me, 'Well, Mr. Krishna Rao, you are going to the Legislative Assembly; please see that you make the streets of Nellore safe after 9 p.m.' I understand the same is the position in Anantapur. Mr. Nagi Reddi told me that the other day six houses were raided in Anantapur. In fact, when the burglars are confronted by anybody they show the sword and threaten their life. That is the way things are going on in the mufassal. I sometimes used to think that when such is the case, why is it they bring in Communist phobia. I hope, Sir, you will excuse me if I say that it is perhaps engineered by a big gangster ring. I think they are having their trade unfettered. You must know that these gangsters are a part of a big ring that is working. In fact, many people in Nellore told me that they live in Nellore, go to Madras with their loot of jewels and other things and there they are melted and the whole thing is sold. I am also told that they have got a lot of influence in the Secretariat. I say, Sir, that if law and order is to be effective, people must have the right to go freely and safely into the streets at any time of the day or night. But they do not have that right, because the police are creating all kinds of cock and bull stories. Everything is attributed to the separation of judiciary and the police. The police say, 'what shall we do, the judiciary is acquitting a number of cases. Therefore, we have absolutely no discretion and we cannot do anything.' It seems they are non-co-operating. So, whether it is the Congress Party or any other party, they should not rely on the service of the police, because I have great doubts about the police. For instance, Mr. Sanjivi Pillai was trained in America and is an agent of the American Government and if he had the power, who knows what he will do; he may even sell our country to America."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Order, order."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" That is the position here and I would really like most of our friends to know that it is this maintenance of law and order that is causing a lot of disturbance. In fact, women are not willing to go to cinemas for the second show. Therefore, I say if there is chaos and anarchy, it is the Congress regime which is fomenting anarchy, disturbance and chaos . . ."

SRI N. MAHALINGAM :—" On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether the Inspector-General of Police who is a servant of the Government can be accused of being an agent of the American Government? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" That is why at the time the hon. Member made the remark I called him to order."

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* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Then, Sir, everybody would like law and order to be maintained. Some people probably think that if the U.D.F. form the Government it will bring about anarchy in the State. As a matter of fact, it is the present Government that are creating it. The British Government always said that law and order should not be enforced here at all. I would here refer to an incident which happened in Chittagong some time ago. There was a case where a Sub-Inspector of Police was shot dead. Immediately, they asked a number of Muslim hooligans to go into the houses of Hindus and they raped the ladies and did all sorts of havoc. I ask, whether such things do not occur here. Is this the tradition that is to be followed by the police? The British tradition was to treat the thief better than they treated the nationalists. Similarly, what our Government do is to treat the Communists as murderers and treat the murderer well. For example, if a murderer refuses to take food, the District Superintendent of Police tells him ‘Please take food’. I ask, how many destitute men are begged like that in our street. Whereas, I say, murderers are treated well in our regime. Therefore, I say it is this conception of law and order that has landed us in this condition, because you follow too much the British tradition. That is why you are finding yourself in a morass. This is the state of affairs in the mufassal and I do not know how things are in Madras. In Nellore and in many of the district towns, life during the nights is becoming so difficult. As a matter of fact, if anybody knocks at the door during nights, we refuse to open, because after all he may be a burglar. That is how things are happening there. And many people tell different stories. It is said that these pick-pockets have got a number of political leaders as their sharers. It looks as if there is a partnership among them. They say that these gangsters share the spoils with some of the people who are pulling the strings from behind. That is what many people tell me. That is why I say this is not the kind of regime that will be appreciated or commended.

“ Now, let us take, for example the question of Prohibition. In all my life I have never seen men drinking as they do to-day. In fact, I used to go into the villages and I found that people drank even during the middle of the day. I could, of course, conceive of people drinking at nights and coming to a *Harikatha* smelling arrack. Now-a-days whenever people go into the roads, whether at mid-day or at any other time of the day and talk to people, you will find them smelling arrack. Moreover, I have heard people in Nellore saying that there is nothing more paying than illicit distillation, because it will give them 80 to 100 per cent dividend. Naturally, it has become the biggest business. We do not know whether there is a big secret company dealing in illicit distillation. So, Sir, when the Government are not able to enforce the Prohibition law, what is the good of that law? If it is not being enforced, but its violation is tolerated, I ask, are you the respecter of law and order? If you want to maintain law and order such laws should be enforced by getting the co-operation of the people as well. Actually the Prohibition police are saying

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that if they are beaten by illicit distillers, all the people in the village also join together and beat them. But it should be the other way about. If the Prohibition law has to command the respect of the people, what should be done is, all the people must join together and catch hold of the illicit distiller, because it is not the function of the State only to maintain law and order, but it is also the function of the people. Why is it that the people do not have confidence in you? It is because they don't believe what you say and they think that the reverse of whatever you say, is the truth. If you say one thing, they think that you mean the opposite of it. For instance the Registrar says, ‘I do not want to dump my men on the Central Bank.’ What happens next is, more men are dumped. It is just like what the Turkish people do. If the Turkish people say one thing, you will have to take the opposite of it to be the truth. Therefore, I ask, when the Government are not able to enforce their laws, why should such laws be on the Statute Book? In fact, many of them are dead letters and they should be actively opposed. For these reasons, I say this Government are incapable of ruling this State and so no honest democrat should have confidence in the Ministry.”

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI :—“ అధ్యక్షా, ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని దీనుకొనిరావడం చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉన్నది. ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ ప్రజల ఆదరాభిమానాలు కోల్పోయినది. కాంగ్రెసువారు స్వరాజ్య పోరాట కాలంలో సక్రమంగానే వర్తించారు. కాని, అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత వారిలో చాలా మార్పులు వచ్చినవి. అందుచేతనే చాదాపు ఇరువది సంవత్సరాల నుంచి కాంగ్రెసులో ఉన్న టువంటి మాజీటీవారు ఆ సంస్థను వదిలిపెట్టి పోవలసివచ్చింది. అనేకమంది కాంగ్రెసువాదికలనే నేను కూడా 1942 వ సంవత్సరంలో అరెస్టుచేయ బడి కూడు సంవత్సరాలు జైలులో ఉన్నవాడిని. స్వరాజ్యంకోసం పోరాడిన రోజు లలో కాంగ్రెసువారిలో అవినీతిలేదు కాని, గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాల పరిపాలనను గమనించి చూచినట్లుంటే గాఢజీ అశించిన రామరాజ్యంకన్న ఈ కాంగ్రెసువారు నరకరాజ్యం కల్పించారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో ఉన్న నరకపాలనకు సహించలేరనే ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసుకు ఘోష జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్ని కలూ ఓడించివేశారు. ఈ దుష్పరిపాలనకు చాలావరకు కారకులైన వారిలో మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులలో ఒకరైన శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారుకూడా ఒకరు. మొట్టమొదట 1946 వ సంవత్సరంలో శ్రీ ప్రకాశం గారు అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చినపుడు పరిపాలనను సక్రమంగా నడుపుటకు ప్రయత్నించేశారు. కాని ఆయన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని పదకొండు నెలల పాటుననే ఉండనీయకుండా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డి వంటి వారు కృషిచేశారు. ఆ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని పదకొంట్టి అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చిన గోపాలరెడ్డి గారి వర్గంవారు గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో వివిధంగా పరిపాలన కొనసాగించారో ప్రజలకందరకు తెలుసును. ములాతత్వం ప్రబలిపోయి ప్రభుత్వపరిపాలన అయినా ఆశిత పక్షపాత బుద్ధితోనే కొనసాగించారు. మా జిల్లాలో ముఖ్యంగా పరిపాలనా యంత్రము తా గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి క్రింద పనిచేస్తూ ఉన్నారా అనిపించినది. జిల్లాను ఒక్క గోపాలరెడ్డి యే పరిపాలిస్తున్నాడా అన్నట్లునిపించింది. కలెక్టరు దగ్గరనుంచి క్రింద ఉద్యోగి వరకూ శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు వివిధంగా టెలిలే ఆ విధంగా చేయవలసి వచ్చింది. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులలో లంచగొండితనం, అవినీతి ప్రబలిపోయినాయి. పెద్ద పెద్ద ఉద్యోగులు కూడా ప్రజల వద్దనుంచి ఎంతోబాధి మొత్తాలైనా లంచం క్రింద తీసు

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కోవడం మొదలు పెట్టారు. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో ఒక కలెక్టరు ఉండినారు. వారు ప్రజలపట్ల పది రూపాయలు కూడా లంచం తీసుకున్నారు. అట్టివారిని బదిలీ చేయమని ప్రజలంతా పెద్ద ఆందోళన చేశారు. గవర్నమెంటుకు మొరపెట్టుకున్నారు. శ్రీ గోపాల రెడ్డిగారికి కూడా తెలియజేశారు అందుకు శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు చెప్పారు:— 'నాకు వ్యతిరేక పార్టీవారు బదిలీచేయనున్నందువలన నేను బదిలీచేయ దలచుకోలేదు.' ఇదియే నా ప్రభుత్వ మంత్రులు చేయవలసిన పని. పరిపాలన ప్రజలకొరకుగాని పార్టీ కొరకు గాదని గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు గుర్తించలేక పోయారు. ఈ ఆక్రమ విధానాల వల్లనే ఈ మధ్య జరిగిన సాధారణ ఎన్నికలలో మహా మంత్రులు అందరూ ఒకరు తరువాత ఇంకొకరు ఓడించబడ్డారు. ప్రజలు దేశాన్ని పాలించుటకు తామే సమర్థులని విశ్రవించి కాంగ్రెసువారికి పాఠం చెప్పారు. గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరముల పరిపాలన అంతా మురాగాజీయాలతోనూ, లంచగొండితనంతోనూ నిండిపోయింది. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి అనుయాయులతోనూ ప్రభుత్వం పడుప బడుతుందా అని అనుకున్నారు ప్రజలు. బస్ పరిక్రమ, ఇతర రైస్సులు అన్ని కూడా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి అనుచరులకే పంచిపెట్టబడుతూ ఉండేది. ఇంకా అధికారులలో పెరిగిపోయిన లంచగొండితనం సర్వసాధారణమైపోయింది. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ప్రజలు పై అధికారులకు మొరలు పెట్టుకున్నా, ఎటువంటి అలాపాలనా ఉండేది కాదు. నామట్టుకు నేను ఒక మేజిస్ట్రేటు చేయమన్న పనులగురించి కలెక్టరుగారికి మనవిచేశాను. కాని ఎటువంటి న్యాయము జరుగలేదు. దైగా నామీద కేసు బనా యించబడింది. దాని విషయమై నేను డిల్లీలోని స్కూప్ ము కోర్టువరకు పోవలసి వచ్చింది. దానికి చాలామరకూ శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు వారి మురావాదుకూడా కారణం అనుకుంటున్నాను. లంచగొండితనాన్ని ప్రతిఘటించడం వారికి బహుశః ఇష్టం లేక పోయి ఉండవచ్చు. ఏదో విధంగా నా మూడు మాసాలు శిక్ష విధిస్తూ ఉత్తరువులు జారీచేశారు. నేను ఈ శిక్ష అనుభవించడానికి నిశ్చయించాను. కాని ఏ కారణాల వల్లనో 20 రోజులు నేను శిక్ష అనుభవించిన తరువాత ప్రభుత్వంవారు ప్రజలు చేసిన ఆందోళన ఫలితంగానో మరొక కారణంచేతనో నన్ను విడుదల చేశారు. ఇదంతా గత అయిదేండ్లలో పరిపాలన ఏ విధంగా అమలు జరుపబడిందో అనేదానికి ఉదాహరణంగా మనవి చేశాను. ఇంత దుష్పరిపాలన నరక రాజ్యపాలన చేశారు. కనుకనే గోపాల రెడ్డి వంటివారు ఎన్నికలలో ఓడించబడ్డారు.

5-45 P.M. "అంతేకాకుండా రాజకీయ వాధితులకు పోలాలు ఇచ్చే విషయంలో చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరిగాయి. మా జిల్లాలో శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి పార్టీ మనుష్యులకే ధూములు ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. ఇతర రాజకీయ వాధితులకు ఎట్టి ఉపకారము చేయడానికి గోపాల రెడ్డిగారు ఎటువంటి ప్రయత్నము చేయలేదు. జిల్లా అధికారులదగ్గరనుంచి కూడా ఈ మురా తత్వాన్నే అనుసరించవలసివచ్చింది. రాజ్యమంతాకూడా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డి ద్వారానే నడుస్తున్నదా అనేటట్లా ఆయన ప్రవర్తించాడు. ఎరెక్షన్ లాకూడా, చాలా అక్రమాలు జరిగాయి. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులు అనేక సందర్భాలలో గృహంతరం లేక శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారికి, వారి అనుచరులకు అనుకూల ధోరణిలో ప్రచారము చేయ వలసివచ్చింది. ప్రభుత్వ యంత్రాంగాన్ని ఈ విధంగా అవినీతి పథాన్ని నడిపించడానికి ఆయన ఎంతో కృషిచేశాడు. పోయిన బ్రిటిష్ ప్రభుత్వమే యిరుగని ప్రజలు అను గొనేటట్లు ఆయన చేయగలిగాడని అంటే ఎంతమాత్రము అతిశయోక్తి కాదు.

"ఇక ప్రాపంచికము విషయం చూద్దాము. ఈ శాఖ కార్యకలాపాలు ఒక పెద్ద ఖర్చుగా నయారయ్యాయి అని చెప్పవచ్చు. ప్రాపంచిక పెట్టిన తరువాత దొంగ

[1st July 1952] [Sri B. Ramakrishna Reddi]

సారా కావడం మరి హెచ్చిపోయింది. ఇదివరకు త్రాగేవారికన్నా ఇప్పుడు త్రాగే వారి సంఖ్య అధికమైపోయింది. ఈ విధంగా ఈ శాఖ పాడైపోయిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

"దొంగ తనంగా ధాన్యాన్ని ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు రవాణా చేయడం, బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో అమ్మకంవడం విరివిగా జరుగుతూయిందేది. ఒకసారి గూడూరులో కలెక్టరు వది పుట్టి ధాన్యము దొంగతనంగా రవాణా అవుతూయింటే పట్టుకున్నారు. కాని వెనుంచి అసగా శ్రీ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారి అజ్ఞానుసారంగానే స్టేజర్లరులు రావడంచేత ఆ కేసు నమోదు చేయబడలేదు. ఇదే విధంగా అనేక సందర్భాలలో అధికారులు దొంగ వ్యాపారస్తులను అటకాయించినా, మంత్రి ప్రమేయమువల్ల దొంగ వ్యాపారానికి ప్రోద్బలమివ్వబడింది. ఇదే విధంగా కేసుల తీర్పుల విషయంలోకూడా తమ వర్గ యులకు అనుకూలంగా తీర్పు ఇవ్వాలని అధికారులను మంత్రులు ఒత్తిడి చేసేవారని ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. ఇటువంటి విధానాన్ని అనుసరించడంవల్లనే గత కాంగ్రెసు పరిపాలన నరక పరిపాలనగా మారిపోయింది. ఈ కొత్త కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం వచ్చిన తరువాతకూడా పరిస్థితులలో ఎటువంటి మార్పు వచ్చినట్లు కనుపించడం లేదు. ఇటు వంటి పరిపాలనను ప్రజాస్వామ్యమని ఎవరూ అనుకోనరు. పరిపాలన సక్రమంగా రావా లంటే యు.డి.యఫ్. వారు అధికారములానికి వస్తేనేకాని సాధ్యపడదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కాంగ్రెసు అధికారములో ఉన్నంతవరకూ ప్రజా సామాన్యం సుఖపడ లేదు. ధూములు పరిశ్రమలు జాతీయం చేయనంత కాలం దేశంలో అసంతృప్తి తొల గదు. ప్రజల అభిమతాలకు విరుద్ధంగా పరిపాలన సాగించే ఈ ప్రభుత్వంమీద నేను విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించజాలనని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం సామాన్య రైతులకు కూలీలకు వ్యతిరేకమైనది. కాబట్టి వారిని భయపెట్టడానికి హెచ్చుగా పోలీసువారిని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం నియమిస్తోంది. కాంగ్రెసు పరిపాలన అంటే, నేడు పోలీసు పరిపాలన అని తేలిపోయింది. బ్రిటిషువారి పరిపాలనలో అమలు జరుపనంత దుష్పరిపాలన ఈ ప్రభుత్వం అమలు జరుపుతుండడంలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులను తొలగించడానికి ప్రతివాడు ప్రయత్నం చేయాలని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. దానికి సాధనం యు.డి.యఫ్. అధికారంలోనికి రావడం ఒక్కటే మార్గం. మహాత్మాజీ మనకు ఏ విధంగా పరిపాలించాలో అనేక విధాలా చెప్పి ఉన్నారు. ఆయన ఆదేశాల నన్నింటినీ కాంగ్రెసువారు ఈ నాడు మరచిపోయారు. కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ ఇదివరలో జయపూరులోను, ఇతరత్రా చేసిన లిచ్చానాలను కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వాలు అమలు జరుపజాలక పోయినందువల్లనే ఈనాడు కాంగ్రెసు దేశంలో అప్రతిష్టపాలెందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంలోనూ, ఆ ప్రభుత్వ ప్రధాని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారియ్యనూ నాకు విశ్వాసం లేదని తెలుపుతూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను."

*SRI K. T. RAJU :—“కనం తలైవర్ అవరకణే, ఇంతక శబెయిన్ మున్ కొణ్ణెవరప్పడ్డిరుక్కుం ఇత్ తీర్మానం, ఇన్దు అరశాంగత్తల్ ఇరుక్కుక్కుడైయి కురిప్పాక న్దుతు కనం ముతల్ అమెంశ్శర్ అవరకణం అవరెశ్ శోరన్త మర్త మన్తీరికణం తెదార్న్త ఇన్తక పతవీయిల్ ఇరుప్పతా వేణ్ణెదామా ఎన్పతెయిమ్, అతర్కేర్త మురైయిల్ ఇన్తక శబెయిల్ పెరంబాన్మెయిన్ అంగత్తెన్రకణిన్ ఆతరణెవ్ పెర వేణ్ణెదొమెన్ర న్నోక్కత్తోదేయిమ్ ఇరణ్ణె తిన్రకణాక వివాతిక్కుక ప్దొ వరువతు అంగత్తెన్రకణక్కుత్ తెరీయిమ్.

"ఇప్పొమొత్త ఎన్పెన్బ్ పొమొత్తవరైయిల్, కనం నితి మన్తీరి అవరకణ్ కొణ్ణెవరప్పడ్డిరుక్కుక్కుడైయి ఇన్త తీర్మానత్తె న్నాన్ ఎత్రిక్కెరేన్, ఎన్? మర్తవరకణ్ పేరియతెప్పేబొల్ కాన్కెరెస్ కడియార్ అడ్క్రమరైయెక్ కైయాన్డిరుక్కెరకణ్ ఎన్పతర్కాక మడ్మొల్ల.

[Sri K. T. Raju] [1st July 1952]

நானும் மாஜி காங்கிரஸ் காண்தான். 1930-ம் வருஷத்தில் நானும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். கோவை ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள ஸ்ரீமான் அவினாசிலிங்கம் செட்டியார், வி. பி. சுப்பையா, இன்னும் மற்ற அனேக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடன் நானும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். ஸ்ரீமான் ஓமந்தூர் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியார் பிரதமராக இருந்த காலத்திலும் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். ஸ்ரீ குமாரசாமி ராஜா பிரதமராக இருந்த காலத்திலும் நான் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியிலும் சரி, காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியிலும் சரி, நான் சிறையில் இருந்திருக்கிறேன். அந்த முறையில் நாங்கள் பிறந்தோம். சிறையில் அனேக கொடிய கஷ்டங்களை அனுபவித்தோம். ஜெயில் Superintendent மிகக்ஷிபந்தரம் செய்த அட்டகாசத்திற்கெல்லாம் உட்பட்டோம். சிறையில் மலத்தை வாயில் வைப்பார்கள். எங்களுடைய நண்பர், இப்பொழுது இந்தச் சபையில் அங்கத்தினராக இருக்கும் நண்பர் மதனகோபால் அவர்கள், திண்டுக்கல் லில் அகிம்சா முறையில் செய்த கிளர்ச்சிக்காக சிறையில் வைக்கப் பட்டிருந்தார். நாங்கள் என்ன குற்றம் செய்தோம்? எனக்குத் தெரிய வில்லை. ஹைக்கோர்ட்டாருக்கும் தெரியவில்லை. 2½ வருஷங்கள் வைத்திருந்தார்கள். பிறகு விட்டுவிட்டார்கள்.

“நான் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினராக ஆவதற்கே காரணம் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் தான். ஸ்ரீமான் ராமலிங்கம் சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினரானதற்கும் அவர் தான் காரணம். நான் ரயில்வேயில் பிட்டர் வேலையில் இருந்தேன். ஸ்ரீமான் ராமலிங்கம் ஸ்டேஷன் மாஸ்டராக இருந்தார். ‘நீங்கள் எல்லோரும் ரயில்வேயில் இருந்தால் ரயில் விழுந்து விடும், நீங்கள் வெளியே வந்துவிடுங்கள்’ என்று கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கவர்னர் ஜெனரலாக இருந்த காலத்தில் ஒரு சட்டம் போட்டார். அதனால் நான் வேலையிலிருந்து நீக்கப்பட்டு, ஜெயிலுக்குபோய், இப்பொழுது இங்கு வந்திருக்கிறேன். அவர்கள் எங்களை வேலையிலிருந்து நீக்குவதற்கு சட்டம் போடாமலிருந்தால், நானும் ஸ்ரீ ராமலிங்கம் போன்றவர்களும் சட்டசபைக்கு வந்திருக்க முடியாது. நாங்களெல்லோரும் இங்கு வந்ததற்குக் காரணம் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள்தான். அந்த அளவுக்கு நான் அவருக்கு நன்றி தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இம்மாதிரி இந்தச் சட்டத் தால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் ஆயிரம் பேர் வெளியே இருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களாக நாங்கள் இருந்த காலத்தில் சிறைக்குப் போனோம். ஆனால், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் இப்பொழுது 5 ஏக்கர் 10 ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் வாங்கியிருப்பதைப்போல நாங்கள் வாங்கவில்லை. வித்தியாசம் இவ்வளவு தான். அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை, 14 வயது முதல் இன்றைக்கும் நான் சேவை செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறேன். நாளைக்கும் சேவை செய்வேன். ஆகையால், இன்றைய தினம் இங்கு கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது அவரவர்கள் இஷ்டம்போல் வோட்டு கொடுக்கலாம். நாங்கள் மக்களுடைய நலன்களுக்குச் சாதகமாகச் செய்யவில்லை யென்றால் மக்கள் எங்களை சும்மா விடமாட்டார்கள். அதே முறையில் அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை மக்களுக்குடைய நலன்களுக்காகவே சேவை செய்துகொண்டு வந்திருக்கின்றோம். நாங்கள் தேர்தலுக்கு நின்ற காலத்திலே, எங்கள் தேர்தல் திட்டத்திலே, நாங்கள் “கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடு” என்று கேட்கவில்லை, “சோஷலிஸ்டுகளுக்கு வோட்டு போடு” என்று கேட்க வில்லை சைனாவைப் போலவோ, ரஷ்யாவைப்போலவோ இந்த நாட்டிலும் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கவில்லை.

“சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலிலே 128 கூட்டத்திலே காங்கிரஸ் அங்கத்தினர்கள் கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். நானும் அந்த இடங்களிலெல்லாம் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். அருப்புக்கோட்டையிலும் எட்டைய புரத்திலும் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். மூன்று மாத காலமாக கனம் ஸ்ரீ. ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பேசிய இடங்களிலெல்லாம் நானும் பேசியிருக்கிறேன். மக்களுடைய ஆதரவைப் பெறுவதற்கு காங்கிரஸ் எப்படி முயற்சி செய்கிறதோ அதேமாதிரி மக்கள் மத்தியில் நானும் வாழ்ந்து வருகிறேன். என்னைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களுக்கும் பொது மக்களுடன் தொடர்பு இருக்கிறது. காங்கிரசுக்கு எவ்வளவு ஆதரவு இருக்கின்றதோ அதே மாதிரி எங்களுக்கும் எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளுக்கும் பன்மடங்கு அதிக ஆதரவு இருக்கிறது.

1st July 1952]

[Sri K. T. Raju]

“நாங்கள் போன ஒவ்வொரு கூட்டங்களிலும், பேசிய ஒவ்வொரு கூட்டங்களிலும் அதைத் தெரிந்து கொண்டோம். அதைப் புரிந்து கொண்டோம். இன்றைய தினம் மக்கள் நன்றாக எல்லா விஷயங்களையும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ள ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். முக்கியமாக இன்றைக்கு கோவை மக்கள் அதை மிக நன்றாக உணர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தல் புள்ளி விவரமே இதை நன்றாக எடுத்துக் காட்டியிருக்கிறது. இதே நிதி அமைச்சர் வெற்றி பெற்று வந்திருக்கும் கோவை நகரத்தில் இன்றைய தினம் அவருக்குக்கிடைத்த 20 ஆயிரம் வோட்டுக்குப் பதிலாக சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலில் எங்களுக்கு 18 ஆயிரம் வோட்டுகள் கிடைத்திருக்கின்றன. கொட்டாமுத்தூர் தொகுதியிலும் எங்களுக்கு அதிகமாகக் கிடைத்திருக்கிறது. இதை நான் சும்மா சொல்லவில்லை. தேர்தல் புள்ளி விவரம் சொல்லுகிறது. இதை நான் எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கோயம்புத்தூரில் காங்கிரஸுக்கு ஏதோ பெரிய மெஜாரிடி வந்துவிட்டது போல் பேசினார்கள். அது உண்மையில்லை என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டவேதான் நான் இதை இங்கே சொல்லுகிறேன்.

“இன்றைக்கு நம் முன்னால் இருக்கும் பிரச்சனை காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நீடித்து பதவியில் இருக்க வேண்டுமா? நீடித்திருப்பது மாகாணத்திற்கு நல்லது தானா? காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி பதவியில் ஒரு நாளும் இனிமேல் நீடித்திருக்கக் கூடாது என்று சொல்வது காங்கிரஸிடம் நாங்கள் காட்டும் துவேஷ மனப் பான்மையால் அல்ல. கடந்த கால அடக்கு முறைகளை இன்னமும் மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு அதனாலும் சொல்லவில்லை. நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பதவிக்கு வந்த மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளேயே நடந்த காரியங்களைக் கொண்டேதான் இன்றும் வற்புறுத்தி இந்த மந்திரிசபை போகவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறோம்.

“இந்த மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளே நடந்த சம்பவம் என்ன என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். காட்பாடியிலே ஒரு ரயில்வே தொழிலாளி கொல்லப்பட்டு அவரது பிரேதம் வெளியிலே தூக்கிப் போடப்பட்டு விட்டது. அதைப்பற்றி முன் கூறு, நானூறு பேர்கள் கையெழுத்திட்ட ஒரு அறிக்கையை சர்க்காருக்கு அனுப்பியிருக்கிறேன். சேலம் ஜெயில் Superintendent ரகுநாதன் என்பவர் ஒரு காரணம் ஆதாரம். அகிம்சா சர்க்காரின் உத்தரவுப்படியே அவர் எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்து வைக்கிறார். அது வேறே விஷயம். இருபது பேரை அவர்கள் சுட்டுக் கொன்றிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி விசாரணை நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னோம். அதை சர்க்கார் மறுத்து விட்டது. கடந்த காலத்தில் நடந்த விஷயங்களுக்கும் தற்போதுள்ள சர்க்காருக்கும் சம்பந்தமேயில்லையென வைத்துக் கொள்ளலாம். இந்த சர்க்கார் படுவியெற்று மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குள்ளேயே குறிப்பாக தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவிலே எவ்வளவோ விவசாயிகள், ஆயிரக்கணக்கான விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப்பற்றி ஸ்ரீ ராமமூர்த்தி அவர்களே நேரில் முதன் மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் இதுவரையில் எதுவும் நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கப்படவில்லை. கோயம்புத்தூரிலோ இம்மாதிரி அக்கிரமங்கள் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதைத் தடுக்க எந்தவிதமான நடவடிக்கையும் எடுக்கப்படவேயில்லை. குறிப்பாக ஹரிஜனங்கள் படும் துன்பங்கள் சொல்லமுடியாது. இதையெல்லாம் புள்ளிவிவரங்களுடன் நான் சொல்லமுடியும். இதையெல்லாம் நான் எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் அவர்களுடைய கஷ்டங்களை நீக்க இந்த சர்க்கார் என்ன ஏற்பாட்டை செய்திருக்கிறது என்று கேட்கத்தான்? நிலச் சுவாந்தாரர்களுக்கும், நிலப்பிரபுக்களுக்கும், ஜமின்தாரர்களுக்கும் உண்மையாக இந்த சர்க்கார் வேலை செய்யத் தயங்கவில்லையே தவிர, ஏழை குடியான மக்களைக் காப்பாற்ற எந்த முயற்சியையும் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவில்லை என்பதை நான் சொல்லவேண்டாம். அது அவர்களுக்கே தெரியும். நாங்கள் ஏதோ அவர்களுக்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடுவதாக அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாட்டில் குழப்பத்தை உண்டுபண்ண முயற்சிப்பதாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். யார் குழப்பத்திற்கு அடி கோலுகிறார்கள் என்பதை அவர்களே நெஞ்சைத் தொட்டுக் கொண்டு சொல்லட்டும்.

“உதாரணமாக கனம் முதல் அமைச்சர் கோயம்புத்தூர் வந்திருந்த போது “நாங்கள் கடவுள் பக்தியுற்றவர்களாம். நாங்கள் பைசாபாயங்கள்

[Sri K. T. Raju]

[1st July 1952]

போன்றவர்களாம். அதனால் தான் அவர் எங்களை எதிர்த்திருராம்” என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பெரிஞா. நாங்கள் என்ன பைச்சாச்சியங்களா? நாங்களும் உங்களைப் போன்ற மனிதர்கள் தானே. காங்கிரஸ் கடவுள் என்றே, சோஷலிஸ்டு கடவுள் என்றே, தனிப்பட்ட கடவுள் இந்த உலகில் இருக்கிறதா? நாங்கள் கடவுளின் விரோதிகள் இல்லையே. கடவுள் எங்கும் இருக்கிறார் என்றால் அவர் என் உள்ளத்திலும் இருக்கிறார். அவர் தான் என்னை இப்படி பேசவும் வைக்கிறார். நாங்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரும் ஆத்ம சோதனை செய்து கொண்டு தான் எங்கள் உள்ளத்தில் தோன்றுவதைப் பற்றி பேசுகிறோம். கோயம்பத்தூரிலே முதல் அமைச்சர் எங்களைப் பைச்சாச்சியங்கள் என்றார். உடனேயே அவரது சிஷ்யர்கள் அங்கே வேப்பிலையை எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் தேர்தல் காலத்தில் பிசாசை விரட்ட என்று கட்டித் தொங்க விட்டுவிட்டார்கள். ராமநாதபுரத்திலும் செய்திருப்பார்கள். ஆனால் சென்ற சில ஆண்டுகளாக அங்கே மழையிலலை. அதனால் வேப்பமரத்தில் பசும் தழைகளே இல்லை. இல்லாவிட்டால் அவர்களும் கட்டியிருப்பார்கள். (சிரிப்பு.) இதை ஏன் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் அவர் சொன்னபடியே அவரது சிஷ்யர்கள் நடந்து வருகிறார்கள் என்பதை சுட்டிக் காட்டத்தான். திருநெல்வேலியில் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களை வானர கூட்டங்களுக்கு ஒப்பிட்டு வெகு அழகாகப் பேசினார். அந்த வானர கூட்டங்களும் கோயம்பத்தூரில் நடந்த தேர்தல் பிரசாரத்தில் தங்கள் சபாவத்தைக் காட்டவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்துடனே என்னவோ மேட்டுப்பாளையத்தில் எங்கள் கட்சி பிரசாரகரின் கண்ணையே பிடுங்கி விட்டார்கள். அவர் இப்போது ஜெனரல் ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். தலைவர் என்ன சொல்லுகிறாரோ அதன்படியே நடக்க அவருக்கு சரியானதொரு கூட்டம் பின்னணியில் இருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் பலாத்காரத்தில் இறங்கினாலும் அதற்குப் பெயர் அஹிம்சை. இது அஹிம்சையின் ஒரு அம்சம். (சிரிப்பு.) இது போகட்டும்.

6 p.m. “ உணவு கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்த ராஜாஜி பெரியதொரு காரியத்தை சாதித்து விட்டது போல தன் மார்க்சை பார்த்துக் கொள்ளுகிறார். கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்ததற்கு வந்தனம். அதை வரவேற்கிறோம். எப்போது? கண்ட்ரோலில் கிடைத்து வந்த அரிசியின் விலையை விட மலிவாக வெளி மார்க்கெட்டில் விலை இருந்தால் அது அப்போது நல்லது தான். ஆனால் ரேஷன் எடுத்த பின் இப்போதைய நிலைமை என்ன? ரேஷனில் ரூ. 0-13-3-க்கு ஏனென்று வந்த படி அரிசி இப்போது ரூ. 1-3-4 உயர்ந்தது தான். ஏழைத் தொழிலாளிக்கு ஒரு படிக்கு ஐந்து, ஆறு அல்லது உயர்ந்தால் அவன் எப்படி அரிசி வாங்கி உண்ண முடியும்? ரேஷன் எப்போது எடுத்தாரோ அப்போதே வெளி மார்க்கெட்டில் அரிசி விலை உயராமல் பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டாமா? இன்று எனக்குத் தெரிந்த வந்திருக்கிறது. எம். அண்டு. எஸ். எம். க்ரைன் ஷாப்புகளில் ஒரு படி அரிசி விலையை ரூ. 1-1-3 வாக உயர்த்தி விட்டார்கள் என்று. பல்லாயிரக்கணக்கான தொழிலாளிகள் எப்படி இதை வாங்கி உண்ண முடியும். ஒரு வாரத்திற்கு அவனுக்கு மூன்று, நான்கு ரூபாய்களுக்கு மேல் இப்போது ரேஷன் அரிசிக்கு பணம் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமே. அவன் எங்கே போவான், ஏறுமுடியாமல் இருக்கும் தானியத்தின் விலையைக் கட்டுப்படுத்த சர்க்கார் என்ன நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கப் போகிறது. எனக்குத் தெரியும்; நம் எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும் இந்த சர்க்காரால் ஒன்றும் செய்ய முடியாதென்று. ரேஷனை எடுத்த போது பெரிய பெரிய நிலச்சுவாந்தார்கள் எல்லாம் சர்க்காரோடு ஒத்துழைக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக ராஜாஜி வேண்டிக் கொண்டார். அவர்களா ஒத்துழைப்பார்கள்? மகாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் உயிருடன் இருந்தபோது துணி கண்ட்ரோலை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். மத்திய சர்க்கார் அந்த யோசனையை மறுத்தது. மகாத்மா உறுதி அளித்து அதை எடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லி பெரிய பெரிய முதலாளிகளை அதற்கு உதவி அளிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டார். கண்ட்ரோலை எடுத்தார்கள். ஆனால் ஏற்பட்ட நிலைமை என்ன? மூன்று மாதங்களிலேயே அவர்கள் நூறு கோடி ரூபாய் லாபம் சம்பாதித்தார்கள். துணிகள் பதுக்கப்பட்டு விட்டது. உடனேயே கண்ட்ரோலை அமுலுக்கு கொண்டு வந்து விட்டார்கள். அப்படி மகாத்மா காந்தியின் வேண்டுகோளையே புறக்கணித்து மூன்று மாதத்தில் 100 கோடி ரூபாய் திரட்டிய வியாபாரிகளா இன்று ராஜாஜியின் உணவுக் கொள்கை வெற்றிகரமாக நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று தானியத்தை பதுக்காமல் விலையை

1st July 1952]

[Sri K. T. Raju]

உயர்த்தாமல் ஒத்துழைக்கப் போகிறார்கள். கடவுளே வந்து சொன்னாலும் கூட பதுக்கல் செய்து பணம் கொள்ளை அடிப்பதை அவர்கள் ஒரு நாளும் கைவிடமாட்டார்களே. அவர்கள் மனதா ராஜாஜியின் வார்த்தைகளால் மாறிவிடப்போகிறது. நாங்கள் அராஜகர்கள், நாங்கள் குழப்பத்தை உண்டு பண்ணத்தான் இருக்கிறோம் என்று ராஜாஜி சொல்லுகிறார்கள். நாங்கள் என்ன சொல்லுகிறோம். நாங்கள் இறந்து போனபின் நீங்கள் குழப்பம், அராஜகப்பின்றி அமைதியாக மக்களுக்கு தொண்டு செய்ய முடியும் என்று நீங்கள் சொன்னீர்களேயானால் நாங்கள் இவ்வளவு பேரும் இறப்பதற்கு தயாராக இருக்கிறோம் என்று தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். அதை விட்டு எங்களை நசுக்கி விடவேண்டுமென்று விரும்பினால் அது முடியாது.

“ எப்படியாவது சுமாய் இருக்க வேண்டும் என்று தான் நாங்களும் எண்ணுகிறோம். ஒருவரும் நாசமாய்ப் போய்விட வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணம் கிடையாது. எல்லாரும் மனிதனாக வாழ வேண்டுமென்று தான் நாங்களும் ஆசைப்படுகிறோம். அதனால் எல்லோருடைய மனம் மாறினால் நல்லது தான். நல்ல காரியத்தைச் செய்தால் யார் குறுக்கே இருக்கப் போகிறார்கள். இந்த மோட்டார் வரி இல்லாமல் இருந்தால் ஜனங்களுக்கு ரொம்பவும் நன்றாக இருக்கும். சுமார் நூற்பது லட்சம் பட்டாதார்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கிறார்கள். மேலெழுந்த வாரியாக நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். இன்றைக்கு மாகாணத்தில் பட்டாதார்கள் விவசாய ரயத்துகளாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய நல்வழி திட்டத்தை இந்த மந்திரி சபை கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறதா? ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கத்தில் சர்க்கார் ஜனங்களுக்குக் கொண்டு வரும் நல்ல காரியத்தில் நாங்கள் முட்டுக்கட்டையாக இருந்தால் கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியாக இருந்தாலும் சரி எந்த கட்சியாக இருந்தாலும் சரி அது ஒழிந்து போகட்டும் என்று தான் மக்கள் சொல்லுவார்கள். நாங்கள் ஒழிந்து போக வேண்டுமென்றால் அதற்கு ஒரே ஒரு வழிதான் இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு இந்த போலீஸ் படைக்காக ரூபாய் ஏழு கோடி செலவு செய்ய வேண்டாம். இப்பொழுது டி. டி. கிருஷ்ணமாச்சாரி கமிட்டியின் ரிபோர்ட்டு வந்திருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது சிலர் கையில் சுமார் ஆயிரம் ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் தேங்கிக்கிடக்கிறது. அநேகம் பேருக்கு ஏராளமான பூமி இருக்கிறது. லோயர் பவானியில் தண்ணீர் வரப்போகிறது என்றவுடனேயே பெரிய பணக்காரர்கள் இன்றைக்கு பூமியை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஐந்து ஏக்கர் நிலத்தை வைத்துக் கொண்டு அதை விவசாயம் பண்ணமுடியாமல் இருக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு சிறு நிலச்சுவாந்தாரும் அதை விற்பனை செய்து விட முயன்று கொண்டிருக்கிறான். அதை பெரிய பண்ணைக்காரர்கள் வாங்க முயன்று வருகிறார்கள். இது கூடாது என்று தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டு சொல்லுகிறான். லோயர் பவானி திட்டத்தால் சுமார் இரண்டு லட்சத்தி ஏழு ஆயிரம் ஏக்கர் நிலம் சாகுபடியாகப் போகிறது. அதுவும் ஒரு சுமார் விரல் விட்ட எண்ணக்கூடிய சிலர் கையில் தான் இருக்கிறது. தண்ணீர் வந்த பிறகு தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை வைத்துக் கொண்டு சாகுபடி செய்ய முடியாது என்று தான் இப்பொழுது சிறிய நிலச்சுவாந்தார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை விற்பனை கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அந்த நிலங்களை வாங்கும் பணக்காரர்கள் அதை வைத்துக் கொண்டு சாகுபடி செய்யப் போகிறார்களா என்றால் அதுவும் இல்லை. நிலத்தை விற்பனை விவசாயிகள் வேலைதேடி மதராஸ் சென்று தார் ரோடை அனுபவிக்கப் போகிறார்கள். அப்படி அனுபவிப்பவர்கள் இப்பொழுது ஒன்றரை லட்சம் பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த திட்டம் வந்த பிறகு அவர்கள் தொகை இரண்டு லட்சமாக அதிகரித்த விடம். இதை நான் எதற்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் இன்றைய நிலைமையில் இந்த காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நடந்து வருகிறது என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டத் தான். சர்க்கார் செய்யப் பொருள் நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கு நாங்கள் முட்டுக் கட்டை போட்டால் அதை மக்களுக்கு மத்தியில் அம்பலப்படுத்தப்படும். இதைச் சொல்லப் போனால் தான் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் நல்ல காரியத்தைச் செய்யப் போனால் எதிர்க்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். விற்பனை வரி போட வேண்டாம். மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யாவிட்டால் நாங்கள் நாசமாய் போகிறோம். அதைப்பற்றி நீங்கள் கவலைப்பட வேண்டாம். இன்றைக்கும் மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று தான் நீங்கள்

[Sri K. T. Raju]

[1st July 1952]

சர்க்கார் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறீர்கள். நாங்களும் மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று தான் இந்த பக்கம் இருக்கிறோம். இரண்டு பேர்களுமே மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று தான் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தோம். ஆனால் கொள்கைகளில் தான் வித்யாசம் ஏற்படுகிறது. இவ்வளவு வோட்டுக்களைப் பெற்று வந்தது மக்களுக்கு நன்மையைச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று தான் வந்தோமே யொழிய கலகம் செய்ய வரவில்லை. மக்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நல்ல காரியங்களை சர்க்கார் செய்ய முன் வந்தால் அதை வரவேற்கிறோம். இந்த மாதிரியான எண்ணம் கொண்டதான் கனம் ராஜாஜி வருவதற்கு முன் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளும் சோஷலிஸ்டுகளும், இன்னும் மற்ற மெம்பர்களும் வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தார்கள். அதன்மேல் யு.டி. எப். வந்தது. ராஜாஜி வருவதற்கு முன்பாகவே இந்த யு.டி. எப். வந்தது: அதன் பிறகுதான் கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் டில்லிக்கு ஜவஹர்லால் போனது. அதுவும் யு.டி.எப். வந்த பிறகு தான். இப்பொழுது அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் இருக்கும் கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகர் அவர்களும் இன்னும் பத்து நாட்கள் ராஜாஜி வராமல் இருந்திருந்தால் இந்தப் பக்கம் வந்திருந்திருப்பார். காட்வீல் கட்சியும் இந்தப் பக்கம் சேர்ந்திருக்கும். அந்தப் பக்கம் பத்து வருஷங்களாக இருந்து வந்த கனம் டி. விஸ்வநாதம் அவர்களும் இப்பொழுது இந்தப் பக்கம் வந்து விட்டார். அங்கிருந்து இங்கு வரும் படலம் தான் நடக்கிறதே யொழிய இங்கிருந்து அங்கு போகும் படலம் நடக்கவில்லை. இனியும் அங்கிருக்கும் மெம்பர்கள் இங்கு வரக்கூடிய படலத்தான் ஏற்படலாமே யொழிய இங்கிருக்கும் மெம்பர்கள் அங்கு போகும் படலம் இனிமேல் ஏற்படாது. அது போகப் போகத்தான் தெரியும். ஆகவே இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் நிலைமையில் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் முதல் அமைச்சராக இருந்து அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்தக் கூடாது என்று தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். இந்த ஐந்து வருஷ ஆட்சியில் அநேகம் சுகோதரிகள் கற்பழிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். அதற்காக நாங்கள் இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்வதா? நாங்கள் மக்களுக்கு நல்லது செய்ய வரும்போது அது கூடாதா? இப்பொழுது அந்த ஜெயில் Superintendent மீட்டிசுந்தரம் அடித்தது ஞாபகம் வருகிறது. அவர் தடியால் அடித்ததும் உதைத்ததும் எல்லோருக்கு தெரியும். கனம் மாதவ மேனன் அவர்களுக்கும் தெரியும். இந்த கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் அவ்வளவு பேர்களுக்கும் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். இந்த தண்ணீர் கேட்பால் ஜெயிலில் தண்ணீர் கொடுப்பாரா. நாங்கள் ஜெயிலில் தண்ணீர் கேட்பால் ஜெயிலில் தண்ணீர் கொடுப்பாரா. நாங்கள் ஜெயிலில் இருந்தோம். வெள்ளைக்கார ஆட்சியில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடன் நானும் ஜெயிலில் இருந்தேன். இப்பொழுது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் தலையில் பக்வான் அப்படி எழுதி இருக்கிறான். நாங்கள் ஜெயிலில் எந்த வாழ்க்கை நடத்தி இருப்போம் என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். எங்களை எவ்விதம் நடத்தி இருப்பார்கள் என்பதும் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். எங்களுக்கு குறிப்பாக கெட்ட எண்ணம் ஒன்றும் கிடையாது. கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் என்றால் நாங்களும் மனிதர்கள் தான். மக்களுக்கு நாங்களும் தான் பாடுபடுகிறோம். நீங்களும் தான் மக்களுக்கு பாடுபடுகிறீர்கள். ஆனால் இரண்டு பேர்களுக்கும் வித்யாசங்கள் இருக்கலாம். கருத்து மாறுபாடுகள் இருக்கலாம். நாங்கள் கடவுளின் விரோதிகள் அல்ல. மத விரோதிகள் அல்ல. நாங்கள் ஒரு கோயிலையும் இடிக்க வில்லை. அப்படி நாங்கள் கோயில்களை இடித்தோம் என்றால் அவைகள் அபத்த வார்த்தைகள். நாங்கள் ஏதாவது பிசகு செய்தால் ஆண்டவன் இருக்கிறான். அவன் எங்களை தண்டிக்கட்டும். ஆண்டவனுக்காக நீங்கள் வக்காலத்து வாங்கிக் கொள்ள வேண்டாம். எங்களையும் தான் ஆண்டவன் படைத்தான். ஆண்டவனுக்கு எல்லோரும் ஒருவன் தான். எங்களைப் படைத்தவனுக்கு நாங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் அதை தண்டிக்க முடியுமா? நீங்கள்தான் அவனுக்கு வக்காலத்து வாங்கி வரவேண்டும். ஆண்டவன் ராவணனையும் ஹிரண்யனையும் படைக்க வில்லையா? அவர்களுக்கு தண்டனை விதிக்க வில்லையா? கொள்கையில் மாறுபாடு இருந்தால் அதனால் தரோதிகளா? மக்களுக்கு சர்க்கார் நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்யும் போது நாங்கள் முட்டுக்கையாக இருந்தால் அது ஆண்டவனுக்குத் தெரியுமா? நாங்கள் தவறு செய்தால் எங்களால் மக்கள் நடுவில் போக முடியாது. எங்களை கல்லால் அடிப்பார்கள். நாங்கள் நன்மை செய்யாவிட்டால் நாங்கள் மக்களின் நடுவில் நாசமாய் போகிறோம். நீங்கள்

[1st July 1952]

[Sri K. T. Raju]

எங்களுக்கு தண்டனை கொடுக்க வேண்டாம். எங்களுக்கு மக்களின் நடுவில் விசாரணை நடக்கும். நாங்கள் உவறு செய்தால் மக்கள் விசாரணை நடத்துவார்கள். இன்றைக்கு கடவுள் இருக்கிறார். எங்களுக்கு ஐம்பத்தி ஓராயிரம் வோட்டுப் போட்டுப் எங்களை அனுப்பினார்களே அவர்களுக்கு கடவுள் இல்லையா? அப்படி வோட்டுப் போட்டவர்களில் முஸ்லீம்களும் கிருஸ்தவர்களும் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கும் கடவுள் இல்லையா? அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் கடவுள் இல்லை என்று வோட்டுப் போட்டார்கள். கடவுள் இருக்கிறாரா இல்லையா என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஜனநாயக மக்கள் அதிக சக்தியுடையவர்கள். அவர்களை ஒன்றும் செய்ய முடியாது. சர்க்கார் செய்யும் காரியங்கள் நியாயம் என்று தெரிந்தால் நாங்களும் அதற்கு ஒத்துழைப்போம். நான் ஒரு சாதாரண மனிதனாகத்தான் இருந்தேன். அதன் பிறகு காலனா செலவுசெய்யாமல் இந்த சபைக்கு வந்தேன். அது ராஜாஜிக்குத் தெரிய வில்லை. என்னுடைய பிராவிடெண்டு பண்டு பணம் ரூ. 400 ஐ கடனுக்குக் கொடுத்து விட்டு வந்தேன். அது கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். அவருடைய நண்பர் ஹாஸ்டலில் வாட்டனாக இருந்தேன். சாதாரணமான ஒரு ஆள் இன்றைக்கு இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறேன். மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற கருத்துடன் இருந்து வந்ததால் இன்றைக்கு இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறேன். இன்றைக்கு இருக்கும் ஜனங்களுடைய மனம் மாறி இருக்கிறது. எண்ணங்கள் மாறி இருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது அநேகம் பேர்கள் எதிர் கட்சியில் வீற்றிருப்பதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தில் பல வருஷங்களாக சிறையில் அடைக்கப்பட்டு கேவலமாக சர்க்காரால் நடத்தப்பட்ட சாதாரண மனிதர்கள் அவர்கள். அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது இங்கு மெம்பர்களாக வீற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். அதை நாம் இப்பொழுது பார்க்கிறோம். இதிலிருந்து தெரிந்து கொள்ளுங்கள் மனிதர்களுடைய மனம் மாறி இருக்கிறது என்பதை. மக்களுடைய எண்ணங்கள் இப்பொழுது மாறி இருக்கிறது. அப்படிப்பட்ட மனமாற்றத்தினால் அரசாங்கம் நடக்கும் என்றால் என்னுடைய சொந்த கருத்து என்ன? வன்றால் அது நடக்காது என்பது தான். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தின் முதல் அமைச்சராக இருக்கக் கூடாது என்று தான் நான் விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த முறையில்தான் நீங்கள் எங்களைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். நாங்கள் கலகம் பண்ணுவதற்கு இங்கு வரவில்லை. அப்படிச் செய்தால் பொது மக்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் பார்த்துக்கொள்ளுவார்கள். நாங்கள் குழப்பத்தை உண்டாக்க வரவில்லை. நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்வதற்கு முட்டுக்கட்டை போடுவதற்கு இந்த சபையில் நாங்கள் இல்லை. செய்யக் கூடிய நல்ல காரியங்களை கண்டிப்பாக ஆதரிப்போம். அப்படி நாங்கள் செய்யத் தவறினால் மக்கள் எங்களை ஆதரிக்கமாட்டார்கள்.

“இரண்டு கருத்துக்கள், இரண்டு நோக்கங்கள் உலகம் பூராவும் இருக்கின்றன. அதே மாதிரி இந்தச் சபையிலும் இரண்டு வித நோக்கங்களை உடையவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். குடும்பத்தில் வேறுபட்ட அபிப்பிராயங்கள் இருப்பதைப் போலவே, ஒரு குடும்பத்தில் ஒரு பையன் திராவிடக் கழகத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவனாகவும், ஒருவன் கம்யூனிஸ்டுக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவனாகவும், இன்னொருவன் சோஷலிஸ்டு கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவனாகவும் இருக்கிறான். இது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஒரு வீட்டிலும் இரண்டு கட்சிகள், இரண்டு நோக்கங்கள், இரண்டு கருத்துகள் இருக்கின்றன. அதே மாதிரி இந்த நாடு பூராவும் இருக்கிறது. இதை தடுப்பதற்கு முடியாது. உலகத்தில் இம்மாதிரியான எண்ணங்கள் நாளுக்கு நாள் வளர்ந்துக்கொண்டே வருகின்றன. இதில் வியப்பொன்றுமில்லை. இது ஒரு கட்சியினரால் ஏற்பட்ட தல்லை. நான்கு வருடங்கள் சிறையில் இருந்தோம். இவ்வளவு கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் வந்ததற்கு காரணம் என்ன? அவர்களுக்காக என்ன பிரசாரம் நடந்தது? பிரசாரங்கள் இல்லாதிருந்தும், எப்படி அவர்கள் இத்தனை பேர் வர முடிந்தது? ஜனங்களிடத்தில் ஏற்பட்டிருந்த மனமாறுதல் தான் காரணமாகும்.

“இன்றைக்கு இந்த நாட்டில் ஒரு நல்ல அரசாட்சி இருக்கவேண்டும். நிரந்தரமான, உறுதியான, பெரும்பான்மையான மக்களுடைய அபிப்பிராயங்களைப் பூர்த்தி செய்யும்படி இருந்தால்தான் எந்தக் காரியமும் நடக்குமென்று ஒத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அப்படி ஒரு நிலைமை இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதுதான்

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என் அபிப்பிராயம். இன்றைக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய மந்திரி சபையினால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டம் மக்களுடைய அபி லாஷைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்யக் கூடியதாக இருக்கவில்லை. இதை நான் மாத்திரம் சொல்லவில்லை. சுதேசமித்திரன் போன்ற பத்திரிகைகளும் இந்த வரி இனங்களை எதிர்த்திருக்கின்றன. சுதேசமித்திரன் பத்திரிகையில் சுருமீன் படம் போட்டு ஒரு 'கார்ட்டூன்' இருக்கிறது. அந்தக் கார்ட்டூன் மூலம் இந்தப் புதிய வரி இனங்களை அது சுதிரிக்கிறது. ஜெ. சக்கியோ, விடுதலை யோ அம்மாதிரி சொல்லவில்லை. சுதேசமித்திரன் நான் அம்மாதிரி சொல்லியிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் நாங்கள் சொல்லது ஏதோ ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு ஒவ்வாத காரியங்கள் என்று நினைக்கக் கூடாது. இந்த நாட்டில் அராஜகத் தை உணடுபண்ணிவிடுவார்கள் என்று யாரும் கருத வேண்டியதில்லை. ஆகையால், நாங்கள் இந்த வரிகளை எதிர்த்தும் போது, இந்த மந்திரி சபை செய்யும் அக்கிரமமான காரியங்களை எதிர்த்தும் போது, மக்களின் நலனுக் காகவே நாங்கள் பாடுபடுகிறோம் என்பதை எல்லோரும் அவனிக்க வேண்டும். அந்த அளவுக்கு நீங்கள் இதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் உங்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆகையால், எங்களைப்பற்றி தவறான அபிப்பிராயங்களைக் கொள்ள வேண்டியதில்லை. "நாங்கள் கடவுள் விரோதிகள், மத்திற்கு விரோதிகள், எப்படியாவது நல்ல காரியங்களுக்கு முட்களைப்போல் இருந்து நடவடிக்கைகளை, நடத்த விடாமல் முட்டுக்கட்டைபோடுகிறோம்" என்று திடீர்நெல்வேலியில் எங்களைப்பற்றி பேசி இருக்கிறார்கள். நான் மறுபடியும் வற்புறுத்திச் சொல்லுகிறேன், 'நாங்கள் எந்த நல்ல காரியங்களையும் ஆதரிப்போம்'.

"எங்களைப் பேய், பிசாசு என்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகள், குறைங்கள், கருத்துக்கள் ஒன்றும் பேய்பிசாசு மாதிரி இடை யாது. ஆகவே, எதிர்த்தாற்பார்கள், சர்க்கார் செய்யும் காரியங்களில் குற் றங் குறைகளை எடுத்துச் சொல்லத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். அது தவிர்க்க முடியாதது. எங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளை மக்களிடையே நாங்கள் பிரசாரம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று எங்களைத் தடுக்கக்கூடாதென்று நான் அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன் இந்த முறையிலே நான் கனம் நிதிமந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. இந்த மந்திரி சபை இருக்கக்கூடாது, குறிப்பாக முதல் மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜ கோபாலாச்சாரியார் பதவியில் நீடித்து இருப்பார்களேயானால், கடந்த மூன்று மாத அனுபவத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டே, சென்ற 5 வருஷமாக காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சி நடந்துவந்தது போலவேதான் இன்னும் தொடர்ந்து நடந்து வருமேயொழிய, கொள்கையில் மாறுதல் எதுவுமிருக்காதென்பதைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு, கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்த்தேன்."

* SRI C. V. K. RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Motion that is before this House appears to be a novel Motion. It may be novel for the simple reason that the Council of Ministers seem to have lost confidence in themselves and as such they have come before this House for a Vote of Confidence. As far as the verdict of this part of the House is concerned, it has been delivered long, long ago, and that is that this Council of Ministers do not have the confidence of this part of the House, do not have the confidence of the country. If a referendum is taken with that object even to-day, I am certain that it will reveal that they do not have the confidence of the country. One Constitutional point makes it perfectly clear, and that is that this Ministry has been formed by the Ministers themselves for themselves. The simple fact that the Chief Minister has been nominated and that this is a Ministry selected by that nominated Minister shows that it is not based on democratic principles. It is also not based on the principles laid down in the Constitution of India itself. Naturally such a

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Ministry cannot have confidence even in themselves. They have come before this House after two months to seek our confidence, having lost confidence in themselves. Do they expect a vote in their favour from us, the United Democratic Front? Certainly not. They do expect a vote in their favour from those gentlemen who depend on the Ministry, who depend on a class that desires to rule this country. When that is the case, the place where this Vote of Confidence should have been sought is not this House but elsewhere. It should have been in its party meeting, in such sections as render support to this Ministry. But curiously enough, they have come before this House for a Vote of Confidence. One reason placed before this House is that there are many difficulties in the way of the Hon. Chief Minister, that his hands need to be strengthened, and as such he needs the support of this House. Another reason is that the result of the Aruppukottai by-election is a vote of censure against the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar's Ministry and as such he wants to make sure whether this House supports him or not. These are the reasons offered and no other. This is a Ministry of political manoeuvre. I read in this Motion that there is something up their sleeves. One point has been missed for some time. Recently the Prime Minister of India has clearly stated that he was not aware that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar was going to be nominated, and that he was informed of the nomination only after the event. Nomination to the Legislative Council should be done from persons who represent science, art, culture, etc. Nomination of persons with political standing is not correct. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's opinion was, as was given to the Press reporters, that this nomination was not a correct thing. Not that Sri Nehru wanted the U.D.F. Government here. His opinion was that a grave error had been committed and that this had to be answered one day or other. He felt that if at all any person sought the office of Chief Minister, the fair and simple method was for him to get elected. That is the method that Sri C. Rajagopalachariar should have adopted. The result of the vote on this Motion is an answer that he is going to give to the country as a whole. He wants to show that he has the backing of 152 Congress Members and some Independents who hitch their wagon to the Congress star. There are persons who, for political reasons or out of political shortsightedness or whatever it may be, want to sail in the same boat when Sri C. Rajagopalachariar's Ministry has got this much of support, surely that amounts to his being elected. That is the political game behind this Motion. This has got to be exposed from this side of the House. The best method for this nominated Ministry, which is not a Ministry based on the principles of the Constitution of India, is to get its Leader elected by a straightforward procedure. But I am afraid that is not going to happen.

"There is another political game behind this Motion. The Budget debate is going to take place. The opinions of the Members of the Opposition will be clearly known to the country and the country will realize what type of Budget it is. A vote for the Budget will be tantamount to a Vote of Confidence in the

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Ministry. The political game is to sidetrack the issues and make it appear that a stable Ministry has been questioned by irresponsible sections of the U.D.F. and criticized by parties that are after power. That is how the Ministry wants to pose the question before the country. As I said, the object is to sidetrack the main issues of the waste of the country's money and the taxation on the poor people. They want to govern in the name of a single individual, as though he is the whole Assembly itself, as though he is the last word on democracy itself. They want to carry on publicity in the country on these lines: 'We have been saying for the last two months that this is a stable Ministry. We sought a Vote of Confidence. About 200 Members expressed their confidence in us and we won. Here are parties which have supported us. All the criticism levelled against us by other parties are criticisms that are levelled by irresponsible sections.' Certain newspapers in the City have written editorials adopting this line of argument in advance. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar has already thanked those papers. He has taken a clue from those papers, from those sections of vested interests. There is no use bringing into this Confidence Motion the issue of the U.D.F.'s abstention from attending the Governor's Address as was sought to be done. Hence he left that out. And the Chief Minister has laid stress on the 4-30 Aruppukkottai by-election. The result of the Aruppukkottai by-
p.m. election was a foregone one. In his Press Conference, the Chief Minister stated that he was seeking a Vote of Confidence as the United Democratic Front did not attend the Governor's Address to the joint session. This is a political manoeuvre. In his statement to the House he has omitted this. Why is it that every now and then they are coming to the House with new tactics? Why is it that every now and then the Chief Minister wants to create enormous confusion? Within these two sessions, they have been trying to sidetrack the issues before the country. My answer to their move is that the Members sitting on the Treasury Benches do not believe in democracy. The Members sitting on the Treasury Benches know full well that the common man is awake today and that he wants that social justice should be done to him. The Government are not prepared to do that. They have no confidence in themselves, and, therefore, they are manoeuvring. They want to use this parliamentary machinery for their manoeuvre. That is the reason why this Motion has been brought forward. Last time at the close of the session a Motion of Censure was brought against the Leader of the United Democratic Front. This time at the very beginning of the session, a Motion of Vote of Confidence in the Ministry is brought forward, by the Members of the Treasury Bench. This is a very curious thing. The Government want to use every stick to beat the Opposition with. That is the fact. Last time when the session was about to close, the Government wanted to create in the minds of the people a feeling like this: 'Look here; we have a powerful Ministry; the Leader of the U.D.F. Party was up for mischief, and he had to answer before the bar of the Council'. Finally, it was exhibited, as though out of sympathy for an old man"

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MR. SPEAKER :—"What took place in another place should not be discussed here."

* SRI C. V. K. RAO :—"I know that. But that has some connection to this. The motion was against the Leader of the United Democratic Front, and therefore it has some connection to what I say. The Chief Minister brought forward that Motion in another place. The same Chief Minister now comes here for a Vote of Confidence. This fact I want the country to note. This is done in order to strike terror in the minds of our countrymen. It was said here that the Communist Party was enemy No. 1 of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. It was not said in a spirit of rhetoric. It was said in order to rally round him those elements whom he wanted; he wants to rally round him at this moment the investing world, as he calls it. It is a nice phrase. He wants the investing world to rally round him, that is the world who are the allies of the ruling class that has left this country. The vested interests and the ruling classes want to dominate. The Chief Minister declared that the Communists were his enemy No. 1. He gave the announcement to the investing world, 'I take all steps to strengthen you; do not be frightened at our defeat at the polls; I declare war against the Communists; should you not realise this very simple fact that I have come into the Ministry, and Police is in my portfolio; Police means power, and that was the power which the Britisher had used; the same power I have now; you have not realised that I am declaring war against the Communists, whom I have singled out as my enemy No. 1; this is the power I have in my hand.' So, Sir, at this stage only the tune has changed, but the politics are the same. 'I must have a Vote of Confidence in my Ministry', says the Chief Minister, because the investing world must go with him. So, in this country, the question is whether we should have a Government of the type of the British ruling class which ruled by batons and by fire-arms, or whether we should have a decent type of Government. When the United Democratic Front is rallying all democratic forces in the country with the object of forming a good Government, here is a Ministry which wants to use this parliamentary machinery to sidetrack every clear issue before the public and to hoodwink the people and also the honest elements on that side. That is the reason why the Government have come forward with this Motion here. I do feel that this is a Motion which cannot be accepted by any honest man. Perhaps it may be too early for certain Members on the other side to see clearly where this Ministry is leading to. At the same time I would like the Members on the other side, after the experience of the last five years, to understand this simple fact. There was a clear majority for the old Congress Ministry. Let them remember the number of Ministries that were in office during that period. There were three Ministries, and the present one is the fourth. This Ministry is a continuation of the same old Ministry. How is it when there was a clear majority for the Congress during the last five years, there were three Ministries? Was it because they did not believe in God? Was it because there were Communists,

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and there was the United Democratic Front opposing them? Was it because there was the same political consciousness in the country at that time as there is to-day? No. These factors were not there. The simple fact was that the Ministry which ruled during that period was a Ministry of the vested interests. It was a Ministry of zamindars. It was a Ministry of foreign capitalists linked with Indian vested interests. It is a very clear fact known to every one. There was nepotism, corruption and favouritism. This led to shuffling and reshuffling of the Ministry. When once these people went to the electorate, the verdict of the electorate went against them. The Ministry should have understood the verdict of the people. But it has not been understood by the Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Benches, particularly, by the leader of that party. They may be thinking that manoeuvre only is politics. They may be thinking that they should cling to power somehow and for as long as they can, and that the rest can be looked after afterwards. This is not the way that history taught us in this country. The Government have to face the people somehow or other. When they cling to power, they have to face the Opposition. The Government have to discharge certain elementary duties expected of them. Much of the procedure that is being followed by parliamentarians of this country is from England. They can take a lesson from England if they care to. They cannot carry on the Government as a single man's show. Even the Conservative Party in England, which wanted to keep up that power, and which wanted to maintain the Anglo-American domination in the world, wanted that no single man's show should be put up. Even they were very much scared by that type of power for the Members of the Conservative Party to carry on the Government in an autocratic manner. That can be a lesson to the ruling party here. I am not asking this Government to go to another part of the world for this lesson. They have got a number of lessons everywhere. Take the lesson from China. In China a Koumintong Party somehow wanted to be in power. It had not the support of the people. It sought help from elsewhere. It sought help from a smaller section of the people who made the country poor, wretched and miserable. What happened to them? They went into seclusion. Here it is a peculiar state of affairs. People have passed their verdict against the ruling party; they should have gone into seclusion. Curiously they sought to cling to power. But they cannot carry on through such manoeuvre. That is how I feel. Even if we are to judge the record of this Ministry

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

* SRI C. V. K. RAO:—"For the last two months, what is the record of this Ministry? The record is only, as far as any self-respecting Member here knows, a prohibitory order. It is as though we are in custody. We sit here under a prohibitory order from the Commissioner of Police. We the legislators of this State are reduced to this state of affairs. Now I would ask the Members on the opposite side to say whether they have asked the leader

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of their party as to what objection he had to referring this matter to the Privileges Committee? It is a most humiliating position for any Member of this House."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member's time is up. The hon. Member Mr. Govinda Rao will now speak."

* SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—"అధ్యక్షా, నేను విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లానుంచి వచ్చాను. మా జిల్లాలో లోగడ ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పూర్తిగా చిత్తుచేయబడింది. పారవాయక ఆయన ఆ జిల్లాలో ఒక్క కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థి కూడా గెలుపి లేక పోయినాడు. దీనికి కారణమేమో ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారి గ్రహించిపెరసని కోరుతున్నాను. ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారు యిట్టి విశ్వాస బీర్తానం పెట్టడంకన్నా ఒక వ్యాయం విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో సంచారంచేసి అక్కడి ప్రజలు ఆయనను గురించి విమర్శించుకున్నారో, ఆయన అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానాల పట్ల ప్రజాభిప్రాయమేమో, మంత్రివర్గము, వారి వర్తనలు ప్రజలు విశ్వసిస్తున్నారో లేదో, ఈ మంత్రివర్గ నిర్మాణం విషయమై వారి అభిప్రాయాలేమో గమనించవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను. అంతేకాక ఈ మధ్య జరిగిన కాకినాడ దై-ఎలక్షన్ లోనైనా కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థి నెగ్గలేకపోయినాడనే విషయం ఆయన గమనించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ విషయములన్నీంటిని గమనించకుండా తన వైన విశ్వాసమున్నదా లేదా అని ఈ బీర్తానము తీసుకొనిరావడం చాగుండలేదు. గత కాంగ్రెసు తుప్పరిపాలన ఫలితంగా ప్రజలలో ప్రబలిన విముఖత ఇందుకు కారణమని వారు గమనించగోరుతాను. ఈ విషయాలలో ఆయనకు ఏమైనా సందేహమున్నట్లైతే ఆయన విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా వచ్చి స్వయంగా తెలుసుకొనవలసిన చని ఆయనను నేను ఆహ్వానిస్తున్నాను."

6-45 p.m.

"ఈ బీర్తానాన్ని తెచ్చుటలో ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారి ఉద్దేశ్యము బహుశా ఒక రాజకీయ ఎత్తుగడ అయివుంటుంది. ఈ మధ్యనే డి-కంట్రోలు చేయబడినది. దానివల్ల ప్రస్తుతం ఏదో లొంత బాధ వదిలిందని ప్రజలు అనుకుంటూ ఉండవచ్చును. ఈ అవకాశం తీసుకొని ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ పలుకుబడి పెంచుకొనుటకే ఈ బీర్తానమును తెచ్చియున్నారని భావిస్తున్నాను. కాని, ఈ డి-కంట్రోలు విధానం వల్ల ఉత్తర్రా వి విధమైన బాధలు కలుగుతూ గమనించగోరుతాను. డి-కంట్రోలు చేసిన తరువాత పరిస్థితులు ఎలా ఉన్నవో తెలుసుకొనే నిమిత్తం ఈ మధ్య నేను మా విశాఖపట్నం, ప్రకాశం జిల్లాలలో సంచారము చేసినాను. గ్రామాలలోని రైతులు తమ పెద్దనున్న భాగ్యాన్ని వర్తకులకు అమ్మివేస్తున్నారు. ఈ వర్తకులు భాగ్యాన్ని తాళి కొనివేసి పట్టాలలో పూకు చేస్తున్నారు. పరిస్థితులు ఈ విధంగా పోగానే ఒకటి రెండు నెలల గ్రామాలలో భాగ్యం ఉండదు. ఇక కూలీ నాలి చేసుకొనేవారి బాధలు ఎలా ఉంటువో గమనించగోరుతాను. 1943 వ సంవత్సరంలో విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో సంభవించిన కరువు విషయం ప్రభుత్వంవారు జ్ఞాపకముంచుకొని తిరిగి అట్టి విషయపరిస్థితులు రాకుండా చేయాలి."

"విశాఖపట్నం, ప్రకాశం జిల్లాలు వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాలు. ఈ జిల్లాలలో గోదావరి వంటి పెద్ద నదులు లేవుగాని, చిన్నవి చాలా ఉన్నాయి. ఈ నదులలోని నీరింతా సముద్రంలోకి వృథాగా ప్రవహించిపోతుంటే ఏ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా తగినంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోలేదు. సుమారు 40 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టివట్టియితే మా జిల్లాలో ఎక్కడ వేల ఎకరాల భూమిని సాగులానికి తీసుకొని రాగలము. ఈ విషయాన్ని ఆనేకసార్లు పూర్వపు మంత్రివర్గానికి ఆ నాటి సభ్యులు, ఆ నాటి శాసనసభ్యులు ఇతర ప్రజానాయకులు మనవి చేశారుగాని, ఫలితం శుద్ధ మాట. పెద్ద మొత్తంలో

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కట్టకలిగి రిజర్వాయర్లు ఎన్నో ఉన్నారు. ఈ చిన్న చిన్న మైనర్ ఇరిగేషన్లను లను చేయించుటకు కూడా ప్రభుత్వం వెనుకాడుతుండంటే ఈ జిల్లా ప్రజలపట్ల ఎంతటి ఆదరము, అభిమానము వారికి ఉన్నదో విచిత్రమవుతుంది. ముఖ్యంగా విశాఖ పట్నం జిల్లాలో కారదా నదిపై ఆరందేల్ ప్రాజెక్టు మొదలైనవి ఎన్నో నిర్మింపబడ వలసి ఉన్నాయి. ఈ ఆరందేల్ ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించినట్లయితే 20, 30 వేల ఎకరాల భూమికి ఉపయోగపడగలదు. అదేవిధంగా శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలో వంశధార, నాగావలి మొదలైన నదులు చాలా ఉన్నాయి. వీటికి ప్రాజెక్టులు కట్టే ప్రయత్నం ఈ ప్రభుత్వం చేస్తున్నదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ప్రజావసరాలు గుర్తించకుండా ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసును నమ్మాలంటే, కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం మీద విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలంటే, ఎలా సాధ్యమవుతుందో అర్థం కావడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు ప్రభుత్వవారు ఆకలంధిస్తున్నది ఇరిగేషన్ పాలసీ కాదు. ఇది స్టార్వేర్స్ పాలసీ అహరథాన్యాలను కొరతగా నున్న ప్రాంతాలలో నీటిపారుదల వ్యవస్థలను కల్పించని ప్రభుత్వం ప్రజావీత ప్రభుత్వంగా ప్రజా వ్యతిరేక ప్రభుత్వమే గణించవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఈ ప్రభుత్వవారు ఆకలంధిస్తున్న విధానం విశాఖజిల్లాను రాయలసీమగా తయారుచేసే పాలసీ ప్రజలను ఆకలి మంటలకు ఆహూతిచేసే పాలసీ. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు విశ్వసించాలి అనేదే నా ప్రశ్న.

“మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో ఎన్నో వేల ఎకరాలు యీనాందార్ల చేతుల్లో ఉన్నవి. నిన్న మొన్నటివాకా జిల్లాలో చాలాభాగము జమీందారుల హస్తగతమై ఉంది. ఇప్పటికీ కొన్ని జమీను యింకా రద్దుకాలేదు. ఈ జమీందారులు, యీనాందారులు తమ శిస్తులకోసం తాపత్రయము పడుతున్నారేగాని పాడైపోయిన జలాశయాలును మరమ్మత్తు చేయటంకు పూనుకొనడం లేదు. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో కూడా ప్రభుత్వం రైతాంగం యొక్క మొర ఆకించడం లేదు. జమీందారులను, యీనాందారులను తొలగించి భూములపై సర్దుకట్టులు దున్నేవానికి సక్రమించజేయాలి. ఆ నాడే దేశం ముగియడం లభిస్తుంది. అహరథాన్యాలు చాలవంత పండుకాయి. అదీగాక వేడ రైతాంగంపై యీనాందారులు బరువును అత్యాచారాలు నానాటికి ఆధికమవుతున్నాయి. కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులమని చెప్పుకుంటున్నవెద్దలే ఎన్నోవిధాలా రైతులను బాధిస్తున్నారు. బలవంతంగా దౌర్జన్యంతో వేడరైతులను భూములనుండి ఆక్రమంగా తొలగించడానికి యీనాందార్లు ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారు. ఈ మధ్యన భిక్షుని పట్నం తాలూకాలోని పొలిపిల్లి, మల్లమలస మొదలగు గ్రామాలలో రైతాంగాన్ని యీనాందార్లు తుపాకులు చూపించి దౌర్జన్యంచేసి బలవంతంగా తొలగించేసారు. ఇదే విధంగా నువ్రసద్దకాంగ్రెసు నాయకుడైన మాజీ ఎస్.ఎం.ఎస్.ఎస్. డి.ఎల్.ఎస్. రాజగారు, వారి తుపాకులు చూపి, 2000వరకు రైతాంగాన్ని బెదిరించి భూమి స్వాధీనం చేసుకున్నారు. కాంగ్రెసువారుచేసే పనులే ఇవి. ఇటువంటి వేడ భూస్వాములకే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం తుపాకులు ఇస్తున్నది. వారు ఈ ఆయుధాల ఆసరా చూచుకొని వేడ రైతులను భూమిని విడిచిపెట్టకపోతే కాంగ్రెసు వారిని బెదిరిస్తున్నారు. లోగడ 1947-48 సం॥లో ఆలవండ, గంటూడ గ్రామాలలో యీనాందార్లు, భూస్వాములు రైతులన్ని భూమినుండి వెళ్ళగొట్టేందుకై, దున్నేరైతును భూమిలోనుండి తొలగించడానికి యిటువంటి ఆయుధాలను ప్రభుత్వం కాంగ్రెసు వేడలకు ఇచ్చిందా అని రైతులు ప్రశ్నిస్తున్నారు. రైతులను కొట్టి, తిట్టి, బెదిరించి, వారు 40, 50 సంవత్సరాలుగా సాగుచేస్తున్న భూమిలో నుంచి తొలగించి వేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విషయం శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు తెలుసుకొన్నారా, తెలుసుకొని ఏమైనా చర్య తీసుకోవడానికి

[1st July 1952]

[Sri K. Govinda Rao]

సిద్ధంగా ఉన్నారా? అని అడుగుతున్నాను. మీరు ఏ చర్య తీసుకోరన్న విషయం నాకు తెలుసు. ఎందుకంటే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. శ్రీ జావ్యతిరేకమైన ప్రభుత్వం వేడ సాదనలను వీల్చి పిండే ప్రభుత్వం అని వెప్పడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. దేశంలో ఈ నాడు కాంగ్రెసుకు అండగా నున్నవారు వేడ భూస్వాములే. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఏదైనా తలపెట్టితే ఆ భూస్వాముల లాభానికి తలపెట్టుతుంది. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు అధికారంలో నుంచి తొలగించ గూడదని అడుగుతున్నాను. అంటే కాకుండా జమీందారీ విధానం రద్దుచేశామని అంటున్నారు. కాని ఆచరణలో చూచినట్లయితే రైతుకు ఇంకా ఆనేక విధాలా బాధలు తప్పలేదు. రెంటు టిక్షన్ ఇంకా కొన్ని జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో జరగ లేదు. దరిమిలా యీనాములవిషయంలో శిస్తు తగ్గింపు ఆమలు జరుపబడలేదు. దున్నే వానికి భూమి హక్కు ఉండాలి. భూస్వామ్యము రద్దు చేయాలి అని కాంగ్రెసువారు అనేకపర్యాయములు వేదికలలో నుంచి ఉపన్యసించారు. వారి తీర్మానాలు అలా కాక తప్ప తీర్మానాలు గానే ఉండిపోయినాయి. కాంగ్రెసుప్రభుత్వం ఉన్నంతకాలం రైతాంగానికి శ్మశానం కల్గడం కల్గి. రైతాంగాన్ని ఆణచిపెట్టడమే ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క కార్యక్రమంగా కనిపిస్తున్నది. భూస్వాములకు తుపాకులు మొదలైన ఆయుధాలను ఇవ్వడానికి ఉంజుబడ్డాయి. ఈ విషయాలు మనవిచేస్తే కమ్యూనిస్టులు రైతులలో ఆశాంతి లేక తీస్తున్నారని, విప్రవాచకర్యలు చేస్తున్నారని వారిపై ఆభాందాలు వేస్తారు. వారు ఎంతవరకూ కమ్యూనిస్టులను నిందించడంలోనే పరిపెట్టుకుంటున్నారు గాని, ప్రజల కష్టాలు ఏమిటో గుర్తించడం లేదు. ఈ నాడు రైతాంగం కూలీల కష్టాలు పడుతున్నారంటే, దానికి కారణం కాంగ్రెస్ వాగా, కమ్యూనిస్టులూ అని అడుగు తున్నాను. అయిదు సంవత్సరముల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలన కాలంలో సామాన్య రైతు వర్గం శిథిలమైపోయారు. వేడ ప్రజలు తనదానికి తిండి కట్టటానికి గుడ్డ లేక ఆలోచిస్తూ అని ఆకలంధిస్తున్నారు. కాబట్టి ఈ ప్రభుత్వంపై ఎందుకు విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించాలి.

“ఇక చెరుకు పంట విషయములో రైతులు వడే బాధలవిషయంలో శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వం ఎంత వాక్తికంగా వ్యవహరిస్తున్నదో గమనించవలసివుంది. మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో చెరుకుపంట విస్తారంగా ఉన్నది. తుమ్మచాల, బొల్లిలి మొదలైన తండవార ఫాక్టరీలు ఉన్నవి. ఈ ఫాక్టరీలకు రైతులు జనవరి, ఫిబ్రవరి మాసాలలో చెరుకు సప్లయిచేసారు. కాని ఇంతవరకు ఆ చెరుకుకు ఖరీదవ్వబడలేదు. విజయవాడంటే, ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులవారివద్ద డబ్బులేదనిన్నీ, సరుకు నిలవఉండిపోయినదనిన్నీ అంటారు. సాగుకు ఎంతోడబ్బు వెట్టుబడిపెట్టి చెరుకు పండించేరైతు తన పంటకు సకాలంలో డబ్బురానిదే వివిధంగా తిరిగివచ్చే సంవత్సరం సాగుచేయగలడో గ్రహించగోరుతాను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంతసేపుచూచినా ఫాక్టరీయజమానులు భూస్వాముల ఇబ్బందులేమిటో గుర్తించుకుందేగాని రైతాంగముయొక్క కష్టములు గుర్తించదు. ఈ నాటికి చెరుకును మిల్లులకు సప్లయిచేసి ఆరు మాసములు వాటిగా ఇంతవరకు విడి వారికి డబ్బురాకలేదు. ఫాక్టరీయజమానులు తమవద్ద డబ్బులేదనిచెప్పితే ప్రభుత్వం నమ్మి రైతులకు రెండువాయిదాలలో చెరుకుఖరీద వెల్లించవచ్చునని తేల్చింట్టా ప్రభుత్వ ఆర్డర్లు జారీచేసింది. కాని రైతాంగము నేలొదిమంది తమకు సాగు బడికి డబ్బులేదని అడిగితే, మామూలుగా తమను ఋణంబీర్తుని బాధిస్తున్నారని అంటే ప్రభుత్వం వినిపించుకోదు. ఈ విధానాన్ని విని అనవరత తలెత్తడంలేదు. ప్రభుత్వానికి రైతుమీదకన్నా పెట్టుబడిదార్ల మీద విశ్వాసమే అధికమనం, ఆదరము అని అనటానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహములేదు, అని ఈ విషయాల ముఖ్యచేతున్నాయి.

[Sri K. Govinda Rao]

[1st July 1952]

నిజంగా డబ్బులేనిది ఎవరు రైతులూ, మిల్లు యజమానులూ? ఇన్ని సంవత్సరాలుగా ధరలు ఉన్న రోజులలో దొంగవ్యాపారంలో డబ్బు సంపాదించిన ఈ మిల్లు యజమానులవద్ద డబ్బులేదంటే ప్రజాసామాన్యము విశ్వసించదు. కాని ప్రభుత్వం విశ్వసించింది. బొబ్బిలి రాజా, అడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్యవంటి పెద్ద పెద్ద పెట్టుబడిదార్లు, భూస్వాములు, వారివద్ద డబ్బులేదంటారు. ఆమాట నిజమా, కాదా అని వి ప్రభుత్వం అది రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం కానివ్వండి, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం కానివ్వండి, విశ్వసించండి. ఆయా పెట్టుబడికి మాదగ్గర డబ్బులేదు. విరో విధంగా కష్టాలకు బుచ్చి బాధలకు బుచ్చి భూమిని సాగు చేయడానికి మామంటకు వెంటనే మాకు డబ్బుయివ్వండి అంటే, ప్రభుత్వం వారికి కష్టమైతే చూడలేదు. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఎందుకు విశ్వసించాలి. ఇది భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వమా, రైతుల ప్రభుత్వమా అని ప్రభుత్వంవారే తర్కించుకొంటే మంచిది. ఆరు నెలలవరకూ కూడా రైతులు తమకు ధర రాక ఎన్నో సార్లు ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులచుట్టూ తిరిగిపోతున్నారు. ఇప్పుడైనా వారికి ఇవ్వవలసిన డబ్బు వారికి ఇప్పించడానికి ఏమిలకట్ట ప్రభుత్వం ఇంకా కొంతకాలం ఆగండి, రెండు వాయిదాలలో డబ్బు ఇస్తాము, అని చెబుతున్నారు. అంటే మిల్లు యజమానులు పెట్టుబడిలేకుండా వ్యాపారం చేసుకొని లాభాలు సంపాదించుకుంటూ వారి ఇష్టమువచ్చినప్పుడు, వారిచేతులలో డబ్బు వచ్చినప్పుడు ఇస్తామంటే, అది ప్రభుత్వం ప్రాంతాపీనునైనప్పుడు. రైతులకు ఉపకారం చేస్తామని చెప్పే ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విషయంలో విరళులైపోయింది. ఆయన చెప్పేదానికి, చేసేదానికి ఎంతో వ్యత్యాసం ఉంటుంది అనుకోవడానికి ఇది ప్రత్యక్ష నిదర్శనము. రైతుకు సహాయము చేయకుండా భూస్వామికి పెట్టుబడిదారి సహాయము చేసే ఉద్దేశ్యమే ఆయనది. ప్రజాగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారంలో ఉన్నంతవరకూ బీదసాదిలగోడు ఎవరూ ఇలకించరు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం పెట్టుబడిదార్ల ప్రభుత్వం, పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం. మిల్లు యజమానుల ప్రభుత్వం. ప్రజాభిమతానికి విరుద్ధంగా నడిచే అభివృద్ధినిరోధక ప్రభుత్వం. అందుకేనే వారికి ప్రజల బాధలు పెరిగితే అది విపత్తుగానే వారికి ఇవ్వడం జరుగుతుంది. వారు అంతకు వారు ప్రజల బాధలను గుర్తించరు. ఎవరైనా ఆ బాధలగురించి వారికి తెలియజేస్తే అటువంటి వారు కమ్యూనిస్టులని, దేశద్రోహులని అనడం ఆయనకు అలవాటు అయిపోయినది. వారి బాధలను ఆయన అలకించడు. ప్రభుత్వ ఆర్థిక కష్టాలను వెదుకు ఉత్పత్తి చేయకు, వారు సప్లయి చేసిన వస్తువులకు ధర పెల్లించకుండా హింస పెడుతున్న అడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య, బొబ్బిలి రాజా మొదలగు మిల్లు యజమానులపై ఎందుకు తగు చర్య తీసుకోరు? బహుశా అడుసుమిల్లి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య, బొబ్బిలి రాజావంటి వారు ఆయనకు స్నేహితులై ఉండవచ్చు. అటువంటివారి సహాయము ఉంటేనే కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ ఈనాడు పడవడుతుండవచ్చు. అందువలననే కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ దేశంలోని పేదలను బాగుపరచే సంస్థ కాదు. అభివృద్ధినిరోధక సంస్థ అనే కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం పేదలవారికి కత్తులపై పెట్టడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం నేను వెనుకాడను. వెదుకుతుంటే రైతులకు ఎన్నడో అడ్డంకులు కలగా సౌముఖ్యము ఉంటే విమిశ్రాయము? జనపరి, ఫీల్డెవరి మాసములలో వారు వెదుకు ఫ్యాక్టరీలకు సప్లయి చేస్తే ఆఫ్ఫీసు, నవంబరు నెలలలో ఇంకా విపది నెలల తరువాతనే రైతులకు సొమ్ము వెల్లిస్తామంటే విమిశ్రాయము? కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము రెండు వాయిదాలలో సొమ్ము ఇవ్వమన్నదిగా అని అడ్డంకులలో డబ్బు వెల్లిస్తామంటే విమిశ్రాయము? కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి మన రాష్ట్రం కూడా వెదుకు పంట crushing season కాలం గూర్చి తెలియదు. ఏ.యూ. పి. వోల్వెస్ట్రామ్ పెట్టుకొని సాగుకు దేశమంతటికీ ఈ ఆర్డరు వ్యాపారం చేశారు. మున్న సప్లయి చేసిన సరుకుకు డబ్బు ఇవ్వనట్లయితే రైతు వివిధంగా ఎచ్చెసంవత్సరం పంటచేయగలడో నాకు అందజేయడంలేదు. వచ్చే ఏడాదికి వివిధంగా సాగుచేయాలా అతనికి తోచడంలేదు.

1st July 1952]

[Sri K. Govinda Rao]

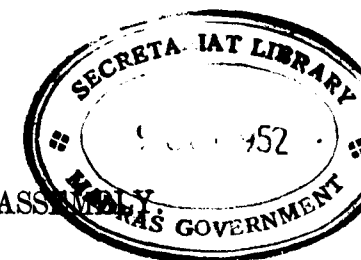
డబ్బుగోలికగా అప్పుపుట్టడంలేదు. అప్పు పుట్టినా, పెద్దపడ్డిని భరించుకోలేదు. ఇటువంటి విపరీత పరిస్థితులను వారిని ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు తరుముతున్నదో అర్థం కావడంలేదు. పరిస్థితులు ఇంత అధ్యాత్మికంగా ఉంటే రైతాంగము కాంగ్రెసును సమర్థించాలా అని ఆయనను అడుగుతున్నది. రైతులకు ఆయన ఆయనయొక్క ప్రభుత్వం విమిశ్రాయ చేశారని వారు ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్నీ, ఈ ప్రధానినీ, ఎట్లు బలపరచాలా నాకు అర్థం కావడంలేదు."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member will continue his speech to-morrow. I now adjourn the House till 10-30 a.m. to-morrow."

The House then adjourned.

IV.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

G.O. Ms. No. 1839, P.W. (Electricity), dated 28th April 1952, relating to acquisition of Periyakulam Municipal Electrical Undertaking.



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 2nd July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Government Hospital, Villupuram.

* 20 Q.—SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state whether there is any proposal to increase the accommodation by addition to the buildings and also an increase in the number of beds in the Villupuram Government Hospital?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“The proposal will be considered at the time of drawing up the Budget for 1953-54.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—“What is the nature of the proposal for making extensions to this hospital?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“Proposals for raising the bed-strength and appointing additional staff in a few hospitals are made every year in connexion with Part II Schemes. This proposal will be taken up next year.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—“I understand that something like Rs. 84,000 was sanctioned for making extensions to this hospital. If that proposal is kept in abeyance, can it be given effect to this year?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“I have no information regarding what the hon. Gentleman is stating now.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Sir, the question was whether there is any proposal to increase the accommodation this year. May I know whether there is any proposal this year at all and, if so, what has been done?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“There is no proposal to raise the bed-strength of this hospital this year.”

Cottage industries for uplift of Harijans.

* 21 Q.—SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA: Will the Hon. the Minister for Co-operation be pleased to state—

(a) the amount allotted to the Co-operative department for the uplift of Harijans through cottage industries during 1950-51;

(b) whether the full amount was spent during the year 1950-51; and if not, the amount that has been allowed to lapse; and

(c) the reasons for the same?

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THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“(a) No specific amount was allotted to the Co-operative department for the uplift of Harijans through cottage industries during 1950-51. Government, however, sanctioned during 1950-51 assistance to the following two cottage industrial societies whose members are Harijans :—

(1) *The Vellarivalli Carpet Weavers' Co-operative Society, Salem district—*

(i) A subsidy of Rs. 1,000.]

(ii) A loan of Rs. 1,000 } To meet the cost of looms.
repayable in five years. }

(iii) One Junior Inspector of Co-operative Societies at Government cost.

(2) *The Pannur Leather Workers' Co-operative Society, Chittoor district—*

Ex gratia grant of Rs. 2,000. Towards the share capital of the worker-members.

“(b) & (c) Do not arise.”

SRI A. RATHINAM :—“Sir, may I know what steps the Government have taken for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes through the cottage industries?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“Whenever members of the Scheduled Castes form themselves into a co-operative society or a society for development of cottage industries, the Government will consider giving of grant or subsidies to it.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“May I know how many members there are in these two co-operative societies?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“Notice, please.”

SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—“Will the Hon. Minister take steps to organize separate co-operative societies for cottage industries for the Harijans?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“The department is taking a great interest but the co-operation from the members concerned is not as much as expected.”

SRI A. RATHINAM :—“May I know what amount has been spent by the Government during the year 1950-51 for this purpose?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“I have already given the figures, Sir.”

Report on famine conditions in South Arcot.

* 22 Q.—SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDAR : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state whether any report was received from the Collector of South Arcot regarding the famine conditions prevailing in Gingee, Tindivanam and Villupuram taluk and if so, the action thereon?

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“Yes.

A report was received from the Collector of South Arcot even as early as in February 1952, and on his recommendation the Government have sanctioned full remission for wet lands with an outturn of 4 annas and below for fasli 1361 in 212 villages in Gingee, 264 villages in Tindivanam and 184 villages in Villupuram taluk. The Government have also ordered that the collection of cesses due in fasli 1361 be postponed to fasli 1362 in areas where remission of land revenue has been sanctioned.”

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDAR :—“Was any recommendation made by the Collector of the district for sinking wells in the taluks concerned as one of the relief measures?”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—

“Though it is not covered by the original question, I may inform the hon. Member that no such report was received.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“In addition to the remission of kist in these areas, have the Government taken any practical steps to solve the problem of unemployment in these areas?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question.”

Credit facilities to primary weavers' co-operative societies.

* 23 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH : Will the Hon. the Minister for Co-operation be pleased to state what steps the Government have taken so far to provide additional credit facilities to primary weavers' co-operative societies during dull seasons?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“The weavers' co-operative societies have provision in their by-laws for borrowing from co-operative urban banks and others. According to this provision, they may apply to co-operative central banks for cash, credit, accommodation to meet their needs. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies has also issued a circular to central banks requesting them to finance the weavers' societies on the pledge of their stocks consistent with business prudence.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“The question was what steps the Government had taken so far to provide additional credit facilities to primary weavers' co-operative societies. The question does not refer to facilities that already exist under the Act. May I know whether the Hon. Minister is prepared to answer this question straight?”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“Sir, the hon. Gentleman knows that recently a High Power Committee was set up by the Government in which the representatives of the weavers were there, and the Committee recommended a particular scheme to the Government and the Government have approved it. According to the scheme, the weavers are eligible for certain credit facilities.”

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SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ The High Power Committee has not considered the question of giving adequate financial resources to the primary weavers' co-operative societies. My question is this. Now the funds of the societies including the borrowings from the financing banks are locked up in stocks. How are the Government going to help the primary societies to continue their production? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ The additional facility that has been afforded by the new scheme is that the co-operative societies can borrow money from the central banks on the pledge of their stocks. But some of the central banks may not be willing to give money on account of the fall in prices because they are likely to lose. But according to this scheme, the Government guarantee the loans advanced to the co-operative societies.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Is there any limit which the Government have fixed for advancing loans to these co-operative societies under the new scheme? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ I want to have notice.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ There is no such procedure of goods being pledged with the co-operative financing banks and loans being obtained from them by the weavers' co-operative societies. Now there is provision in the by-laws under which the co-operative societies can obtain loans to the extent of eight times their paid-up share capital but the central banks are refusing to give loans. Also some weavers' co-operative societies are not getting loans . . . ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member is making a speech. He should straight way put the question.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ Are the Government aware of the fact that the co-operative societies in Kakinada area are refused credit by the Kakinada Central Bank, and may I know what the Government propose to do to finance those societies? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ I am getting for the first time now the information with regard to the refusal of loans by a certain bank mentioned by the hon. Gentleman. I shall take adequate steps in the matter.”

Recommendations of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee.

* 24 Q.—SRI K. T. KOSALRAM : Will the Hon. the Minister for Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) why the Government have not implemented the recommendations of the Sri Subramaniam Land Revenue Reforms Committee; and

(b) when do the Government propose to implement the recommendations?

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ (a) & (b) The recommendations of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee are being examined by the Government. The question of implementing the recommendations of the Committee will be taken up after the Government arrive at a decision on its recommendations.”

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—“ May I ask whether the Government will be pleased to allot a day to consider the recommendations of this Committee on the floor of the House itself? ” 10-45 a.m.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I am afraid it is too premature now to give a reply to the question put by the hon. Member.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know when the Government received the report of this Committee? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I do not exactly remember the date. But, I may inform the hon. Member that it might be a few months ago.”

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ ఆ రిపోర్టును ప్రజలకు సమర్పించు అంశమేమిట? ”

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ The hon. Member wants to know whether the report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee can be supplied to the hon. Members of this House.”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Sir, there is time enough to consider that question.”

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ Is it not a fact that the report has already been printed? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member knows English now.” (Laughter.)

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know whether the Hon. Minister is aware that the report was already published and placed before the previous Assembly? Many of the hon. Members of this House are new and there are only 31 old Members in this House consisting of 375 Members. Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to supply the Members of this House as well with copies of that report? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I thank the hon. Member for the valuable information that he has given. I will consider the latter question.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Do the Government know that as soon as the report was published, thousands of persons have been evicted from their lands and holdings and do the Government propose to take any steps immediately to stop these evictions? ”

[2nd July 1952]

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I do not grant the premises of the hon. Member."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" ఈ కమిటీ రాసు వేంద్రాపు కమిటీ రిపోర్టు ప్రకటించబడిందిగా సూచించింది. ఇదిగారికి ఒకసారి ఆ రిపోర్టును అవసరమైతే ప్రకటిస్తామని ప్రభుత్వం వారు చెప్పిఉన్నారు. కనుక ఆ రిపోర్టును సభ్యులకు అందిస్తారా. లేక ప్రకటిస్తారా ? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" It was answered already. I do not know whether copies are available. The Government will, however, consider the hon. Member's request."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" May I know whether the Government have received reports regarding the evictions following the publication of the report of that Committee or not? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I would like to have notice."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Questions are over."

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

II.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (DISCUSSION CONTINUED).

MR. SPEAKER :—" The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the Confidence Motion. The hon. Member Sri Govinda Rao may continue his speech."

* SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" అధ్యక్షా, స్పీకర్ గారు నేను చెప్పకు పండించే రైతులపట్ల ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంత నిర్దయగా వర్తిస్తున్నదో మనవి చేసుకున్నాను. భూస్వాములు పెట్టుబడిదారులు ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి స్నేహపూర్వకంగా వారని అనుకుంటుంటే ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులవద్ద డబ్బు లేకంటే జాలిపడే ఈ ప్రభుత్వం రైతాంగం దగ్గర మాత్రం డబ్బు ఉండొ లేదో గుర్తించు. వారికి కావలసినదల్లా భూస్వామి, పెట్టుబడిదారు సౌఖ్యముగా తిండి తింటున్నారా లేదా అనే విషయమే. యధికాలంలో ఈ ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులు ఎంతో డబ్బు సంపాదించారో, వందదారను దొంగ మార్కెటులో అమ్మి ఒక్క ముంగా ఎంత లాభాలు గడించారో గ్రహించగోరుతాను. ఘర్ కంట్లోలు అర్థులకు వ్యతిరేకంగా మిల్లు యజమానులు ప్రవర్తించినా వారిని ప్రభుత్వము ఎందుకు శిక్షించదు అని అడుగుతున్నాను. రైతులు ముందుగానే చెరుకును ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులకు ఇవ్వాలి. కాని ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులు తమకు వీలైనప్పుడు తమకు గిట్టుబాటు అవుతుందని కోచిన ధర కట్టి రైతులకు ఇస్తారని. ఎక్కో వ్యయప్రయాసలకు ఓర్చి రైతు జీవించటానికి వుండిస్తున్నాడు కాని, అగడు ఎంత పెట్టుబడి పెట్టాడు, ఎంత కష్టపడ్డాడు, అనే విషయం ప్రభుత్వానికి అక్కరలేదు. కావలసిన దల్లా ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులకు ఎంత వెల అయితే గిట్టుబాటు అవుతుంది అనేదే? ఈ

[2nd July 1952] [Sri K. Govinda Rao]

అభిప్రాయమునైనా ఆధారపడి చెరుకు ధర నిర్ణయించుకుంటుంది. డబ్బుఇచ్చినా, ఇవ్వకపోయినా రైతు తన చెరుకును మిల్లు యజమానులకు ఇచ్చి తీరాలి. ఇదేనా న్యాయం? ఇదేనా ధర్మం? మా జిల్లాలోని తుమ్మపాల, బొబ్బిలి పాక్లరీలకు రైతులు జనవరి, ఫిబ్రవరి మాసాలలో చెరుకు ఇచ్చారు. ఈనాటికి ఆప్పుడే ఆరు మాసములు అయినది. ఇంతవరకూ వారికి డబ్బు ఇవ్వలేదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో రైతు ఏ విధంగా వచ్చే సంవత్సరం పంట పండించగలడో అర్థం కావడం లేదు. ఇప్పుడైనా మా డబ్బు మాకు ఇవ్వండియ్యా, అంటే, ఎప్పుడో రెండు నాలుదాలలో ఇస్తామంటున్నారు. ఇటీవల కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం, దాని అణగారినా మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వం ఏప్రిల్ 24 తర్వాత సప్లయచేసిన చెరుకుకు రెండు నాలుదాలలో చెల్లించమని ఆర్డరు జారీ చేసింది. కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రంలో చెరుకు పంట ఎప్పుడు crush చేస్తారో ఏమీ తెలియదనుకుంటాను. ఏ.యం.సి. లోన్, ఏ.బీ.హెచ్. లోన్ చెరుకు crushing season గమనించి దానినిబట్టే దేశానికి అంతికి వారు ఆర్డరు ప్యాసుచేస్తారు. మన రాష్ట్రంలో చెరుకు సీజన్ సెంటరులో ప్రారంభమై మార్చి అధిరువరకు వుంటుందని వాగ్ధి తెలియదు కాబోలు. ఇంతవరకూ రైతులకు డబ్బు ఇవ్వకపోతే వారు ఏవిధంగా బాధలు పడుతూ ఉంటారో, అత్యుత్పాదకు ఏ ఇబ్బందులుపడుతూ ఉంటారో, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంగాని, రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వంగాని గుర్తించినట్లు లేదు. ఈ విషయమై ఎన్ని రిప్రజెంటేషన్లు చేసినప్పటికీ ఫలితం లేకుండా ఉన్నది. ఈ విధంగా రైతులను సప్లయచేడం భవిష్యత్తు అని నేను శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని అడుగుతున్నాను.

" ఇక పన్నులు విధించే విషయం గమనించండి. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చినారంటే నేనే సామాన్య ప్రజానీకమంతా భయపడ్డాను. ఆయనకు పేదవారిపై అధిక పన్ను భారంవేయడం మూలమే నెలుసు. మన దేశంలోని రైతాంగంలో చాలాభాగం పేదవారు. యాభై రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించే రైతుపై హెచ్చు పన్నులు విధిపడలవారు. వందలాది ఎకరములభూమి ఉన్నవారిపై అధికంగా పన్నులు విధిస్తే చెల్లించుకోగలరు. కాని వది ఎకరముల లోపు భూమి ఉన్న వారిపై పన్ను విధిస్తే అగడు ఏవిధంగా చెల్లించుకోగలడో ఆయన గుర్తించినట్లు లేదు. వేలాది ఎకరాల భూమిలో కాఫీ లోటలు, టీ లోటలు వేసుకొని మాలిలను వీల్చి అందు మూలంగా లక్షలాది, కోట్లాది లాభాలు సంపాదించి, ఆ లాభాలను ప్రాశస్త్యదేశాలకు తరలించుకొనిపోతున్న విదేశీయులపై అలా ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు అధికంగా పన్నులు విధించదు? గిట్టుబాటు కాని వ్యవసాయాన్ని వేరు జీవనాధారం లేక కొనసాగిస్తున్న పేద రైతుపై సరిచార్జీ విధించటానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎన్నడూ వెనుకాడదు. కాని ప్రాశస్త్య పెట్టుబడిదారులంటే భయపడుతుంది. పెద్ద భూస్వాములంటే, పెద్ద పారిశ్రామికులంటే ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికిగల స్నేహభావమే దీనికి కారణం. యీ పెట్టుబడిదారులంటే ప్రభుత్వమునకు భయం. వాగిన పన్ను విధిస్తే ఏమి విమర్శలు వస్తాయో అనే జంతు. యిక చిన్నరైతులు యీ ప్రభుత్వానికి ముప్పెట్టుకున్నా ఆలకించరు. వారి ముఠలు, ఇబ్బందులు వి ప్రతికూల ప్రకటించవు. ఎవరైనా పేదవారు భాగవతుడున్నారయ్యా అంటే ఆ విధంగా తెచ్చేవారందరినీ యీ ప్రభుత్వం కమ్యూనిస్టులని నిందిస్తుంది. కమ్యూనిస్టు భయభావాన్ని కల్పించడం, కమ్యూనిస్టుల పేరుతో సామాన్య రైతాంగాన్ని నానా యిబ్బందుల పాలుచేయడం, ఈ ప్రభుత్వం అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానం. యిదే విధంగా రైతులపై బెరుకెంటుటాకు అని పన్ను విధిస్తున్నారు. ఈ పన్ను యొక్క అంతర్యం ఏమిటి? రైతుపైన మాయలేసంతభారం వేయబడుతుంది. చివరకు రైతు తన పొలాన్ని తానే కొనుక్కున్నట్లు పరిస్థితులు

[2nd July 1952]

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I do not grant the premises of the hon. Member."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—" ఈ కమిటీ రాసు వేంద్రాపు కమిటీ రిపోర్టు ప్రకటించబడిందిగా సూచించింది. ఇదివరకు ఒకసారి ఆ రిపోర్టును అవసరమైతే ప్రకటనమని ప్రభుత్వంవారు చెప్పిఉన్నారు. కనుక ఆ రిపోర్టును సభ్యులకు అందించేస్తారా. లేక ప్రకటనారా ? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" It was answered already. I do not know whether copies are available. The Government will, however, consider the hon. Member's request."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" May I know whether the Government have received reports regarding the evictions following the publication of the report of that Committee or not? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I would like to have notice."

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

II.—GOVERNMENT MOTION.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (DISCUSSION CONTINUED).

MR. SPEAKER :—" The next item on the agenda is the discussion on the Confidence Motion. The hon. Member Sri Govinda Rao may continue his speech."

* SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" అధ్యక్షా, నిన్నటి రోజున నేను చెబుకు పండించే రైతులపట్ల ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎంత నిర్దయగా వర్తిస్తున్నదో మనవి చేసుకున్నాను. భూస్వాములు పెట్టుబడిదారు ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి స్నేహభరితంగా వారని అనుకుంటుంటే ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులపట్ల డబ్బు లేకుంటే వారిపట్ల ఈ ప్రభుత్వం రైతాంగం దగ్గర మాత్రం డబ్బు ఉంటే లేదో గుర్తించు. వారికి కావలసినదల్లా భూస్వామి, పెట్టుబడిదారు సౌఖ్యముగా తిండి తింటున్నారా లేదా అనే విషయము. యుద్ధకాలంలో ఈ ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులు ఎంతెంత డబ్బు సంపాదించారో, వందలవేలలకు దొంగ మార్కెటులో అమ్మి ఒక ముంగా ఎంత లాభాలు గడించారో గ్రహించగోరుతాను. ఘర్ కేంద్రాలు అర్థులకు వ్యతిరేకంగా మిల్లు యజమానులు ప్రవర్తించినా వారిని ప్రభుత్వము ఎందుకు శిక్షించదు అని అడుగుతున్నాను. రైతులు కుండుగానే చెరుకును ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులకు ఇచ్చాలి. కాని ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులు తమకు ఏరైనప్పడు తమకు గిట్టుకాదు అవుతుందని రోచిన ధర కట్టి రైతులకు ఇస్తారని. ఎక్కో వ్యయప్రయాసలకు పూర్తి రైతు జీవించటానికి వదిలిపెట్టాడు కాని, అతడు ఎంత పెట్టుబడి పెట్టాడు, ఎంత కష్టపడ్డాడు, అనే విషయం ప్రభుత్వానికి అక్కరలేదు. కావలసిన దల్లా ఫాక్టరీ యజమానులకు ఎంత వెల అయితే గిట్టుకాదు అవుతుంది అనేదే? ఈ

[2nd July 1952] [Sri K. Govinda Rao]

అభిప్రాయమునైనా ఆధారపడి చెరుకు ధర నిర్ణయించబడుతుంది. డబ్బుఇచ్చినా, ఇవ్వక పోయినా రైతు తన చెరుకును మిల్లు యజమానులకు ఇచ్చి తీరాలి. ఇదేనా న్యాయం? ఇదేనా ధర్మం? మా జిల్లాలోని తుమ్మపాల, బొబ్బిలి పాక్లరీలకు రైతులు జనవరి, ఫిబ్రవరి మాసాలలో చెరుకు ఇచ్చారు. ఈనాటికి ఆప్పుడే ఆరు మాసములు అయినది. ఇంతవరకూ వారికి డబ్బు ఇవ్వలేదు. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో రైతు ఏ విధంగా ఏచ్చే సంవత్సరం పంట పండించగలడో అర్థం కాకడం లేదు. ఇప్పుడైనా మా డబ్బు మాకు ఇవ్వడయ్యా, అంటే, ఎప్పుడో రెండు వాయిదాలలో ఇస్తా ముంటున్నారు. టిటికల కేంద్రప్రభుత్వం, దాని అణగారినా మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వం ఏప్రిల్ 24 తర్వాత సప్లయ్ చేసిన చెరుకుకు రెండు వాయిదాలలో చెల్లించ మని అర్థం జారీ చేసింది. కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రంలో చెరుకు పంట ఎప్పుడు crush చేస్తారో ఏమీ తెలియవనుకుంటాను. ఏ యు.పి. లోన్, ఏ వీహెర్ లోన్ చెరుకు crushing season గమనించి దానినిబట్టే దేశానికి అంతికి వారు అర్థం చేసుకునేస్తారు. మన రాష్ట్రంలో చెరుకు సీజన్ నవంబరులో ప్రారంభమై మార్చి అఖిరువరకు త్రుంటుందని వారికి తెలియదు కాబోలు. ఇంతవరకూ రైతులకు డబ్బు ఇవ్వకపోతే వారు ఏవిధంగా బాధలు పడుతూ ఉంటారో, అప్పుట్టుటుకు ఏ ఇబ్బందులుపడుతూ ఉంటారో, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంగాని, రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వంగాని గుర్తించినట్లు లేదు. ఈ విషయమై ఎన్ని రిప్రజెంటేషన్లు చేసినప్పటికీ ఫలితం లేకుండా ఉన్నది. ఈ విధంగా రైతులను సప్లయ్ వరకు భావ్యతా అని నేను శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి అడుగుతున్నాను.

" ఇక వస్తున్న విధించే విషయం గమనించండి. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చినారంటేనే సామాన్య ప్రజానీకమంతా భయపడ్డారు. ఆయనకు పేదవారిపై అధిక వస్తు భారంవేయడం మాత్రమే తెలుసు. మన దేశంలోని రైతాంగం లో చాలాభాగం పేదవారు. యాదై రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించే రైతుపై హక్కు వస్తులు విధిపడలచాలు. వందలాది ఎకరములభూమి ఉన్నవారిపై అధికంగా వస్తులు విధిస్తే చెల్లించుకోగలరు. కాని వది ఎకరముల లోపు భూమి ఉన్న వారిపై వస్తు విధిస్తే అతడు ఏవిధంగా చెల్లించుకోగలడో ఆయన గుర్తించినట్లు లేదు. వేలాది ఎకరాల భూమిలో కాఫీ రోటలు, టీ రోటలు వేసుకొని మాలిను కీర్తి అందు మూలంగా లక్షలాది, కోట్లాది లాభాలు సంపాదించి, ఆ లాభాలను ప్రాశస్త్యదేశాలకు తరలించుకొనిపోతున్న విదేశీయులపై అలా ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు అధికంగా వస్తులు విధించదు? గిట్టుకాదు కాని వ్యవసాయాన్ని వేరు జీవనాధారం లేక కొనసాగిస్తున్న పేద రైతుపై సరిచార్జీ విధించటానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎన్నడూ వెనుకాడదు. కాని ప్రాశస్త్య పెట్టుబడిదారులంటే భయపడుతుంది. పెద్ద భూస్వాములంటే, పెద్ద పారిశ్రామికులంటే ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికిగల స్నేహభావమే దీనికి కారణం. యీ పెట్టుబడిదారులంటే ప్రభుత్వమునకు భయం. వారిపై వస్తు విధిస్తే ఏమి విమర్శలు వస్తాయో అనే భయం. యిక చిన్నరైతులు యీ ప్రభుత్వానికి మురపెట్టుకున్నా ఆల కించరు. వారి మురలు, ఇబ్బందులు ఏ పులికలు ప్రకటించవు. ఎవరైనా పేదవారు బాధపడుతున్నారయ్యా అంటే ఆ విధంగా తెచ్చేకారందరినీ యీ ప్రభుత్వం కమ్యూనిస్టులని నిందిస్తుంది. కమ్యూనిస్టు భయోత్పాతాన్ని కల్పించడం, కమ్యూనిస్టుల పేరుతో సామాన్య రైతాంగాన్ని నానా యిబ్బందుల పాలుచేయడం, ఈ ప్రభుత్వం అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానం. యిదే విధంగా రైతులపై వెటర్నాయుటాక్సు అని వస్తు విధిస్తున్నారు. ఈ వస్తు యొక్క అంతర్యం ఏమిటి? రైతుపై నాయకత్వంవారి వేయబడుతుంది. చివరకు రైతు తన పొలాన్ని తానే కొనుక్కున్నట్లు పరిస్థితులు

[Sri K. Govinda Rao]

[2nd July 1952]

మారుతాయి. వేలాది ఎకరాల భూవసతి ఉన్న భూస్వాములు ఎంత వత్సేనా చెల్లించుకోగలరు. కాని సన్నకారు ఎరకు ఎక్కడనుంచి ఇంత హక్కు మొత్తం తెచ్చి యివ్వగలడు? ఈ వెటర్నంబు టాక్సు అనేది ఎరకులు నీటివసతి కలుగజేయ మని అడుగుకుండా ఎత్తుమాత్రమే. ఎవరైనా నీటివసతులు కల్పించమని అడిగితే మీరు ఇంత హక్కు మొత్తం చెల్లించుకొండి, అప్పుడే యీ తనలు చేయగలుగుతాం, అని చెప్పి ఎరకులను నిరుత్సాహపరచి ఇక ఎన్నడు నీటి వసతులు ఏర్పరచవలసిందని అడుగుకుండా చేయటమే యీ విధానం అనుసరించడమే అని అదేవిధంగా బస్ ప్రయాణీకులపై కూడా హక్కు పన్నులు విధింపబడుతున్నాయి. బస్సులలో ప్రయాణించేవారు సాధారణంగా మధ్య తరగతికి, పేదవర్గానికి చెందినవారు. కాబట్టి సామాన్య ప్రజలపై కొత్తపన్నులు విధించడం విమంశ భావ్యమే, అలాచింత గోరుతాను. వైకి మాత్రం మొలకు ఒక వైశా అధికం అని చెప్పబడే యీ పన్ను కొంచెమనే మనకు కన్పిస్తుంది కాని, ఆవరణలో చూచినట్లయితే యిప్పుడి బస్సు చార్జీలు నూటికి యాభైవంతులు పెరిగి హచ్చించబడతాయి. ఈ పన్ను మూలంగా బస్ ఓనర్లు యింకా హక్కులేవ్లు వసూలుచేయడానికి సావకాశం ఉంది. ఎవరైనా రేట్లు హక్కులేవారని అడిగితే యీ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమే ఈ తని చేసింది, మమ్ములను విమి చేయమంటారు అని చెబుతారు. ఈ పన్ను సాకుతో బస్ యంత్ర మానులు అధికలాభాలు సంపాదించుకోటానికి ఎంతో వీలుంది. ప్రజాసామాన్యంపై ఈ పన్నులన్నీ వేయటానికి కారణం విమిటి? దీనికంతకు ఒకే ఒక సమాధానం 4 రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు చెబుతారు. మధ్యపాన నిషేధం అమలు చేశాం, 17, 18 రోట్లు మామాయలు ఆదాయంగా తాము వచ్చింది. ఆ తాము ఛార్జీ చేసుకో టానికి పన్నులు వేస్తున్నాం అని ఆయన సమాధానం ఇస్తాడు. మధ్యపాన నిషేధం వల్ల చాగుపడేవారు? మధ్యపాన నిషేధంవల్ల పిరున్నా ఉపయోగం కలుగు తున్నదా? అన్న విషయాన్ని ఆయన గుర్తించాడు. దేశంలో మధ్య పానాన్ని రూపుమాపుతాం అని ప్రగల్భాలు చెప్పేటంతవరకే యీ విధానం. మధ్యపానమనేది యీ ప్రభుత్వం కాదుగదా, మరే ప్రభుత్వమైన శాసనం మూలంగా నిర్మించబడలేదు. ఈ నాడు మా విశాఖపట్టణం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు రీనికొనండి. ఎన్నో వేల కేసులు ఈ నాడు మా విశాఖపట్టణం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు రీనికొనండి. ఎన్నో వేల కేసులు పట్టుకున్నామని ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులు అంటున్నారు. వాస్తవమేమిటోనో సంగతికి వందల రెట్లుగా దొంగతనంగా సారాయి తయారుచేయబడుతోంది. ఇది మంచి లాభసాటియైన గృహపరిశ్రమగా మారిపోయింది ఇదివరకు ఏ చాటునో చాటునో త్రాగేవారు. ఈ నాడు సర్వే సర్వత్ర, వృద్ధులు, స్త్రీలు, పిల్లలుకూడా ఈ తని చేస్తున్నారు. యిదొక మంచి వ్యాపారమైపోయింది. ఈ వర్తకాన్ని భాగ్యవంతు లైన పెట్టుబడిదార్లు పడుతున్నారు. ప్రజా సామాన్యంయొక్క ఆర్థిక స్థితిని కాగు పరచి, మధ్యపానం మంచిది కాదని ప్రచారం జరిపించి ఈ దురల్యాయిని మాన్పిం చుటకు ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నించాలి. కాని శాసన రూపంలో దానిని అరికట్టటానికి ప్రయత్నిస్తే ఎన్నడూ అది కొన సాగదు. ప్రజలలో మధ్యపాన నిషేధంవల్ల అనుకూల వాతావరణం వేడు. ఈ యదార్థ విషయాన్ని గుర్తించాలి. నిజంగా జయప్రదంకాని యీ మధ్యపాన నిషేధ వట్టాన్ని అమలు జరుపుటకుగాను ఖర్చు చేస్తున్న మొత్తంలో మా జిల్లాలో ఎన్నో మైనర్ ఇరిగేషన్ పనులు చేయించవచ్చు. తరుగు జిల్లాలైన విశాఖపట్టణం, శ్రీకాకుళం పట్టణాలలో ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఎటువంటి నీటి వసతులు కల్పించలేదు. పిరుయ్యా, అంటే మధ్యపాన నిషేధంవల్ల ఆదాయంలో లాభిస్తోంది, మేమేమి చేయగలమని ప్రభుత్వం అంటుంది. మధ్యపాన నిషేధాన్ని కొలగించి ముందు నీటి వసతులు కల్పించటానికి ప్రయత్నం చేయటం ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను.

[2nd July 1952] [Sri K. Govinda Rao]

“ఇక య్.జి.ఓ.ల విషయం చూడండి. జీవన వ్యయ ప్రమాణంలో ఎంతో హక్కుదల కన్పిస్తున్న ప్రభుత్వం తన ఆఫీసర్ల జీతాలు, భత్యాలు అభివృద్ధిపరచడం లేదు. అసంతృప్తిపాడైన ఉద్యోగులు ఏ విధంగా తమ కర్తవ్యాన్ని నిర్వహిస్తూ ఉండగలరో ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించాలి. ఒకే రకమైన పనికి ఒకే రకమైన జీతంయివ్వాలి, అనే సూత్రం ఏమైపోయింది. రాజ్యాంగ చట్టంలో గొప్పగా చెప్పే సమావేశానికి ఎక్కడ ఆస్కారముంది? ప్రభుత్వం నికరయోగమైన మద్యపాన నిషేధంవంటి కథకాలు అమలు జరిపి ఈ విధంగా తమ ఉద్యోగలకుకూడా సరియైన జీతాలివ్వలేక పోతున్నది. సంతృప్తి పడని తాబేదారులతో ప్రభుత్వం నిర్దుష్టంగా పరిపాలనను కొన సాగించగలదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. తక్కువ జీతాలిచ్చి ఉద్యోగస్థులలో అవి స్థితిని తెంపుచేయడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం దోహదమిస్తోంది. ఉదాహరణగా 1948 గాంధీ తనం పెరిగిపోతోంది. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగులు లంచాలు తీసికొంటున్నారంటే ప్రభుత్వంకూడా కొంతవరకు బాధంత పడిపోయింది. పరిపాలనను యీ విధంగా వ్యభాధిచారియానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా కొనసాగించే విధానాన్ని ఏ విధంగా ప్రజలు విశ్వసించగలరని అడుగుతున్నాను. 4) రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి పిజ్జామీదగాని, వ్యభాధిచారియమీదగాని ఎటువంటి విశ్వాసంలేదని గట్టిగా వస్తున్నాను. ఆయన విధానమంతా నియంతృత్వమే. ఆయన చెప్పిందే పరిపాలన ఒప్పుకొని తీరాలి. ప్రజలు ఈ విధంగా అనుకొంటున్నారయ్యా అంటే ఆయన విషమ. ప్రజా ప్రతి నిధుల వర్ణలను విశ్రాంతులైనా వైగా నిందిస్తాడు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఆర్థికస్థల వ్యాపారపన్నులు విధిస్తుంది, పరిపాలన కొనసాగిస్తుంది. నిరంతర విధానమే 4) రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వంయొక్క విశిష్ట లక్షణం. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వం మీద ఏ విధంగా విశ్వాసం వుండని ప్రకటించగలం. ఇప్పటికైనా ప్రభుత్వం పరి స్థితులను గుర్తించి నెలైట్ వే కమిషన్ నిర్ణయించిన జీత భత్యాలు యివ్వవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను.

“డి-కంట్రోలు చేశాం, ప్రజలకు యిబ్బందులు తొలగిపోతాయి అని 4) రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అంటున్నారు. ఈ డి-కంట్రోలువల్ల లాభించేది ఎవరికి? తాత్కాలికంగా ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజలను మోసపువ్వటానికి కొంతవరకు వర్తకులు తక్కువ ధర లకు అమ్ముకొంటుండవచ్చు. ఈ సరికే చాలా భాగ్యం వర్తకులు కొని నిలువచేశారు. ఒకటి రెండు మాసాలలో భాగ్యం ఎక్కడా కనపడకుండా పోతుంది. అప్పుడు వర్త కులు చెప్పినంత ధర యిచ్చి కొనుక్కోవాలి. ధరలో నానాటికి పెరిగి పోతాయి. ప్రజానీకం వర్తకుల దయదాక్షిణ్యాలమీద ఆధారపడిఉంటుంది. తరుగు జిల్లాలలో డి-కంట్రోలు వర్తకపానం యిలాగే వుంటుంది. రాయలసీమలోవరే ప్రజలు గంజైనా దొరకక చాలా బాధపడవలసి వస్తుందేమిటాదా. జిల్లాలలో తగినంత భాగ్యంలేదు. ప్రభుత్వంకూడా ఈసరికే చాలాభాగ్యం ప్రాప్త్యార్ చేశారు. ఈ పరిస్థితు లలో డి-కంట్రోలుచేసి పేద వాళ్లను వర్తకుల దయదాక్షిణ్యాలకు ఎదలివేయడంలో రాజనీతికై ఏమీ చేయడంలేదు.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర విషయం చూద్దాం. ఎంతోకాలంనుంచి ఆంధ్రులు రాష్ట్రాన్ని కోరుతున్నారు. కాని ఇంతవరకు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ఏమీ చేస్తోంది. ఈనాడు రాయలసీమ అని, సర్కార్ అని రిభేదాలు కల్పించడానికి 4) రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నిస్తోంది. విభజించి పాలించడం అనేదానిలో 4) రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు బ్రీటిష్ వాళ్ల పాలిసీని త. జ. తప్పకుండా అనుసరిస్తున్నారు. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వంపై ఆంధ్రుడైన వాడు ఎవడైనా వివిధంగా విశ్వాసం చూపుతాడో నాకేమి అర్థం కావడంలేదు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వంపై ఎందుకు విశ్వాసముంచాలని అడగ

[Sri K. Govinda Rao]

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కున్నాను అంత రాష్ట్రం ఇవ్వడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం సిద్ధంగా ఉన్నదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. 4 రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అందుకు అంకితంపడని నాకు తెలుసు. కారణం యిది ప్రజావ్యతిరేక ప్రభుత్వం. ప్రజాని మతాన్ని త్రోసిపుచ్చే ప్రభుత్వం. ప్రజలను బలవంతంగా, నిర్దాక్షిణ్యంగా హింసించే ప్రభుత్వం.

“ఇక మంత్రులకు ఆయా శాఖలను యివ్వడంకోసం వారి విధులను నిర్వచించడం లోనూ 4 రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు వివి విధానాలను అనుసరిస్తున్నారో గమనించవలసివుంది. విద్యాశాఖ మంత్రియైన కృష్ణగారు శాఖ కార్యకలాపాలలో మేరక మంత్రి కోర్కె కల్పించుకోవచ్చు. కారణమేమయ్యా అంటే తమిళ జిల్లాలకు సంబంధించిన విషయాలు కృష్ణ గారితో తెలియకపోవచ్చుననే కారణంచేత మేరక తమిళ మంత్రితో సలహా, సంప్రదింపులు చేయటంకై ఈ విధానం అని చెప్పుచున్నాడు. అదే విధంగా ఆరవ మంత్రిలకు తెలియని విషయాలపై తెలుగు మంత్రులు సలహా యివ్వటానికి విధానం ఏమైనా చేశారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ విషయాల్ని చూస్తే ఆంధ్రులట్లు, ఆంధ్ర మంత్రులట్లు, 4 రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి ఎటువంటి అధికారం గమనింపవచ్చు. ఆంధ్రులను అన్ని విధాల అణగారొక్కనదే ఈ ప్రభుత్వం. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వంపై ఎవరు విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించరు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం తొలగించబడితేనే కాని ఆంధ్రులకు అభివృద్ధిలేదు. ఆంధ్రులపట్ల 4 రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి విశ్వాసం లేదు. ఇక ఆంధ్రులు ఆయనను విశ్వసించరని గట్టగా చెబుతున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I must tell the House that I have reduced the time-limit for speeches to ten minutes.”

SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIAR:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Motion with great reluctance because though I am one of those who did not want a Congress Ministry, when it became inevitable that a Congress Ministry would be formed, I welcomed one under the leadership of the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, for a known devil was always better than an unknown devil. There are other reasons also why I oppose this Motion with reluctance. We are asked to judge this Ministry's competence on the past record of the Congress and not on the present achievements of the Ministry. And if the past record is taken, I do not think there is anything to their credit. It is also admitted on all hands that the past Congress Ministries have blundered and we are in the present state of affairs because of their blunders.

“Then, Sir, the Hon. the Chief Minister is said to be a man of tact and talent, but that tact and talent are not used for the benefit of the nation but for the promotion of his pet schemes and theories which are based not on any well-known doctrines of economics or reason, but on the dictates of his inner voice and instinct. Because of these, he goes about the country like a school master with the proverbial cane in his hand teaching faith cure. Let us take up the Prohibition policy of the Government. The Hon. the Chief Minister said at Salem when some people approached him with a request to scrap Prohibition that he would consult the people, the Members of the Legislature and other interests and see if he could revise the policy. But when he went to Coimbatore, I find, he suddenly changed his opinion. When some local body presented him with an Address and suggested scrapping of Prohibition, he told them that they should not ask him to

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give up Prohibition. This seems to be a peculiar democracy. Democracy that I have known requires that leaders should be responsive to public opinion. But here the Hon. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari asks the public to be responsive to his opinion. Therefore I believe that a Ministry under his leadership can never be a democratic one. Sir, on the day he was elected leader of the party which is in power, he declared that the Congress Government could not by itself function because there were only 152 members who did not constitute a majority, and so they had to think of a coalition with other parties. Now I do not know what the character of the present Ministry is. I find fourteen Members of the Government Party do not belong to the Congress but to another party and my esteemed Friend, Mr. Manickavelu Naicker is also sitting along with the Congress Members. Yet it is not called a Coalition Ministry. They persist in calling it a Congress Ministry.

“Then, Sir, he said that there would be no fresh taxes. Now we have a Budget presented to us by the Hon. the Leader of the House, Mr. C. Subramaniam, in which fresh taxes are envisaged. Not only that. The leader of the party goes about saying that even womenfolk must be prepared to sell their jewels and pay taxes. If, on these declarations, we vote for the Motion, I feel that more than half of the population of this State who are women will be against us and we will not enjoy their confidence. Further, every time he declares that he retires from active politics, it is a sure indication that he is coming back to power. In 1936, he declared that he was dissatisfied with his colleagues like Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and retired to his Ashram at Tiruchengode. But in 1937 he came back, became Premier and led the majority party, which rule was reputed to be very autocratic because of the large majority the party had behind it. Again in 1946 he tried to become Chief Minister but he was frustrated in his attempts. He became Governor of West Bengal and then Governor-General, and then returned here, saying that he had retired for engaging himself in Tamil literature. But once again he went back to the Central Government and then returned saying that he would spend his retirement in peace and doing some literary work. We thought that we would have great literary works from him like ‘Vyasir Virundhu’. But we are disappointed. He does not act up to his declarations. He does not take the House into his confidence. He simply goes about saying, ‘Have faith in God and I will bring in the millennium’. How, Sir, is he going to bring it in? We do not know. His thoughts are too deep for poor mortals like us to understand. It was, however, expected that his leadership of the Government might bring about a change for the better in the administration. But unfortunately I find no change. The administration has not been toned up. The police atrocities are still there and the victims, so far as my constituency is concerned, are those who worked against the Congress candidate during the recent election. Sir, recently stones were pelted at a bus near a village called Pernambat. The Police came, entered the houses of persons who were known to

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of parliamentary democracy, it speaks of the vaingloriousness and the sense of egoism from which the Hon. the Chief Minister is suffering, because this is not opportune moment when he should introduce such a Motion, especially when the Budget for the whole financial year is before the House. The confidence reposed in him might as well have been established by the passing of the Budget. So it is an additional and unnecessary expense at this time to discuss a Confidence Motion of this type. Sir, this sense of egoism is characteristic of him and it has manifested itself on many occasions in his life. For example, I would like to take you back to the days of 1942, when the Congress High Command, Gandhiji including, was terribly opposed to the division of India. Our Chief Minister, then a Member of the Congress Working Committee, opposed that. He wanted that India should be divided. He went about the country advocating the division of India so that independence might be gained immediately or at an early date. Some nationalists and patriots opposed him saying: 'Do you feel that you are so great, or greater than Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru or Prasad or the Members of the Working Committee put together?'. Then he emphatically said: 'Of course, why not'. That is the sense of egoism and the superiority complex he always has. Now he recognizes only the Congress and the Communist Parties as the parties that exist in this House."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"On a point of order, Sir. Is a Member allowed to read a written speech. The hon. Member is reading a speech."

MR. SPEAKER:—"He is only referring to his notes. Let the hon. Member continue."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"May I beg of you, Sir, and through you the Members of the House not to raise such points because most of the Members speak here for the first time and we might wink at these things even if they happen?"

SRI M. VENKATASUBBA REDDI:—"I thank the Hon. the Chief Minister for the help he has rendered to me. Now, Sir, he said that there are only two parties, the Communist and the Congress, and that he is enemy No. 1 of the Communist Party. But in fact, I am sure, it is not so, because in 1942 when the Communist Party was working against the National Movement, and when the whole Congress was saying that the war was an imperialist war, the Communist Party went about saying that it was a people's war. Then our Rajaji was opposing the Congress and he was one with the Communists. When the Communists tried to re-enter the Congress he was trying to get them admitted into the Congress. When the Congress was trying to oppose tooth and nail the re-entry of the Communists, the Communists reposed the utmost confidence in Rajaji, and appointed him as one of their ambassadors to negotiate with the Congress. They asked him and Sarojini Devi to negotiate with the Congress and get admission for them in that organization. Because it suited him then he aligned himself with the Communist Party and he gained the

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confidence of the Communist Party so much that he wanted to exploit their support at the time he was opposing the Congress. He was one with them because it suited him then. To-day he says that he is opposed to the Communists and that that party is his enemy No. 1. The hon. Member Mr. Anthony Pillai said that a day might come when the Communist Party also might come out with its pro-capitalist policies and that it was bound to advocate such policies. Then, I suppose, he would be one with them.

Then, Sir, it was evident even in the last session that the Chief Minister had an absolute majority in this House. Even before the Speaker's election, the Chief Minister had been elected leader of his Party by the unanimous support of 152 Members. In the Speaker's election, he could raise his strength from 152 to 206 Members. Therefore, there is absolutely no necessity for bringing forward this Motion at this time. Perhaps he wanted to show to the 'investing public', to put it in his own words, that he has absolute majority, even more than 206. That is the motive behind his idea of sponsoring this Motion at this moment. With due respect for his ingenuity and intellectual faculties, I may say that he is capable of doing anything and everything to get into power. He said at the time of accepting the Chief Ministership that in the interests of the State he was prepared to accept the Chief Ministership of a small State although he had held the highest position in India. Probably if to-morrow the Hosur Village Panchayat Board members say that the Panchayat Board will go to pieces if he does not accept the Presidentship of the Board, in the interests of the village he may go to the extent of accepting the Presidentship of the Hosur Village Panchayat Board.

In regard to the separation of the Legislature from the Executive, I think, Sir, he is advocating it keeping in view the mistakes committed by the previous Congress M.L.As. in interfering in the day-to-day administration, for the sake of licences, etc."

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

SRI M. VENKATASUBBA REDDI:—"I think, Sir, in his over-enthusiasm to work for the common good of the people, he has gone a long way to strengthen the hands of the district officers. For example, I went to see the Collector of Kurnool to represent the case of some ryots of Gilakalagudur in Nandyal taluk in connection with an irrigation project. The way in which the Collector received me and other legislators of the district is very ridiculous. The case is this. The K.C. Canal passes through Gilakalagudur village, and about 300 acres of land are irrigated by this canal. That canal is not properly . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Mr. K. Aranganathan will now speak."

* SRI K. ARANGANATHAN:—"மதிப்பிற்குரிய சபைத் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இப்போது கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் தலைமையில் இயங்கும் மந்திரிசபை மீது, நம்பிக்கை தெரிவிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக,

11-30
a.m.

[Sri K. Aranganathan] [2nd July 1952]

கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கோருகிறார்கள். இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டுவருவதற்கு தான் தான் காரணமென்று சொன்னார் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார். அஜெண்டாவையே மாற்றி இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை கொண்டுவருவதற்குக் காரணம், அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலில் நடந்த காங்கிரஸ் தோல்வி தான். காங்கிரஸ் மீது நம்பிக்கை இல்லையெனில், காரியங்களை நடத்துவது மிகவும் சிரமம்; அதற்காகவே இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை கொண்டு வாச் செய்தேன், என்கிறார் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார். அதுமாதிரமல்ல, நிரந்தரமான ஒரு மெஜாரிட்டி தனக்கு வேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கோருகிறார் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார். மந்திரி சபை அமைப்பதற்கு, முன் வந்த காலத்தில், காங்கிரஸ் ஒரு மைனாரிட்டி கட்சியாக இருந்தது என்பதை ராஜாஜி உணர்ந்திருந்தார். அதேசமயத்தில் எப்படியாவது மந்திரி சபை அமைக்கவேண்டும், சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் மைனாரிட்டி கட்சியாகி விட்ட காங்கிரஸ், செத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிற காங்கிரஸ், பலம் பொருந்திய கட்சியாக மாற்றவேண்டும் என்பதற்குத்தான் ராஜாஜி மந்திரி சபையை ஏற்றுக் கொண்டார் என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். ஒரு காலத்தில் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் சொன்ன ஒரு விஷயமானது இப்பொழுது என் லாபகத்திற்கு வருகிறது. 'வாழை மரத்தைப் போன்றது காங்கிரஸ் என்பது. பலன் கொடுத்த பிறகு வாழை மரம் அழிந்துவிடுவது போல சுதந்திரம் கிடைத்த பிறகு இந்த காங்கிரஸ் சபையானது இயங்குவதற்கு முடியாது அழிந்து போய்விடும்' என்று அவர் சொன்னது உண்மையாகத்தான் ஆயிற்று. சென்னை மாகாணத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் சுதந்திரம் வந்த பிறகு காங்கிரஸுக்கு பலம் இல்லாதபடி செய்து விட்டார்கள் தேர்தலில். அப்படிச் சொன்னவரே இன்று செத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும் காங்கிரஸுக்கு உயிர் கொடுப்பதற்கு முன் வந்திருக்கிறார் என்பதை நினைக்க மிக வெட்கமாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது.

“நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது தீர்ப்புக் கொடுக்கும்போது, அங்கத்தினர்கள் ஒவ்வொருவரும் அவரவர்களுடைய உள்ளத்தில் உறைந்திருக்கும், ஆண்டவனின் கட்டளைப்படி செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டார் ராஜாஜி. கட்சியினுடைய கட்டுப்பாட்டையும், ஓரளவு மறந்து, உள்ளத்தில் தோன்றுவதையே செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டார். கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் எனக்கு ஒரு காலத்தில் அரசியல் குருவாக இருந்தவர். அவரிடம் எனக்கு அபாரமான மதிப்பு உண்டு. ஆனால் அந்தக் காலத்தில் அவர் எனது மதிப்புற்றிருந்த தலைவராக இருந்த போதிலும், நான், அவரது பழைய சிஷ்யனாக இருந்தபோதிலும் கூட, அவர் மீது இப்பொழுது நம்பிக்கை இல்லாத அளவுக்கு, சூழ்நிலை ஏற்பட்டு விட்டதற்காக வருந்துகிறேன். இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தின்மீது தீர்ப்புக் கூறும்போது, இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள 6 கோடி மக்களின் நலனையும், கேட்கத்தையும், கருத்தில் கொண்டே தீர்ப்புக் கூறும்படி ராஜாஜி கேட்டுக் கொண்டார். சென்ற 5 வருஷ காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் இந்த 6 கோடி மக்களின் நலனைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டுதான் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியார் ஆட்சி செய்தார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்? சென்ற ஆண்டில், தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லா, செஞ்சிக்கு அருகில் மீனம்பூர் கிராமத்தில் துப்பாக்கிப் பிரயோகம் நடந்தது. துப்பாக்கிப் பிரயோகத்தால் 9 முஸ்லீம் தொழர்கள் இறந்தார்கள். பள்ளிக் கூடத்திலிருந்து வந்துக் கொண்டிருந்த மாணவன் ஒருவன் அதற்கு அந்த இடத்திலேயே பலியானான். துப்பாக்கிப் பிரயோகத்தினால் காயமடைந்த இன்னும் பலர் அவ்விடத்திலேயே ரத்தம் சொட்டக் கீழே கிடந்தார்கள். மாட்டு வண்டிகளில் அவர்களை ஏற்றி, செஞ்சி ஆஸ்பத்திரிக்கு உறவினர்கள் காக்கிச் சென்றார்கள். முதல் உதவி கொடுப்பதற்காக எடுத்துச் சென்றும், டாக்டரும், உதவி டாக்டரும் வெளியே போய்விட்டதின் காரணமாக, உடனே அவர்களுக்குச் சிகிச்சை கொடுக்க முடியவில்லை. இரண்டொரு மணி மாண்டார்கள். பாக்கியுள்ளவர்களை செஞ்சியிலிருந்து 17 மைலுக்குப் அப்பால் இருக்கும் திண்டிவனம் ஆஸ்பத்திரிக்கு எடுத்துச் செல்ல பஸ்ஸில் ஏற்றினார்கள். அரசாங்க உத்தரவு அடிபட்டு கிடப்பவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்யக் கூடாது என்று இல்லா விட்டாலும் கூட, அங்கேயிருந்த போலீஸார்கள் அவர்களுக்கு அம்மாதிரி உதவி செய்யக் கூடாது என்று பஸ்ஸில் ஏற்றியவர்களை கீழே இறக்கி விட்டு விட்டார்கள். அடிப்பட்டவர்கள் செஞ்சி சப்-

[2nd July 1952] [Sri K. Aranganathan]

ரிஜிஸ்டார் ஆபீஸ் வராதநாலில் மறுநாள் பிற்பகல் 1½ மணி வரையில் முதல் உதவி எதுவும் செய்யப்படாமல் கிடந்ததால் இருவர் இறந்து விட்டார்கள் என்றால், அந்த கோரமான கொலையை நினைத்துப் பாருங்கள். அதை இன்று நினைத்தால் எனக்கு உடல் நடுங்குகிறது. 18 மணி நேரம் அடிபட்டு ரத்தம் சொட்டக் கிடப்பவர்களுக்கு முதல் உதவி கொடுக்காமல் அவர்கள் கொல்லப்பட்டார்கள் என்றால், 6 கோடி மக்களின் நலனைக் கருதிய காங்கிரஸ் சென்ற 5 ஆண்டுகளாக ஆட்சி செய்து வந்தது என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்? எனது மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை நான் கேட்கிறேன். காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் நடந்த அக்கிரமங்கள் எல்லாம் எவ்வளவு? இன்று மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்த பிறகு இப்போது திருட்டுத் தனமாக கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சி குடிப்பவர்கள் தான் அதிகமாகி விட்டார்களே தவிர மது விலக்குச் சட்டத்தை பூர்ணமாக அமுல் நடத்த முடிந்ததா? மூன்று ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பாக கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிற வழக்கம் கிடையாது. ஆனால் இப்பொழுது மதுவிலக்கு போலீஸாரின் உதவியைக் கொண்டு, கள்ளத் தனமாக கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சும் வழக்கம் மிக அதிகமாகிவிட்டது. ஒவ்வொரு வீட்டிலும், ஒவ்வொரு குடியிலும் அமோனியம் சல்பேட்டைக் கொண்டு சாராயம் காய்ச்சும் வழக்கம் மிக அதிகரித்து விட்டது. இது குடிசைத் தொழிலாக மாறிவிட்டது. அதனால் சென்ற வருஷத்தில் மாத்திரம் ஐந்து ஆறுபேர்கள் இறந்திருக்கிறார்கள். கள்ளத்தனமாக சாராயம் காய்ச்சும் இடங்களை போலீஸாருக்குச் சொன்னாலும் கூட, அவர்கள் உடனே அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக் கொள்வதில்லை. கையும் களவுமாக நாங்களே பிடித்துத் தரவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இது சாத்தியமா? காய்ச்சும் இடத்தைத் தான் சொல்லுகிறோமே என்றால், “நீங்கள் சொல்லும் கிராமங்களுக்கு போக வசதி கிடையாது; எங்களுக்கு ஒரே ஒரு லாரி தான் இருக்கிறது. செஞ்சி, திண்டிவனம், விழுப்புரம் இந்த மூன்று இடங்களுக்கும் ஒரே ஒரு லாரி இருந்தால், நாங்கள் என்ன செய்வது?” என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் இது மாதிரி யான விஷயங்களிலெல்லாம் நல்ல கவனம் செலுத்தி மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம், திறம்பட அமுல் செய்யும்படி, செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு இந்த அரசாங்கத்தார் எந்தவிதமான அனுசலனங்களும் செய்து கொடுப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. இன்றைக்கு சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடிய பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு அளிக்கக் கூடிய வசதி மிகக் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்காக சென்ற மந்திரி சபையிலும் பல வேண்டுகோள்கள் கொடுத்தும், ஒன்றும் பலனில்லை. இன்றும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களைச் சேர்ந்த மாணவர்கள், கல்லூரிகளில் சேர்வதற்கு வசதியின்றி, தெருவில் திரிந்து கெரண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இவர் களுக்கு சர்க்கார் என்ன நன்மையைச் செய்யப் போகிறது என்று தான் நான் கேட்கிறேன்?”

“என். ஜி. ஓ. களுக்கு ஏதோ ஒரு பெரிய கல்விச் சலுகை அளித்து விட்டது போல கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் பேசுகிறார்கள். என்.ஜி.ஓ. க்களுடைய பிள்ளைகள் இப்போது கார்ப்பரேஷன் பள்ளிக் கூடங்களிலும், லோகல் போர்டு, டிஸ்திரிக்ட் போர்டு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் இலவசமாகத் தான் படித்து வருகின்றனர். அதனால் இந்தச் சலுகையினால் மூன்றாம் பாரம் வரையிலும் சம்பளம் இல்லாமல் படிக்கலாம் என்பதானது வெறும் மழுப்பலே தவிர, உண்மையான உதவியாகாது. இதை கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜ கோபாலாச்சாரியார் உணர்ந்து அவர்களுடைய வாழ்க்கைத் தரம் உயர்வதற்காக உண்மையாகவே ஏதாவது செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI R. KRISHNAN :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, ஐஸ்ரேலியை ஸாருவிக் 11-45 மிஷன மொஷு ரகசியமாய் காக்கலி ஹெரிக் கயாஸ்” ஹெரிக் கயாஸ், a.m. ஸுஹ் ஹெரிக் ஸபாஸ் ஸகிலாயம் மொஷு ஹெரிக் ராபுகிவ வகைகளிலுள்ள ஸபாஸுஸ் ஸகிலாயமான். கமிஷ் ஸாபஸுக் கைகாபாயி கோஸ்மூஸ் ஸெஸ் ஹெரிக் ஸாபுகாஸ் ஸாபாபிடிஷ்ஷுஹ் ஹெரிக் கமிஷ்ஷிஷ், ஸாபிஷிஷுஹ்,

[Sri R. Krishnan] [2nd July 1952]

பாது வயங்கு, சாധനങ്ങളുടെ വിവരങ്ങൾ, ജീവികൾക്കുള്ള വരുമാനമില്ലായ്മ എന്നിവയാണ്. രാജാജി മന്ത്രിസഭ ഇന്നു അധികാരത്തിൽ വന്നതിനുശേഷം എന്റെ നാട്ടുകാരുടെ സ്ഥിതി കൂടുതൽ മോശമായിരിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു വി.പി.ജി. 400-ൽ പരം കുടിയന്മാരെ ജനകീയ രാஜ்யത്തിൽ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ ഒരொரு വി.പി.ജி. 400-ൽ ആയിരത്തിൽ പരം നെയ്ത്തു தொழிலாள்கൾ നാട്ടുവിട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇന്നത്തെ നികുതിവർദ്ധനவு ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് മലബാറിലെ കൃഷിക്കാരെയാണ് ബാധിക്കുക. മലബാറിൽ കുടിയായ നിയമം അനുസരിച്ചു നികുതി പകുതിയും കുടിയായാണ് കൊടുക്കേണ്ടത്. നികുതിവർദ്ധനவு ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് ബാധിക്കുന്നില്ല. ബസ്സ് ചാർജ് വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടും പുതിയ നികുതികൾ, പുതിയ ജനങ്ങളെ കയ്യെടുക്കുന്നതിനായിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്റെ നാട്ടിലെ ചെറു தொழிலாள்கളുടെ സ്ഥിതി ദയനീയമാണ്. ചെറുകுளർ ചക്കരയുടെ വില കുറവു കാരണം ചക്കരച്ചെടിയ്ക്ക് വിട്ടു വയ്ക്കാനാകാത്ത മറ്റു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും പോയി ജോലി അന്വേഷിച്ചു നടക്കുകയാണ്. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾ തീക്കാരുള്ള ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റല്ല ഇന്നു നിലവിലുള്ളത്. ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ആണെങ്കിൽ കൂടുതൽ നികുതി കൊടുക്കുവാനും അങ്ങിനെ നാട്ടുകാരുടെ കയ്യെടുക്കുകയും അങ്ങേ അറും വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാനും വേണ്ടി മാത്രമാണ്. നാട്ടുകാരെ സഹായിക്കുവാനും, ജനങ്ങളുടെ കയ്യെടുക്കുകയും പരിഹരിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ഒരു പരിപാടി ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന് ഇല്ലെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നത്. മലബാറിൽ മലമ്പുഴ പദ്ധതി ഏറ്റെടുത്തു നല്ല ഒരു പദ്ധതി ആയിട്ടും കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലം മുതൽ അതിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തനം നിർത്തിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. അവിടെ എത്രയോ தொழிலாள்கൾക്ക് പണി ഇല്ലാതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. എത്രയോ സ്ഥലം acquire ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. കൃഷിയെക്കുറിച്ച് സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ കൃഷിയെക്കുറിച്ചെ നിർത്തിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. വെള്ളം തരുന്നത് സാധിക്കുന്നില്ല. കാരണം മലമ്പുഴ പദ്ധതി നിർത്തിവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിന്റെ ഫലമായി ഇപ്പോൾത്തന്നെ എത്രയോ അധികരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന தொழிலாள்கൾക്കും കൃഷിക്കാരുടെയും കയ്യെടുക്കുകയും കൂടിക്കൂടി വരികയാണ്. മൂന്നാലൂർ നീക്കം പുറത്തുവന്നു പുറത്തുവന്നു ഇന്നു 14-ാം ആയി വർദ്ധിച്ചതിന്റെ ഫലമായി ആ വ്യവസായത്തിലെ தொழிலாள்கൾക്ക് വലിയ കയ്യെടുക്കാണ് ഉള്ളത്. ഇത് ഒരു പദ്ധതിയുടെ മാത്രമാണ്. പാലക്കാട് താലൂക്കിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം അവിടെയുള്ള ജനങ്ങൾ വ്യക്തമായി രീതിമാനിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണം ആരംഭിച്ചപ്പോൾ എന്ന്. നാല് അംഗങ്ങൾ സീറുകൾ മാത്രമാണ് മലബാറിൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു കിട്ടിയിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതു നീക്കം ചെയ്ത കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച പരാജയമാണ്. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഒരു മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് മെമ്പർ അവരുടെ നിലയെ ഇവിടെ പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചതായി കേട്ടു. മുസ്ലീം ബഹുജനങ്ങളുടെ പിൻബലം മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിനുണ്ടെന്നു പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു തെറ്റു പറഞ്ഞുവെച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ പരിന്തോലിയിൽ പരം മുസ്ലീം വോട്ടർമാരുണ്ട്. അവിടെ എനിക്ക് തന്നെ സ്വതന്ത്ര സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥിയെ മുസ്ലീം ലീഗ് സഹായിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. എത്രയോ ആയിരം ഉറപ്പിക ചിലവുചെയ്തിട്ടും ഇവിടെ മലിനാശി സിററിയിലെ ഒരു വൻകിട വ്യാപാരി, എന്റെ എൻക്ലോസ്ചറിലായ സ്വതന്ത്ര മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിന്റെ സഹായം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട് എന്നു കിട്ടിയതിന്റെ പകുതി വോട്ടുകൾ കൂടി അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു കിട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ കൂടുതൽ മുസ്ലീം സഹോദരന്മാരാണ് എന്നു വേണ്ടി പ്രവർത്തിച്ചു. മതത്തിന്റെയും ദൈവത്തിന്റെയും പേരിൽ കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാട്ടിയേയും യു. ഡി. എഫ്. നേയും എതിർക്കുന്ന മുസ്ലീം ലീഗിനു മുസ്ലീമിന്റെ പൗരനായും ഇല്ലെന്നാണ് കാണിക്കുന്നത്. മതത്തിന്റെയും ദൈവത്തിന്റെയും പേരിൽ ജനങ്ങളെ വെട്ടിച്ചുരുക്കുകയും എന്നാണ് ഇവർ വ്യാജമായിരിക്കുന്നത്. ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയും ഇതുതന്നെയാണ് പറയുന്നത്. കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാക്സ്മതിലും ദൈവമില്ല എന്നു അദ്ദേഹവും പറയുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ അധികൃതന്മാർ ഉന്നം വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടുള്ള സാഹചര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാകുവാനുള്ള പരിശ്രമം ഗവണ്മെന്റിനുള്ള. ജനങ്ങളുടെ കയ്യെടുക്കുകയും അവശതകളും ഉള്ള അവസരത്തിൽ അതിനു ഒരു പോലുള്ള കാരണത്തെ ദൈവത്തെ കുറച്ചെടുക്കുകയും എല്ലാം ദൈവത്തോടു ചോദിക്കാനാണ് ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നത്. ജനങ്ങളുടെ വോക്കറിൽ നിന്നു നികുതി ഈടാക്കുക, പോലീസ് ആക്ട് കൊണ്ടും 144 കൊണ്ടും ജനങ്ങളെ മട്ടിക്കുക, ഒരു പിടി ജനീനായുടെയും നാട്ടുവാഴ്ചിപ്പുകളുടെയും വക്കുവെക്കൽ ഏറ്റെടുത്തു രാജ്യത്തെ ഭരിക്കുക ഇതാണ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ പരിപാടി. എന്റെ സ്ഥലത്തും ഈ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് എതിരായി പ്രവർത്തിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടും ഈ ഭരണം നിലനിൽക്കുന്നവെച്ചാൽ അതിന്റെ ഫലം നാട്ടിനെ അധഃപതനത്തിലേക്കു ആണ് നയിക്കുക

[2nd July 1952] [Sri R. Krishnan]

Decontrol ആദ്യം സാധനം ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ഇന്നത്തെ நிலை എന്താണ്. നിയന്ത്രണபிடியில் എത്രയോ അധികം വിലയാണ് ഇന്നു പുറമെ കൊടുക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നത്. 70 പെர் சென்ட் 255 க. உண்டாயிருந்த இப்போൾ 280 മുതൽ 300 ക.വരെയെണ്ണം. അതു മേടിച്ച് ഭക്ഷിക്കുവാനുള്ള വരുമാനം ഇന്നു ആളുകൾക്കില്ല. ജനങ്ങളുടെ ജീവിതത്തോടു നിലനിൽക്കുവാനും അവരുടെ മറ്റു കയ്യെടുക്കുകയും പരിഹാരം കാണുവാനും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു ഇന്നു സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ അതിനായി ഒരു മില്ലുതന്നെ. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിമത്തായ ഭാഷയിൽ എതിർക്കുന്നു. മലബാറിൽനിന്നു വന്നിട്ടുള്ള സ്റ്റേഫിനന്മാരോടു എനിക്കു പറയാൻ ഉള്ളത് ഇതുമാത്രമാണ്. കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണത്തിനു മലബാറുകാർ ശക്തിയായ ഭാഷയിൽ ഒരു വാക്കു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. സാലു സിറുകൾ മാത്രമാണ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സിനു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. മലബാറിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ വിധിയാണത്. അതപ്പോഴോടുകൂടി തോറാൽ ഇവിടെ വന്നിട്ടാണോ വിശ്വാസം ചോദിക്കുക. മലബാറിൽ ഒരു പഴഞ്ചൊല്ലുണ്ട്. “അങ്ങാടിയിൽ തോറാൽ അമ്മയോടു” എന്ന്. ഇതു ജനാധിപത്യസമ്പ്രദായത്തിനു വിരോധമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായ ഭാഷയിൽ എതിർക്കാൻ ഞാൻ മലബാറിലെ മെമ്പർമാരോടു അഭ്യർത്ഥിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ശക്തിയായി എതിർക്കുന്നു.”

*SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“ കനம் തലേവർ അവർക്കു, தற்போது இச் சபையில் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரி அவர்கள் மீது நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானம் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலையில், அருப்புக் கோட்டையிலும், காகிநாடாவிலும், மற்றும் கோவையிலும் நடந்த தேர்தலை வைத்துக்கொண்டு இங்குள்ள சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினர்களிடையே நம்பிக்கை கோரப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், அங்குள்ள மக்கள் எதை மனதில் வைத்துக் கொண்டு இவர்களுக்கு ஒட்டளித்தார்கள், எதை மனதில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு எதிர்த்தார்கள் என்று புரியவில்லை. இரண்டரை மாத காலத்தில் ராஜாஜியும் அவருடைய மந்திரி சபையும் என்ன காரியங்களைச் சாதித்திருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். அந்த முறையில் பார்த்தாலும் கூட மக்களின் நன்மைக்கு, விவசாயிகளுக்கு, நெசவாளர்களுக்கு எந்த விதமான ஒரு நல்ல காரியத்தையும் அவர்கள் சாதித்திருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அப்படியிருக்கும்பொழுது, இந்த தீர்மானத்திற்கு ஆதரவு காட்டும் அளவுக்கு என்ன காரியங்களைச் சாதிக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும்.

“ இன்று, கோவை ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், அது பெரும் பஞ்சப் பிரதேசம். கோயமுத்தூரில் காங்கிரஸ் ஜெயித்திருக்கலாம். கோயமுத்தூரில் சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலில் பார்லிமெண்டு தொகுதிக்கு காங்கிரஸ் ஜெயித்துவிட்டதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், இன்றைய தினம் அங்குள்ள மக்கள் உண்மையிலேயே காங்கிரசை நேசிக்கிறார்களா என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். பெரும்பான்மையான விவசாயிகளும், ஆயிரக் கணக்கான மில் தொழிலாளர்களும் மின்சார வெட்டின் காரணமாக 40, 50 ஆயிரம் பேர்கள் பாதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு தினசரி கூலி 8 அணு கூட கிடைப்பதில்லையென்ற நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அப்படியிருக்கும்பொழுது 40 ஆயிரம் மக்கள் வசிக்கக்கூடிய பிரதேசத்தில் தேர்தல் நடந்தது. இப்படி வேலையின்றி கஷ்டப்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கும் 40 ஆயிரம் பேர்களும் காங்கிரசுக்குச் சாதகமாக வோட்டு கொடுக்கிறோம் என்று வோட்டு போட்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. வேறு இடத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் வோட்டு போட்டார்கள். காகிநாடாவிலோ, அருப்புக் கோட்டையிலோ இந்த அரசாங்கம் ஏதாவது நன்மை செய்திருக்கிறதா என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். அல்லது, இந்த மாகாணம் பூராவுக்கும் ஏதாவது நன்மை செய்திருக்கிறதா என்பதைப் பார்க்கும்போது, பொதுவாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு பார்த்தால், ஏதாவது முன்னேற்றமான காரியங்களைச் செய்துவிட்டு, இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தை இந்தச் சபையில் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறதா என்று பார்த்தால், அதுதான் இல்லை என்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். பழைய பாணியிலேயே, ஐந்து வருஷமாக நடத்தப்பட்டு வந்த அதே போக்கில், அதைவிட மிக மோசமாக, ஜனங்கள் சட்டத்தை மதிக்கமுடியாத அளவுக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய அரசாங்கம், இன்று

[Sri K. R. Nallasivam]

[2nd July 1952]

நம்பிக்கை வோட்டு கேட்கிறதென்று சொன்னால், அதிலிருந்து என்ன தெரிகிறது? அவர்களுக்கே ஓரளவு நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா என்பதே சந்தேகந்தான். எப்படி நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லமுடியும்?

“காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சோஷலிஸ்டு கட்சியைப்பற்றி என்ன நினைக்கின்றார்கள்? அவர்கள் நினைக்கின்றார்கள்: ‘சோஷலிஸ்டுகள் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு ஆகாதவர்கள், ஆதலால், அவர்கள் நமக்கு வோட்டுப் போடுவார்கள்’ என்று. எங்களுடைய கொள்கை என்னவென்று எடுத்துச்சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். நாங்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு ஆகாதவர்கள் என்று சொல்வதால், காங்கிரஸை ஆதரிக்கிறோம் என்று சொல்லமுடியாது. காங்கிரஸிற்கு ஆகாதவர்கள் என்று சொல்வதால் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளை ஆதரிக்கிறோம் என்று சொல்லமுடியாது. பொதுமக்களுடைய நலனுக்கு எந்த அளவு எந்தக்கட்சி ஆதரவு காட்டுகிறார்களோ அந்த அளவிற்கு நாங்கள் அந்தந்த கட்சிகளுடன் ஒத்துழைப்போம். அந்த வகையில், இன்று காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி பொதுமக்களுக்கு இந்த இரண்டரை மாத ஆட்சியிலே முன்னேற்றப் பாதையிலே ஏதாவது ஒரு அடி எடுத்து வைத்திருக்கிறதா என்று பார்த்தால், ஒரு அடி கூட நகரவில்லை என்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது.

“கோவை ஜில்லாவில் பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகள் செய்யப்பட்டுவிட்டதாக பத்திரிகைகளில் விளம்பரம் செய்யப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், நேரில் அங்கு போய்ப் பார்த்தால்தான் நிலைமை நன்கு தெரியும். பஞ்ச நிவாரணம் செய்யப் பட்டுவிட்டதாகப் பத்திரிகைகளில் விளம்பரம் செய்யப்பட்டும்கூட, மக்கள் பிழைப்புக்கு வழியில்லாமல், அவர்கள் இன்று வாழ முடியாததன் காரணமாக, சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதைப் பல இடங்களில் பார்த்தேன். உண்மையில் சட்டத்தைக் காக்கவேண்டிய சட்டசபை அங்கத்தினர்களே ஆச்சரியமடையும் படியான முறையில் சாராயம் காய்ச்சப்படுவதைப் பார்த்தும் அவர்கள் பாராதவர்கள்போல் போய்விடுகிறார்கள். அவ்வாறு அவர்கள் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன? அவர்களுக்கு பிழைப்புக்கு வழி இல்லாததுதான் காரணம்.

“கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், குறைந்த அளவு நிலம் வைத்துக்கொண்டு பயிர் செய்பவன், மழை இல்லாததன் காரணமாக, பஞ்சம் காரணமாக, மற்றும் அங்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய விவசாயிகளும், நெசவாளர்களும் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதை ஒவ்வொருவரும் பார்க்கமுடியும். போலீசார் அதைக் கண்டும் காணாதவர்களைப் போல போகிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி பல இடங்களில் நேரில் என்னால் பார்க்க முடிந்தது.

“ஒரு இடத்தில் ஒரு நெசவாளி நூல் பெறுவதற்கு முயற்சி செய்தால், அதற்கு அரசாங்கத்தின் உதவியை நாடி, நீங்கள் நூல் கிடைக்க ஏற்பாடு செய்யுங்கள், இல்லாவிட்டால் நாங்கள் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறோம்; போலீசார் பிடித்தால் எங்களுக்கு பாதுகாப்பு நீங்கள் அளிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டார். அவ்வாறு இருக்கும்படியான நிலையை இங்குள்ள அங்கத்தினர்கள், எந்தக் கட்சியிலுள்ள அங்கத்தினர்களாக இருந்தாலும் சரி, மனத்தத் தன்மையோடு பார்க்கவேண்டும். அங்குள்ள கஷ்டத்தைப் பார்த்தால் நீங்கள் என்ன பதில் சொல்ல முடியுமென்று பாருங்கள். இந்த நிலையில் பொதுமக்களுக்கு ஒன்றும் செய்யாமல், விவசாயிகளுக்கும், நெசவாளர்களுக்கும், எந்தத் துறையில் இருக்கக்கூடிய யாவருக்கும், ஒரு நன்மையும் செய்யாமல், இங்கே நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானம் கொண்டுவந்து இருக்கிற அவர்களுக்கு உண்மையிலேயே ஒரு அவநம்பிக்கை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கவேண்டும். ‘நாம் செய்வதெல்லாம் சரிதானா?’ என்ற அளவுக்கு அவர்களுக்குச் சந்தேகம் ஏற்பட்டுவிட்டது. அதனால்தான் இந்த நம்பிக்கை கோறும் தீர்மானத்தை இப்பொழுது கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நான் நினைக்கின்றேன். அதாவது, இன்று இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தின்மீது அங்கத்தினர்கள் யாவரும், சுயேச்சையாக தங்கள் தங்கள் இஷ்டம்போல் வோட்டு கொடுக்கலாம் என்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜி. காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களும் தங்கள் இஷ்டம்போல் வோட்டுக் கொடுக்கொள்ளலாம் என்று அவர் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார். அவர்களெல்லோரும் இந்த நிலையை எண்ணிப்பார்த்து வோட்டளிக்கவேண்டும்.

[Sri K. R. Nallasivam]

“இன்று ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் மீது நம்பிக்கையில்லையென்று சொல்லிவிட்டால், அவருக்கு அடுத்தபடியாக இருப்பவர்கள் மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லமுடியாது. காங்கிரஸைவிட குறைவாகத் திட்டங்கள் உள்ளவர்கள் மீது நம்பிக்கை தெரிவிப்பதாகச் சொல்லமுடியாது. மக்களுக்கு ஒன்றும் நன்மை செய்யாதவர்களுக்கு நிச்சயமாக நாங்கள் ஒருக் காலும் வோட்டு போடமுடியாது. அந்த நிலை அடுத்தபடியாகக் கவனிக்க வேண்டிய பிரச்சனை.

“ஒரு கேள்வி கேட்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. அதாவது, இன்று காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி இல்லாவிட்டால், ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இல்லாவிட்டால், எப்படி இங்கே காரியங்கள் நடக்கும்? என்று ஒரு கேள்வி எழுப்பப்படுகிறது. சாதாரணமாக இம்மாதிரியான ஒரு கேள்வியைச் சிலர் எழுப்புகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி மந்திரி சபை போய்விட்டால், வேறு ஒரு மந்திரி சபையே இருக்காது. அரசாங்கமே நடக்காது. இம்மாதிரியான ஒரு எண்ணத்தை ஏற்படுத்துவதன் மூலம், அவர்களுக்கு வோட்டு போடுவதா என்ற நிர்ப்பந்தம் ஏற்படுகிறது. அதைப்பற்றி நன்றாகச் சிந்தித்து, சரியான முறையில் எல்லாக் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களும் மக்களுக்கு ஒன்றுமே செய்யாத அரசாங்கத்தின்மீது கொண்டுவந்திருக்கும் நம்பிக்கைப் பிரேரணைக்குச் சரியான பதில் சொல்லவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டுள்ளேன்.”

*SRI M. CHADAYAN :— “Mr, Speaker, Sir, നമ്മുടെ സ്റ്റേറ്റിൽ സാമാന്യജനങ്ങളുടെ പൊതു താല്പരങ്ങൾ മുൻനിർത്തി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഉറച്ച ഗവണ്മെന്റ് അടിയന്തരമായി ആവശ്യമാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ന്യൂനപക്ഷസമുദായങ്ങളോട് നീതിയും ന്യായവും പാലിക്കേണ്ടതും അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. ശ്രീമൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിലുള്ള ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് എടുത്ത ഭരണനയത്തിൽ കാണിച്ചുവന്ന ഈ പരിവർത്തനത്തിൽ സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങളായ തൃക്കിഷാൽ, തൊഴിലാളികളും അഭിമാനത്തോടുകൂടി സന്തോഷിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ ഞാൻ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്യുന്നു. കാരണം ഈ ഭരണനയം കഴിഞ്ഞ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലം മുമ്പുതന്നെ ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായിരുന്നു. മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം സാധുക്കളായ തൃക്കിഷാൽ ജൂൺ 16-ാംനു വരെ പണം ക്രവിയായി കിട്ടിയിരുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തു 16-ാം റിയൂനികൾ ശേഷം നെല്ല് ക്രവിയായി മാറുകയും അതുകൊണ്ട് തൃക്കിഷാൽ അഭിമാനത്തോടുകൂടി ജീവിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിയും വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം 75 ശതമാനം ജനങ്ങളും ഈ ഭരണനയത്തെ വിജയിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ പരിശ്രമിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു.

“സെർ, പക്ഷെ ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ ഇന്നും കഷ്ടപ്പാടിലും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടിലും ആണ് കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടുന്നത്. ഈ കഴിഞ്ഞ അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലത്തെ ഭരണം ജനങ്ങളെ തൃപ്തിപ്പെടുത്തിയില്ല. മലബാറിലെ വെൽഫേർ ആഫീസറെ ഗസറ്റഡ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥനാക്കിയതുകൊണ്ട് മാത്രം ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു ക്ഷേമമില്ല. അവർ അഭിവൃദ്ധി വന്നിട്ടില്ല. മുഖ്യ വേബർ ഓഫീസർമാർ ഡെപ്യൂട്ടി താഴെക്കാണുന്നവരുടെ ഗ്രേഡിൽ ആയിരുന്നു. ഇന്നു അവരെ ഗസറ്റഡ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരാക്കിട്ടും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു മെച്ചമൊന്നുമില്ല. ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു നീതിന്യായ കോടതികളിൽക്കൂടി രക്ഷ കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. എന്നാലുമെല്ല, പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റു ഹരിജനങ്ങളോടു നീതിയും ന്യായവും പാലിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഒരു പണക്കാരന്റെ പേരിലായിരിക്കും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ കേസ് കൊണ്ടുപോകുക. അങ്ങിനെ പോലീസ് ശരിയായ അന്വേഷണം ചെയ്യാതെ അനവധി കേസുകൾ പോയി പ്ലെയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഹരിജനങ്ങളെ മർദ്ദിക്കുന്ന ജനിയുടെ മേൽ കേസ് കൊണ്ടുപോയാൽ പോലീസ് ജന്മി പണക്കാരനായതുകൊണ്ട് ശരിയായി അന്വേഷണം നടത്തുന്നില്ല. ഒരു വക്കീലിനെവെച്ചു വാക്കിലുവാനുള്ള ധനസ്ഥിതിയില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ചില കേസുകൾ കോടതികളിൽനിന്നു തെളിവില്ലാതെ തള്ളിപ്പോയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ സ്ഥിതിയിൽ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഇന്ന് മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം നല്ലപോലെ എനിക്കു റിയാം, ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു രക്ഷയുമില്ല. ദുരന്തമെന്തെന്നാണെന്ന് ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ ജീവിക്കുന്നത്. മുമ്പത്തെ കൈക്കൂലി ഇപ്പോൾ മാമൂലിന്റെ പേരിലാണ് നടക്കുന്നത്. എല്ലാ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റുകളിലും മാമൂലുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട് സാധു ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു രക്ഷയില്ല. ആസ്സൂരികളിലും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടതൊന്നും വെച്ചു സഹായവും സൗകര്യങ്ങളും ലഭിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇങ്ങിനെ നോക്കിയാൽ എല്ലാ തുറകളിലും ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്കു കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾതന്നെയാണു ഇപ്പോഴും അനുഭവിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നത്.

[Sri P. Chockalingam] [2nd July 1952]

சுவந்தாரர்களையும் முதலாளிகளையும் ஏற்படுத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் ஜமீன்தார்களுக்கு வாரி வாரிக் கொடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது சுயராஜ்யம் கிடைத்துவிட்டது என்றால் அதை ஒத்துக்கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. நாம் யாருக்கு சேவை செய்தோம்? இன்னும் நாம் யாருக்கு சேவை செய்ய வேண்டும் என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். தெய்வ நம்பிக்கை உள்ளவர்களும், தெய்வ நம்பிக்கை உண்டு என்று கூறிக்கொண்டிருக்கிறவர்களும் மன சாட்சி கொண்டு இருக்க வேண்டும். ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் அனுதாபம் இருக்கவேண்டும். பேசுகிறவர்கள் ஏழைகளுக்கு என்ன சாதித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஒவ்வொருவரும் யோசனை பண்ணி பார்க்கட்டும். 1937-ம்(வரு) நடந்த தேர்தலில் ஒரு கோடியிலிருந்து மற்றொரு கோடிக்கு ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திலிருந்தும் 14, 15 மைல்கள் நடந்து வந்து மக்கள் மஞ்சள் பெட்டிக்கு வோட்டுப் போட்டது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். மறுபடியும் 1946-ம்(வரு) நடந்த தேர்தலில் காங்கிரஸ் எதிர்க்கும் சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்படவில்லை. ஜனங்கள் ஏகோபித்து காங்கிரஸ் காரர்களுக்கு வோட்டுப்போட்டார்கள். இன்றைக்கு எவ்விதம் நடந்தது என்பதை நம்முடைய பேரேடை திருப்பிப் பார்த்துத் தெரிந்து கொள்ளாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். தேசம் இன்று எந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது. எந்த அளவிற்கு வந்திருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது விரோதமாக தீப்பு அளித்திருக்கிறது. இரண்டு தடவைகளில் மக்களிடம் தீப்பு பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது இவ்வளவு மோசமான தீப்பு பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். கடந்த ஐந்து வருஷமாக எந்த அடிப்படையில் இந்த அரசாங்கம் நடந்து வந்திருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். தேசத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட நிலைமையினால் 1942-ம்(வரு)த்திலிருந்து விவசாயிகளுக்கு விவசாயத்தை நடத்த முடியவில்லை. நம்முடைய ஸ்தாபனம் அவர்களுக்கு சௌகரியம் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்றுதான் கேட்கிறேன். ஆனால் நடப்பில் என்ன பார்க்கிறோம். விலைவாசி ஏற்றம்தான். யுத்தகாலம் முதற் கொண்டு விலைவாசி ஏறுமுகமாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. அதை குறைப்பதற்கு யாதொரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொண்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அதனால் தொழிலாளிகள் எவ்வளவு கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள் என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். யுத்த காலத்திற்குப் பிறகு ஏற்பட்ட விலைவாசி ஏற்றத்தைத் தடுக்க நம் அரசாங்கத்தால் முடியவில்லை. கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் தான் ஆஸ்திகர் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறார். நானும் ஒரு ஆஸ்திக பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்தவன் தான். மூன்று நான்கு தலைமுறையாக நான் ஆஸ்திக பரம்பரையைச் சேர்ந்தவன்; ஆகையால் நானும் ஒரு ஆஸ்திகன் என்று கூறிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆகையால் நாம் செய்யும் ஒவ்வொரு காரியமும் தெய்வத்திற்குத் தான் அடுக்கவேண்டும். நீங்கள் செய்துவரும் காரியங்கள் தெய்வத்திற்கு அடுக்குமா என்பதைப் பாருங்கள். சரி என்றிருந்தால் தெய்வம் அதற்கு பலன் கொடுக்கும். விவசாயிகளை லட்சியம் பண்ணியிருக்கிறார்களா, தொழிலாளர்களை லட்சியம் பண்ணியிருக்கிறார்களா என்பதைப் பாருங்கள். நாட்டிற்கு ஏதாவது ஆதரவு கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்களா என்று பாருங்கள். முதலாளிகளுக்கும், வர்த்தகர்களுக்கும், ஜமீன் தார்களுக்கும் தான் லாபமடைவதற்கு வழிகள் தேடிக்கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இன்று காங்கிரஸ் ஸ்தாபனம் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் தொழிலாளிகளுக்கு ஆதரவு கொடுத்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அன்று அந்நிய ஏகாதிபத்தியம் இருந்த காலத்தில் சுரண்டலுக்கு வழி செய்து கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அதை எதிர்த்து போராடினோம். சுதந்தரம் கிடைத்த பிறகு நாம் இன்னும் சுரண்டலுக்கு வழி செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறோம். ஓட்டைக்கூத்தனுக்கு இரட்டைத் தாம்ப்பான் என்பதுபோல் பிரிட்டிஷ் ஏகாதிபத்திய சுரண்டலை ஒழித்துவிட்டு அமெரிக்க ஏகாதிபத்தியமும் ஜப்பான் ஏகாதிபத்தியமும் நம்மைச் சுரண்டுவதற்கு வழி செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறோம். இதை சகித்துக் கொண்டிருக்க முடியுமா?

“கட்சியில் வெறுப்பு இருக்கிறது. ஒவ்வொரு கட்சியின் அடிப்படையில் வேற்றுமைகளும் வித்யாசங்களும் இருக்கலாம். வித்யாசங்களை ஒழித்துவிட்டு சமாதானத்திற்கு வழி தேட வழி இல்லையா? ஒரு சாரர் கூட்டம் போடும் போது இன்னொரு சாரர் கூட்டம் போட்டால் மோதல் ஏற்படுவது சகஜம்தான். மோதல் ஏற்படலாம். அதைத்தான் நாம் சற்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். எங்கு

2nd July 1952] [Sri P. Chockalingam]

நியாயம் இருக்கிறது என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். எல்லோரையும் நாம் தட்டிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டும், மற்றவர்களை முதல் நம்பர் விரோதி என்று சொல்வதில் சரியில்லை. கருத்து மாறுபாடுகள் இருந்தால் நம்பிக்கையைத் தெரிவிக்கவேண்டும், பிறகு சாதாரண நிலைமை ஏற்படுத்தமுடியும், ஆனால் எங்கேயோ பக்கத்தில் தவறு இருப்பதை கவனியாமல் இருக்கிறார்கள், நான் சொல்வது சரிதான் என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும், நீங்கள் சொல்வதெல்லாம் பொய் என்றுதான் நான் கூறுகிறேன். உங்களுடைய அந்தராத்மா பேசவில்லை என்று கூறுகிறேன். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் ஜனங்களை ஏமாற்றுவார்கள், விரோதமான வழியில் போவார்கள், ஏழைகள் பசியால் வாடுகிறார்கள், அவர்களுக்கு இஷ்டப்படி போஜனத்திற்கு வழி செய்யவில்லை, ஆனால் தெய்வ பக்கத்து என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள், இதையெல்லாம் ஒழித்திருந்தால் பெரிய பெரிய சோஷலிஸ்டுகளின் கட்சிகள் எப்படி இருக்கமுடியும்?

MR. SPEAKER :—“ அடிக்கடி ‘நீங்கள்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள், ‘நீங்கள்’ என்று சொன்னால் அது சபா நாயகரைக் குறிக்கும், நீங்கள் கவர்ன்மெண்டு என்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டும், நீங்கள் பொய் சொல்லுகிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னால் நான் பொய் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்று அர்த்தமாகும், அது என்னைக் குறிக்கும், இனிமேல் அரசாங்கம் என்று சொல்லவேண்டும். இல்லாவிட்டால் அது என்னைச்சாரும்.”

SRI G. BAPANAYYA :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఈ రోజున మనముండున్న తీర్మానము ప్రతిపక్షములకు విశ్వాసము ప్రకటించమని. ఈ తీర్మానము ప్రవేశ పెడుతూ ఆయన అరుప్పుకోట ఎన్ని కలలో కాంగ్రెసుకు సంభవించిన అపజయమే కారణమని తెలిపియున్నారు. అరుప్పుకోటలో కాంగ్రెసు ఓడింపబడితే ఈ శాసన సభలో విశ్వాసమున్నదా లేదా అని చెప్పమని అనడంలో ఆర్థికమేమో నాకు బోధపడలేదు. ఈ సభలో ఆయనయెడల విశ్వాసమున్నదని కాని, లేదనికాని, ఏ తీర్పు వచ్చినా అరుప్పుకోట ఎన్ని కలలో ఎటువంటి మార్పురాదు అని ఆయన గుర్తించగోరాలను. అరుప్పుకోట ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసును తాము విశ్వాసింపమని తీర్పు ఇచ్చారు. ప్రతిపక్షాలు ఎత్తినా, ఆ తీర్పు తిరుగులేనిది. ఆయన ప్రభుత్వంతోనే వచ్చినంతనే ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసును గౌరవిస్తారని భావించడం ఉద్ధ పారపాటిని మనచిహ్నున్నాను. ఆయన అరుప్పుకోట వెళ్ళి ప్రజలకు తనపైన, తన ప్రభుత్వంపైన విశ్వాసముంటే కాంగ్రెసుకు ఓటు చేయమని కోరాడు. ప్రతిపక్షాలు అరుప్పుకోట ఎన్నికను మమ్మగా తీసుకొనవలసిన ఎవ్వరూ ఆయనను కోరలేదు. ఆయన తనంతట తానే అవిధమైన చారిత్రక చేశాడు. ప్రజలు ఈ ప్రగల్భాని చారిత్రకంగా ఛేద్యంతో ఎదుర్కొన్నారు. వారి తీర్పు ప్రతిపక్షాలు అరుప్పుకోట తిరుగుదలించి, మాట నిలుపుకోదలంచినవాడైతే తన పదవికి రాజీనామా ఇచ్చి తొలగిపోవడం ఉత్తమము. ఆ విధంగా చేయకపోవుటకు బదులుగా, దొంక తిరుగుడుగా ఈ శాసన సభకు వచ్చి తనపై సభ్యులకు విశ్వాసము ప్రకటించమని కోరాడు. ఇదంతా ఒక రాజకీయపు టెతుగాని, వేరేకాదు.

“మౌక విషయం మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కాంగ్రెసు సంస్థ గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలుగా ఏ విధంగా ప్రవర్తించిందో మనవి చేస్తాను. ఉదాహరణగా మా కృష్ణా జిల్లా తీసుకొండి. ఆ జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెసు ఏమిందో గమనించండి. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలుగా కాంగ్రెస్ వారు చేసిన అత్యాచారాలే ఇందుకు కారణమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. పండ్లగిండు మంది అశ్రద్ధకులలో ఇద్దరు మాత్రమే కాంగ్రెసు వారు పోరచాటున నెగార్లు. దానికంతకు కారణమేమిటి? మా జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులమనకొనేవారు చేసిన చారుణవర్తలే. ఈ కాంగ్రెసు నాయకుల

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మాటలను ఆధారంగా తీసుకొనే అనుకొంటాను, గత ప్రభుత్వం అనేక మందిని కాల్చివేసింది. ప్రజలను కమ్యూనిస్టులనే సాకుతో పొంపించింది. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో మా జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెసువారు కమ్యూనిస్టులపై ఎక్స్ పాన్సివల వేశారు. ఈ నిందలు వద్ద అబద్ధం అని చెప్పటానికి గత ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలు ఇచ్చిన తీర్పు గమనించండి. ప్రజలను పొంపించినది కాంగ్రెసువారో కమ్యూనిస్టులూ ఈ ఎన్నికల ఫలితాలే రుజువు చేస్తాయి. మహామంత్రిలమనుకొన్నవారు కాంగ్రెసు మహా సంస్థ తమ భజస్కంధములవైననే ఆధారపడి ఉన్నారని అనుకొన్నవారు అందరూ ఎన్నికలలో పూర్తిగా చిత్తుచేయబడ్డారు. ఇప్పటికైనా రాజగోపాలాచారి గారు కట్ట తీరచి ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెసును గురించి ఏమీ చెప్పకుంట్టున్నారో గుర్తించండి. ఈ పరిస్థితులన్నీ కూడా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి తెలియకనా అని అడుగు తున్నాను. ఆయనకు ఈ సభలో విశ్వాసమున్నదని ప్రకటించమకుండా ఆయన ను జిల్లాలకు వచ్చి ప్రజలకు తనపై విశ్వాసమున్నదా, లేదా అని అడగమంటున్నాను. ఇదివరలో గత సమావేశంలో ఆయన ప్రసంగిస్తూ ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులు ఈయన కొరకై ఒక నీటు ఇవ్వవలసినదని కోరాడు. ఆయనకు ధైర్యం ఉంటే రమ్మనండి, మా ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాల ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులమైన మాలా ఎక్కడ నీటు కావాలా కోరుకో మనండి. మేము వెంటనే రాజీనామా ఇస్తాము ఆయనను ఎచ్చి గెల్చుకొని రక్ష మనండి. ఆయన అవిధంగా చేయకలడా, చేయలేడని చెప్పటానికి ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని విచ్ఛేదించి చేస్తారని విమతం తెలిసిఉన్నప్పటికీ ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలలో ఒక్క కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థి ఆయనను జయించిఉండకపోయేవాడు. కొంతవరకు కాంగ్రెసువారు ప్రజలను మభ్య పెట్టే ఈ కొద్దిమాత్రం నీట్లయినా జయించగలిగారు. అంతేకాకుండా కాంగ్రెసుతో పోటీచేసిన అభ్యర్థులకందరికీ మధ్య ఓట్లు వీలిపోవడంచేతనే ఈ మూత్రమైనా వారు నెక్కగలిగారు. తిరిగి ఎన్నికలు జరిగినట్లయితే ఏ ఒక కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థి కూడా జయించడు, జయించరాదు అనికూడా గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. ఇటువంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిపై విశ్వాసమున్నదని ఏ ఆంధ్రుడైనా అంటే అది శోచనీయమైన విషయమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. తమిళదేశంలో ఆయనకొరకై ఏ సభ్యుడైనా రాజీనామా ఈయకపోయినట్లయితే, ఆయనను ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలలో ఏ స్థానానైనా కోరుకొనమని చెబుతున్నాను. ఆయన సిద్ధంగా ఉంటే నా నీటు కాళిచేస్తాను రమ్మనండి. అంతేకాని ప్రజలను ఈ విధంగా మభ్యపెట్టవద్దని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆయనకు ధైర్యముంటే, ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని తెలుసుకోవాలని అనుకుంటే, తిరిగి ఎన్నికలను పెట్టమని కోరుతున్నాను. తిరిగి ఎన్నికలను జరిపే ధైర్యము ఆయన కున్నదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆ ధైర్యము ఆయనకు లేదు. దొడ్డిదారిని ప్రవేశించడమే ఆయనకు తెలుసును. అందుకనే ఆ విధంగానే మంత్రివర్గమును విచ్ఛేదించి చేశాడు. కులంత్రాలవల్లనే కాంగ్రెసు అధికారంలోనికి వచ్చినది కాని ప్రజా విశ్వాసంవల్ల కాదు. మా జిల్లాలో గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలలో కాంగ్రెసువారు ఎంత దౌర్జన్యంచేశారో ప్రజలకందరికీ తెలుసును. మా జిల్లాలో కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులమనుకొనే పెద్దపెద్ద ఘాస్వాములు ఏమేమీ వనలు చేశారో ప్రజలు మరచిపోలేదు. కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం ఘాస్వాములకు, పారిశ్రామికాలకు మాత్రమే ఉపకారం చేసిందేకాని, ప్రజాసామాన్యంయొక్క కష్టసుఖాలు గుర్తించ లేదు. అంతేకాకుండా వ్యవసాయ కూలీలకు తగిన కూలి ఇప్పించుటకు ప్రయత్నించ లేదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ఈ ఘాస్వాముల కూలీలను చాలా వాధలు పెట్టే వారు. ఈ కూలీలు అధికారులతో మొరలు పెట్టుకున్నా వారు ఏమీ చేయలేకపోయినారు. ఉదాహరణగా ఒక్క విషయం మనవి చేస్తాను. కృష్ణా జిల్లాలోని గుడివాడ

[2nd July 1952] [Sri G. Bapanayya]

తాలూకాలో ఒక గ్రామమున్నది. ఆ గ్రామంలోని ఘామంతా తొమ్మిది మంది ఘాస్వాముల చేతులలో ఉన్నది. ఈ తొమ్మిది మంది ఘాస్వాములు కూలీలకు సరియైన కూలీ ఇవ్వరు. అనేక సార్లు కూలీలు ఆయనతో మొగపెట్టుకొన్నారు. అయినా వారికి దయ కలుగలేదు. సరికదా, పోలీసు అధికారులకు కూలీలందరూ కమ్యూనిస్టులని చెప్పి వారిని అనేకమైన వాధలకు గురిచేయించారు. ఇంతకూ కూలీలు అడిగిన కూలీ లేదు ఎంత? వారు అడిగినది రోజుకు రూ 1-4-0 లు మాత్రమే. దీనికైనను వారు సమ్మతించలేదు. వారందరూ కూడా కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులే, పైగా పోలీసు అధికారులతో కూలీలందరూ కమ్యూనిస్టులని వారిని అడుపుతూ ఉంచాలని ఫిర్యాదు చేశారు. అధికారుల విషయం చెప్పనే అవసరం లేదు. కాంగ్రెసు వారము అనుకొనేవారు ఫిర్యాదు చేస్తే చాలు. ఇక చూడండి. కూలీలను అనేక విధాల పొంపించారు. ఇలాటి సందర్భాలు ఒక చోట కాదు, అనేక చోట్ల సంభవించాయి. కృష్ణా జిల్లాలోని గన్నవరం తాలూకాలోకూడా ఇలాగే జరిగింది. కాంగ్రెసువారు కూలీలను పొంపించడం స్వస్థపాఠాభివృద్ధిమేరేమింది. ఈ దారుణ చర్యలంతా గత ఎన్నికలలో ప్రతిబింబించింది. ఈ విషయాన్ని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఒప్పుకుంటారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆయనకు మాత్రం సందేహమున్నప్పటికీ మా జిల్లాలో ఆయనకు విధానం కావాలా కోరుకొమ్మనండి. మేము ఆస్థానం కాళి చేస్తాము. ఆయనను ఎచ్చి ఆ స్థానము గెలుచుకుని పొమ్మనండి. ఆయనకు ఆ ధైర్యం చాలదు. ఆయన ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని ఎదుర్కొనలేదు. ప్రజావ్యతిరేకమైన ఆయన ప్రజల తీర్పును మన్నించడు. అందుకనే దొడ్డి ప్రోవను కాంగ్రెసును అధికారంలోనికి తీసుకొని వచ్చాడు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ఘాస్వాముల ప్రభుత్వం, ధనికుల ప్రభుత్వం, జమీందారుల ప్రభుత్వం, ప్రజాసామాన్యానికి వ్యతిరేకమైన ప్రభుత్వం.

“ఇంకొక విషయం గమనించండి. రాజకీయ వాధితులకు ఘాదానం అనే డేరుతో కాంగ్రెసువారు చేసిన చర్యలు చాలా విమర్శకు గురి అయినాయి. ముఖ్యంగా హరిజనులకు ఎంత నష్టం సంభవించినదో చెప్పనలవికాదు. ఎంతో వ్యయ ప్రయాసల కోర్చి సాగులోనికి తెచ్చిన ఘాములు హరిజనులనుంచి తీసుకొనబడినవి. జిల్లా లోని మంచి ఘాములు అనేక మంది పెద్ద ఘాస్వాములైన కాంగ్రెసువారికి ఇవ్వబడ్డాయి. ఆంధ్ర ప్రదేశ్ కాంగ్రెసు కమిటీకి ఉపాధ్యక్షులుగా ఉండి ఉన్న శ్రీ గొట్టిపాటి బ్రహ్మయ్య గారు 40 ఎకరాల సుశ్రీతమైన ఘావసరిగల ఆసామి. ఆయనకు కూడా గత కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం అయిదు ఎకరముల లంక ఘామి రాజకీయ ఘాదానం చేసింది. ఇదే విధంగా మార్కెట్టయ్యగారికంటే మూడే మంత్రిలుకూడా ఘామి తీసుకొన్నారు. వెంకటరత్నం గారనే ఇంకొక పెద్ద ఘాస్వామికూడా మంచి ఘామి ఇవ్వబడింది. ఒక వైపున ఘామి లేక రైతులు వాధపడుతుంటే కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం వారు వారి ముఠాను బలపరచుకొనే నిమిత్తం ఘాములను రాజకీయ వాధితులని పేరు పెట్టి అనేక ఘాస్వాములకు ఇచ్చారు. ఈ ముఠాతత్వంవల్లనే కాంగ్రెస్ తుడిచివేయబడిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇప్పటికైనా ఈ ప్రభుత్వం విప్రోహచర్యలు చేసినది కాంగ్రెస్ వారో కమ్యూనిస్టులూ గ్రహించగోరారు.

“హరిజనోద్ధరణ విషయంలో కూడా చాలా అన్యాయాలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. అనేక సందర్భాలలో రాజకీయ విభేదాలు సాకుగా తీసుకొని హరిజన విద్యార్థులకు స్కాలర్ షిప్పులు, హాస్టల్ సదుపాయాలు నిరాకరింప బడుతున్నాయి. ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటులో కొంతమంది కాంగ్రెస్ హరిజనులకు ఒక గుత్తవ్యాపారం విప్పింది. మార్కెట్టయ్యగారికి ఆయన బంధువులకు మా జిల్లాలోని హరిజన హాస్టల్లవలెనైన సంపూర్ణ

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అధికత్యం ఇవ్వబడింది. వీరు అనేక విధాల హరిజన విద్యార్థులకై ఇవ్వబడిన డబ్బును స్వాహా చేస్తున్నారని ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. హరిజనోద్ధరణ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వం ఒక్క విషయాన్ని గమనించాలి. హరిజనులను ఈ హస్త్యులను మేనేజ్ చేయటానికి నియమించిన నే అది సక్రమంగా నడచుననే అభిప్రాయానికి తావులేదు. మా జిల్లాలలో వారు ఏ కులస్థులైనప్పటికీ హరిజనులకై పాటుపడిన పెద్దలు అనేక మంది ఉన్నారు. అనేకమంది బ్రాహ్మణులు హరిజనోద్ధరణకై చాలా పాటుపడినవారున్నారు. అటువంటి స్వార్థత్యాగులకు ఈ సంస్థలనిర్వహణ వప్పించిన బాగుంటుంది కాని, రాజకీయాలతో ముడిపెట్టి ప్రభుత్వం వారిని బలపరచేవారికి ఇవ్వబడాలని అనుకోవడం పొరబాటు. దీనివల్ల కాంగ్రెస్ వారిలోను ప్రభుత్వంలోను ముతాతత్వం ప్రబలిపోయి ప్రోత్సహించబడుతుంది. అనుకున్నంతగా హరిజనోద్ధరణ జరుగదు. కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీని బలపరచే వారి పిల్లలకే అన్ని రకాల సౌకర్యాలు, ఇతరులకు వాటి అర్హత లేదనే భావం ప్రజలలో ప్రబలిపోతుంది. దీనివల్ల అనేకమంది హరిజనులు కాంగ్రెస్ కు శత్రువులవుతారే కాని మిత్రులుకారని తెలుసుకో గోర్తాను. ఈనాడు మా కృష్ణా జిల్లాలో చూడండి. హరిజన హస్త్యులలోను, హరిజన వెల్ ఫేర్ డిపార్టు మెంటులోను చాలావరకు మార్చయ్యగారి బంధుమిత్రులే. ఈ శాఖలు, సంస్థలు ఆయన వంశంవారికి గుర్త ఇవ్వబడినవా, అనేటట్లున్నాయి. మా జిల్లాలో సంజీవరావు అని ఒక ఆయనవున్నాడు. ఈయనపై అనేక నిందలున్నప్పటికీ ఆయన అధ్యక్షతన క్రిందనే హరిజన వెల్ ఫేర్ సంస్థలు ఉంచబడ్డాయి. ఆయన ఈ కమిటీలో సభ్యుడు కూడాను. ప్రజాభిమానాన్ని కోల్పోయిన వారిని ఈ కమిటీలో చేసినందువల్ల వాటి కార్యకలాపాలు సరిగా అమలు జరుకువడవు. ఇటువంటివారి చేతులలో హరిజనోద్ధరణశాఖను ఉంచడంవలన మహాత్ముడు ఆశించినట్లు హరిజనోద్ధరణ జరుగదని ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎంత త్వరగా తెలుసుకొంటే అంత మంచిది. పార్టీ తత్వాన్ని ఈ సాంఘిక సంస్థల నుంచి ఎంత త్వరగా తొలగిస్తే అంత మంచిదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. హరిజనోద్ధరణ కార్యక్రమాలు అమలు జరుపుతున్న లేబర్ డిపార్టుమెంటువారు కొంత న్యాయంగా ప్రవర్తించాలని కోరుతున్నాను. లేనియెడల బహుసంఖ్యాకులైన హరిజనులు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ద్వేషిస్తారని గుర్తించగోర్తాను.

“అంతేకాకుండా ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయం గమనించండి. రాయలసీమ అని సర్కారులని ఆంధ్రను విడదీయడానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నిస్తోంది. ఆంధ్రులందరు ముక్త కంఠంతో కోరుతున్న నందికొండ ప్రాజెక్టును ఈ ప్రభుత్వం వెనుక వేసింది. ఇటువంటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని, దానికి అధ్యక్షత వహించిన శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని ఏ ఆంధ్రుడు బలపరచరాదని గోరుతున్నాను.”

* SRI KUMARASWAMY RAJAH BAHADUR :—“ Mr. Speaker, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on this occasion. I am now going to throw a challenge to the Government this very day. I shall hand over my resignation of the membership of this Assembly to-day. Let any Minister contest my Puttur constituency. At the same time, I wish to emphasise that I am not bearing any malice to the Congress. As long as they are doing good to the public we are here to support them. But Congressmen should be prepared to support whatever suggestions are given for the sake of helping the public. If they are adamant in not caring to follow reasonable suggestions, I am prepared to throw a challenge and resign my seat. Let the Chief Minister or any of the Ministers take my challenge.”

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* SRI P. RANGASWAMY REDDIAR :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I oppose this Motion on two grounds. Personally I am convinced that such a Motion is not necessary at this stage. This Ministry has been in office for the past eighty days. We did not see any appreciable change in the policy of Government. Secondly, I am not a Congressman. So far as my district is concerned, out of nineteen seats contested fourteen seats were lost by the Congress. They were able to gain only five seats.

“ So far as the Tiruchirappalli district is concerned, the people have given their verdict in clear terms. An unequivocal verdict that the Congress need not continue in office has already been given. So far as my constituency is concerned, there were in all five contestants. I opposed the Congress as an Independent, while among the other three, two were Independents and one Socialist. I specifically put the issue before the public as follows: ‘Do you want the Congress to continue in office or not?’ The fight was between myself and the Congress candidate. The people have given their verdict in my favour. That shows in clear terms that they do not want the Congress to continue. These are the two main grounds on which I oppose this Motion.

“ Sir, in the course of the past sixteen years, this is the third time when the Congress has assumed power. During the year 1937, the Congress first took up office. All the people rallied to support the Congress because the Congress had very noble ideals at that time. But later on, the five years of Congress rule from the year 1946—a completely dictatorial rule—has led the Congress to this deplorable position. At the time the Congress first took over the leadership, people rallied round it and cast their votes in favour of the Congress, thinking that the millennium would dawn upon the country. Even in the 1946 elections the Congress was returned in a majority. But all the expectations of the people were belied. Unfortunately with the outbreak of World War II the first Congress Ministry resigned. The second Congress rule for 5½ years was no better. Thrice there was a change in the leadership of the party and the Ministry was either reshuffled or altered, and in spite of all these, nothing good turned out so far as the common man was concerned. Innumerable Acts and orders were passed in quick succession curtailing the freedom and liberty of the common man, and people were arrested without any reason being given and they were freely shot behind prison bars; no enquiries were made into such shooting and even if enquiries were made, the reports were not made available to the public or to hon. Members of this House. There was a strong impression in the mind of the public that the Government was run only for the purpose of issuing permits or for showing some favouritism to the people who were in the good books of the party in power. That was the situation with respect to the administration. With respect to the atrocities of the Police, they were categorically enumerated by not less than three or four hon. Members on this side. All these, I may tell you, Sir, were the result or the consequence of the five and a half years’ rule of the Congress in the State and the people were waiting for an opportunity to throw them out. The general elections came and not

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less than 372 candidates were set up by the Congress party, and propaganda was made on an unprecedented scale but unfortunately out of 19.3 million voters who went to the polls only 6.7 million voted for the Congress and 12.7 million voted against the Congress; they voted this way or that but not for the Congress. I wish in this connection to draw the attention of hon. Members to what happened in a particular constituency; the total number of votes polled was about 40,000 but the successful Congress candidate was able to secure only 25 per cent of the votes, and the remaining 75 per cent of the votes was distributed among the opposing candidates who numbered about seven or eight. If only the Congress candidate had been opposed by one particular candidate, whatever might be his party affiliation, in all probability, the Congress candidate would have been defeated. This is the clear verdict given by the public during the general election and the Congress Party was unable to secure a majority; only 152 Members were returned on the Congress ticket in a House of 375 Members. But still, even though they were in a minority, by some constitutional jugglery or some arithmetical miracle, they were able to show that this 152 constituted a majority and they were able to form the Government; and it is now 82 days since this Government was formed. Again, all sorts of propaganda were made to expatiate on the benefits of this Ministry, but in spite of all these things, in the bye-elections that took place in the recent past, only in one bye-election the Congress candidate succeeded. It should be remembered that in the Coimbatore bye-election no specific issue was put forward before the public; no question of confidence or no confidence in the Ministry was put before the public; but the result of the election after the Congress candidate succeeded, was assumed to be a clear verdict of confidence in this Ministry. Unfortunately, elated with that perhaps, the Hon. the Chief Minister thought it fit to put the contest in Aruppukkottai as a test of confidence in the Ministry. The Aruppukkottai constituency, I may tell hon. Members, is one of the biggest or the biggest constituency in the whole of India. There are about 373,000 voters and out of that number 125,000 went to the polls; the Forward Bloc candidate secured about 69,000 votes and the Congress candidate got about 50,000 votes. What do the figures show? They show that for every vote and a half cast in favour of the Forward Bloc candidate, the Congress candidate got only one or in other words, for every three votes secured by that candidate, the Congress candidate was able to secure only two votes. In analysing the figures, we arrive at the following facts. During the general election only 45 per cent of the total votes were secured by the Forward Bloc candidate but now in the bye-election it rose to 55 per cent of the total votes polled and the Congress candidate secured only 45 per cent of the votes, that is, he could not even secure even as much as the Congress candidate secured during the general elections. As regards the Kakinada bye-election, the Congress did not set up any candidate. About 33 per cent of the electorate voted in favour of the Communist in the Coimbatore bye-election. The question is whether this is a Congress Ministry or not; if it is a Congress Ministry, in the circumstances under

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which the bye-election was lost by the Congress, that is a verdict given by the people against the Government. Even taking a general view, if the result of election in one parliamentary constituency could afford ample grounds for deciding a vote of confidence in the Ministry, certainly the results of elections in not less than 222 seats must have afforded greater grounds to see that the people had no confidence in the Congress Government of the State.

“ Sir, one remark was made by the Hon. the Leader of the House when he moved the Motion on the 30th June. He said that after the result of the Aruppukkottai bye-election was known, there was an idea whether there should be a general election and the mind of the Hon. the Chief Minister was working on those lines. In that connection, I wish to put one simple question straightway and that is: How long is this process of general election to be continued? Is it to be conducted and repeated till the Congress is able to secure an absolute majority? Are we to assume, that again and again, there would be a general election till the Congress gets an absolute majority, and is the process to be repeated till that result is achieved? Is this thing to go on till the Congress secures an absolute majority or till it loses all the seats? If this Assembly is dissolved and general elections are held and the Congress retains about a hundred seats only and despite that, it wishes to carry on, will the Government once more repeat the process till they get results satisfactory to themselves? I think it is contrary to all democratic principles obtaining in any part of the world. So far as Members on this side of the House are concerned, whether they belong to the United Democratic Front or to any other party, it is quite certain that they will oppose anything which does not truly represent or reflect the real sentiments of the people. On that principle a Motion of this nature would be lost because only 152 or 155 can really support it but if we are not true to the electorate that sent us here, there will be some change in the support for the Motion. I do not appeal to hon. Members on this side in the name of God but I wish to appeal to them in the memorable words of Shakespeare:

‘To thine own self be true; And it must follow as the night, the day,
Thou canst then be false to any man.’

This is what Polonius says to his son in ‘Hamlet.’ So far as hon. Members on this side are concerned, they should be true not only to themselves but also to the electorate that returned them here as their chosen representatives. It is said that there is no religion greater than truth. If we are true to our electorate what should we do? Without any other consideration, we should oppose the Motion. We do not wish to show any discourtesy to any Member sitting on the Treasury Benches. We simply oppose the Motion in the name of the electorate. We are simply reflecting the attitude of the electorate that sent us here that the Congress should not be allowed to continue in office, but regarding what the alternative would be, we need not care because that is the verdict of the majority so far as this State is concerned. Whether they have given the judgment during the general elections rightly or wrongly, it is the look-out of the people at large; we are only

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their chosen representatives and we should reflect their attitude correctly and truly in this House. So far as I am concerned, I am quite certain that the Government do not enjoy the confidence of the House any more than they enjoy the confidence of the people outside the House.

"Lastly the Hon. the Chief Minister made an appeal in the name of God. He said that every Member, whether sitting behind the Treasury Benches or on this side of the House, should feel free to vote according as the God sitting in his heart tells him to do. But unfortunately in saying that, the Hon. the Chief Minister has forgotten one thing, namely, that the same God is sitting in the hearts of the 12·7 million electors in this State and they have already voted in a particular manner and expressed their disapproval of the continuance of the Congress Government for any further period. When God has given the verdict through the electors, why should we now try to flout His verdict? God-fearing as we are, we should certainly respect the verdict of God. Why He has given the verdict in that fashion we do not know; unknown are His ways; but there is the verdict. May the hon. Members have sufficient strength and fortitude to exercise their discretion properly and reflect correctly in this House the attitude of the general public, especially the electorate!"

* SRI M. DHARMALINGAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, now we have to decide whether we have to support the Motion before the House or oppose it. So far as I am concerned, I feel it would be better to go into the events that took place during the period of the previous Congress Ministry and also during the tenure of the present Ministry for the last two months. According to the Constitution, the majority party has to be called upon to form the Ministry. According to that, His Excellency the Governor has called upon the Congress Party to form the Ministry hoping that it is the only single majority party which could take up the responsibility and run the administration as efficiently as possible. The Congress Party which consists of 152 Members in a House of 375 Members was searching for a leader for the party, and fortunately Sri Rajagopalachari was nominated by His Excellency as a Member of the Upper House, the Council, and the Congress Party got an opportunity of electing him as the Leader of the Party. At that time he was well aware of the strength of the party and also the situation of the Congress Party, and knowing all those things he took upon himself the position of the head of the Ministry. He took so much pains to form the Ministry and to appoint the Ministers.

1 p.m. "Sir, I would like to point out one thing with regard to the assignment of portfolios. The portfolio of Harijan Uplift has been assigned to a Brahmin Minister who has no practical experience of the sufferings of the Harijans and the facilities that must be given to them. A Harijan who is competent and well-experienced in the work of Harijan Uplift and who has got close acquaintance with his community should have been appointed as the Minister for Harijan Uplift. But the Hon. the Chief Minister has appointed a Brahmin Minister for that. I do not understand the reason and also the intention of the Hon. the Chief Minister in having appointed

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a non-Harijan to the Harijan Uplift portfolio. Is it his intention to uplift the Harijans or to oppress them? Sir, the previous Congress Ministry assigned this portfolio to a Harijan and announced from the house-tops that they had taken so much pains to uplift the Harijans, but they had practically done nothing for the Harijans except that they passed two Acts—the Temple Entry Act and the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act. I ask, did we request the Government to allow us to enter temples? Did we request the Government to allow us to enter the hotels? Did we request the Government to allow us to enter the houses of the Caste Hindus? Did we request the Government to allow us to touch the Caste Hindu people or Brahmans? Our request is that we should be given all possible facilities and we should be uplifted. But the Government failed to do all those things in spite of our request.

"Sir, if the present Government are so much interested in the uplift of Harijans, let them assign lands which are lying waste, to Harijans. The Government have rightly come to the conclusion that thousands and thousands of acres are lying waste, and after having come to that conclusion, it is better for them to pass immediate orders to the effect that all the waste lands should be distributed among the Harijans. They must be supplied with all agricultural implements. They must also be given loans for purchasing bulls with the help of which they can cultivate the waste lands. In this way they can improve themselves and come forward, and at the same time food production could be increased. Without doing all those things, the Government are saying that they have made all possible efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the Harijans and they maintain that they are still continuing to help the Harijans.

"Now, I come to the educational concessions granted to the children of Non-Gazetted officers. This concession should also be extended to the children of College Professors who are drawing a salary of less than Rs. 300 and those of village officers also. Sir, let us now consider how this educational concession helps the Non-Gazetted officers. It does not help all the Non-Gazetted officers. It may help only one-fourth of the Non-Gazetted officers. A majority of Non-Gazetted officers may not have children of school-going age. Some of them may not have children. Some may be bachelors. Even those Non-Gazetted officers who have married may not have more than one or two children. So, in actual effect it does not help the majority of Non-Gazetted officers. Sir, I ask, is it the request of the Non-Gazetted officers to the Government that they should be given only educational concessions? No, it is not their request. Their request since 1943 is that their pay should be on a par with the scales of pay obtaining in the Central Government Services. Instead of granting their request, the Hon. the Chief Minister flaunts the educational concessions in their faces. The Hon. the Chief Minister must know that he cannot carry the Non-Gazetted officers with him by the grant of this concession alone."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member should finish; his time is up."

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SRI M. DHARMALINGAM :—“As the Chair has directed me to finish my speech in a few minutes, I want to mention only one thing more. As soon as the estates were taken over by the Government after the passing of the Madras Estates Abolition Act, the village officers concerned submitted a memorandum to the Government, requesting that their pay must be revised and fixed on a par with the pay of the village officers of the ryotwari villages. I understand that the Government have acceded to their request and communicated their decision to the concerned officers, but it has not been given effect to. I therefore request the Government to make necessary arrangements to give effect to the order at an early date.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The House will now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 2-45 p.m.”

(After lunch—2-45 p.m.)

*** SRI C. KANDASAMI :—**“கனம் சபைத் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்தச் சபை முன்பாக வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரை தலைமையாக்கக்கொண்ட மந்திரிசபையின்மீது நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது, ஏற்கனவே பல விஷயங்கள் பல அங்கத்தினர்களால் தெரிவிக்கப் பட்டாயிவிட்டன. பச்சையாகச் சொல்லப்போனால், இன்றையதினம் ஒரு தனி நபர் கையிலே சர்வாதிகாரம் வழங்கப்படவேண்டுமென்று கோரக் கூடிய தீர்மானம் இது என்றுதான் நான் கருதுகிறேன். ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அறிக்கையை நன்றாகப் பரிசீலித்தால் அது நன்கு விளங்கும். இன்னும் விரிவாகச் சொல்லப்போனால், அவர் தங்கள் கட்சி யினரைக்கூட, அவர்கள் வேண்டுமென்று விரும்பினால், நன்றாகப் பரிசீலனை செய்து, தங்கள் தங்களுடைய அந்தரங்கத்தைச் சோதனை செய்து, இஷ்டப்படி வோட்டுப்போடலாமென்று கூறியிருப்பதிலேயே, ஏதோ இதில் விஷயம் இருக்கிறதென்று தெரிகிறது. இதிலிருந்து என்ன தெரிகிறதென்று சொன்னால், இன்றையதினம், இந்தச் சபை முன்பு இத்தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்து, இந்த மந்திரிசபைத் தலைவர் என்றமுறையில் தங்களுக்கு எந்தக் கட்சியில் ஆதரவு இருக்கிறது என்பதைத் தெரிந்து, அதன்படி தங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளையும் தங்களுடைய நடவடிக்கைகளையும் செய்யவும் இன்று அதிகாரத்தைக் காப்பாற்றிக்கொள்ளுவதற்கும் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் செய்யக்கூடிய ஒரு முயற்சி என்று தான் நான் கருதுகிறேன்.”

“அவருடைய கொள்கையைப்பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடும்போது, ஏற்கனவே நடந்த சட்டசபைக் கூட்டத்தில் நடந்த விவாதத்தின்போது சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்; ‘என்னுடைய கொள்கையெல்லாம் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளை எதிரிகளாக பாவிப்பது, அவர்களை ஒழிப்பது’ என்று. அதைத்தான் இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் எல்லோரும் ஞாபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

“அடுத்தபடியாக, எதிர்க் கட்சியைக் குறிப்பிடும்போது, ‘எதிர்க்கட்சி இன்றையதினம் குழப்பத்திற்காக நிற்கிறது’ என்று கூறியிருக்கிறார். அது மட்டுமல்ல. எதிர்க்கட்சி எல்லாம் மொத்தமாக குழப்பத்திற்காகவே உள்ளது என்றும் கூறியிருக்கிறார். இதைப்பற்றியும் நன்கு சிந்தனை செய்து பார்க்க வேண்டும்.”

“இன்றையதினம் எதிர்க்கட்சி, ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக்கட்சி, என்ன திட்டத்தை வைத்திருக்கிறது? விவசாயிகளுக்கு என்ன திட்டம் வைத்திருக்கிறது? தொழிலாளிகளுக்கு என்ன திட்டத்தை வைத்திருக்கிறது? வெளி ஆட்களுக்கு என்ன திட்டத்தை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள்? படிக்காதவர்களுக்கும் படித்திருப்பவர்களுக்கும் என்ன திட்டத்தை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள்? சிறிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுக்கு என்ன திட்டத்தை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள்? இன்று தமிழ்நாடு பூராவும், மாகாணம் பூராவும், எல்லா மக்களும் நன்று அறிந்ததுதான். அறிந்துதான் பிரமாதமாக வாக்களித்திருக்கிறார்கள்.”

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[Sri C. Kandasami]

கள். 225 பேர்களுக்குமேல் காங்கிரசுக்கு எதிராக இன்றையதினம் தேர்ந்தெடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைச் சொல்லித் தெரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டிய தில்லை.

“அதே சந்தர்ப்பத்தில், எங்கள் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவைப் பொறுத்தமட்டில் நடக்கக்கூடிய சில விஷயங்களை இன்றையதினம் எடுத்துச் சொல்லக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கின்றேன்.”

“ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறபடி, குழப்பத்திற்கு இன்றையதினம் முன்னால் நிற்பது தஞ்சை ஜில்லா என்பதை நான் பெருமையாகத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். பொதுஜனத்தியின் காரணமாக நாங்கள் எடுத்துச்சொல்லும் எந்தக் கொள்கையை அவர்கள் குழப்பம் என்று ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்களோ, எந்தத் திட்டத்தை அவர்கள் குழப்பம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்களோ, அதே காரணமாகத்தான் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா இன்று முதல் வரிசையில் நிற்கின்றது. நான் சொல்வது உண்மையென்றால், அவர் ஞாபக சக்தியை அவர் நன்றாகத் துறுவிப்பார்க்கட்டும் என்று உங்கள் மூலமாக, அவரைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகின்றேன்.”

“ஏனெனில், 1931-ம் வருடத்தில் உப்பு சத்தியாக்ஷகத்திற்கு, சரித்திரபிரசித்திபெற்ற இயக்கத்தின்போது திருச்சியிலிருந்து கால் நடையாக வேதாரண்யம் சென்றதை அவருடைய ஞாபகத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரவிரும்புகின்றேன் அன்றையதினம் எந்தப் பாதை வழியாக அவர் நடந்து சென்றார்களோ, தஞ்சைக்கு மேற்கே 16-வது மைலில் இருந்து வேதாரண்யம் வரையில் சுதந்திரக் கிளர்ச்சி செய்துகொண்டு எந்தப் பாதை வழியாகத் தொண்டர் படை அன்று நடந்துசென்றதோ, அதேதான் ஜில்லாவில், அதே பாதையில் இன்று, தஞ்சை ஜில்லா மக்கள் எப்போத்கோடி யேந்திக் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளின் பாதையாக மாறியிருப்பதற்கு காரணம் என்ன என்பதைச் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும்.”

“பிரமாதமாக காங்கிரசுக்கு ஆதரவளித்த அதே தஞ்சை ஜில்லா பூராவிலும், சாலியமங்கலம், நீடாமங்கலம், திருத்தரைப்பூண்டி, தெருத்திகள் அத்தனை தொகுதிகளிலும், 50 மைல் தூரம் உள்ள அதே பாதை வுள்ள அத்தனை மக்களும் இன்றையதினம் காங்கிரசுக்கு எதிராக என் ஒன்று சேர்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைச் சிந்தனை செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். மக்கள் பூராவும் முட்டாள்களா? மக்கள் பூராவும் ஒன்றும் தெரியாதவர்களா? இன்றையதினம் சில கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் அங்குப் பிரயோக சூழ்ந்ததை உண்டு பண்ணிவிட்டார்கள் என்று அவர் அறிக்கையில் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்றால், அவர் கனா கண்டித்தார் என்று தான் நினைக்கிறேன். இன்றையதினம் அவர் நினைப்பதுபோல் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா அம்மாதிரி ஜில்லா, சத்தியாக்ஷகப் போரில் சிறந்து விளங்கிய தஞ்சை ஜில்லா, சுதந்திரப்போராட்டத்திற்கு குருகேசுத்திரமாக இருந்த அதே தஞ்சை ஜில்லா, இன்று ஏன் இப்படி மாறியிருக்கிறதென்பதை அவர்களே யோசனை செய்து பார்க்க வேண்டும். தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவுக்கு அவர்கள் ஒருமுறை வந்து பார்க்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன் உங்கள் மூலமாக, அவர் அங்கு வந்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். அங்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய லக்ஷாபிலக்கம் விவசாயிகள், கட்டத் துணியின்றி, குடியிருப்பதற்கு வசதியின்றி, பண்ணை அடிமைகளாக, வடபாதி மங்கலம்போன்ற பிராகதாரின் அடிமைகளாக அகப்பட்டிருக்கொண்டு இருக்கின்றார்களென்றால், அவர்களுக்கு நாங்கள் ஆதரவு காட்டினால், அது கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளின் குற்றமா? கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளின் திட்டங்களுடைய குற்றமா? என்றுதான் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ள ஆசைப்படுகிறேன்.”

“காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் செய்த ஹரிஜன சேவையைப்பற்றி என்ன சொல்ல முடியும்? ஹரிஜன விவசாயிகளை, தூணில் கட்டிவைத்து அடிக்கப்படும்படியான நிலையில் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அம்மாதிரியான காரியத்தை ஒரு நிலப் பிரபு, காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர் செய்திருக்கிறார் என்ற நிலையில் இருக்கிறது இவர்களின் ஹரிஜன சேவை. இது விஷயத்தை விவசாய சங்கத் தலைவர் மூலமாக எடுத்துச் சொல்லியும், யாதொரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுக்கப்படவில்லை. இம்மாதிரி ஹரிஜன விவசாயிகள் படும் கஷ்டத்தை எடுத்துச் சொல்வோமேயானால், அதைக் குழப்ப

[Sri C. Kandasami]

[2nd July 1952]

மென்கிருடர்கள். பெரிய மனிதன் என்ற முறையில் அவர் அம்மாதிரி சொல்லலாம். ஆனால், எனக்கும் செல்வாக்கு இருக்கிறது, மக்களிடத்தில். நானும் ஒரு காலத்தில் அவரை வெகுவாகப் பூஜித்தது உண்டு; அவரைப் போற்றிப் புகழ்ந்தது உண்டு; அவர் சொல்லக்கூடிய ஒவ்வொரு சொல்லையும் ஊன்றிக் கவனித்தது உண்டு. அப்படி இருந்தாலும்கூட, இன்றிருக்கும் நிலையை அவர் நன்றாக உணர்விலேயென்றுதான் நான் நினைக்கின்றேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக, காலையில் கேள்வி நேரத்தில், ‘ஹரிஜன விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்படுகிறார்களா?’ என்று கேட்டதற்கு கனம் மந்திரி ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கர், ‘அப்படி நடப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை’ என்று கூறியிருக்கிறார். நான் கூறுகின்றேன்; தோழர் ராமமூர்த்தி அவர்கள் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களைக் கோயமுத்தூரில் கண்டு, இதை அவருடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது அதை அவருடைய ஞாபகத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருகின்றேன். அதுமட்டுமல்ல. ஸ்தல அதிகாரிகளிடமும் அவசியமான சந்தர்ப்பங்களிலெல்லாம் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட விவசாயிகள் நோடியாகச் சென்று தாங்கள் எப்படி குடியிருக்கின்ற இடங்களிலிருந்து விரட்டப்படுகிறார்களென்று தெரிவித்திருக்கிறார்கள். மாகாணம் பூராவும் இன்றையதினம் பல பத்திரிகைகளிலும் வெளியிடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.

“நேற்றையதினம் ஜனசக்தி பத்திரிகையில் படங்கள் போடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. சீர்காழியிலுள்ள விவசாயிகளின் பிரச்சனையை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்படுகிறார்கள், நிலமில்லாமல் அவர்கள் எப்படிப்பயிர் செய்யமுடியும். தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவைத் தென்னாற்காடுகளஞ்சியம் என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அப்படிப்பட்ட இடத்தில், இம்மாதிரி விவசாயிகள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறபடியான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்களென்று சொன்னால், அதற்கு என்ன பதில் சொல்வது என்று தெரியவில்லை. நிலம் இல்லையென்று கேட்டால், அதைக் குழப்பம் விளைவிப்பது என்று சொல்ல முடியுமா? ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் கையில் போலீஸ் இருக்கிறது, சட்டம் இருக்கிறது, அவர் மிகத் துணிவோடு, தெரியமாக நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுப்பார்களென்று தெரியும். தண்ணீர் வந்துவிட்டபிறகு விவசாயிகளுக்கு விவசாயத்தைத் தவிர வேறு ஒன்றும் தெரியாது. நிலம் இல்லாமல் அவர்கள் என்ன செய்வார்களென்று கேட்கின்றேன்? உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களுடம் சொல்லியாய்விட்டது. மனுக்கள் மூலம் தெரிவித்தாய்விட்டது. மந்திரிகளிடமும் சொல்லி ஒன்றும் பலன் ஏற்படவில்லை. நிலம் வேண்டுமா? வேண்டாமா? சாகுபடி செய்வதா? வேண்டாமா? இவ்விதமாக விவசாயிகள் பயிரிடுவதற்கு நிலம் கேட்டால், அதைக் குழப்பம் என்பதா? அதற்கு உடனே சட்டம் குறுக்கிடுகிறது. ஏற்கனவே போலீஸ் அங்கு வந்துவிட்டது. ஸ்பெஷல் போலீஸ் அங்கே கொண்டு வந்து வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில் என்ன ஆகுமென்று யோசனை செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். குழப்பத்திற்குக் காரணம் யார் என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். சுமமா குழப்பம் என்று சொன்னால் போதாது. குழப்பத்திற்குச் சூழ்நிலையை முன்கூட்டியே ஏற்படுத்தி, விட்டு அதற்காக எங்களைக் குற்றஞ்சாட்டினால் அது எதில் சேர்ந்தது என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்.

“இன்றையதினம் லக்ஷக்கணக்கான விவசாயிகள் அவதிப்படுகிறார்கள். என்னால் லிஸ்ட் கொடுக்கமுடியும். இந்தச் சபையில் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் சிறிய அவகாசத்தில் அந்த லிஸ்டைக் கொடுப்பதால் எந்தவிதப் பிரயோஜனமும் ஏற்படாது. ஒரு கிராமத்திலே, உத்தமமார்த்தாளையூரம் என்னும் இடத்தில் சுமார் 1,000 ஏக்கர் நிலத்தில் வேலைசெய்து கொண்டு வந்த குடியானவர்களை, விவசாயிகளை, இன்றையதினம் வெளியேற்றி விட்டார்கள், 144 சட்டம் போட்டு. இதுமாதிரி நூற்றுக்கணக்கான உதாரணங்கள் இப்பொழுது இந்த சபைமுன்பு கொடுக்கமுடியும்.

“இந்த மாதிரியான சூழ்நிலையை சிருஷ்டி செய்துக்கொண்டு வந்தால் இந்த மாதிரியான நிலை நீடித்தால், இன்னும் 15 நாள், அல்லது ஒரு மாதத்தில் தண்ணீர் வந்தால், நிச்சயம் அங்கிருக்கக் கூடிய விவசாயிகள் பெரிய நிர்ப்பந்தத்திற்கு உட்படுவார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையை தவிர்க்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஆனால் பிடிவாதமாக மறுத்தால்

[2nd July 1952] [Sri C. Kandasami]

குழப்பம் ஏற்படுவதற்கு அவர்கள் தான் காரணமாக நிரூபிப்பார்கள். நிலைமையைச் சரியாகப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். புத்திமதிகள் சொல்லிக் கொண்டு இருப்பதில் பிரயோஜனமில்லை, யார் குழப்பத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுகின்றார்கள் என்பதை வருங்காலச் சரித்திரம் சொல்லும். அவதிப்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கின்ற விவசாயிகளின் நெஞ்சில் ஏற்பட்ட புண் மாறாது. அதற்கு அவர்கள் பதில் கொடுப்பார்கள். பதில் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

“மிகச் சிறந்த தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில், 6 கம்ப்யூனிஸ்டுகள் தேர்தலில் வெற்றி பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள், தேசபக்தியில் சிறந்தவர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக் கொள்பவர்கள் ஒன்பது பேர் ஜெயித்திருக்கிறார்கள். 10 ஸ்தானங்களைக் காங்கிரஸ் இழந்திருக்கிறது. இதில் ஏதோ விஷயம் இருக்கிறதென்பதை புரிந்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். நான் சொல்வது சரியா இல்லையா என்பதை கவனிக்கவேண்டும். நன்றாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன். இந்த சமயத்தில் ஸ்ரீமான் கன் நாயுடு துப்பிள்ளை வி. எஸ். தியாகராஜ முதலியார் குன்றியூர் சாம்பலிவ அய்யர், பூண்டி வாண்டையார் போன்ற நிலப்பிரபுக்கள் தான் இன்றையதினம் தஞ்சையில் காங்கிரஸைத் தவிர வேறு யாரும் இல்லை. இன்னும் நன்றாகக் கவனித்தால், சாமி அய்யர் கூறையார் காங்கிரஸை எதிர்த்துப் போட்டிப் போட்டு இன்றைய தினம் வந்திருக்கிறார். அவருடைய கிராமங்களில் நடப்பது என்ன? கிருஷ்ணசாமி வாண்டையாருக்கு எதிராக போட்டுப் போட்டதற்காக, ஏழைப்பட்டாளி மக்கள் கட்டிப்போய் படவிலையா? இம்மாதிரியான அக்கிரமங்கள் காங்கிரஸைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களால் நடக்கின்றன. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது, குழப்பத்திற்கு வழிகோலு வது நாங்களா? பதவியில் வீற்றிருக்கும்படியான மந்திரி சபையா? என்று நான் கேட்குகின்றேன். இதற்கு பதில் வேண்டும். அதே மாதிரி ஒவ்வொரு விஷயத்தையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். சுமமா கம்ப்யூனிஸ்டுகள் என்று சொன்னால், குழப்பத்தை உண்டுபண்ணுகிறவர்கள் என்று சொன்னால் அவர்கள் பதவிக்கு வந்தால் அராஜகம் தான் ஏற்படும் என்று சொன்னால், அதில் பிரயோஜனம் ஒன்றுமில்லை. அவர்களுடைய திட்டங்களை கவனிக்கவேண்டும். அவ்விதம் நாங்கள் அராஜகத்தை உண்டு பண்ணக்கூடியவர்களாக இருப்போமேயானால், இந்தப் பேர்களை மக்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுத்திருக்க மாட்டார்கள் என்பதை அவர்கள் தெரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டும்.

“ராஜாஜிக்கு செல்வாக்கு இருக்கிறது. எனக்கும் சாதாரண மக்களிடத்தில் செல்வாக்கு ஏற்பட்டுக்கொண்டு வருகிறது. அதற்குக் காரணம் விடாது அவர்களுக்கு தொண்டு செய்துக்கொண்டு வருவது தான். அவதிப்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கும் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் தொழிலாளிகளுக்கும் தொடர்ந்து சேவை செய்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறோம் என்பதை யாரும் மறுக்கமுடியாது.

“ஐந்து வருஷமாக நடந்துவந்த காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் எவ்வளவோ 3 p.m. சம்பவங்கள் நடந்திருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் பாட்டாளி மக்களுக்குச் சாதகமான காரியங்களை அவர்களால் செய்ய முடியவில்லை. எங்களுடைய கட்சியை நசுக்குவதற்கு எவ்வளவோ முயற்சி செய்தார்கள், இருந்தாலும்கூட அந்தக் கட்சியை அழிக்க முடியவில்லை. அந்த இயக்கத்தை அழிக்க முடியவில்லை. ஜனங்களுடைய நன்மைக்காக வேண்டிய காரியங்களுக்காக அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய திட்டங்களுக்காக நாங்கள் தொடர்ந்து சேவை செய்து கொண்டு வருவோம் என்பதை இந்தச் சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் எடுத்துக் காட்டத்தான் வேண்டியிருக்கிறது.

“உணவு கன்ட்ரோல் ரத்து போன்ற இன்னும் பல விபரீதமான திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு வந்து நிறைவேற்றப்பட்டு, அதன் மூலம் இந்தச் சபையினுடைய நம்பிக்கையைப் பெறவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக இதைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்.

“ரேஷனை எடுத்துவிட்ட உடனேயே தமிழ்நாட்டிலும், எல்லா இடங்களிலும் மக்கள் மிகவும் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறார்கள். அது மிகவும் வாஸ்தவம் தான். ஆனால் அவர்கள் என் அவ்வளவு சந்தோஷப்படுகிறார்கள் என்பதை நாம் கவனித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும் ரேஷன் ஏற்பட்டதிலிருந்து, அதுவும்

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ఎదుటకు తీసుకొనివచ్చారు. కాని నిజంగా ఈ ప్రభుత్వం వైన ఆనగా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం వైన విశ్వాసము ఉన్నదా లేదా అంటే, పోయిన ఎన్నికలలోనే ప్రజానీకము ఈ విషయంలో తమయొక్క తీర్పు చెప్పినది. కనుక ప్రజానీకముయొక్క తీర్పుకు కట్టుబడవలసినటువంటి బాధ్యత ప్రతివాక్తవై ఉన్నది. శ్రీమత్ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు వైతము మరియు వారి అనుచరులు అందరూ కూడా దీనిని పాటించవలసిన ఆవసరమున్నది. కనుక సత్యానికే కట్టుబడి నీలబడదాము, రండి, అని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని వారి మంత్రివర్గాన్ని వ్యవధయే పూర్వకంగా నేను ఆహ్వానిస్తున్నాను. మనమంతా ప్రజానీకానికి ఏ వాగ్దానాలు ఇచ్చామో, వాటిలోనమే నిలవబడదాము రండి, అని కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులందరిని కోరుతున్నాను. ఆదే రకంగా కె.యల్.ఓ. సభ్యులందరినీకూడా నేను కోరుతున్నాను. మనము ప్రజానీకానికి ఇచ్చినటువంటి వాగ్దానాలకు కట్టుబడి, మన నిజాయితీని నిలుపుకొందామని గొడర సభ్యులందరిని కోరుతున్నాను. విరైతాంగ వైతే కాంగ్రెస్ కు వ్యతిరేకంగా ఓటుచేసిందో, ఆరైతాంగానికి మేము చేయాలని కాంగ్రెస్ నాయకులు, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఇచ్చినటువంటి ఉత్తమావలను ఒక సారి మనము చేసుకొమ్మని కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులందరిని కోరుతున్నాను. నిజంగా మీరు మీరు ఓటు ఇచ్చినటువంటి రైతాంగం వట్ట విశ్వసనీయులని ఆనుకొంటున్నారా అట్లైనా, ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని ఓడించండి, అని సభ్యులందరికీ విజ్ఞప్తి చేస్తున్నాను. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనలో వారు అనుసరించినటువంటి మార్గాలు చేసినటువంటి చర్యలు సింహావలోకం చేసుకొంటే ప్రజానీకానికి కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం వైన విశ్వాసమున్నదా, లేదా, అని తేలుతుంది. ఉదాహరణకు, మా కిల్లలో జరిగిన ఒక సంఘటన చెప్పుతున్నాను. ఆంధ్ర ఈ సంఘటనను గురించి సభ్యులకు ఇదివరకే తెలిసియుండవచ్చును. దీనిని గురించి ఇతరులు చెప్పియుండవచ్చును. ముఖ్యంగా ఇదివరకు శాసన సభ్యులుగా ఉండినటువంటి అల్లూరి సత్యనారాయణ రాజుగారు దీనిని గురించి అంతా తప్పుడుతడకలగా చేసియుంటాడు. కాని, అసలు ఇది ఏమిటి? నిజంగా ఏమి జరిగిందని నేను పెరూమల్ శాఖ మంత్రి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని వ్యవధయే పూర్వకంగా అడుగుతున్నాను; ప్రజలను ప్రజాస్వామికాన్ని అండగా పెట్టుకున్నటువంటి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విషయంలో ప్రజలకు సమాధానం చెప్పండి అని వాని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. నిజంగా ఈ విషయాలన్నింటినీ వారు బయటపెడుతున్నారా? సత్యానికే కట్టుబడియున్నారా? అని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. అసలు విషయమేమింటే 1950 వ సంవత్సరం అంతా కమ్యూనిస్టులవైన ప్రభుత్వం బ్రహ్మాండమైన వ్యతిరేక ప్రకారంపాగిస్తూ కమ్యూనిస్టులనే వేరుతో ప్రభుత్వం వారెవరు వచ్చినట్లు, ఇట్లము వచ్చినవారిని పొంసెంస్తూ యుండినటువంటి కాలము. అటువంటివన్నీ ఎక్కడ దుర్జన సంఘటనలు జరిగాయి. విలారు తాలూకాలో మాచిపూడి అనే గ్రామమున్నది. అచ్చట అయిదుగురు ఒడి పంతుళ్లు ఉన్నారు. వారు కమ్యూనిస్టులు కారు. లేక కమ్యూనిస్టుపార్టీకి సానుభూతి పగులుపాడకారు. వారు కేవలము పొట్ట చేతపట్టుకొని స్కూలులో ఒడి పంతుల ఉద్యోగములలో ఉంటున్నటువంటి వారు. అటువంటి అమామకులైన ఒడి పంతుళ్లను మీ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము విమిచేసినకో తెలుసునా! ఆ ఒడి పంతుళ్లను పోలీసు వాళ్లు నిష్కారణంగా పట్టుకొని ఆరెస్టుచేసి ఆ గ్రామంనుంచి 12 మైళ్ల దూరంలో ఉన్న విలారుకు తీసుకొనివచ్చి అక్కడనుంచి 80 మైళ్ల దూరంలోవున్న చింతలపూడికి వెళ్లి మరల అక్కడనుంచి మైళ్ల దూరములో ఉన్న రాజేర్ల గ్రామంలో ఒక జమీందారు ఇంటిలో వారిని కట్టిపెట్టి ముగ్గురితో రోజున రాత్రివేళ పోలీసు లారీలో గారిని 20 మైళ్ల వెనకకు తీసుకొనిపోయి ఆ ఒడి పంతుళ్లను రోడ్డుమీద వరసగా

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[Sri G. Satyanarayana]

నిలబెట్టి తుపాకులతో కాల్చి చంపింది మీ ప్రభుత్వము. దానికి కారణం ఏమని చెప్పింది కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము? అక్కడను సమీపములో ఉన్న పోలీసు స్టేషను లోని తుపాకులను వీరు ఎత్తుకొనిపోవుటకు ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారని చెప్పి వాళ్లను రోడ్డులో వరుసగా నిలబెట్టి చంపింది. అందులో ఒక ఒడి పంతులయొక్క భార్య గొట్టిపాటి రాధమ్మ ఈ విషాద సంఘటనను గురించి ప్రభావ మంత్రికి, జవహర్లాల్ నెహ్రూగారికి కూడా ఉత్తరం వ్రాసుకున్నది. కాని అందుకు ఏమి సమాధానం రావేదు. వరు వాత ఈ విషయము హైకోర్టులోకూడా దావావేసి సివిలు సూటు వైచేస్తే అప్పుడు పోలీసు సూపరింటెండెంటుగారు రాయబారిగా రాకీచేసుకోవడానికవచ్చి వారి భర్తల నష్టపరిహారంగా ఎనిమిది వందల రూపాయలు ప్రభుత్వం వద్దనుండి ఇచ్చేటట్లు కప్పినాడు. అందుకు ఆ ఒడి పంతులభార్య చెప్పినది. 'మా వ్రాసాలకు ప్రాణమైన మా భర్తను నిష్కారణంగా చంపి అందు పరిహారంగా ఎనిమిది వందల రూపాయలు ఇస్తామంటారా? ఇదేనా మీ కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వముచేసేది?' అని అన్నది. కాని ఈ విషాద సంఘటనయొక్క నిజమైనటువంటి బోగట్టాను విచారణ చేసినటువంటి డిప్యూటీ కలెక్టర్లను ఏమి చేశారని శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని అడుగుతున్నాను ఆ డిప్యూటీ కలెక్టరు న్యాయంగా విచారణచేసినందుకు ఆతనిని సస్పెన్షన్లో పెట్టారు. అతనికి ఈ రోజున ఉద్యోగము లేకుండాఉన్నది. కనుక ఇటువంటి విషయాలన్ని కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వము బయటపెడుతున్నారా అని వారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఇదేమిటి ఇంకా ఎక్కో సంఘటనలు జరిగాయి. అవన్నీ తెలుపుటకు సాధ్యంకాదు. కనుక ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానమును ఓడించమని సభ్యులందరిని నేను కోరుతున్నాను.'

* SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was surprised when I learnt that the Ministry was seeking a vote of confidence from this House. I was wondering whether by so doing they are not inviting trouble for themselves. In fact, that is exactly what has happened. For they have got into hot waters. For these two days and a half the Ministry has been more or less boiled and scalded. I am sorry for the Hon. the Chief Minister. He has been hearing all the time unpleasant truths spoken about him here on the floor of this House. But the real question is this: 'Do we want a Government run by the Congress or, do we want a Government run by the Communist Party?' The people's verdict in the recent general elections was that they have no faith in the Congress regime. After the elections we have found that the foundation on which the Congress was built in this State has become shaky. Subsequently some of the persons who are interested in seeing the Congress Government in existence in this State got Rajaji to bolster it up. And when he took up the reins of Government he said that this would not be a Government run by the Congress Party, but that it would mostly be a Government run by him; and what has been the result? In name only it is Rajaji Ministry; really it is something else. Though Rajaji has become the Chief Minister, yet, it is the same old policy which the Congress Party had been following, that is being pursued now. In name only there has been a change. In fact it is nothing but a change from Perumal to Pedda Perumal. Rajaji said that he has abolished food rationing and thereby he has done good to the people. But I think, what he has done is nothing but legalising blackmarket trade in rice. We have been getting rice before in blackmarket only at the rate of Re. 1-4-0 a measure. Even now,

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we are getting rice only at that rate. I understand the man who was selling rice at that price in blackmarket is now selling rice at that rate in the open market. So derationing has helped only the blackmarketer. The common man is not being benefited at all.

"Then, with regard to the other policies of the Government, what is it that they have done? With regard to the top-heavy administration, what have the Government done? What is their policy? We do not know. With regard to the top-heavy administration, have they sought to reduce the expenditure in any manner? For example, there is the Governor and his staff. We are spending more or less seven and a half lakhs of rupees on them per annum. Is it all necessary in a democratic Government, I ask? It is absolutely not necessary.

"Then, with regard to the salary given to the highest officials in the highest ranks, their salary is inordinately much more than what is paid to their subordinates. The Commissioner of Police draws a salary of about Rs. 1,900 and odd per mensem, whereas the police constable gets only about Rs. 40 per mensem. The Police Constable does much more onerous duties than the Commissioner of Police. Sometimes we see the police constables standing at a distance of a furlong or a furlong and a half, each, in a long row awaiting the passing by of a Minister or the Governor, and in so doing they have to stand all day in the hot sun. But a constable is paid only a pittance of Rs. 40 per mensem.

"Then, the present Government, is too much dependent upon the Centre. What is required in a progressive State is that we must gradually work for the autonomy of the State. But here, we are proceeding in a retrograde way; we are always trying to look to the Centre for help; that should not be our policy. As far as possible we should be independent or autonomous.

"And then, Sir, what is the position of the tiller of the soil? That man has been abandoned. He is not looked after, and cared for. The roads in the villages are all very bad.

"Then, I come to the case of the handloom weaver. The Government say that they have come out with a scheme for him. According to it, the handloom weaver will be paid about a rupee or so. Even then, I submit, all the weavers will not be provided for. They have not got work even for five days in a month.

"Then, there is the Prohibition policy. The Government refuse to move in the matter. What is the reaction of the people to that question? They do not want Prohibition. That has been stressed by almost all the leaders in the State, and many of the newspapers have been advocating only that. For example, 'The Mail' has been advocating the scrapping of the Prohibition Act. But this has become a fetish with the Congress Government. They do not want to scrap the Prohibition Act, even though they know that Prohibition is not a success. I would like Rajaji to go to the courts and see for himself as to who are the persons who come there as accused. He will see that such persons are mostly children and women. So it is high time that the Prohibition Act was scrapped.

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"Then, Sir, with regard to one other matter I wish to say a word. Every one has come here to serve the cause of the people, as much as the Congress Members. The United Democratic Front has got up a common programme. I am sure it will be acceptable to every one of the hon. Members here. I belong to the K.M.P. Party. If only the Congress Members go through that minimum programme they will accept it, as it is in the best interests of the common man. I would invite Rajaji to go over to this side and take up the reins of Government and run it as per that programme, and by doing so he will be doing immense good to the common man. I wish, he, instead of being there, is on our side. With these words, Mr. Speaker, I wish to oppose the resolution brought by the Ministry."

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDAR :—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நமது ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் உணவு கண்ட்ரோலை ரத்து செய்ததற்காக முதலில் என் சார்பாகவும் என்னுடைய ஜில்லா சார்பாகவும், என் கட்சியின் சார்பாகவும் என் நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

"நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தில் அதிகமான கிராமங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்த கிராமங்களிலெல்லாம் ஏராளமான கூரை வீடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அவைகளில் அடிக்கடி தீ பிடித்துக் கொண்டு அவைகள் தீ விபத்துக்களுக்கு உட்படுகின்றன. அதற்கு உதாரணமாக சமீபத்தில் மே மாதத்தில் 19-ம் தேதி செங்கம் தாலுகாவில் பெண்ணைத்தூரில் தீ பிடித்துக்கொண்டு சுமார் 200 வீடுகள் எரிந்து அழிந்து போயின. அதனால் லட்சத்திற்கு மேல் பொருள் சேதம் ஏற்பட்டு சர்க்காரும் அந்தக் குடும்பங்களுக்கு ரூ. 13,237-ம் மர சம்பந்தமாக ரூ. 1,748-12-0-ம் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இதனால் கிராமங்களில் தீ விபத்துக்கள் ஏற்படுவதால் கிராமவாசிகளுக்கும் நஷ்டம் ஏற்படுகிறது, சர்க்காருக்கும் பண நஷ்டம் ஏற்படுகின்றன. இம்மாதிரியான விபத்துக்கள் ஏற்பட்டு பொருள் சேதம் ஏற்படாமலிருக்கும் பொருட்டும், அவ்விதம் விபத்து ஏற்பட்டால் அதை உடனே நிவர்த்தி செய்து கொள்வதற்கும் கிராமங்களில் ஒவ்வொரு ஐந்து மைலுக்கும் ஒரு பைபர் எஞ்சின் (Fire Engine) அதாவது தீ அணைக்கும் படையை அமைத்துக்கொடுக்கும்படியாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

"அடுத்தபடியாக கிராமங்களில் அநேகம் மக்கள் இந்த மதுவிலக்கினால் பெரும் அவஸ்தைப் பட்டு ஜெயிலுக்குப் போகிறார்கள். அதைப்பற்றி செங்கம் ரெங்கநாதம் அவர்கள் எடுத்துக் காட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள். முக்கியமாக இப்பொழுது வெல்லம் போன்ற பல சாமான்களை உபயோகப்படுத்தி அதன் மூலமாக சாராயம் காய்ச்சி விற்று வருகிறார்கள். அவைகளை விற்பதற்கு ஏழைகளை வைத்து நடத்த்கிறார்கள். அதனால் ஏழைகள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். இவைகளுக்கெல்லாம் காரணம் சில முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் தான். இந்த முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் இவ்விதம் ஏழை ஜனங்களை வைத்துக் கொண்டு இந்த விதமான வியாபாரத்தை நடத்தி வருகிறார்கள். இந்த மாதிரியான குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று நான் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். இவைகளுக்கு இந்த புரொகிபிஷன் மெம்பர்களும் உடந்தையாக இருக்கிறார்கள். கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் அரசியல் விவகாரம் தெரியாதவர்கள். அசியல் விவகாரங்களில் அனுபவம் உள்ளவர்கள் தான் இவர்களை கையாணாக வைத்துக் கொண்டு இந்தவிதமான காரியங்களைச் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். இவ்விதமான முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் மீது கடுமையான நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் எல்லாம் மது விலக்கை அனுசரிக்காமல் மது உற்பத்தி செய்யும் வேலைகளில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதைப்பற்றி கனம் ரெங்கநாதம் அவர்கள் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார். அரசியல் விவகாரம் தெரிந்த சில முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் தான் இந்த வேலையில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் மேல் நல்லமுறையில் நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டும்.

[Sri N. C. Ramaswami Kandar] [2nd July 1952]

“கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கிராமங்களில் நிவாரண வேலைகளை ஆரம்பித்து வைக்க வேண்டும். அவ்வித நிவாரண வேலைகளுக்கு இப்பொழுது சர்க்காரில் பணம் ஒதுக்கி வைத்திருப்பது எனக்கு நன்றாகத் தெரியும். அவ்வித நிவாரண வேலைகளைச் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று ஜில்லா கலெக்டரைப் போய்க் கேட்டால் கிராமத்தின் அதற்கு வேண்டிய பணம் இல்லை என்று சொல்லி விடுகிறார். அவ்விதம் கலெக்டர் சொல்லாமல் உடனடியாக நிவாரணம் அளிப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய பணத்தை அவருக்கு அனுப்பி வைக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவ்விதம் பணத்தை அனுப்பிவைத்து உடனடியாக கிராமங்களில் நிவாரண வேலையை ஆரம்பிக்க வேண்டும்.

“மதுவிலக்கினால் கிராமங்களில் அனேகருக்கு வேலை கிடைக்கவில்லை என்று கூறுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் வேலைகள் கொடுப்பதற்கு சர்க்காரில் பணம் ஒதுக்கவில்லை என்று தவறாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அதற்காக சர்க்கார் நிவாரணப் பணம் அளித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது எனக்கு நன்றாகத் தெரியும். இந்த விதமாகத் தவறுதலாகச் சொல்லும் அதிகாரிகளின் மேல் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு ஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய உதவியைச் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக செங்கம் தாலுகாவில் சாத்தனூர் அணைக்கட்டு இருக்கிறது. அந்த அணைக்கட்டை ஆரம்பித்து வைத்தால் பெங்களூர், திருவண்ணாமலை, பாலையூர் முதலிய தாலுகாக்களிலுள்ள கூலிகளுக்கு வேலை கிடைக்கும். அவர்களுக்கு நிவாரணம் அளிக்கக்கூடிய வேலை அது. உடனடியாக அதை ஆரம்பித்து வைத்து ஜனங்களுக்கு நிவாரணத்தை அளிக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது திருவண்ணாமலையில் சுமார் 8 லட்சம் ஜனங்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கே அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது அங்கே குடிதண்ணீருக்குக் கூட கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. பக்கங்களில் கிராமங்களில் குடிதண்ணீர் இருக்கிறது. அவைகளை திருவண்ணாமலைக்கு கொண்டு வருவதற்கு சர்க்கார் லாரி முதலியவைகளைக் கொடுத்து உதவி அளிக்க வேண்டும். அத்துடன் இப்பொழுது அங்கே பஞ்சம் நிலவி வருவதால் சாத்தனூர் கால்வாய் திட்டத்தை ஆரம்பித்து வைத்து பக்கத்திலுள்ள ஏரியில் ஜலத்தை நிரப்பி அங்குள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு சாகுபடிக்கு வசதி செய்து கொடுத்தால் சுமார் ஐயாயிரம் ஏக்கர்களில் உணவு உற்பத்தி செய்யலாம். அதற்காக உடனடியாகத் தண்ணீர் சப்ளை செய்ய வேண்டும். இதை கனம் ராஜாஜி சர்க்கார் அவசியம் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டு என் சார்பாகவும் என்னுடைய தொகுதியின் வாக்காளர்களின் சார்பாகவும் அவருக்கு என்னுடைய நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டு இத்துடன் என்னுடைய சிறுரையை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

3-30 P.M. * SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, from the explanations that have been given to the House by the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Hon. the Finance Minister about this Motion and also from the explanations that have been given to the public elsewhere, it appears that there are four reasons for this Motion. One is the Governor's Address Incident, the second is Chaos and Communism, the third is respect for God and the fourth is the Aruppukkottai election. As far as is practicable, I shall touch upon each and every one of these reasons.

“Taking first the incident of the U.D.F. boycotting the Address delivered by His Excellency the Governor, we all know that this is a poor State and the Government are spending about Rs. 7,29,000 over the Governor and his staff. Not only that; in this particular year a further grant is being asked for, for the purpose of having an electric lift and also for some other purpose. They come under other grants, but they should really be classified under grants for the Governor's household. Sir, we

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are spending Rs. 7 lakhs and odd upon a luxury. This Honourable House knows that in America for instance, what corresponds to the Governor's Address here is a message sent to the House without the expenditure of even a single pie. The same system may be followed here; but our Constitution provides otherwise, and we are told that is the reason why we are having Governor's Addresses here. All right; but all the same, I submit it is quite possible to reduce the Governor's expenses. The Governor himself can voluntarily give up a portion of that expenditure, or the Government may ask him to do so. That is my submission. Therefore, considering the amount of expenditure involved on this item, we who fight for the people, we who fight against the expenditure of Government, think that it is criminal on our part to come here and sit with folded hands listening to the Governor's Address. When the Address is actually printed and distributed, the function reduces itself to a formal ceremony, and nothing more than that, especially when there is to be no discussion. Under these circumstances, the U.D.F. thought that it was not necessary or important that we should attend the House when the Governor was addressing it.

“A point which was specifically raised in this connexion was this: whether we were not showing disrespect to the post of the Governor. I submit no disrespect was intended and there could be no disrespect at all. It is all a confusion of ideas, a veritable confusion of ideas, to compare the position of the Governor here with that of the monarch in England. The monarch in England stands on a completely different footing; he commands a certain respect, not because he is a monarch but because of certain historical developments in that country. For instance, in Sweden and Norway and in some other countries, I have seen monarchs cycling along the streets and going to shops unaccompanied by other persons; but owing to historical reasons, a different convention is in vogue in England. The question is whether we should follow the same convention here and give the same respect to the Governor here as the people give to their monarch in England. We on this side of the House believe that that is not the intention underlying our Constitution. The question also arose whether we should have the constitutional monarch who is sitting in England as our own monarch here; that question was discussed and decided to the effect that we need not follow the convention of having a monarch here and that this country was to be a Republic. When once the country has decided that there was to be no monarchy here, there is no meaning in making comparisons with the conventions in other countries. What the country has rejected once, it has rejected for ever; please do not bring it again by way of analogy. Therefore, I submit the comparison to the British monarch falls to the ground.

“In this connexion, certain other explanations also were given to the public, viz., that we wanted to show disrespect to the Governor. That is all that the Government were able to see in

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our action when we boycotted the Address made by the Governor. But actually there is a deeper meaning underlying our action. We want to set up a new convention in this House, by which the Opposition will have its say before the Governor. Those of us who sit on this side of the House, sent a letter to the Governor, through our leader, but it was not even acknowledged in proper time; the Governor did not have the courtesy to acknowledge that letter in due time. That is the way in which the Opposition is treated. We want better treatment of the Opposition. We want to submit in all seriousness that no disrespect was intended, but it was done only as a proof of our desire to create a new convention in this House by which the Opposition Leader should have a right to address the Governor whenever the people's rights are at stake. That is the convention which we wanted to establish and that is the convention which I am sure we are going to have in spite of what the other side may say.

“Secondly, Sir, it was stated that there would be chaos if the Congress Government was not allowed to continue in office. By saying this, the Chief Minister simply sets up a bogey of Communists. May I ask him whether it is not a fact that he himself was for some time associated with the Communists? When some of us were in the Congress and opposed him, did he not resign from the Congress and did he not associate with the Communists? Is it that if we associate with the Communists, the whole world will go to pieces and the heavens will come down; and if he associates with the Communists, it is all for the good of the country and of the masses? Well, Sir, that is the way in which things are put by him. After all, let us remember that we on this side of the House do associate with the Communists on a definite programme which has been drawn up in black and white, which has been published in the shape of twelve points, and which has been circulated to the people and the Press. I am also proud to say here that not a single newspaper worth mentioning has written a single sentence against that programme which has been put before the public. To-day we find neither the Government nor any of the Government spokesman has raised any objection to any part of that programme. Of course there are extremists who say that that programme falls too short and there are others, moderates, who think it goes too far—but that is the proof of a real programme. That is a programme which goes too far for certain mentalities and is too short for certain other mentalities; but that is the way in which a real and business-like programme ought to be. I would even commend it to the Government benches; let them read it please and come to a proper understanding of it and to a right conclusion on it. If there is anything wrong in it, let them place it before the people, tell them that it is wrong and take the people with them. That is what I want to tell the Government.

“The Hon. the Chief Minister counts the Communists as his enemy number one and perhaps he counts the others who sit along with the Communists on this side, as his enemy number two,

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barring perhaps the Public Works Department which he says is his enemy number two. But in counting his enemies, does he remember that the real enemy who is facing this State is not the Communists or the people who plead in this House for the masses, but the stark famine which is facing this State and which is round the corner? Famine is staring at the people right in their faces, and yet the Chief Minister says that the Communists are his enemy number one. I am here reminded of a poem written by Tennyson called ‘The Princess’ in which a certain person was able to see but was not able to distinguish between the shadow and the substance. He mistook the shadow for the substance, and that is the whole idea of the poem, and a story is spun round that. The same is the situation here. The Chief Minister is mistaking the shadow for the substance. It has been again and again remarked by the greatest economists of the world that the only way to fight Communism is to fight poverty; it has been again and again remarked that Communism is likely to spread in Asia, especially in South-East Asia; and that unless this problem of poverty is tackled at the very basis or source of it, Communism will undoubtedly become stronger and stronger in South-East Asia. As I said, it is this poverty which is facing our country to-day. I request the Hon. the Chief Minister to think less of the Communists; he has developed a Communists-phobia and thinks less about the people, their welfare, their needs and their wants. Let him not mistake the shadow for the substance.

“I now come, Sir, to the third point, viz., faith in God. I think the Hon. Chief Minister has quite often been protesting and more than once suggested before audience not only in the City but also outside, that Members of other parties who are all sitting on the Opposition Benches are opposed to the idea of having faith and belief in God. May I take this occasion to tell him that we on this side of the House—at least most of us—are as pious as he himself is? It is true there are various degrees of faith; some of us believe in a personal God and some others in an impersonal God; there may be some others who are plain atheists or agnostics; but at the same time, is it not true that on this side also there are persons who are believers in God and also others who are not? We can find such people in every group and every section of the population; and it is not the privilege of any particular party to believe in God, or not to have such belief. That being the real position, the Chief Minister has been making much of the fact that he is a pious man and he believes in God. After all, what is the difference between us and him? We think that the full meaning of a ‘secular State’ is that there should be absolute neutrality between religion and religion. When we have accepted that ours is a secular State, it goes without saying that we have accepted that in this country there should be no difference between religion and religion. But there is a further point also involved here, viz., that not only all religions are treated alike, and there will be no difference between one religion and another but every one will be entitled to follow his own convictions and his own

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faith, even if he believes there is no God. The idea of a secular State is not only that there will be no difference between religion and religion, and that all religions will be respected, but even those who do not believe in the existence of God, the atheists, will be respected in the same way as those who believe in God. That is the idea underlying the statement that this is a 'secular State'. The question arises especially whether, when the Chief Minister is travelling at State expense, he is entitled to preach about religion before the public of the different places he visits? Is religion a part of the State? Is this not a secular State? Is it the right of this Party to be preaching religion? We are all people who believe in religion as much as he does. We think, Sir, that while travelling at the cost of the public funds and on public duties it is not proper to be preaching religion. To him and to his eyes, because he is the Head of the State, both religion and atheism must look alike. This is what we want. I was hearing him speak at Tirunelveli. He referred to God Nallaiappar and said, 'If you believe in God Nallaiappar, he will himself come and rule.' I may point out to him that Hinduism neither demands nor does it depend upon preachings such as these. Hinduism can take care of itself. I am myself a Hindu and I am proud of it. The religion to which I belong and the religion to which he belongs can flourish easily without doing propaganda at the expense of State funds. Is it necessary for the Chief Minister to receive money from the State funds to go to Tirunelveli and preach about Hindu Gods and deities? May I tell him that, on the contrary, it did more harm to Hinduism than it would otherwise have been? I was hearing some Christian and Muslim friends murmuring, 'Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the Chief Minister of a State is not able to forget that he is a Hindu. He says God Nallaiappar is going to rule over us.' Is this not doing more harm than good to Hinduism? He believes in Hinduism as devotedly as I do and I ask him, 'Is it not doing more harm to the Hindu religion if we believe in publicly preaching about religion at the cost of public funds? Is this the way to preach religion?' Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is not the way. We, on this side of the House, believe it is improper and extremely improper to be preaching religion while drawing on the Government funds for that purpose. Sir, another Hon. Minister has taken a further step. I was very much pained to find the Hon. Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments claiming that he could produce rain and that he has produced rain on a number of occasions by prayer alone. The Hon. the Chief Minister knows that after all these are not the teachings of higher Hinduism. The law of life and the law of the physical world is such that they shall not be changed because there should be security for man. Man knows where he stands because the laws of life are immutable and unchangeable. If man, a simple mortal, prays for one moment and God changes the whole order of the universe, what is to become of the security of man? The Hon. the Chief Minister is a Vedantin and I am myself a Vedantin too. I have read through his books on Vedanta. The whole basis of Vedanta is

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that the whole universe is built upon laws which are not going to be changed simply because a man wants this or that thing to be done. Suppose there is a thief who prays, 'Let it become dark so that I can go and steal something', and the other person prays, 'Let there be light so that my jewels may not be stolen.' Which change is God to effect? Therefore the physical laws of nature have been made immutable. But, Sir, what is implied in the statement of the Hon. Minister for Hindu Religious Endowments that he was able to produce rain is that he has been able to change the law of gravity and the physical laws of heat and electricity, because rain comes when the water vapour in the atmosphere gets a little heavier. If by simple prayer one can change these laws it will act as an injustice and man can never be sure of his bearings. God has been good enough to vouchsafe that physical laws shall not be changed and, in these circumstances, it is preposterous to say that a Minister has been able to produce rain."

* JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was carefully listening to the speeches delivered on the floor of this House opposing the Motion for expressing confidence in the Ministry led by Sri C. Rajagopalachari and, though I was convinced more than enough of the necessity for supporting this Motion, the speeches delivered here have made me all the more convinced that, if there had been an alternative to the present Ministry led by Sri C. Rajagopalachari, it would have ended calamitously to the people of this country. I believe the utterance of the word 'God' or devotion to God is anathema to the leading spokesmen on the other side of the House. The last speech delivered here now surprised me because of the line of argument adopted by the speaker, namely, that a Minister travelling at public expense should never even utter the word 'God' or speak anything in support of religion or the necessity to believe in God. I am surprised at the enormity of the mental transformation that has been brought about even in a Vedantin, which Sri Adityan claims to be, by this unholy alliance with the Communists on the other side of this House. Sir, I ask, 'Is belief in God such a sinful thing that it should be shunned and abhorred by people going about speaking to the public?' If this association with the Communists is able to bring about such a transformation in normal persons, I fail to see what would have been the fate of this State if the United Democratic Front had formed the Government, had captured places of vantage and had been placed in a position to carry on their propaganda in this country. This was exactly what they wanted. Under the guise of a minimum programme they are trying to have their maximum programme put into practice in this country. That is the technique of the Communists; that is the technique of the United Democratic Front. Not only in South India, Sir, but also in most of the European countries, the Communists had formed such United Fronts, but at what cost to their allies? Those who had the simplicity to walk into the parlour of the Communists could never return from that parlour and the parties that had joined hands with the Communists

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became liquidated either physically or liquidated mentally, intellectually and spiritually, with the result that Communists alone remained and not the other elements of the Fronts. I warn my friends of the Kizan-Mazdoor-Praja Party that this Front is going to liquidate them unless they dissociate themselves from the Communists. If they are in opposition to the Government they can have healthy criticism of the sins of commission or omission on the part of the Government.

" Sir, I belong to the Muslim League Party and the position of my Party with reference to this Motion was made clear by my Friend, Mr. Kunhi Muhamed Shafee, who spoke on the floor of this House yesterday. In 1946 we stood against the Congress, and in this State, all the 29 seats which were reserved for the Muslims were captured by the Muslim League. We formed the Opposition and while we carried on as the Opposition, we always joined hands with every section of the House which opposed the irregularities on the part of the Congress Government—their omissions and their commissions with respect to matters affecting the welfare of the State. Even the Leader of the United Democratic Front will grant that during the time that he was the Chief Minister of this State, the Muslim League Legislature Party was getting on very well with him, and in fairness to him it must be said that he was very friendly with the Opposition. He respected the criticism of the Opposition and, as far as the Muslim League is concerned, I should make it clear that we are grateful to him for his attitude towards us, because the report of the speech made by my Friend must have created an impression that Sri Prakasam, when he was the Chief Minister was particularly unfair to the Muslims. He was not. As a matter of fact, my Friend was referring to some unfortunate incident which took place during his Premiership. This was the marching of a British battalion into Malabar under an apprehension caused by certain exaggerated and false reports sent to Mr. Prakasam by some of the present leaders of the Kizan-Mazdoor-Praja Party in Malabar that a Moplah Rebellion was going to break out. The parading and marching of the troops was resented by the Muslims and when the matter was brought to his notice, he regretted that such a step was taken by him at the instance of certain people who created a misapprehension in his mind. I, therefore, want to make the position clear. It is not antipathy to the personality of Mr. Prakasam or want of respect for him that has really guided the members of the Muslim League Party in taking up the present attitude. It is not out of consideration for any personalities or out of antipathy against particular personalities that we are adopting this attitude. We honestly and sincerely believe that the Ministry now functioning under the leadership of Sri C. Rajagopalachari promises to be a successful Ministry in keeping up a stable Government in this country which is absolutely necessary for the very existence of the citizens of this State, and the fact that the leader of that Ministry happens to be a believer in God is an additional reason for supporting that Ministry rather than a

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point against him. (Cheers.) As a matter of fact, my Communist friends whose sincerity I do not dispute as they will not, I hope, dispute my sincerity in expounding my ideas against them, must also realise the invaluable truth that after all it is belief in God and belief in the eternal truths of religions which have been responsible for the establishment of institutions which have done and are doing incalculable and infinite good to humanity in relieving the sufferings of the people, in establishing brotherhood between man and man, in creating love and concord in the world and in bringing about peace and goodwill on this earth. That religion should have been denounced in such flippant terms as it had been done on the floor of this House really pains one and, Mr. Speaker, Sir, has religion become such a great curse on humanity? If through the ages the spiritual giants have been able to achieve anything in this world it has been the establishment of the spirit of love, brotherhood and concord, and that has been done through their almost intense faith in religion, and intense faith in God and not by their belief in dialectic materialism by which our Communist friends now swear. (Hear, hear.) The Communist ideology which is only fifty years old and which has not stood the test even in the half a dozen countries in which it has been experimented, has greatly disillusioned the people in those countries. If that experiment is going to succeed at all, belief in God and belief in the fundamental moral and spiritual values of life would go. Woe unto humanity and mankind! In fact, Sir, this aspect has convinced me all the more of the necessity for further supporting the present Ministry and keeping up a stable Government in this country, and I respectfully request Sri C. Rajagopalachari that he should not in any way be dissuaded from carrying on in the way in which he is now carrying on in telling the people, 'Believe in God and God is the real saviour of humanity.' He is doing the greatest service to humanity by this kind of propaganda. One of my friends who spoke here was asking, 'Why did not Rajagopalachari, speak about God in 1936?' The answer is as my friends of the Communist Party were not here in 1936 there was no necessity for Rajagopalachari to speak about God then. Now the members of the Communist Party are at large. They go about the country and ask people not to believe in God. They have been carrying on an aggressive propaganda against religion which will do incalculable harm to humanity. In a situation like that it is the duty not only of Sri C. Rajagopalachari but of every human being who wants to see peace and concord established in this country to ask his fellowmen to believe in God. That is the duty of Sri Rajagopalachari and that is the duty of every person who has the good of humanity at heart. I request Rajaji to carry on that propaganda. May God help him. Atheism is going to fail as it is bound to fail and religion which has survived such onslaughts for centuries and which has been nurtured and brought to its present state by spiritual giants will certainly survive flippant, puerile and infantile attacks which have been made on the floor of this House.

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"Sir, it is said that as this is a Secular State and it has place for atheists also, Sri Rajagopalachariar should not advise people to believe in God. Some people may be breaking physical or hygienic laws. Have they not also got a place in this Secular State? They have. Still cannot Rajaji go and tell them, 'Do not break the physical laws, do not break the hygienic laws. It will be injurious for you and your fellowmen. In the same way, there are certain moral laws, certain spiritual laws which have to be observed. If people do not observe them, the consequences will be more calamitous than the breach of physical or hygienic laws and when that takes place, will it not be open to—nay, will it not be the duty of—Sri Rajagopalachariar when he is travelling at public expense to tell people, 'Do not break such laws and abandon eternal truths to the utter ruin of humanity?' I am surprised that this sort of argument is adopted by the United Democratic Front speakers when such things are discussed.

"Sir, when I was listening to the speeches made on the floor of this House, I was inclined to think that our friends are mistaking this Motion of Confidence in the present Ministry for an absolute verdict for all the sins of commission and omission on the part of the previous Congress Ministry. They also seem to be under the impression that we are asked to give a blank cheque to the present Ministry for carrying on the administration of this State. Neither the first nor the second idea is implied in this Motion. This Motion only means that in the present political situation, the Ministry formed by Sri Rajagopalachariar as the leader has a reasonable prospect of carrying on the administration and keeping up a stable Government in this State which is absolutely essential for the very existence of the citizens of this State, and the fact that the leader of this Ministry happens to be a believer in God is an additional reason for supporting the Ministry and therefore the Ministry should be given a chance to continue. If any person wishes a stable Government established in this country, it is his duty to tell Sri Rajagopalachariar. 'We know your past antecedents. We know your absolute selflessness and self-effacement in having accepted this onerous duty which an ordinary man would not have accepted at your age, especially after you had attained a position in the public life of this country which you had attained. Rajaji, 'you have our blessings in carrying on the administration of this country'. If Sri Rajagopalachariar misbehaves and if he follows the old traditions of the previous Congress Ministry, and if he does not come up to the expectations of the Members of this House, it is open for any Member of this House to table a No-confidence Motion and have it discussed on the floor of this House. So there is no reason why you should not have a Motion of Confidence in him now. This Motion has been brought because a lot of propaganda has been carried on, and after the Aruppukottai elections it was sought to be made out that the Rajaji Ministry is not enjoying the confidence of the people. In a situation like that, a vote of confidence in the present Ministry will be greatly useful, if not absolutely necessary, for the Ministry, in carrying on the administration of this State successfully with the

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backing of the public. It will remove the cloud and uncertainty that are sought to be created by the United Democratic Front Opposition. So, Mr. Rajagopalachariar has come to this House with this Motion of Confidence in his Ministry. During the short tenure of this Ministry it has taken certain measures like decontrol of food and aid to non-Gazetted Officers which have created all round satisfaction except in the ranks of people who never want satisfaction and contentment among any people in this land, and whose technique is not to have any contentment and satisfaction in this country. From every constituency which we represent, from all sections of people, we are receiving letters and telegrams eulogising the policy followed by Sri Rajagopalachariar in the matter of decontrol and asking us to support his policy and enable him to carry on the administration of this State in a healthy and successful way. In such a state of things, it is our duty, Sir, to give our vote of confidence to the present Ministry for which this Motion has been moved on the Floor of this House.

"Sir, as a matter of fact, it is not as a religious bigot that I am speaking about the Communists. I have read the literature of the Communists and articles written by eminent persons who after joining the Communist ranks have left them after sad and bitter experiences. In every country in Europe and outside, outstanding intellectuals had joined the Communists attracted by the ideological attractions of Communism just as my young friends on the other side of the House have been attracted to them. Those persons saw how Communism worked in actual life and they were dissatisfied with the 'God' in whom they wanted to find everything perfect and left Communism. They have written about their experience as to how totalitarian and how suicidal to human liberty Communism is, how totalitarian is the method which Communists adopt and how difficult it becomes for a man who enters the parlour of the Communists to come out of it scot-free if he has any difference of opinion with the persons who lead the Communist Party or with the ideology of the Communist Party. (Applause.) As a matter of fact, Sir, I am absolutely certain that in all the Communistic countries, not only in Russia but in all the satellite countries as well where Communism is experimented, the time is not far off when a counter revolution is bound to come up because humanity will never tolerate this materialism of the basest order for a long time . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Sir, on a point of order, I want to point out to the hon. Member that in this House there are no Members who sit here as Communists or rather Communists as such. They are all sitting on this side as Members of the United Democratic Front. No Member who spoke on this side of the House talked anything about Communism and there is no point, Sir, in the hon. Member expatiating upon Communism and the dangers of Communism which are irrelevant and which do not form the subject-matter of the Motion at all."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I do not know how this is a point of order. The hon. Member may continue his speech."

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* JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—“ When there is a Communist Party in this House of which Mr. Nagi Reddi is the leader, my hon. Friend Mr. T. Viswanatham says that there is no Communist Party in this House.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, it is a mistake and the hon. Member cannot repeat mistakes.”

* JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—“ Mr. Viswanatham should remember the experience of the other United Democratic Fronts in other countries for his future guidance and for his future conduct. I am not a guide for his future guidance. But as a friend I may tell him that even in the matter of the conduct of the Members of the Communist Party in the Legislatures in India, guidance is given by the Cominform, and it is not a matter left to Mr. Viswanatham or to Members of the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party to regulate them or to have any control over them. What I would submit is this. We have our differences with the Congress and our differences were always made clear. In the past we have made protests against their policy towards the Muslims and other minorities, and in the matter of other general policies like their food and cloth policies we were unsparing critics. During the budget debates you may hear, Sir, our points of difference with the Congress expressed as forcibly as we can. But, this is a Motion where the existence of the Ministry itself is involved and we are not for overthrowing the Ministry for the reasons which we have given. We will not be parties to any Motion or Resolution or any move which will mean the quitting of the Ministry, as its consequences will be calamitous to the people of this State. With these words, I support the Motion expressing confidence in the present Ministry wholeheartedly.” (Applause.)

* SRI T. SHANMUGHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, இன்று இந்த சட்டசபை ஒரு பஜனைக் கூடமாக மாறி விட்டது.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ சட்டசபையை கேவலமாக ஒரு பஜனைக் கூடம் என்று சொல்லக் கூடாது.”

SRI T. SHANMUGHAM :—“ சபையைப் பற்றி நான் அவ்வளவு கேவலமாக சொல்லவில்லை. இப்பொழுது நம் முன் கடவுள் உண்டா இல்லையா என்பது பிரச்சனை அல்ல. இன்று இங்கு இருப்பது கடவுள் மேல் நம்பிக்கை உண்டா அல்லது நம்பிக்கை இல்லையா என்ற பிரச்சனையும் அல்ல. இன்று இருப்பது இந்த மந்திரி சபை மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா அல்லது நம்பிக்கை இருக்க முடியுமா என்பதுதானே தவிர கடவுள் மேல் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா இல்லையா என்பது இல்லை. இதற்கு நமது நண்பர் முஸ்லீம் மெம்பர் வேகு நேரம் எடுத்துக் கொண்டு பேசி விட்டார். இப்பொழுது இந்த நம்பிக்கை தீர்மானத்திற்கு அவசியமே இல்லை. (Some interruptions) எல்லா பதங்களுக்கும் தமிழ் தெரியாது. ஆனால் பூராவும் இங்கிலிஷில் பேச முடியாது. தமிழும் இங்கிலிஷும் கலந்து தான் பேச முடியும். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் பிரச்சனையைப் பற்றி சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலில் ஜனங்கள் நன்றாக சொல்லி விட்டார்கள். இனி காங்கிரஸ் கவர்ன்மென்ட் கூடாது என்று நன்றாக சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். அப்படி இருக்கும் பொழுது மக்களை ஏமாற்றி வோட்டு வாங்கி வந்தவர்களிடத்தில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்க வேண்டுமா? ஏதோ சிலர் பதவிக் காகவோ, பணத்திற்காகவோ ஆசைபட்டு காங்கிரஸில் சேர்ந்து இருக்கிறார்கள்.

[2nd July 1952]

[Sri T. Shanmugham]

ஆனால் மக்களோ காங்கிரஸிற்கு எதிராக வோட்டுப் போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதை ஒருவரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. காங்கிரஸில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்டால் அதை மக்களிடத்தில்தான் கேட்கவேண்டும். நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா இல்லையா என்பதை லட்சக்கணக்கான மக்களிடத்தில் தான் கேட்கவேண்டுமே தவிர அவர்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு வரிடத்தில் வந்து நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்க வேண்டிய தவறாக இல்லை. இவர்கள்தான் துயோகிகளாச்சே, ஏமாற்றியல்லவோ வோட் வாங்கி வந்து விட்டார்கள். மக்கள் வாயில் மண்ணைப் போட்டுவிட்டுத் தானே இங்கு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். நிலைமை அப்படி இருக்கும்போது மறு படியும் நம்பிக்கைக் கேட்பது மிகவும் அசம்பாவிதம். அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் நடந்த தேர்தலிலிருந்துதான் இது வந்தது. இந்த பிரச்சனையின்பேரில் தான் தேர்தல் நடந்தது. தேர்தலில் மக்கள் அங்கே மறுபடியும் சொல்லி விட்டார்கள். காங்கிரஸ் வேண்டியதில்லை என்று தீர்ப்புக் கொடுத்து விட்டார்கள். மறுபடியும் அதை மாற்றிவிட்டு இங்கே வந்து நம்பிக்கை உண்டா இல்லையா என்று கேட்பது மிகவும் ஆச்சர்யமாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த மாதிரியான தீர்மானத்திற்கு ஏதாவது அவசியம் உண்டா? நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய ராஜாஜி கோரிய மாதிரி காங்கிரஸினின்பேரில் நம்பிக்கை உண்டா இல்லையா என்பதைச் சொல்லி விட்டார்கள். ஆகையால் உடனடியாக ராஜாஜி ராஜினாமா செய்ய வேண்டியதுதானே தவிர இங்கே கொஞ்சம் வோட்டுகள் கிடைக்கிறது என்றும், ஸ்பீகர், டிபுடி ஸ்பீகர் தேர்தலில் ஏதோ மெஜாரிட்டி வந்திருக்கிறது என்று நம்பி இங்கே வோட்டுக்களை வாங்கிக் கொள்ளலாம், பிறகு பதவியில் Continue பண்ணலாம் என்று நினைப்பது சரியானது அல்ல. இப்பொழுது மந்திரி சபை ஒழிந்து விட்டால் என்ன நடக்கவேண்டும். நிபாயமாக எதிர்க் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவர்களைத்தான் மந்திரி சபையை அமைத்து அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்தச் சொல்லவேண்டும். அதுதான் ஒழுங்கு. ஆனால் அது இல்லாமல் மறுபடியும் மறுதேர்தல் வந்துவிடும் என்று கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் சொன்னார். அவர் சொல்வதைக் கேட்க நான் ஆச்சர்யப்படுகிறேன். முதலாவதாக ஐக்கிய முன்னணியிலுள்ள 166 பேர்களை நிராகரித்துவிட்டு 152 பேர்களைக் கங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபை அமைக்கச் சொன்னது தப்பு. வேறு மந்திரிசபை அமைக்க முடியாது, மறு தேர்தல் தான் நடத்த வேண்டும் என்று சொல்வது இருக்கிறதே அது தப்பு. அதைத் தவிர வேறில்லை.

“நாங்கள் மந்திரிசபை அமைத்தால் எங்களால் நன்றாக காரியங்களை நடத்தமுடியும். நாங்கள் மந்திரிசபை அமைத்தால் இந்த வரிகளையெல்லாம் உயர்த்தாமல் பழைய வரிகளைக்கொண்டே காரியங்களை நடத்த முடியும். அனுவசியச் செலவுகளையெல்லாம் குறைக்கமுடியும். எவ்வளவோ ‘இன்டஸ்ட்ரிஸ்’ இருக்கின்றனவே, அவையையெல்லாம் ‘நாஷனலைஸ்’ பண்ணி, அதன்மூலமாக வருமானத்தை உயர்த்தமுடியும். எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் வரியை உயர்த்துவதற்கு, இவ்வளவு பெரிய ராஜாஜி தேவையா? யாராவது ஒரு சாதாரண எம்.எல்.ஏ. கூட வரியை உயர்த்தி சர்க்காரை நடத்துவார்கள். இதற்கு இவ்வளவு பெரிய மூளையுள்ள ஒருவர் தேவையா?”

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—“சாதாரண எம்.எல்.ஏ. பெரிய எம்.எல்.ஏ. என்று உண்டா என்று கேட்கின்றேன்?”

SRI T. SHANMUGHAM :—“152 பேர்களில் ஒருவரால்கூட நடத்த முடியாமல்தானே ராஜாஜியைக் கூப்பிட்டீர்கள்! (பலத்த சிரிப்பு) அதனால், 152 பேர்களும் சாதாரண எம்.எல்.ஏ.க்கள் என்று தானே அர்த்தம்? ராஜாஜி ஒருவர்தானே மூளை உள்ளவர், தந்திரசாலி, பக்குவப்படுத்தி எல்லோரையும் சரிப்படுத்திவிடலாம் என்று நினைத்துத்தானே, 1946-ல் வேண்டாமென்று வெளியேற்றப்பட்ட ராஜாஜியை இப்பொழுது வேண்டுமென்று அழைத்திருக்கிறீர்கள். ஆகையால், 152 பேர்களும் சாதாரண எம்.எல்.ஏ.க்கள்தான். அதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. (பலத்த சிரிப்பு.)

“ஆகவே, வரியை உயர்த்துவது என்றால், அது ஏழைமக்களை பாதிக்குமா அல்லது பணக்காரர்களை பாதிக்குமா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்யாமல், இப்பொழுது போடப்பட்டிருக்கும் வரிகள் ஏழைகளைத்தான் பாதிக்கிறதெய்யாயிற்று பணக்காரர்களை பாதிக்காது. ‘தம்பிடிக்கு தம்பிடி

[Sri T. Shanmugham]

[2nd July 1952]

வரி' என்று சொல்வதுபோல ஒரு மைலுக்கு ஒரு தம்பிடி என்று பஸ் கட்டணத்தை உயர்த்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். இது என்ன பிரமாதம்? ஒரு மைலுக்கு ஒரு தம்பிடிதானே உயர்த்தியிருக்கிறோம், என்று சொல்வதுபோல் இருக்கிறது. ஒருவன் காஞ்சிபுரத்திற்குப் போகவேண்டுமானால், 48 மைலுக்கு, 4 அணா அதிகம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும்? ரூ. 1-4-0 கொடுத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தவன் அதற்குப் பதிலாக ரூ. 1-8-0 கொடுக்கவேண்டும். இது யாரை பாதிக்கின்றது என்று யோசித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். பணக்காரர்களைப் பாதிக்கிறதா? இல்லை. பஸ்விலை செல்லக்கூடியவர்கள் சாதாரணமாக ஏழைகள் தான். அவர்கள்தான் இதனால் அதிகம் பாதிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். அதே மாதிரி சென்ற ஐந்தாறு ஆண்டுகளாக விவசாயிகள் மழையில்லாமல் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். நில அபிவிருத்தி வரி என்று போட்டு, அவர்களை ரூபாய்க்கு 4 அணா, 8 அணா, ஒரு ரூபாய் என்று கேட்டால் மக்கள் எப்படிக் கொடுப்பார்கள்? இப்படி வரிபோடும் ஒரு அரசாங்கம் இருக்கவே கூடாது.

“இன்னும் ஒரு முக்கியமான விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன், மறு தேர்தல் கொண்டுவரப்படுமென்று அவர்கள் மிரட்டுகிறார்கள். அதிவிஷயமாக நான் அவர்களுக்கு ஒன்றை சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்; மறுதேர்தல் வந்தால், அங்கிருக்கும் 152 பேர்கள் மறுபடியும் இங்கு வரமுடியாது. நன்றாக மறு தேர்தல் வைக்கட்டும். ஆனால், அங்கிருக்கும் 152 பேர்களில் 52 பேர்கள்தான் மறு தேர்தலில் ஜெயித்துவருவார்கள், மற்ற 100 பேர்களும் வரமுடியாது என்பதை அவர்கள் ஞாபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். இந்தச் சட்டசபை முன்பு நான் இந்த சவால் (challenge) விடுகிறேன். ஒவ்வொரு அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கும் தெரியும், அவர்கள் எந்த விதமாகத் தேர்தலில் நின்றார்கள். எந்த விதமாகத் தேர்தலில் வெற்றிபெற்று வந்தார்கள் என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். அவர்கள் தலை தப்பியது தம்பிரான் புண்ணியம் என்று அவர்களுக்கு நன்றாகத் தெரியும். ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் 4 பேர், 5 பேர் என்று ஏதிரிகள். ஒரு காங்கிரஸ்காரரை எதிர்த்து ஒருவரே தேர்தலில் நின்றிருந்தால், காங்கிரஸ்காரருக்கு எவ்வளவு வோட்டுகள் கிடைத்திருக்கும், எதிர்த்து நின்றவருக்கு எவ்வளவு வோட்டுகள் கிடைத்திருக்கும் என்பதை நீங்கள் கணக்குப்போட்டுப் பாருங்கள். எதிரிக்கு எத்தனை லக்ஷம் வோட்டுகள், காங்கிரஸுக்கு எத்தனை லக்ஷம் வோட்டுகள் என்று பாருங்கள். எதிர்த்தவர்களுக்கு 40 ஆயிரம் கிடைத்திருந்தால், 12 ஆயிரம் வோட்டுகளில் ஒரு காங்கிரஸ்காரர் ஜெயித்து வந்தார், இனிமேல் மறுதேர்தல் வந்தால் காங்கிரஸுக்கு ஸ்தானங்கள் அதிகம் கிடைக்காது. இனி தேர்தல் வந்தால், ஒரு காங்கிரஸ்காரருக்கு ஒரே ஒரு எதிரியைத்தான் நாங்கள் போடுவோம். எங்களுக்கு அந்த அனுபவம் (experience) வந்துவிட்டது. சென்ற தேர்தல் வைபவங்களில் அதை நன்கு தெரிந்துகொண்டோம். எனவே, மறுபடியும் தேர்தல் வந்தால், அவர்கள் ஜெயித்துவிடமுடியுமென்று எண்ணிக்கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லுகின்றேன். இதை அவர்கள் ஞாபகத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்.

“ஒரு காலத்தில் ராஜாஜி சொன்னார்கள்: “காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் பதவிக்கு வரவிட்டால் பிரிட்டிஷ்தான் இருக்கமுடியும்” என்று. பிரிட்டிஷ்காரர்களை விட்டால் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள்தான் இந்த நாட்டை ஆளமுடியும்? மற்ற மக்களுக்கு அறிவு என்பதே இல்லையா? மற்றவர்களுக்கும் ஒரு ‘சான்ஸ்’ கொடுக்கவேண்டும்; இவ்வளவு ‘மைனரிடி’யாக இருந்தும் தாங்கள் பதவியில் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று நினைக்கிறார்களே! அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு பெருநோக்கம் இல்லையே! அவர்களால்தான் ஜனங்களை திருப்தி பண்ண முடியவில்லையே! ஜனங்கள்தான் அவர்களை வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லி விட்டார்களே! ஆகையால், மற்றவர்கள்தான் நடத்திப் பார்க்கட்டுமே என்று விட்டுவிடவேண்டாமா? அதுதான் இல்லை.

“பத்திரிகைகளில் பார்த்தேன், ‘ராஜாஜி பதவி வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லிவிட்டார்’ என்று. ஆனால் என்ன நடந்திருக்கிறது? அவர்களே பதவிக்கு வந்திருக்கிறார். எப்பொழுது காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியானது தேர்தலில் தோற்றுவிட்டதோ, அப்பொழுதே அவர்கள், மற்றவர்கள் இந்த கவரன்மெண்டை நடத்தட்டுமென்று விட்டிருக்கவேண்டும். அதையெல்லாம்

2nd July 1952]

[Sri T. Shanmugham]

செய்யாமல், இப்பொழுது மறுதேர்தல் என்ற மிரட்டலை விடுகிறார்கள். இதற்கு யாரும் பயப்படமாட்டார்கள். ஆகையால் இங்கிருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர்கள் எல்லோரும் செய்யக்கூடியதென்னவென்றால், இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தை எதிர்த்து வோட்டளிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

SRI V. MADANAGOPAL :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களே இப்பொழுது ஒரு நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார். அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்து பேசும் போது மதிப்பிற்குரிய ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் அவருடைய அரசியல் சாணக்கியத்தையும், தந்திரத்தையும் உபயோகித்து எதிர்காலத்தில் இந்த மந்திரிசபை என்ன கொள்கையைக் கடைப்பிடிக்கும் என்று சொல்கின்ற காலத்தில், அவர் விதிக்கும் வரிகளைக்கொடுத்து மக்கள் தியாகம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டிருக்கிறார். இந்தச் சபை ஆதரவு காட்டவேண்டுமென்பது மாதிரி மல்ல. இந்த மாகாண மக்கள் கடுமையான தியாகம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும் அவர் கோரியிருக்கிறார். நான் ராஜாஜி அவர்களைக் கேட்பதும், இந்தச் சபையிலுள்ளவர்களைக் கேட்பதும் இதுதான்; மேலும் மக்கள் என்ன தியாகம் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று அவர் எதிர்பார்க்கிறார்? ராயலசீமா மக்கள், தாராபுரத்தில் உள்ள மக்கள், பஞ்சத்தால் பட்டினியால் துடித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும் மக்கள், பஞ்சாலையிலும், இதர தொழில்களிலும் வேலை கிடைக்காமல் திண்டாடிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்ற மக்கள் மேலும் மேலும் என்ன தியாகம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று ராஜாஜி எதிர்பார்க்கின்றார்? மக்கள் தியாகம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று அவர் சொல்லும்போது, இன்றையதினம் இருக்கக்கூடிய வரிகளைப்பற்றி மாதிரி அல்ல; இந்த மந்திரிசபை மேலும் மேலும் வரிகளைக்கொண்டுவரும். அவையையெல்லாம் செலுத்துவதற்கு வேண்டிய தியாகத்தை செய்ய மக்கள் தயாராக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார் என்று கொள்ளவேண்டும். ‘ராஜாஜி மேலும் தியாகம் செய்யச் சொல்லுகிறார் உங்களை’ என்று மக்களிடத்தில் போய் சொல்லுவதற்கு எங்களால் முடியாது. காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியிலுள்ளவர்கள்தான் மக்களிடம் போய்ச் சொல்லிப்பார்க்கட்டுமே: அவர்களும் இன்றைக்கிருக்கும் நிலைமையில் மக்களிடம் போய் தியாகம் செய்யுங்கள் என்று சொல்ல முடியாது.

“அடுத்தபடியாக, அவர் கூறியிருக்கிறார்: ‘எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருப்பவர்கள் சொல்கிற கொள்கைகள் முழுவதையும் நான் ஏற்றுக்கொண்டாலும் அவர்கள் தங்கள் கொள்கைகளை மாற்றிக்கொண்டு அராஜகத்தில் இறங்குவார்கள்’ என்று. நான் மதிப்பிற்குரிய ராஜாஜி அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன்: அவர் கூறியது அரசியல் நேர்மையா? ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணிக் கட்சியின் சட்டசபை தலைவரான ஸ்ரீமான் விஸ்வநாதம் அவர்கள் வீற்றிருக்கிறார். ஐக்கிய முன்னணியின் திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டேபோய் மக்களை ஏமாற்ற முடியாது. மக்களுக்கு வேண்டிய குறைந்தபட்ச நன்மைகளை செய்வதற்கு ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியின் திட்டங்கள் உருவாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. மக்களை இன்றைக்கு ஏமாற்றவே முடியாது. மக்கள் இன்றைக்கு அவ்வளவு தூரம் அறிவற்றவர்களல்ல. கடந்த 50 ஆண்டு அனுபவித்த துன்பங்களை மக்கள், காங்கிரஸ் ஐந்தாண்டு ஆட்சியில் அனுபவித்துவிட்டார்கள். இன்றைக்கு இந்த சட்டசபைக்குள்ளே அதிகாரத்தைக்கொண்டே, மத்திய சர்க்காரின் அதிகாரங்களில் தலையிடவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. இந்த சர்க்காருக்குள்ளே அதிகாரத்தைக் கொண்டே, எந்தெந்தப் பிரச்சனைகளைத் தீர்த்துக்கொள்ளமுடியுமோ அந்தத் திட்டத்தைத்தான் நிறைவேற்ற ஐக்கிய முன்னணி முன்வந்திருக்கிறது. அந்தத் திட்டத்தை ராஜாஜி ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளட்டும். ராஜாஜி என்றென்றைக்கும் மந்திரியாய் இருக்கட்டும். வேறு எவரும் மந்திரியாய் வரவேண்டாம். ஐக்கிய முன்னணியின் திட்டம் நல்லதென்று தோன்றினால் அவரே அதை நடத்தட்டும். மக்களை ஏமாற்ற முடியாது. ஐக்கிய முன்னணியின் திட்டம் மக்களுடைய நன்மைக்காக இல்லையென்றால் மக்கள் ஒருக்காலும் அதை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளவே மாட்டார்கள். அதைப்பற்றிச் சந்தேகம் வேண்டியதில்லை.

“அடுத்த படியாக பலர் கூறியிருக்கிறார்கள்: கடவுளைப்பற்றி ராஜாஜி ஏன் பேசக்கூடாது என்று. பேசவேண்டாமென்று நாங்கள் கூர்வில்லை. தாராளமாய்

[Sri V. Madanagopal]

[2nd July 1952]

கடவுளைப்பற்றி பேசட்டும். ஆனால் ஒன்றுமட்டும் கேட்கிறேன். பஸ்வில ஏறுகின்ற சாதாரண ஜனங்களுக்கு வரிபோடுவதற்கு மட்டும் ராஜாஜிக்கு அந்த ராத்மா கூறியிருக்கிறதா? என்று கேட்கிறேன். கீழ்பவானித் திட்டம் இருக்கிறதே, அந்த திட்டத்திற்கு விவசாய வருமான வரி கொண்டு வருகிறோம் என்று சொன்னால், அது விவசாயிகளுக்கு நல்லதா என்று கேட்கிறேன். அது பெரிய மிராசதார்களைப் பாதிக்குமென்று சொல்லமுடியாது. நிலத்தில் பயிரிடும் குடியாண்வர்களைத்தான் அது பாதிக்கிறது என்று நான் பணிவுடன் சொல்லிக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இன்றைக்கு நில அபிவிருத்தி வரி போடப் போகிறார்கள். நீர்த் தேக்கங்கள் கட்டினால், அதைக் கட்டுகின்ற மூலதனத்திற்குத் தண்ணீர் வரி போட்டும். புஞ்சையை நஞ்சையாக்குவதற்குத் தீர்வை போட்டும். அதை விவசாயிகள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளத் தயாராக இருப்பார்கள். அப்படியில்லாமல், நில அபிவிருத்தி வரி என்று சொன்னால், விவசாயிகளுக்கு ஏற்படும் தொல்லைகளைச் சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? சாதாரண விவசாயி அந்த வரியைக் கட்டுவதற்கு முடியுமா? இப்படி ஒரு வரியைக் கொண்டு வரும்படியாக ராஜாஜிக்கு அந்தராத்மா சொல்லுகிறதா?

“ராமநாதபுரம் ராஜா அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது உட்கார்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர் 10 ஆயிரம் ஏக்கருக்கு சொந்தமுள்ளவர். அவருக்கு கொடுக்கக்கூடிய நஷ்ட ஈட்டுத் தொகையைக் கொஞ்ச காலத்திற்கு ஒத்திவைக்கிறார்கள். மத்திய சர்க்கார் இந்த மாகாண சர்க்காருக்கு கொடுக்கவேண்டிய 18 சதவிகிதத்தை 17.5 சதவிகிதமாக குறைத்துள்ளதை உயர்த்தி கொடுங்கள் என்று கேட்பதற்கோ ராஜாஜிக்குத் தோன்றவில்லை. இப்படி நஷ்ட ஈட்டுத் தொகையை நிறுத்திவைக்கவோ, அல்லது மத்திய சர்க்காரை கேட்கவோ ராஜாஜிக்கு அந்தராத்மா சொல்லவில்லை. இன்னும் மரண வரி போடுங்கள் என்று பலர் கூறியிருக்கிறார்கள். அதையெல்லாம் கொண்டுவருவதற்கு ராஜாஜிக்கு அந்தராத்மா சொல்லவில்லை. ஆனால், ஏழைகளின் தலையில் வரிபோட மாத்திரம் அந்தராத்மா அவருக்குச் சொல்லுகிறதா?

“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! அது மாத்திரம் அல்ல, இன்றைக்கு வரி போடுவதற்கு வேறு ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். செய்யுங்கள். இன்றைக்கு வெளிநாட்டைச் சேர்ந்தோருக்கு நம் மாகாணத்தில் இருக்கும் காப்பி, தேயிலை தோட்டங்களுக்கு மாத்திரம் அதிக வரி போட்டாலேயே அதிக வருமானம் கிடைக்க வழி செய்துவிடலாமே. இன்றைய உலகத்தில் பலம் பொருந்திய ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தை நாட்டைவிட்டு விரட்டிய பெருமை நமக்கு உண்டு என்று கடற்கரை கூட்டத்தில் ராஜாஜி கூறியுள்ளார். ஆனால், உண்மையில் எதை விரட்டினார்கள்? யாரை விரட்டினார்கள்? அவர்கள் இன்னமும் நம் நாட்டில் அதிகமான லாபத்தை சம்பாதித்துக் கொண்டுதான் இருக்கிறார்கள். இவர்களுக்கு ஏன் வரி போடக்கூடாது? இதை ஏன் அவர்கள் யோசிக்கக்கூடாது?

4-30
P.M.

“அடுத்தபடியாக எதிர்க் கட்சியில் உட்கார்ந்திருப்பவர்களைப் பார்த்து பேசும்போது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் ‘நாங்கள் அராஜக வாதிகள், குழப்பத்தை உண்டு பண்ணுகிறவர்கள்’, என்பதாக வெல்லாம் பேசினார்கள். மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் ராஜாஜியைக் கேட்கிறேன். நான் சட்ட சபைக்கு சாதாரணமாக வந்துவிடவில்லையே. 21 ஆயிரம் மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டுதானே வந்திருக்கிறேன். வேண்டுமானால் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களின் பானையில் நான் (பாக்வார்டு கம்யூனிடி) பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டவனாக இருக்கலாம். இருந்தாலும் நாங்கள் குழப்பக் காரர்களாக இருந்தால் எங்களைத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்திருப்பார்களா? நான் கேட்கிறேன். நான் குழப்பக்காரன் அல்ல. 1936-37-ல் நடந்த தேர்தலில் மஞ்சள் பெட்டிக்கு போட்டுப் போடுங்கள் என்றுதான் தெருத் தெருவாக காந்தி படத்தை கையில் தூக்கிக்கொண்டு திரிந்தேன். ஆனால் 1950-ல் அன்று போலீசாரால் கைதி செய்யப்பட்டு, திண்டுக்கல்லிலிருந்து லாரியிலே இழுத்துச் செல்லப்பட்டு, கோர்ட்டுமுன் நிறுத்தி மண்டையை உடைத்தனர், வாயில் செறுப்பைக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு ஆயிரக்கணக்கான மக்களின் முன்னால் இழுத்து சென்றனர். தோல் பதனிடும் தொழிலாளி பெண்களால் பெருக்கு மாற்றை கொடுத்து அடிக்கச் செய்தனர். அது மாத்திரமல்ல. கைத்தறி நெசவாளர் தலைவர் மாரியும், மதுரை ஜில்லா கம்யூனிஸ்டு கமிட்டித்

[2nd July 1952]

[Sri V. Madanagopal]

தலைவர் மணவாளனும், தில்லைவனமும் கைதி செய்யப்பட்ட இடத்திலேயே கட்டி வைத்துச் சுடப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த கிராதகத் தன்மை வாய்ந்த அதிகாரிக்கு சர்க்கார் வீர பதக்கம் பரிசு கொடுத்துள்ளது. இது நியாயமா என்று கேட்கிறேன்? அன்று திண்டுக்கல்லில் போலீசாரால் இழுத்துச் செல்லப்பட்ட ஆரோக்கியமரி என்னும் பெண் இன்னும் திரும்பி வரவேயில்லை. கொல்லப்பட்டிருக்கிறாள். கிராதகர்களால் கற்பழிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறாள். அவமானப்படுத்தப்பட்ட பல பெண்கள் வந்து எங்களிடம் அலறியிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த விபரங்களை சர்க்காருக்கு தெரிவித்துள்ளோம். இவைகளை எல்லாம் விசாரித்து நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க சர்க்கார் என்ன ஏற்பாட்டை செய்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். இப்பேர்ப்பட்ட கொடுமைகளை யெல்லாம் இந்த சர்க்கார் புரிந்திருக்கிறது. ஏன் புரிந்திருக்கிறீர்கள்? அதைப்பற்றி விசாரிக்கக் கூடாதா என்று கேட்பவர்கள் அராஜகர்கள், குழப்பக்காரர்கள், பலாத்காரம் புரிபவர்கள் என்றெல்லாம் வாய் கூசாது சொல்வது சரியா? நியாயமா?

“கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சர்க்கார் ஊழியர்களுக்கு ஏதோ கல்விச் சலுகை அளித்து விட்டதைப்போல பேசுகிறார்கள். என்ன சலுகை அளித்து விட்டார்கள்? நான் கேட்கிறேன்? அவர்களிடம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் அதிர்ப்தியைப் போக்குவதற்கு அது எந்த விதத்தில் உதவக்கூடுமென்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். அவர்களிலேயே பலரை பிரித்து ஒரு சிலர் நன்மை அடைவதும், மற்றவருக்கு ஒன்றும் லாபம் இல்லாத வகையில் செய்துவிட்டால் அவர்களிடம் வித்தியாச மனப்பான்மை எப்போதும் நீடித்திருக்கும் என்ற ஏற்பாடே தவிர இது வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. 1939-ல் என்.ஜி.ஓ. ஒருவருடைய சம்பளம் 20 ரூபாய் என்றால் இப்போது அவர்கள் சம்பளம் 50 ரூபாயாக இருக்கிறது. இன்று சர்க்கார் புள்ளிவிவர கணக்குப்படி என்.ஜி.ஓ.களுக்கு சம்பளம் கொடுக்கட்டும், மூன்று வருடத்தில் மத்திய சர்க்கார் சிப்பந்திகளுக்கு கொடுக்கும் சம்பளம் தருகிறேன் என்று ராஜாஜி வாக்குறுதி தரட்டும். என்.ஜி.ஓ.களை தியாகம் செய்ய சொல்லுகிறோம். ஆனால், இப்போது செய்திருக்கும் நன்மை என்ன? கல்விச் சலுகை என்று ஒரேவாறு இதில் 5 அல்லது 10 ரூபாய்கள் லாபம் அடைந்தாலும்கூட இப்போது ரேஷன் எடுத்ததினால் 13-6 அணுவாக இருந்த அரிசிலிலே இப்போது 1 ரூபாய், 1 ரூபாய் 2 அணு என்று உயர்ந்து விட்டது. அதோடு பல சார்ஜம் கூட உயரப்போகிறது. ஆகவே இது இரண்டும் ஒன்றுக்கு ஒன்று அவர்களுக்கு சரியாகப் போய்விடும். கடைசியில் மிஞ்சுவது என்ன? அவர்களுக்கு வறுமை என்றும் சாஸ்வதம் என்பதுதான். ராஜாஜியின் கணக்குப்படியே இந்தக் கல்விச் சலுகையினால் தூற்றுக்கு 19 பேர்களுக்கு தான் அனுசூலம் ஏற்படும் என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். அப்படி இருக்க ஏதோ பெரியதொரு அனுசூலம் செய்துவிட்டபோல அவர்கள் கருதுவது கொஞ்சமும் சரியல்ல.

“அப்புறம் இன்னொரு விஷயம். தமிழ் நாட்டிலுள்ள மக்கள் பெரும்பாலோர் குடிசைத் தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டு இருப்பவர்கள். குடிசைத் தொழில் வளரவேண்டும் என்பதாக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்களே தவிர அது வளர்வதற்கான திட்டங்கள் என்ன செய்யவேண்டுமோ அதைச் செய்வதில்லை. கைநெசவுத் தொழில் வளர்ச்சி அடையவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி ரேடியோவில் பேசுகிறார்: அதைக் கேட்க ரொம்பவும் நன்றாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. நெசவுத் தொழில் வளர்ச்சி அடைய கூட்டுறவு சொசைட்டிகளை ஆரம்பித்து அதன் மூலம் பண முதலீடு செய்து நூல் வாங்கி நெசவாளிகளுக்குக் கொடுத்து குறைந்த பக்க வருவாய் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கும்படி செய்ய ஏற்பாடு செய்திருப்பது நல்லதுதான். அந்த சொசைட்டியில் நெசவாளர்களை மெம்பர்களாகச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளலாம். இப்போது கைத்தறித்துணி 2 கோடி ரூபாய் பெருமானமுள்ளது தேங்கிக் கிடப்பதாக அவர்களுக்கு யார் புள்ளி விவரங்கள் கொடுத்தார்களோ எனக்குத் தெரியாது. எங்களுடைய கணக்குப்படி அதாவது கம்யூனிஸ்ட் கட்சியினுடைய கணக்குப்படி 12 கோடி ரூபாய்க்கு மேற்பட்டதான சர்க்குக் தேங்கிக் கிடக்கிறது. அவைகளை விற்கவேண்டும். நெசவாளர்களுக்கு சரியானபடி நூல் கிடைக்க வசதியும் செய்தால்தான் அவர்கள் வாழக்கை நிலை உயர முடியும். உதாரணமாக மதுரை Harvey மில்லின் மூலதனம்

[Sri V. Madanagopal]

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ஒரு கோடி 70 லக்ஷ ரூபாய். இன்று அதனுடைய ரிசர்வ் நிதி மட்டும் 5 கோடி 8 லக்ஷம். வருடம் ஒன்றுக்கு அதனுடைய லாபம் சுமார் ஒரு கோடி. நெசவாளர்களுக்கு உண்மையில் உதவி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நினைத்தால் மில் முதலாளிகளை கட்டுப்படுத்தி நூல் விலையை உயர்த்தாமல் 47-வது வருட விலையில் நூல் கிடைக்கச் செய்யவேண்டியது முதல் கடமையாகும்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக தோல் பதனிடும் தொழிலை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். இன்று தோல் பதனிடும் வேலையில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கும் தொழிலாளர்கள் 30 ஆயிரம் பேர்கள். அவர்கள் பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பார்கள். வேலையின்றி தெருவில் நிற்கிறார்கள். ஒரு வேளை சாப்பாட்டிற்கும் வழியின்றி மிகவும் கஷ்டப் படுகிறார்கள். இந்த மாகாணத்தில் மந்திரி சபை ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு அவர்களுக்கு இந்த நெருக்கடி பற்றி அறிவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. ஆனால், அந்தத் தொழிலாளிகள் நசிப்பதற்கு முன்னதாக அவர்கள் நிலையை கவனிக்க இந்த சர்க்கார் முன் வந்திருக்கிறதா? அவர்கள் கல்வித் துறையிலும் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அந்தத் தொழிலை விட்டால் வேறு எந்தத் தொழிலையுமே செய்வதற்கு லாயக்கற்றவர்கள் அவர்கள். வேறு தொழில் ஒன்றுமே அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாது. உழுது உண்பதற்கும் நிலமும் கிடையாது. அவர்கள் நிலப்பிரபுக்களும் அல்ல. அவர்கள் தொழிலையே நம்பி ஜீவித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும்போது அவர்கள் நிலை உயர்வதற்கு இந்த சர்க்கார் என்ன செய்திருக்கிறது என்றுதான் நான் கேட்கிறேன்? அவர்கள் மொத்தம் 30 ஆயிரத்திற்கு மேற்பட்டவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். இன்று சுமார் 15 ஆயிரம் பேருக்குத்தான் வேலையிருக்கிறது. பதனிடாத பச்சை தோல் வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்யக் கூடாது என்று செய்தால் இங்கேயுள்ளவர்களுக்கு நிச்சயமாக வேலை கிடைக்கும். அதை விடுத்து பச்சைத் தோலை வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு இதுவரையிலும் இல்லாத வகையில் ஏற்றுமதி செய்வதால்தான் இன்றைய நெருக்கடியான நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்தத் தொழில் நெருக்கடி தீர்ந்து, இன்றைக்கு கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிற ஆயிரக்கணக்கான தோல் பதனிடும் வேலையில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளோர் ஜீவித்திருக்க வழிசெய்ய உண்மையாக விரும்பினால் உடனேயே பச்சைத் தோல் ஏற்றுமதி செய்வதை தடுக்க வேண்டும். மேலும், அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்தும், வெளிநாடுகளிலிருந்தும் ஏராளமாக ப்ளாஸ்டிக் சாமான்கள் இறக்குமதி செய்யப்படுகின்றன. அதனால் ஏற்பட்ட நிலை என்ன? மணி பரீஸ் மற்ற எல்லா தோல்சாமான்களும் பிளாஸ்டிக்ஸில் செய்யப்பட்டு இந்த நாட்டில் இறக்குமதி செய்யப் பட்டுவிட்டால் இங்கேயுள்ள தோல் வியாபாரம் படுக்குவிட்டது. நம் நாட்டு வியாபாரம் நசிக்கத் தொடங்கிவிட்டது. போதாக்குறைக்கு இவர்களும் பச்சை பதனிடாத தோலை அமெரிக்காவுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்துவிடுகிறார்கள். இவைகளையெல்லாம் கவனித்து இவர்களுக்கு ஆதரவு அளிக்க, சென்ற 5 வருஷமாக வராமல் தன் இஷ்டப்படி ஆட்சி செய்து, அக்ரிரமம் செய்து வந்த காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் மீண்டும் தாங்களே பதவிக்கு வந்து அவைகளை அமுல் நடத்துவதற்காக கனம் ராஜாஜியை தலைவராகக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறது என்றால் அதை யார் வரவேற்பார்கள்? இந்த நாட்டின் பொருளாதார வாழ்வை சீர்குலைத்துவரும் ஏகாதிபத்திய, நிலப்பிரபுத்துவ பிடியை ஒழிக்காமல் உருப்படியான திட்டங்கள் ஒன்றுமில்லாமல் விவசாய மக்களின் வாழ்க்கை புனரமைப்புக்கு ஏற்ற திட்டங்கள் எதுவும் இல்லாமல், பாட்டாளி தொழிலாளி வர்க்கத்தின் கேஷம் நலனை கிருஷ்டிக்கும் திட்டங்கள் எதுவும் வரையறுக்கப்படாமல் ஒரு ராஜாஜி அல்ல நூறு ராஜாஜிகள் பதவிக்கு வந்தாலும்கூட இந்த நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கக்கூடிய நெருக்கடியைத் தீர்க்கமுடியாது. “இந்த திட்டங்களையெல்லாம் நாங்கள் அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வரப்போகிறோம். இந்த திட்டங்களை ஆதரித்தால் என்னை ஆதரியுங்கள்,” என்று ராஜாஜி இந்த தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்திருந்தால் ரொம்ப நன்றாக இருக்கும். திட்டங்கள் எதையுமே சொல்லாமல், “நான் வேண்டுமா? வேண்டுமானால் ஆதரியுங்கள்,” என்றால் “நீங்கள் வேண்டாம். உங்களை ஆதரிக்கவும் போவதில்லை,” என்றுதான் நாங்கள் முடிவு கூறுவோம். ராஜாஜியினுடைய தனிப்பட்ட அனுபவத்தை, குணத்தை, மனிதத் தன்மையை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அவரை வரவேற்கிறேன். ஆனால், உளுத்துப்போன, மக்களால் உதறித் தள்ளப்பட்ட ஒரு

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[Sri V. Madanagopal]

கட்சியின் தலைவராக இவர் இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கக் கோரும்போது அது, உம்மிட்டம் நம்பிக்கையில்லையென்று தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டதான் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழுமனதோடு எதிர்த்து, யாவரும் எதிர்க்கவேண்டுமென்றும் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என் பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI G. C. KONDAYYA :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, even after hearing the Leader of the Muslim League on the Motion of Confidence, I am not able to understand why we have been discussing this Motion for the last three days. Whose confidence are the Hon. the Chief Minister and his Cabinet demanding here? If the Hon. the Chief Minister is demanding the confidence of the House as a whole, then I must say that he is fully mistaken. It is like one searching for a black cat in a dark room. As a matter of fact, the Congress Party after its rule during the last five years, has already tested the confidence of the electorate in the last elections, and everybody knows definitely that the Congress Party has lost the confidence of the people. If one analyses the results of the elections in 1946, it will be seen that the Congress got 75 per cent of the votes in that election while in the recent election it got only 35 per cent of the votes. That itself shows that the Congress has lost the confidence of the people. But, now the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Cabinet find comfort in saying that no party that opposed the Congress got even that much. They like to hide the fact that 65 per cent of the electorate voted against the Congress, and all the parties that contested the elections except the Congress spoke against the Congress, and it was only on that pledge they won their seats. In this House, we find that the Congress has got only 152 seats. All parties including certain Independents won the election only on the pledge to the people that they would fight the Congress even inside the House.

“ Now, Sir, anybody may question me : how is it that a minority Party, the Congress, is now occupying the Treasury Benches? As a matter of fact, everybody knows how the Congress has come into power in this State, and I need not dwell on that point now at length. I may say that it is not on the strength of the Congress Party, nor even with the confidence of the people that the Congress is sitting here to rule over the State. But, it is by the weakness of the laws and regulations, coupled with the weakness of the Opposition that they are able to get into power and rule over the State. That is why, if the Hon. the Chief Minister and his Cabinet want the confidence of the House, I say they cannot get the confidence of the whole House and even if this Motion is carried here, it cannot reflect public opinion outside. Therefore, there is no meaning in discussing this Motion. It is like an old man who married a young girl and demanded the confidence of the girl. He knows that he cannot satisfy the girl, but yet he demands that the girl should be faithful to him. Then how is it to be decided? The old man goes about and gathers some old men like him and asks them to settle the dispute, and naturally those people will settle the dispute in favour of the old man. Then he comes and declares to the world that he is her husband and that the girl must obey him. In reality, however, neither can he satisfy the girl nor become

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a successful husband. The girl says, 'You are not my husband, but it is rules and regulations that make you my husband.' Then he says, 'You are here for creating anarchy, confusion and chaos, and that is why I am demanding confidence', as the Hon. the Chief Minister says we are here to create chaos and confusion and nothing but that. In the same way he wants the confidence of the House but he cannot have it. As soon as he stepped into the House, his policy was not to create confidence in all and not to get the help of all; because as soon as he stepped into the House, he declared that his policy was to oppose and fight the Communists. During the last five years, the Congress Government were doing so much mischief in the country, and they were increasing the tax burden on the people. The people retaliated against such a rule. They said, 'It is not democracy and if you cannot rule the country properly, you can come to the polls and test your strength.' Here he says, even though the whole world goes against him, he is not for reform because the people will mistake him. That is why people are against this Motion of Confidence. Yet, he says that if the House gives the vote of confidence he will fight for the people. If that is the case, Sir, if one analyses the Budget, it will be seen that he is going to impose additional taxes on the people and there is therefore no meaning in asking for the confidence of the House. And from the speeches he has made, one can understand that he is not for a change in the policy of the Congress, nor does he like to undo the wrongs done by the Congress nor adopt a new course to fit in with new conditions, he side-tracks the whole thing and speaks as though the fight is only between the Communists and the Congress. Thus he wants to escape and hide the imposition of taxes on the people. In that way, he thinks he can have this Budget passed and he can impose additional taxation on the people. That is why he talks about God and other things in this Assembly and tries to side-track the whole discussion. That is why I say this discussion on the Confidence Motion for the last three days in this House is useless, because we have been discussing about a thing which is not at all needed here. The Hon. the Chief Minister says that everybody must think, whether he is having confidence in this Ministry, in this person or that, and vote. If really he wants the Confidence of the House, if he is really serious and sincere about confidence, he should examine the points raised from the Opposition Benches and also examine the U.D.F. programme and see whether it will be helpful to the people, and whether it can be adopted. Then he can tell the Opposition, 'Let us all work together and save the people.' If that is the case, we can give our vote of confidence to him and co-operate with him. He says that even if he accepted all the policies of the Opposition, the Opposition would rather change their policies than support him. That is how he feels. He never examines the realities. He thinks that whatever he feels is the truth and asks the whole House to accept it as truth. There is no reason why we should vote for this Motion and support the Ministry. I appeal to the House including the Congress Members to vote against this Motion. Congress Members are aware that even they were not consulted by him in

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such an important matter as the decontrol of food, let alone consultation with the other parties in the Assembly. That is the way in which he is carrying on. Everybody knows that even Congress friends dislike Prohibition. Still he persists in having it, thereby dwindling the revenues of the State and imposing additional burden on the people. He never takes into consideration the opinion of his own party or that of the Opposition. When that is the case, we have no faith in him. I do not know what he is going to do and where he is leading the State to. As he himself said, every one of us should consider whether we should vote for this Motion or not. This is not a vote for Mr. Rajagopalachariar; this is a vote for his policies and programmes. Even the Congress principles and the election pledges of the Congress are not implemented by him. This budget and the other proposals are brought forward against the will of the people. All parties in the House should think well whether this Motion should be carried or rejected. If the Motion is rejected, we can have an agreed programme to serve the people. Thus we can solve the problems of the country. Even if the Motion is carried with the support of his party Members and a few friends here, the result will not reflect public opinion at all. He wants public confidence. He and his party can as well resign and have a fresh election ordered. Then we can know what the public feel about the Congress Party. Instead of adopting this straight course, he has brought forward this Motion before this House; somehow or other the Hon. the Chief Minister wants it to be carried and then declare to the world that he has got the confidence of the majority and that is why he is ruling the State. The majority of the people do not like Congress rule, they do not like additional taxation and the fuss about this bogus Prohibition. That is why we say that this Motion is not necessary. It should be thrown out by all of us. Then we can change the Government and have a Government of our own choice. In that way we can show a way out of this crisis.

"Mr. Subramaniam in his speech threatened that, if this House did not support the Motion, the Ministry might resign and there might be a general election and so on. He must have considered well as to what the result of a general election will be. There were by-elections in Aruppukkottai and Kakinada and the verdict of the people is well-known. Even in the Coimbatore by-election, the Communist candidate polled many votes. Really there was no Communist candidate opposing the Congress candidate in the last election. The result of the by-elections shows that the Congress has lost ground. It can never have the support of the people for its policies and programmes. If a general election is held, the Ministry can imagine who will lose and who will win. I advise the Independent Members and certain groups not to be frightened by this threat of general election."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Sri M. Kalyanasundaram will now speak. He will speak sitting. He has taken my permission to do so."

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* SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—“ கனம் பொருத்திய சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, தங்களுடைய வாக்காளர்களுக்குக் கொடுத்த வாக்குறுதியை புனிதமாக மதிக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு அங்கத்தினரும் செய்யவேண்டிய கடமையை நானும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக் குறித்துச் செய்ய விரும்புகிறேன். அதாவது இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை முழு மனதுடன் எதிர்க்க வேண்டுமென்பது தான். இந்தத் தீர்மானம் இந்த சமயத்தில் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டுள்ள நோக்கத்தைப் பற்றி பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் பேசி இருக்கிறார்கள். இருந்தாலும் இன்னும் ஒரு விஷயத்தை சபையினுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன்.

“கனம் ராஜாஜி அதிகாரத்திற்கு வந்ததிலிருந்து எப்படியாவது எதிர் கட்சியை அதாவது ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியை உடைத்து விடவேண்டுமென்று அவருடைய திறமை பூராவையும் உபயோகப்படுத்தினார். அதில் ஒரு சிலரை இந்தப் பக்கத்திலிருந்து இழுப்பதிலும் வெற்றி பெற்றார். ஆனால் அவருடைய நோக்கம் நிறைவேறியதாக அவரும் நம்பவில்லை. பிறகு கம்யூனிஸ்டு கட்சியைத் தனிமைப்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் கூட கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளைப் பற்றி அவர்கள் பிசாசுகள் என்றும், முன்னாள் என்றும், கடவுள் நம்பிக்கை இல்லாதவர்கள் என்றும் சொல்லிக் கொண்டு பல தந்திரங்களில் ஒவ்வொரு அஸ்திரமாக எடுத்து விட்டுப் பார்த்தார். ஆனால் அதுவும் செல்லவில்லை. ஆகையினால் தான் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக்கொண்டு வந்தார். அவருடைய அறிக்கையையும் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தையும் சேர்த்துப் பார்க்கும்போது அது விளங்கும். பிறகு இந்த ஐக்கிய முன்னணி தகர்ந்தால்தான் ஒருவாறு சமாளித்துக் கொள்ள முடியும் என்ற முடிவிற்கு வந்தார். ஆகையினால் தான் இந்த எதிர் கட்சி பூராவும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து அவர்கள் குழப்பத்தையும் அராஜகத்தையும் உண்டு பண்ணுவதற்காகத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னார். அதனால்தான் தான் நல்ல சர்க்காரை அமைக்க விரும்புவதாக சொல்லிக் கொள்ளுகிறார். எதிர் கட்சியினர் உண்மையிலேயே அராஜகத்தையும் குழப்பத்தையும் விரும்புகிறார்களா இல்லையா என்பது அவருக்கு நிச்சயமாக தெரியும். எதிர் கட்சியினருக்கு அராஜகம் இல்லை, அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு திட்டம் உண்டு, அந்தத் திட்டத்தை இன்றைக்கு இருக்கும் அடிப்படையிலேயே நிறைவேற்றி விட முடியும் என்பது ராஜாஜியின் மேலான அறிவிற்கு புலனாகாத விஷயம் அல்ல. பொய்யைத் திரும்பத்திரும்பச் சொல்லுவதன் மூலம் மெய்யாகக் விடலாமென்று நம்பி, திரும்பத் திரும்ப அவர் சொல்வதை ஜனங்கள் நம்ப வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத்தான் இந்தவிதமான தீர்மானங்களைக் கொண்டு வருகிறார்.

“இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தையும் இப்பொழுது நடக்கப்போகும் பட்ஜெட் நடவடிக்கைக்கு முன்பாக கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார். ஐக்கிய முன்னணியைச் சேர்ந்த ஒவ்வொருவரும் குழப்பம் செய்கிறவர்கள் என்று ஜனங்கள் நம்புவதற்காகவே பட்ஜெட் விவாதத்திற்கு என்று சித்க்கப்பட்ட நாட்களை சித்க்கி வைத்துவிட்டு இதைக்கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார். இப்பொழுது மூன்று நாட்கள் பேசியாகி விட்டது. அங்னிதம் இந்த மூன்று நாட்களிலும் எதிர் கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களைப் பேச விட்டு கடைசி நாள் அன்று அவர்களுடைய பிரச்சினைகளை வைத்துக் கொண்டு அவர்களுக்கு என்று ஏற்பட்ட பத்திரிகைகள்தான் இருக்கிறதே அவைகளை உபயோகித்துக் கொண்டு அதில் அவர்கள் சொல்வதை எல்லாம் பிரசுரிக்க சந்தர்ப்பம் அளிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கடைசி முயற்சியாக இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சில கொள்கையை விரும்புகிறவர். அதற்கு வேண்டிய தந்திரங்களையும் செய்வார். ஆனால் இந்தத் தந்திரமானது இந்த 1952-ல் பலிக்காது. இப்பொழுது ஐக்கிய முன்னணியில் இருக்கும் பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் ராஜாஜியின் நினைப்பை பொய்யாகக் விட்டார்கள். இந்த ஐக்கிய முன்னணியின் ஒற்றுமையைக் குலைக்க இந்த சபையிலும் வெளியிலும் முயன்று வருகிறார்கள். இதைக்குலைப்பதற்கு ஒரு ஆயிரம் ராஜாஜி அவதாரம் எடுத்தாலும் முடியாது என்பதை அவருக்குச் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த சமயத்தில் ஒரு நிலையான சர்க்கார் ஏற்பட வேண்டுமென்றால் இந்த ராஜாஜி நிலைமையிலும் இந்த காங்கிரஸ் நிலைமையிலும் ஏற்பட முடியாது என்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம். இதனால் ராஜாஜிக்கும்

2nd July 1952]

[Sri M. Kalyanasundaram]

கம்யூனிஸ்டுக்கும் சண்டை இல்லை. ஒரு சண்டையும் கிடையாது. இதை சாதித்துக் காட்ட வேண்டியதில்லை. ஜனங்களுக்கு இருக்கும் குறைகளை தீர்க்க இருக்கிறோமா என்பதுதான் இப்பொழுதுள்ள திட்டம். ஜனங்களுக்கும் ராஜாஜிக்கும் பல ஆண்டுகளாக தொடர்பு இல்லை. அந்தக் காரணத்தினால் ஜனங்கள் புரிந்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறார். அவர் எப்பொழுது மெனண்டு பேட்டன் ஸ்தானத்தில் போய் உட்கார்ந்து விட்டு பெரிய மாளிகையையும் கவர்னர் ஜெனரலின் மாளிகையையும் அனுபவித்துவிட்டு வந்து இப்பொழுது தான், பல ஆண்டுகளுக்குப் பிறகு, இங்கு வந்திருக்கிறார். அதனால் சாதாரண மக்கள் என்ன நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது அவருக்குத் தெரியாது. மக்கள் என்ன நினைக்கிறார்கள் என்பதும் அவருக்குத் தெரியாது. அதையும் அவர்புரிந்து கொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கலாம். இனி ஜனங்களை ஏமாற்ற முடியாது என்பதை அவருக்கு எச்சரிக்கை செய்ய விரும்புகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இன்னொரு விஷயம். எதிர் கட்சியில் இருப்பவர்கள் எல்லாம் ஏதோ குழப்பம் உண்டாக்கக் கூடியவர்கள், தேச பக்தி அற்றவர்கள், என்று ராஜாஜி சொன்னது மட்டும் அல்ல. அதே கருத்துக்களை காலையில் முஸ்லீம் லீக் மெம்பர்கள் வாயிலாகக்கேட்க என்னுக்கு கொஞ்சம் மன வருத்தம் உண்டாகி இருக்கிறது. விஷயத்தை தெரிந்துகொண்டு உண்மையைப் பற்றி பேசுகிறவர்களைப் பற்றி வருத்தம் இல்லை. உண்மையை அறிந்து கொள்ளாமல் பேசுவதில் தான் வருத்தம் ஏற்படுகிறது. தேச பக்தியும் தெய்வ பக்தியும் இல்லாதவர்கள் பேசுவதில் தான் வருத்தமாயிருக்கிறது. தேச பக்தி தெய்வ பக்தி என்பன ரொம்பவும் அழகான வார்த்தைகள். சுபிட்சம், சுதந்திரம், இந்த மாதிரி இருக்கக் கூடிய வார்த்தைகள் வெகு அழகான வார்த்தைகள். அவைகளை யார் யார் எந்த அர்த்தத்தில் உபயோகப்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பதைக் குறித்து கவனிக்க வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளைப்பற்றி உபயோகப்படுத்தப்படக் கூடிய வார்த்தையின் அர்த்தத்தை கவனித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளைப் பற்றி சபையில் ஒரு அர்த்தமும் வெளியில் ஒரு அர்த்தமும் வைத்துப் பேசப்படுகிறது. அப்படி சபையில் ஒரு அர்த்தமும் வெளியில் ஒரு அர்த்தமும் வைத்துப் பேசுவதில் முதல் ஸ்தானம் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் நண்பர் ராஜாஜிக்குத்தான் முதல் இடம் கொடுக்க வேண்டும். தலையில் கதர் குல்லாயை போட்டுக்கொண்டும் ருத்ராட்சத்தைக் கட்டிக் கொண்டும் பட்டை நாமம் சாத்திக் கொண்டும் இருந்து விட்டால் தேச பக்தியும் தெய்வ பக்தியும் வந்து விடாது. உண்மையான தேச பக்தி வேண்டும். தேசத்தின் உண்மை நோக்கத்தை அறிந்து கொள்ள வேண்டும். இவைகளை யெல்லாம் ராஜாஜியின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகிறேன். அவருடைய பக்தத்தில் இருக்கிறவர்களைப் பற்றி பார்க்கட்டும். ‘ஐக்கிய முன்னணியின் திட்டத்தை நான் ஏற்றுக் கொண்டாலும் கூட அவர்களுடைய கொள்கையை மாற்றிக் கொண்டு தங்களுடைய எதிர்ப்பை விடமாட்டார்கள்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இவை யெல்லாம் உண்மைக்குப் புரம்பானது என்பதை பலர் விளக்கி விட்டார்கள். ஆனால் இன்னொரு விஷயத்தை நான் அவருக்குச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். இப்பொழுதே சனம் ராஜாஜி இந்த மாதிரியான ஒரு conviction இல்லாமல் கொள்கையை மாற்றிக் கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்று நான் விரும்பவில்லை. மந்திரி பதவிக்காக கொள்கைகளையும் திட்டங்களையும் மாற்றுவது வெறுக்கத்தக்கது. அவர் திட்டம் கொண்டு வந்து பார்க்கட்டும். ஐக்கிய முன்னணி வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிற திட்டம் பகிரங்கமாக பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. கவர்னருக்கும் அனுப்பப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அது ராஜாஜிக்கு சிடைத்திருக்கும். அவருடைய திட்டத்தையும் கொண்டு வரட்டும் எங்களுடைய திட்டத்தையும் பார்க்கட்டும். அவருடைய திட்டம் நடைமுறைக்கு ஒற்றதாக இருக்குமா என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். இப்பொழுது என்ன நிலைமை ஏற்படும் என்பதைப் பார்க்க வேண்டும். என்ன நிலைமை ஏற்படும் என்றால் அந்தப் பக்கம் அவருடைய ஆசன வரிசையில் இருக்கும் சிலரும் அதற்குப் பின்னால் இருக்கும் ராஜாஜி முதலையா செட்டியாரும், கனம் பி. டி. ராஜன் அவர்களும் எதிர் கட்சியினரைக் இருப்பார்கள். அப்பொழுது எதிர்ப்பு எதிர் கட்சியிலிருந்து வராது. ஆனால் ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணி திட்டத்தை அவரால்கூப்பிக்கொள்ளமுடியாது.

[Sri M. Kalyanasundaram] [2nd July 1952]

6 p.m. “கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் உட்கார்ந்திருக்கும் ஆசன வரிசையைப் பார்த்தாலே, அவர் ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணியின் திட்டத்தை ஒப்புக் கொள்ளுவாரா, ஒப்புக்கொள்ளமாட்டாரா என்பது நன்கு தெரியும். ‘Tell me your friends, I will tell you who you are’, உங்களுடைய நண்பர்களைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லுங்கள், உங்களுடைய குணத்தை நான் சொல்லுகின்றேன்” என்ற பழமொழி ஒன்றுண்டு. அதேபோல, ராமானுஜபுரம் ராஜா அவர்களையும், கபிலேசுவரம் ஜமீன்தார் அவர்களையும், இன்னும் தங்களுடைய பக்கத்தில் உட்கார் வைத்துக்கொண்டு, அதற்குப் பின்னாலேயே ராஜா ஸர் முத்தையா செட்டியார், ஸர் பி. டி. ராஜன், ராமசாமித் தேவர், இவர்களையெல்லாம் பின்னால் உட்காரவைத்துக்கொண்டு ராஜாஜி இந்தத் திட்டத்தை நிறைவேற்றுவார் என்று நாங்கள் எப்படி நம்புவது? அவரால் முடியாது. அவருடைய கம்பெனியைப் பார்த்தாலே இந்த மந்திரி சபையினுடைய தெய்வீகத்தன்மையைப்பற்றி ஓரளவுக்கு புரிந்து கொள்வதற்கு முடியும். இன்னும் ஒரே ஒரு குறை இருக்கிறது. தருமபுரம் பண்டாரசன்னதி அவர்களையும் கவுன்சிலுக்கு நியமனம் செய்து, அவரையும் மந்திரி சபைக்கு கொண்டு வந்துவிட்டால், இந்த மந்திரி சபையினுடைய தெய்வீகத் தன்மை பூர்த்தியாகிவிடுமென்பது என்னுடைய அபிப்பிராயம்.

“தயவு செய்து மன்னிக்கவும். இதிலிருந்து நான் தெய்வீகத் தன்மைக்கு விரோதமானவன் என்று நினைக்க வேண்டாம். நான் தெய்வீகத் தன்மைக்கு விரோதமானவன் அல்ல. ஆனால், முதலில் மனிதத் தன்மை வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகின்றேன். மனிதத் தன்மையைக் காப்பாற்றினால், இந்த உலகத்திலே எல்லோரும் தன்னைத் தானே காப்பாற்றிக்கொள்ள முடியும். மனிதத் தன்மையைக் காப்பாற்றினால், தெய்வத்தன்மை தன்னைத்தானே காப்பாற்றிக்கொள்ளும் என்பது அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாததல்ல.

“நான் என்னுடைய நண்பர் கனம் வீதி சாகிப் அவர்களுக்கும் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். தெய்வத்திற்கும் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கும் சண்டை இல்லை. மதவிஷயங்களிலோ, கவுன்சிலுக்களிலோ தலையிடுவது என்பது கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளின் திட்டமல்ல; ஆகையால், அவர்கள் வீணாக குழப்பிக் கொள்ளவேண்டாமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“நான் கம்யூனிஸ்டுதான், அதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. இந்த விவாதத்தில், ஐக்கிய ஜனநாயக முன்னணித் திட்டத்தின் அடிப்படையில்தான் நாங்கள் எல்லோரும் இந்தச் சபையில் வேலை செய்கிறோமே தவிர, கம்யூனிஸ்டுத் திட்டத்தின் அடிப்படையில் அல்ல என்பதை நான் எடுத்துக் காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். இதில் வீணாகுதல் அடைவதற்கு அவசியமே இல்லை.

“நாங்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் அல்ல என்று சொல்லவில்லை. ஆயிரம் ராஜாஜிகள் வந்து, ஸ்பெஷல் வர்ட்டு போலீஸ் கொண்டு வந்து, அதற்காக மேலும் 7 கோடி ரூபாய் செலவு செய்தாலும், நாங்கள் கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் தான். அதில் சிறிதும் சந்தேகம் கொள்ள வேண்டியதில்லை.

“கம்யூனிஸ்த்திற்கும் மதத்திற்கும் உள்ள சம்பந்தம் சம்பந்தத்தைப்பற்றி புரிந்துகொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக நான் ஒரு விளக்கம் சொல்ல வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஒரு மனிதர் வைஷ்ணவ மதத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவராக இருக்கிறார்; ஒருவர் சிவனை வழிபடுவதாக இருக்கிறார்; ஒருவர் கிருஷ்ணனை பூசிப்பவராக இருக்கிறார்; ஒருவர் அல்லாவைத் தொழுவவராக இருக்கிறார்; ஒருவர் எசுநாதரைக் கும்பிடுபவராக இருக்கிறார். ஆகையால் மதம் என்பது அவரவருடைய சொந்த விஷயம். அவரவருடைய அறிவு வளர்ச்சிக்குத் தக்கபடி, தெய்வத்தை வழிபடுவதற்கும் வழிபடாமல் இருப்பதற்கும் உரிமை உண்டு. கம்யூனிசம் அதில் குறுக்கிடவில்லை. அதே போல, கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் உலகத்தில் நம்பிக்கை வைப்பதற்கு உரிமை உண்டு. ராஜாஜிக்கே உண்மை தெரியும். கம்யூனிசத்தால் கடவுள் அழிந்து விடும் என்று அவர் பயப்பட வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லை. ராஜாஜியின் கடவுள் அவ்வளவு பலகீனமானவரா, கம்யூனிசத்தினால் அழிந்து விடுவதற்கு? இதை எல்லாம் ராஜாஜி உண்மையாகவே நம்புகிறாரா? அவரும்

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உலக விவகாரங்களை விட்டு விடவில்லையே. உலக விவகாரங்களிலிருந்து விடுபட்டிருக்கும் துறவி அல்லவே அவர்; அவருக்கும் உலகத்தில் நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது, பற்றுதல் இருக்கிறது.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“உங்களுடைய பேச்சை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். நீங்கள் கேட்ட 15 நிமிஷ நேரத்தையும் உங்களுக்குக் கொடுத்துவிட்டேன்.”

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—“என்னுடைய உடல் நிலை சரியில்லை. நான் பேசுவதற்கு 20 நிமிஷங்கள் ஆகும். இன்னும் கொஞ்ச நேரம் பேச அனுமதிக்க இரக்கத்துடன் வேண்டுகிறேன். முடியாதென்று சொன்னால், இத்துடன் நிறுத்திக் கொள்வுகிறேன்.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“மற்றவர்கள் 10 நிமிஷங்களில் பேசுவதை, அவர் ஒரு நிமிஷத்திலே பேச முடியும்.”

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—“ஆம், அவ்விதம் செய்ய முடியும். அவ்விதம் செய்ய முடியாத நிலையில் வைத்திருக்கிறது உங்களுக்கு முன்னாலிருந்த சர்க்கார்.

“ஆகவே, ராஜாஜி அவர்களுக்குக் குறிப்பாக ஒரு விஷயத்தைச் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன். நானும் காங்கிரஸில் இருந்தவன்தான். எனக்கு முன்னாலும் பல தோழர்கள் காங்கிரஸில் இருந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி முதல் மந்திரியாக இருந்தபோது நான் திருச்சி தாலூகா காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டித் தலைவனாக இருந்திருக்கிறேன். இப்பொழுது எதிர்க் கட்சியில் (காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியில்) இருக்கக்கூடிய அங்கத்தினர்கள் செய்திருக்கக் கூடியதைக் காட்டிலும், திருச்சி ஜில்லா மக்களுக்கு நான் அதிகம் செய்திருக்கிறேன் என்று சொல்லத்தான் வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இவ்விதம் வெளிப்படையாகப் பேசுவதற்கு மன்னிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். ஆகையால், இந்த சபை முன் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கப்பட்ட நம்பிக்கை தீர்மானத்தை நான் முழு மனதோடு எதிர்க்கின்றேன்.”

JANAB C. AHMED KUTTY :—“Mr. Speaker Sir, ഈ വിശ്വാസപ്രമേയത്തെ പിന്തുടരുന്നതിൽ എനിക്ക് വളരെ സന്തോഷമുണ്ട്. ഭക്ഷണസാധനങ്ങളുടെ വിനിയോഗം നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുകയും നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ആകമാനം സേനാനുജ്ഞാനം സഹായിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള രാജാജി മന്ത്രിസഭയെ ഞാൻ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുകയുണ്ടു്. നാട്ടിൽ ഉറച്ചു് ജനക്ഷോഭത്തിന് സഹായിക്കുന്നതായ ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റ് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ ഉള്ള രാജ്യന്തരത്തെയും ഭരണപരവും ഉള്ള ഒരു മഹാനാണ് രാജാജി. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ നായകത്വത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു മന്ത്രിസഭ നിലനിൽക്കുവാൻ സഹായിക്കുന്നു. മുസ്ലിം ലീഗ് പാർട്ടി നീരുറവിച്ചത് ആ കാരണംകൊണ്ടാകുന്നു. നാട്ടിൽ ഉറച്ച ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റില്ലാതെ സാധാരണപരമായ പൊരറിവിന് സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. പോലീസ് നടപടികളെ ആക്ഷേപിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് യു. ഡി. എഫ്. പ്രാ.സ. ഗി.കാർ പലരും സംസാരിക്കുകയുണ്ടായി. അന്യായമായ പോലീസ് മദ്യനങ്ങളെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി നിയമവും സാധാരണവും ഭഞ്ജിക്കുന്നവരെ അമർത്തുവാൻ അധികൃതന്മാർ എടുക്കുന്ന ന്യായമായ നടപടികളെ പന്താങ്ങാതെ ഇരിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. അങ്ങനെയൊരു നടപടികൾ എടുക്കാതെ ഭരണാധികാരികളിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നവർക്ക് സാധിക്കുകയുമില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ യു. ഡി. എഫ്. ഓൻ നായകനായ ശ്രീമാൻ ടി. പ്രകാശം പ്രധാനമന്ത്രിയായിരുന്ന കാലത്ത് കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകൾ എതിരായി കർന്നമായ നടപടികൾ അദ്ദേഹം എടുത്തിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതു് ഇന്ന് പലരും മറന്നുകളയുന്നു. ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് വിശേഷിച്ചു് സാധുജനങ്ങൾക്ക് ഹേറവും രക്ഷ നല്ലതന്നെ മദ്യനിരോധനംകൂടി നിഷ്കരിച്ചയെന്നാണ് യു. ഡി. എഫ്. കാർ പറയുന്നതു്. ഭക്ഷണവിനിയോഗമുള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റിന് എതിരായ ഒരു പ്രചരണ ആയുധം നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടു് നൈസർഗ്വകമായ വിനിയോഗത്തെയും അവർ എടുക്കുന്നു. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഇവർ ആരുടെ നന്മയെ വേണ്ടിയാണ് പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്നതെന്നു് എനിക്ക് മനസ്സിലാക്കുന്നില്ല. അവർ ജനങ്ങളുടെ രക്ഷയും മേന്മയുമെ വേണ്ടതു്, നാട്ടിൽ കഴുപ്പും കലാപവുമാണ് വേണ്ടതു്. അങ്ങനെയൊരു കൂട്ടർ അധികാരത്തിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ രാജാജി മന്ത്രിസഭയെ നിലനിൽപ്പുള്ളതു് നാട്ടിന്റെ ദൈവത്തെ ഉന്നം

[Janab C. Ahmed Kutty]

[2nd July 1952]

വെക്കുന്നവരുടെ കടമായി. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഏതെങ്കിലും മന്ത്രിയുടെ വേരിൽ വിശ്വാസം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ പിന്തുടരുന്നതിന് തീരുമാനമെടുത്തത്. ഞാൻ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഹാജരായി പിന്തുടരുന്നു.”

SRI A. GOVINDASAMI NAYAGAR:—“മதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் மீது நம்பிக்கை வேண்டுமென்ற தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்திருப்பதானது ஒரு புதுமையென்று கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்கள் ஆரம்பத்தில் குறிப்பிட்டார்கள். கவர்னர்-ஜெனரலாக இருந்த ஒருவர், பிறகு மத்திய சர்க்காரிலே மந்திரியாகப் பதவியேற்று, அதன் பிறகு சென்னை ராஜ்யத்திலே முதல் மந்திரியாக வந்தது, அதுவும் புதுமைதான். அது மாத்திரமல்ல. எதிர்க்கட்சியில் உள்ளவர்களை எதிரிகள் என்று பலமுறை கூறிவிட்டு, அவர்களிடமிருந்தே நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானம் கோருவது புதுமையிலும் புதுமை.

“ராஜாஜி தேர்தலிலே நின்று, மக்களுடைய ஆதரவு பெற்றுத்தான் மந்திரி சபையிலே வீற்றிருக்கவேண்டுமென்று நாங்கள் கோறின காலத்திலே, ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் ‘எனக்கு வயதாகிவிட்டது, ஆகையால் நான் தேர்தலில் நிற்க முடியாது’ என்று கூறினார். உள்ளபடியே அவருக்கு வயதாகி விட்டதா? அவருடைய தோற்றத்திலே, அவருடைய பேச்சிலே, இளமையைக் காண்கிறோம். எதிர்க்கட்சியிலுள்ளவர்களை எதிரி நெம்பர் 1 என்று சொல்லுகிற அளவுக்கு ஒரு வயது முதிர்ந்த தாதா இருப்பார்களேயானால், அவருக்கு எந்த அளவுக்குத் துணிச்சல் இருக்கிறது என்று பார்க்கவேண்டுமே. எதிரி நெம்பர் 1 என்று சொல்கிறதற்கு ஒரு பலம் பொருந்திய போலீஸ் அதிகார தோஷணியில் அகம்பாவத்தில் சொல்லியிருக்கிற பேச்சல்லவா அது? அருப்புக்கோட்டை மக்கள் சபைத் தேர்தலுக்கும் உங்களுக்கும் என்ன சம்பந்தம்? தேர்தலில் நின்று ஜெயித்த வருவதற்கு வயதாய் விட்டது என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்பவர், அருப்புக்கோட்டைக்குப் போவானேன்? யார் ஜெயித்தால் என்ன? யார் தோற்றால் என்ன? அருப்புக்கோட்டைத் தேர்தலை அடிப்படையாக வைத்து, அங்கு காங்கிரஸ் தோற்றால் அது என் தோல்வியென்று கருதுவானேன்? அந்தத் தேர்தலைப் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடும்போது எனக்கு ஒன்று ரூபகத்திற்கு வருகிறது. சபாஷ் சந்திரபோஸ் தேர்தலிலே ஜெயித்த காலத்தில், காந்தியடிகள் அவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டார்கள். ‘பட்டாபி சீதா ராமய்யா அவர்கள் தோல்வி என் தோல்வி’ என்று. இப்பொழுது அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் அதே சபாஷ் சந்திரபோஸ் அவர்களுடைய கட்சியினர் ஜெயித்து விட்டார் என்பதற்காக, காந்தியின் சீடர் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரி அவர்கள், ‘காங்கிரஸின் தோல்வி, என்னுடைய தோல்வி’ என்கின்றார். ஏன் அவ்விதம் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார் என்று கேட்கின்றேன். அங்கு போகவேண்டிய அவசியம் என்ன? வயதான காலத்தில் ராஜாஜி ஏற்றுக்கொண்ட பொறுப்பும், வேலையும் அதிகம். இவ்வளவு நெருக்கடியான காலத்தில் அருப்புக்கோட்டைக்குப் போவானேன்? அருப்புக்கோட்டையின் நிலை உங்களுக்குத் தெரியாதா? கடந்த தேர்தலிலே நீங்கள் பார்த்திருந்தால் அருப்புக்கோட்டைக்குப் போகவேண்டிய அவசியமில்லையே.

“அருப்புக்கோட்டை முடிவை சவாலாக வைத்தார் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரி அவர்கள். அது தோற்றதும் இங்கு நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானம் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார். சட்டசபை என்ன ஹைக்கோர்ட்டா அப்பீல் செய்வதற்கு என்று ராஜாஜியைக் கேட்கிறேன்.

“இன்றைய தினம் மந்திரி சபை மீது நம்பிக்கையில்லையென்பதைச் சொல்லித் தெரிந்து கொள்வானேன்? அருப்புக்கோட்டை, கோயமுத்தூர் தேர்தல் பிரசாரத்திற்குப் போவதற்காகப் படிச்செலவு வாங்கினாரா இல்லையா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். படிச்செலவு வாங்கினாரென்று சொன்னால், ஒரு கட்சிப் பிரசாரத்திற்கு ஒரு மந்திரி சபை இருக்கிறதா? என்பதை ராஜாஜி சிந்திக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“நானும் ஒரு காங்கிரஸ்காரனாகத்தான் இருந்தேன். ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் தமிழ் நாட்டுக்கு உதவாது என்று திருப்பரங்குன்றத்தில்

2nd July 1952]

[Sri A. Govindasami Nayagar]

திறைவேற்றப்பட்டத் தீர்மானத்தை மறந்து விட்டாரா? ராஜாஜிக்கு கொடும்பாவி கட்டி சட்டவாரிய இழுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னவர்களை உயிருடன் கட்டி இழுப்போம் என்று சொன்னவர்கள் தான் நாங்கள். அப்படி இருக்கின்றபோது, அவர் மறுபடியும் இந்த மாகாணத்தின் தலைவராக வந்தது சரியா என்பதை சிந்திக்கவேண்டும். காங்கிரஸில் எங்களுடைய உரிமை பறிபோனதால்தான் உழைப்பாளி கட்டி உருவாகியது.

“எங்கள் தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள வன்னியர்களை காங்கிரஸ் அல 5-15 கழியம் செய்தது. அதனால்தான் மொத்த முள்ள 19 இடங்களிலே 14 இடம் ப.ம. களில் எங்களால் வெயிக்க முடிந்தது. நாங்கள் மட்டும் அல்ல. தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் இருக்கிற அத்தனை சமூகத்தாரும் உங்களுக்குத் தீர்ப்புக் கூறிவிட்டார்கள். அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் நீங்கள் தோற்றுவிட்டீர்கள். அந்த இடத்திலே தோற்றுப்போய் விட்டு இன்று எங்கள் பக்கம் வந்து நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா சொல்லுங்கள் என்று கேட்டீர்களேயானால் அது எங்களை மிகவும் கேலி செய்வதுபோலவும், கிண்டல் செய்வதுபோலவும்தான் இருக்கிறது. மக்கள் கடந்த தேர்தலில் உங்களேரில் நம்பிக்கை கிடையாது என்று தீர்ப்பு அளித்திருக்கும்போது இன்று நாங்கள் உங்களமீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது என்று தெரிவித்தோமேயானால் எங்களை சும்மாவிடமாட்டார்கள்.

“கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சமீபத்தில் ஒரு கூட்டத்தில் பேசும்போது எதிர் தரப்பிலிருக்கிற எங்களை நெறிஞ்சு முள்ளுக்கு சமமாக குறிப்பிட்டு பேசியிருக்கிறார்கள். ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நல்ல கண்கொண்டு பார்த்தால் இப்படிச் சொல்வார்களா? என்று அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன்? நெறிஞ்சு முள் எப்போது காலில் குத்தும்? அதன்மீது கண்மூடித்தனமாக காலை வைத்து நடந்தால்தான் அது குத்தும் தவிர அதுவாக காலில் வந்து ஒரு நாளும் வைத்துச் சென்றால் நெறிஞ்சு முள்ளுடைய துன்பம் இல்லாமல் செல்ல முடியும். அதேபோல கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் சரியான பாதையில் முடியும். அதேபோல கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் சரியான பாதையில் ஜனநாயகப் பாதையில், மக்கள் கேட்கத்திற்கு குந்தகம் விளைவிக்காமல் நிர்வாகத்தை நடத்திச் செல்வார்களேயானால் நாங்கள் ஏன் நெறிஞ்சு முள்ளாக இருக்கிறோமென அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன்? ஆகவே, மக்களுக்கு நன்மை பயக்க எது செய்தாலும் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை நாங்கள் ஆதரிப்போமே தவிர எடுத்ததெற்கெல்லாம் அவர்களை எதிர்க்க வேண்டுமென்ற கொள்கை உடையவர்கள் நாங்கள் அல்ல என்பதை அவருக்கு ரூபகமூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். இதற்கு உதாரணமாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். கடந்த கூட்டத்திலே இலங்கையில் இருக்கிற இந்திய மக்களுக்கு சரியான பிரஜா உரிமை கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்ற திருத்த தீர்மானத்தை எங்கள் தரப்பிலிருக்கிற திரு. பாலகிருஷ்ணன் அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்தபோது எங்கள் தரப்பிலிருக்கிற அத்தனை பேரும் “no, no” என்று கத்தி அதைத் தோற்கடித்தார்கள். ஆனால் அதே தீர்மானத்தை கனம் நிதி அமைச்சர் ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் இரண்டு நாள் கழித்துக்கொண்டு வந்தபோது நாங்கள் ஏகமனதாக அதை ஆதரித்தோமா? இல்லையா? சொல்லுங்களேன்? எதை எடுத்தாலும் எதிர்ப்பது எங்கள் கொள்கையென்றால் அதை ஆதரித்திருப்போமா என்பதை ஆளவந்தார்கள் சிந்தித்துப்பார்க்கட்டும். நல்ல கொள்கைகளை ஆதரித்து மக்களுக்கு நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே கொள்கையோடு இயங்குகிற எங்கள் கட்சிக்காரர்கள் குழப்பத்தை உண்டாக்க முயற்சிக்கிறார்களாம்? அராஜகத்தை உண்டாக்க முயற்சிக்கிறார்களாம்? இம்மாதிரி சொல்வதற்கு வெட்கமாக இல்லையா? அராஜகத்தையும் குழப்பத்தையும் உண்டு பண்ணுவது யார் என்பதற்கு ஓர் உதாரணம் சொல்லுகிறேன். இதை முஸ்லிம் நண்பர்களும் கவனித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். நெல்லிக்குப்பத்திலே ஒரு முஸ்லிம் தொழிலாளி மசீத் என்பவர் இரவு லீடு வந்து கொண்டிருக்கும்போது உள்ளூர் பிரபல காங்கிரஸ் காரர் மசூன் கண்ணன் அவரை கத்தியால் குத்திக் கொன்றுவிட்டு கத்தியோடு போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன் சென்று அவரை நான்தான் குத்தினேன் கத்தியோடு போலீஸ் ஸ்டேஷன் சென்று அவரை நான்தான் குத்தினேன் என்று வாக்குமூலம் கொடுத்திருக்கிறான். (Sinner's name) அந்த வாக்குமூலம் இன்னும் இருக்கிறது. எதற்காக குத்தினான்? மசீத் உழைப்பாளி கட்சியை சேர்ந்தவன் என்ற ஒரே காரணத்தால்தான் குத்தியிருக்கிறான். இருந்தாலும் அவனுக்கு என்ன தண்டனை இந்த காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார்

[Sri A. Govindasami Nayagar] [2nd July 1952]

கொடுத்திருக்கிறது? அங்கே இருக்கிற மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் ஒரு ஐயர். அவருக்கு ராஜாஜி மந்திரி சபையிடம் அளவற்ற மதிப்பு உண்டு. அதன் காரணமாக அவர் அந்த கேஸை தள்ளுபடி செய்து விட்டார். எதைச் சொல்லி தள்ளுபடி செய்தார். அந்தக் காங்கிரஸ்காரன் மகன் தற்காப்புக்காக வேண்டியே அவ்வாறு அவனைக் கொன்றார் என்று தீர்ப்பு எழுதிவைத்திருக்கிறார். இதுதான் ராம ராஜ்ய சர்க்காரா? நான் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன். இதுதான் அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்காரா? நான் ராஜாஜியைக் கேட்கிறேன்? அவ்வாறு முஸ்லிம் தொழிலாளியைக் கொன்ற காங்கிரஸ்காரனைத் தண்டிக்க என்ன நடவடிக்கை இதுவரையில் எடுத்திருக்கிறீர்கள்? சொல்லுங்கள் பார்ப்போம். ஐந்து ஏக்கர் வரங்கிய தியாகி மகன்களை என்ன நடவடிக்கை இன்மேல் வைத்து எடுக்கப்படுகிறீர்கள்? அதனால்தான் மக்கள் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களின் அதிகாரத் திமிர் குலைவேண்டுமென்பதாகத் தீர்ப்புக் கொடுத்து விட்டார்கள். மக்களுக்கு உங்களிடம் நம்பிக்கையில்லை. எங்களுக்கு உங்களிடமிருந் நம்பிக்கை இல்லை. அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் மக்கள் கொடுத்த தீர்ப்பு சரியான தீர்ப்பு என்பதை நான் சொல்லுகிறேன். பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு சரியான நன்மையை இந்த ராஜாஜி சர்க்கார் செய்துவிடும் என்று யாரும் நம்பவேண்டாம். ராஜாஜி சர்க்கார் நிச்சயமாக பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு எந்த விதமான நன்மையையும் செய்யாது என்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். அதற்கு வேண்டுமானாலும் ஒரு உதாரணத்தைச் சொல்லமுடியும். சமீபத்தில் நடந்த சலவைத் தொழிலாளிகள் மகாநாட்டில் ராஜாஜி பேசிய பேச்சை எடுத்துப்பாருங்கள். சலவைத் தொழிலாளர்கள் கேட்டதென்ன? 'நாங்கள் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கு இனத்தவர்கள். எங்களுக்கு கல்விச் சலுகை அளிக்கவேண்டும். எங்கள் சமூகத்தார் முன்னுக்கு வரக்கூடிய எல்லாவிதமான ஏற்பாடுகளையும் செய்யவேண்டும்' என்றெல்லாம் கேட்டுக்கொண்டதற்கு ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கூறிய பதிலைக் கவனிப்புகள். 'நீங்கள் படித்து செய்யவேண்டிய அவசியம் ஒன்றும் இல்லை. நீங்கள் உங்கள் பரம்பரைத் தொழிலை விட்டுவிடக்கூடாது. அதையே இன்னும் செவ்வையாகச் செய்ய கற்றுக்கொள்ளவேண்டும்' என்றெல்லாம் பேசியிருக்கிறார். பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தாருக்கு இவர் அளிக்கும் புத்தமதி இதுதானா? படிக்க வசதி வேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறார்கள். படிப்பு எதற்கு? பரம்பரைத் தொழிலைக் கற்றுக்கொள்ளுங்கள் என்பதுதானா பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களுக்கு ராஜாஜி செய்கிற நன்மை? அவர்களிடத்தில் மக்கள் எதிர்பார்க்கும் உபதேசம். தண்ணீர் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டால் பஜகோவில்தம் போடவேண்டுமாம்? அதனால்தான் நாங்கள் சொல்லுகிறோம். ராஜாஜி அவர்களிடம் எங்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கை இல்லை அவநம்பிக்கை ஏற்பட்டு விட்டது என்று. மழையில்லையே, தண்ணீர் இல்லையே என்று மக்கள் கேட்டபோது ஆண்டவனை வழி படுங்கள் மழை பெய்யும் என்று உபதேசித்தார். இயற்கையின் விளைவாக மழை வந்தது என்றால் மஹான் வந்தார் ஜெபித்தார் மழை கொட்டோ கொட்டு கொட்டிற்று, என்று 'கல்கி' பத்திரிகைபோன்றவைகள் ஒலமிட்டன. அது உண்மையானால் மஹானுக்காக மழை வந்தது என்றால் அந்த மழையினால் ஏன் ஐயர் சுவர் இடிந்து மக்கள் நெசங்கி சாகவேண்டும்? கல்லூரியிலிருந்து வந்து கொண்டிருக்கும் மாணவன் தலையில் மரம் விழுந்து சாவானேன்? இயற்கையின் விளைவு என்று சொன்னால் மழை பெய்ததும் இயற்கையின் விளைவு என பகுத்தறிவு ஒப்புக்கொள்ளும். நாங்கள் மதமற்றவர்கள் என்பதாக முஸ்லிம் லீக் மெம்பர் ஒருவர் கூறுகிறார். அவரைக் கேட்கிறேன் மதம் தானே மகாத்மா காந்தியைக் கொன்றது? நவகாளி சம்பவத்தை அதற்குள் அவர் மறந்து விட்டாரா? எங்களுக்கு மதத்தின்மீது நம்பிக்கையிலையென்று வைத்துக்கொண்டாலும் மதத்தின்மீது நம்பிக்கையுள்ள எல்லா மந்திரிமார்களின் நெற்றியையும் பாருங்கள். கனம் பழனிசாமிக் கவுண்டரைத் தவிர மற்ற எவர் நெற்றியில் மதச் சின்னம் இருக்கிறது? மத நம்பிக்கையற்ற கம்யூனிஸ்டோடு நாங்கள் சேர்ந்து இருக்கிறோம் என்பது வாஸ்தவமாக இருக்கலாம். ஆனால் மதநம்பிக்கையுள்ள காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் செய்த அக்கிரமங்கள் என்னென்ன? காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கையை விட்டு அவர்கள் நடக்கவில்லையென்றால் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் அவர்கள் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் வெற்றி பெற்றிருக்கலாமே? ஏன் வெற்றிபெறவில்லை? எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் உழைப்பாளி கட்சியும்

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சுயேச்சை வாதிடும் காங்கிரஸை எதிர்த்து நின்றே வெற்றி பெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள். கம்யூனிஸ்டுகள் எங்களுடன் ஒத்துழைத்தார்கள் என்பது வாஸ்தவம் தான்.

"N.G.O. க்களுக்கு பெரிய நன்மை செய்துவிட்டதாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்களே? என்ன நன்மை செய்து விட்டார்கள். ரொம்பப் பேர்கள் விவாஹகம் ஆகாதவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். சிலருக்கு குழந்தைகள் கிடையாது, சிலருக்கோ III Form-க்குமேல் படிக்கும் குழந்தைகள்தான் இருக்கின்றன. அவர்களுக்கு தாய், தகப்பன், சகோதரி எல்லோரும் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய சுற்றத்தார் குழந்தைகளுக்குச் சலுகை கிடையாது. உண்மையில் N.G.O. க்களுக்கு உதவிசெய்யவேண்டுமென்றால் மத்திய சர்க்காரைப்போல சம்பளமும் அலவன்ஸ்கும் கூட்டிக்கொடுக்க வேண்டும். எங்கள் சமூகத்தினருக்கு ஏற்கெனவே பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள் என்ற ரீதியில் கல்விச் சலுகை இருந்து வருகிறது. அதனால் இந்தப் புதிய திட்டத்தினால் உண்மையில் நன்மை அடையப்போகிறவர்கள் ஒரே சார ராசிய பிராமணர்களேதான் மிகவும் இருப்பார்கள் என்பதை நான் சொல்லத் தயங்கப்போவதில்லை. கனம் ராஜாஜியார்? பிராமணர்தானே தன் குலத்திற்கு நன்மை செய்யத்தான் அவர் சூழ்ச்சி செய்கிறார்களே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. ராஜாஜி ஆட்சிக்கு வரும் தருவரையில் தன்னை காக்காக்காவுக்கு ஒப்பாக கூறினார். காக்காய் தன் இனத்தையே கூப்பிட்டு சாப்பிடும். நாயை நரியையும் கூப்பிட்டு சாப்பிடாது. உதாரணமாக ஏற்கெனவே, ரிடயராசி 13 வருஷ காலமாக பிராமண சங்கத்திற்கு தலைவராக தொண்டாற்றிக்கொண்டிருந்த ஸ்ரீ ஆர். வி. கிருஷ்ண ஐயரை, சென்னை சட்டசபை காரிய தரிசியாக நியமித்திருப்பது ஒன்றே போதாதா? ஏன் அவரை நியமித்திருக்கிறீர்கள்? உங்கள் வகுப்பாரைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் என்ற காரணத்தினால்தான் என்று எங்கள் தரப்பிலிருந்து கேள்வி கேட்டால் அவர் ஐயர், நான் ஐயங்கார், அவர் எப்படி என் வகுப்பாராக முடியும் என்று பதிலளிக்கிறார். எங்களுக்குத் தெரியும் ராஜாஜியின் பேச்சுத்திறன். ஸ்ரீ ஆர். வி. கிருஷ்ணய்யர் ஐயங்காராகவே இருந்திருந்தாலும், அப்போதும் கூட ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நிச்சயமாய் அவர் வடகலை, நான் தென்கலை, நான் அவருக்கு உதவியெய்வாது, என்று பதிலளிப்பார். ராஜாஜி அவர்களைப்போல் ஒரு திறமை வாய்ந்த சாணக்கியர் யாரும் இல்லையென்பதையும், ஒன்றைச் சொல்லிவிட்டு வேறு ஒன்றைச்சொன்னேன் என வியாக்கியானம் செய்வதில் அவருக்கு சமன அவரே என்பதும் எங்களுக்குத் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். உதாரணமாகப்பாருங்கள். ஆந்திராவில் மக்களை கழுதைகள் என்று சொல்லி விட்டு இன்று அதைப்பற்றி கேள்வி கேட்கும்போது அவர்கள் கழுதைகளும் இல்லை, நான் கழுதை ஒட்டுபவனும் இல்லை. அது உதாரணத்திற்காகச் சொல்லப்பட்டது என்று சமாதானம் சொல்லுகிறார்.

"எங்கள் விக்ரவாண்டி தொகுதியில் கிணறுக்குள் கிணறு தோண்டி தண்ணீர் இன்றி விவசாயிகள் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கும் போது விவசாய வரியை இன்னும் அதிகப்படுத்தப்போவது சரியா? எங்கள் தொகுதி மக்கள் அதை ஆதரிப்பார்களா? இம்மாதிரி இன்னமும் மக்களுக்கு தீமையே செய்ய முயற்சி செய்யும் இந்த மந்திரி சபை இந்த காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபை ராஜாஜியை தலைவராகக் கொண்ட மந்திரி சபை போகத் தான் வேண்டும். இதில் எங்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கையில்லை என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு இந்த தீர்மானத்திற்கு எதிர்த்தே ஒட்டுப்போடவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்"

* SRI LAKSHMINARAYANA REDDI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir. I come from Penukonda constituency in Andhra area. I am forced to speak in English here because many of my hon. friends do not understand Telugu. Many hon. Members have stated what motivated the Ministry to sponsor this Motion before this House. I shall not go into those details now. The issue before me is, whether I should vote for this Motion or reject it. I reject the Motion and I oppose the Motion also. Why? Not only because my constituency voted against the Congress Party but for other reasons also.

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I differ fundamentally from the Congress policy. I was in Congress till 1949. I thought the Congress struggle was against the imperialists. I was one with them in the struggle against the imperialists. But the Congress after getting independence has slowly got into the imperialist camp. That is why I got out of the Congress after 1949. To-day Rajaji has come to power not by election but by nomination by the Governor. He is now asking for a Vote of Confidence in his Ministry from this House. At many meetings he has stated many things. He said that he was wanted by the people of this State to administer this State. The people certainly did not want him to come to power. But his friends who lost power and who were defeated at the polls wanted him to come to power. His friends who wanted to retain power wanted to retain power through Rajaji. It is not the people that wanted Rajaji to come to power. Mr. Sanjeeva Reddi was defeated in the elections. Again Mr. Kala Venkata Rao was defeated at the polls. Not only those two people but other Congressmen also wanted to keep the Congress in power in this State. They thought that without Rajaji they could not come into power. They were afraid of the United Democratic Front. They were bent upon bringing in Rajaji from his Ashram. So, I say that Rajaji is not wanted by the people, but he is wanted only by the Congress, which was defeated at the polls. He is not the Chief Minister by election but by nomination. Mr. Rajagopalachari may claim that he has been in office only for two months. But when Mr. Gopala Reddi was the Finance Minister, he did so many things, and for all that Mr. Rajagopalachari also is responsible. He cannot escape responsibility saying that his regime is only two months old. He is responsible for what was done by the Congress Ministry previously. Let us see what was done by the Congress Ministries previously. The Congress as soon as it got power from the Britishers betrayed the working classes, the kisans and the middle classes. The Congress, backed by the capitalists and the zamindars betrayed the working classes. What was the programme given by the Congress a few years back? They said so many things to the public. They promised so many reforms to the people and guaranteed better standards of living. They said that after independence was achieved, many projects would be executed in our country as in other countries. But nothing was done, in the past five years. Instead of progression, their policy was one of regression. They adopted a repressive policy towards the people. Atrocities were committed by the police on the people. People were shot dead in the name of law and order. It is not the people who violated law and order. But it is the Ministry and the police who violated law and order. Innocent people were shot down not because they opposed the Government, but because they defended the working classes and the poor people. Innocent women were raped because they took to politics. The Government wanted to frighten the people by all these means. The Congress Government have not made a correct approach in all the matters. Civil liberties have been curtailed for the last five years. I have seen with my own eyes in Anantapur, how civil liberties have been curtailed. When I went to the Bombay Convention as a delegate, and returned, the police people came and asked, 'Why

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did you go there?' There the people signed some declarations and forms were sent to taluk committees. The police questioned, 'Who are the people that signed the declarations?' These things happened not only in Anantapur district, but all over Andhra, and in the Bombay Convention also civil liberties were curtailed. We, however, represented the matters to our leaders. In this way civil liberties were curtailed in Rayalaseema and Andhra. Still the Congress Government say that they are the People's Government while doing such things.

"Now, civil liberties were curtailed not only with the help of the police but also in another way. People who were working against blackmarketing were arrested and detained in jails. In Penukonda, Sri N. K. Dasappa of the District Communist Party was taken as a detenu. But he was not given proper medical aid there. Even though the doctors advised that he should not be kept in jail, he was released only at the last moment. So, he died some time after his release. This is how public workers are treated by the Congress Government. Sir, after that man died, his family is now dying for want of food. Not only that. The Police in another village abused the women. Representations were made, but they have been suppressed by the threat of the police. These police atrocities are continuing in Penukonda taluk.

"It is not only in my taluk where the Government have done all these things. Even in the last elections, they curtailed civil liberties. Many of the voters could not go to the polling booths to cast their votes. The voters were threatened by saying, 'If you vote against the Congress, you will be booked and brought into some trouble.'

"Another important thing that happened in my district is this. One Sri Nagi Reddi who is the Leader of the Communist Party here was behind the bars at the time of the elections. He could not file his nomination. So, his nomination paper had to be brought in a car from Anantapur to Cuddalore. If it had been late by an hour or a day, he would not have been here as the Leader of the Communist Party. The elections were held in these circumstances in the Anantapur district. If Sri Nagi Reddi had been outside the jail, the party could have claimed some more seats in Anantapur district. But to-day the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari goes to Anantapur and tells the people, 'You have elected Sri Nagi Reddi to create some troubles.' Sir, Sri Nagi Reddi was elected not to create troubles but to help and serve the people. If only the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari had come to the villages, he could have seen the enthusiasm of the people with his own eyes.

"Then, Sir, the policies enunciated by the Congress Party have not been fulfilled. It says that five years' time is not sufficient to fulfil all the policies. But what about the other progressive countries like China? How many hospitals have been constructed there? How many people are to-day in a better position there? Let us compare our State with one of the States of China. Where are we and where are they? We are still going back. Some people in my taluk say that after the Congress came to power, they have

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been brought to the worst position. The Congress Party have no great achievements to their credit. If they had endeavoured to do something, they would have done it. But it was not the case.

"Now, I come to the issue of Community Projects. Here there is some conspiracy behind the American aid. The Americans will not step in unless there is something profitable for them. Let us look at Korea and Indo-China. We can clearly see their policy there. What is the Marshal Plan? Is it to help other countries? They have chosen to come to India because they do not want the same thing to happen here as in China. On the question of American help, the Hon. Minister may say that it is not our concern. But, we, as legislators, have to be careful in this matter.

"The most important question connected with my district is that of famine. People have represented matters from the Revenue Inspector to the Hon. Minister. Still some thousands of families are starving and no work is given to them. Work is created for only a few. Thousands of people in the villages are driven to the worst position and they are starving to-day. They are not given any loans. In spite of these, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari says that after his coming, the famine problem has been tackled well. My opinion is, he has not made a correct approach to solve that problem."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up. Now the hon. Member Sri Rajachidambaram will speak."

* SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the past two days this House has been discussing the Motion moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House asking the House to express its confidence in the Ministry headed by Rajaji. The Resolution, on the face of it, looks very simple. But what the necessity for this Resolution at this juncture is and whether there is any ulterior motive behind it have not been explained either by the Mover of the Resolution or by the Hon. the Chief Minister who made a statement before the Resolution was moved. The Hon. the Chief Minister asked the House to say whether it has got confidence in the Ministry headed by him. I would like to ask him and his colleagues, whether they have got confidence in this House and through this House in the electorate which elected this House. If they say 'yes', I want to put them to the test. If they say 'no', I have no quarrel with them. If they do not have confidence in this House and the electorate, which elected this House, I wonder how they can expect this House to have confidence in them. I can prove very well that the Ministry has no confidence at all in this House, especially when a very important matter like the food policy which has been hanging on the country for the past so many years, and which has been the subject of criticism for and against by all political parties has been decided overnight by the Hon. the Chief Minister and his Colleagues even without taking the House into confidence. What was the necessity and what was the urgency for it, have not been explained to us. The Government knew, that the House was to meet at the end of last month and they could have waited and consulted this House.

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The very fact that they never wanted to wait and consult this House shows that they do not have any confidence in this House. Not only that. As I already said, the electorate which elected this House in the recent elections has proved beyond any doubt that it has absolutely no confidence in the Congress Party which has been ruling the State for the past so many years. I do not think there will be any dispute over it. The hon. Ministers know that more than 12 million voters voted against them, whereas not even half that number voted for them. They are not going to dispute that point. But still, to-day, they have flouted the verdict of the electorate, and in spite of the adverse vote of the electorate, the Congress Party is still in power. So, I maintain that the Ministry has no confidence in this House and the electorate which elected this House, and as such it has no right to expect any confidence from this House.

"Further, as I said, the Resolution is worded in very simple language and, on the face of it, ordinarily nobody would suspect anything. However, for the past two months not only myself but also many like myself have been wondering whether the Congress Party has come to power again or whether Rajaji has formed a Ministry of his own. Rajaji will excuse me when I say that when I look at the Ministry from the front, it looks like the Chettiar's horse and that when I look at it from behind, it looks like the Rowther's horse. Rajaji says, 'Have confidence in me, believe in me, and vote for me.' His Colleagues say, 'The Congress has come into power. You know what the Congress has been doing all along and so vote for the Congress.' Now, are we to believe and trust Rajaji or his Colleagues? As I said, we are at a loss to know whether there is Rajaji Ministry in this State or a Congress Ministry. The Congress Ministry has already been voted down. The public have said that they have absolutely no confidence in the Congress Party and now Rajaji says, 'I have come to power, have faith in me, believe in me, and vote for me.' People believed that after Rajaji had come back to power, there would certainly be some miracle, there would be a toning up of administration and they would get something good after a bad administration of the past so many years. But I must confess to a sense of great disappointment, especially after having seen the budget, the big volumes of the Budget presented to the House a few days ago. A perusal of the Budget only shows that an ordinary upper division clerk in the Secretariat could have prepared this Budget. From one page to another up to the last, I went through it. But I do not find any of Rajaji's touch at all in it. So, even people like me who really strongly hoped that because Rajaji is there, even though he may belong to the Congress Party, something good may happen, are very much disappointed, especially after the big volumes of the Budget have been perused. The country has already shown its reactions to the taxation proposals and the absolute absence of any ameliorative proposals in the Budget for the coming year. In these circumstances, how the Ministry can expect any vote of confidence from this House is a matter not known to me.

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"No doubt Rajaji is an intellectual giant. It is not for me to say that; everybody will accept that. Naturally any Madrasi can be proud of Rajaji and I take special pride that Rajaji is our Chief Minister. But as I have already said, if we do not have any of Rajaji's touch in the Madras Government's activities, what is the use of having Rajaji as our Chief Minister?"

"All these things will go to show that we are supporting a wrong cause by voting for this Ministry. Rajaji is a clever man, and as some of my hon. Friends have already said, because the 152 members of the Congress Party could not agree among themselves about their Leader, they thought that Rajaji would save the situation, and so they requested him to take up the leadership of the Party. No doubt Rajaji is such a clever rider that he can ride even without a horse. But in this State Rajaji has chosen to ride a dead horse, a horse which has been voted down by the millions of the electorate. Can he do it successfully? Will it not be more or less a burden to carry the Congress Colleagues with him? So, I would personally appeal to Rajaji not to waste his energy and talents on this thankless job but rather to go back to his well-earned rest and confine himself to giving his advice to the Madras State and Madras politicians to whichever party they may belong, because his advice will really be wanted in times of need."

5-45 P.M. * SRI V. SRI KRISHNA :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir before I come to the Motion on the agenda, I want to bring to the notice of the House an unhappy incident that took place to-day. When a Friend on this side was expressing his feelings about the atrocities committed by the Police Officers in Andhra Desa, some Members on the Treasury Benches were laughing and grinning. This shows how the Members on the Government benches are taking note of the facts given by the Members here. We know that while Rome was burning Nero was fiddling."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member should not use such expressions."

* SRI V. SRI KRISHNA :—"I want to tell the hon. Members on the Treasury Benches that the future will see that the flames of Rome will sweep the Neros of modern days. Here, some other things are also brought in. A Member on the opposite side who belongs to the Muslim League, Mr. Seethi Sahib, banking on the prejudice of some people, said that the Communists are against all religion. He wants to build his argument upon that prejudice. I want to tell him one thing. "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," so says an eminent author. Nowadays, devils are quoting Scriptures very often. I know people who own some 200 elephants will bring in God to attack the Communists here who want to represent the interests of the people on the floor of the House. That is what is happening. When that hon. Member was expressing his opinion, I thought that he was playing the role of a Don-Quixote tilting against a windmill. We are here and we have given a clear programme. The Democratic Front has put forward

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its own specific programme in black and white and it is for him to go through that programme and see whether it is a workable programme or not and whether it is a programme in the interests of the people, a programme that will advance the conditions of the millions of our countrymen or not. It is for him to go through that programme and understand things for himself. I appeal to him not to let prejudices dominate his sense of understanding. I want him to go through our programme and understand it. If there is anything to be corrected, let him advise us to correct it. I want him to find out whether that programme is calculated to ameliorate the conditions of the people, and if he is satisfied with our programme, let him support us. If there is anything which is not correct, let him advise us to change our programme.

"Now, coming to the Motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House, he gave some reasons in his speech and the Hon. the Chief Minister has also given certain reasons. The other day, the Chief Minister said that his mind was disturbed because of the reverses he met with at Aruppukkottai. On that score, why should he disturb this House from its programme which has already been notified? He was kicked at the Aruppukkottai elections and in turn he wanted to kick up the Treasury Benches and that is why he has now come before the House with an appeal to vote for the Motion of Confidence in the Ministry. I think it is a criminal waste of time and energy to discuss this Motion of Confidence, especially when we have to discuss the merits and demerits of the Budget in a short time. This programme has been disturbed. He has now taken the chance to gird up his loins and declare a war on the Communists. First of all, I think there is a hidden purpose behind this Motion. The results of the Aruppukkottai and Kakinada by-elections have baffled the Treasury Benches and created some frustration and anger in the Government camp. The procedure in the administration has also baffled the members who sit behind him. So he wants to get the confidence of the House. As his mind was disturbed by the results of the Aruppukkottai elections, he wants to disturb this House. Personally, I do not think that is the reason for bringing this Motion. In the last Assembly Session, he said that the reason for the victory of the Communist candidates in the election was the division in the ranks of Congressmen. He said that he would see that the Opposition Benches are made vacant if the Congressmen get united in this State. The result of the Kakinada by-election settled the issue and his statement thereon only indicates lack of farsightedness on his part. He went to the extent of saying that he would take the result of the election at Aruppukkottai as an issue of confidence or no confidence in his Ministry. This has also been settled by the people of Aruppukkottai. If he claims to be the disciple of Gandhiji and if he has belief in his tenets of truth and non-violence, he must immediately resign from the post and quit the office. He thinks the cause of the defeat lies in the division in the ranks of the Congress. I feel that the cause lies deeper. The real cause is the misrule of the Congress. The rule or misrule, whatever we may call it, of the Congress for the last five years, is a story of misery for the people.

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That misrule has been the cause of the failure of the Congress in the last general elections. Instead of learning these lessons from the elections, he has lost his vision. In his vision, the facts were standing on their head, but the elections have put them on their feet. According to him, two and two never makes four, but it will make something else other than four. He has now brought this Confidence Motion. We know that there is some other reason. The reason can be traced from his own speech. He mentioned in his speech the other day that he could not impress the investing world unless he got a firm confidence vote on the Motion moved by the Leader of the House. By 'investing world' does he mean aid from America? Is American money playing behind all these things? He thinks that it will pay him to preach anti-communism. The howl of anti-communism began in this State and spread over to other places as well. Some of the leading statesmen of the other States have also followed our Chief Minister. We are convinced that such a uniformity in policy is neither an accident nor the result of mere prejudices but is only the political counterpart of American aid. In certain quarters, it has become nowadays a paying proposition to slander communism. Probably, they expect that by slandering communism in this fashion, they will be in a position to get the necessary aid from America. So, our rulers here want to approach America with folded arms, with beggars' bowls, and with anti-communist venom in their mouths. That is what they have been doing and will do hereafter also. Rajaji wants to feed the cows and ride over the donkeys. By donkeys, he means the poor common people and by cows he means the rich. He wants to feed the rich and ride over the people. Perhaps, his dark glasses have made him think that the people are donkeys. I wish to tell him that the people are not donkeys, but are horses and they will take care of themselves."

* SRI M. PALANIANDI :—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானம், தற்பொழுது கொண்டு வர வேண்டுமா, என்பதை என்னைப் போன்றவர்கள் நினைக்கும் பொழுது இதை கொண்டு வரவேண்டிய தவசியமில்லை என்று தான் நினைக்கவேண்டிய தாயிருக்கிறது. கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இங்கு முதன் மந்திரிஸ்தானத்தை ஏற்றதை என்னைப் போன்றவர்களெல்லாம் அதாவது முன்பு காங்கிரஸிலிருந்து இப்பொழுது காங்கிரஸிற்கு எதிர் பக்கத்தில் வீற்றிருக்கும் நேரத்தில் கனம் ராஜாஜி இனி நல்லதொரு சட்டங்களை, மக்களுக்கான திட்டங்களை கொண்டு வந்து சட்ட சபை முன் வைப்பார் என்று நினைத்ததற்கு மாறாக வெறும் நம்பிக்கை தீர்மானத்தை மட்டும் முன்வைத்தால், நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கத்தான் செய்வோம்."

"அன்று 1942-ல் இயக்கம் நடந்த காலத்தில் காங்கிரஸ் மத்திய கமிட்டி சொல்வதையும், மகாத்மாஜி தனக்கும் ராஜாஜிக்கும் வெண்ணைக்கும் சுண்ணாம்புக்கும் உள்ள வித்தியாசம் கொள்கையளவில் இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்வதையும் எதிர்த்து தாங்கள் உங்கள் கொள்கையை உண்மையென்று நினைத்ததை பிரசாரம் செய்தீர்கள். நாங்கள் உங்கள் வழி வந்தவர்கள் ஆகையால் தாங்கள் இயற்ற போகும் சட்டங்களின் தராதரத்தை பார்த்துத் தான் முடிவு செய்ய முடியும். அவ்விதம் செய்வதற்கு முன்பாக நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா இல்லையா என்று கேட்க வந்தால் நாங்கள் என் சொல்வது. மக்களுக்கு ஏதாவது நன்மை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கும்பொழுது அதைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் சொல்வதற்கில்லை. உதாரணமாக தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களை எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்வது மாகிரியாக கடவுள் நம்பிக்கையைப் பற்றி அவர்களிடம்

[2nd July 1952]

[Sri M. Palaniandi]

சொல்வோம். அவர்களுக்கு கடவுள் என்றால் ஆடு, கோழி வெட்டி பூசை போடுவதுதான். அதற்கு கூட தற்பொழுது பலியிடக் கூடாது என்று சட்டம் இருக்கிறது. இல்லை, அவர்களுக்கு ஆண்டாள் பாடிய திருப்பாவையிலிருந்து பாசரத்தை எடுத்து

‘ஒங்கி உலகனந்த உத்தமன் பேர்பாடி
நாங்கள் நம் பாவைக்குச் சாற்று நீராடினால்
திங்கின்றி நாடெல்லாம் திங்கள் மும்மாரி பெய்து
ஒங்கும் பெருஞ் செந்நெல்லோடு கயலுகல்
பூங்குவளைப் போதில் பொறி வண்டு கண்படுப்ப . . .’

பொன்னால் அவர்களுக்கு தெரிந்த கொள்ளக்கூடிய, ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் புரிந்து கொண்டுள்ள அளவுக்கு கடவுள் இலக்கணத்தைப் பற்றி தெரிந்த கொள்ளக்கூடிய கல்வி கிடையாது. முதலாவதாக சுத்தமாக இருக்க நல்ல குடி தண்ணீர், குளிக்க தண்ணீர் கிடையாது. இன்னும் சொல்லப் போனால் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களை கோயிலில் நுழையச் செய்தோம். நான் காங்கிரஸில் இருந்த பொழுது நுழைந்ததற்கு பரிசு நிலத்திலிருந்து விற்பதிலும், அடியும் உதையும் தான். கோயில்களை திறந்து விட்டு அவர்கள் முன்னேறி விட்டார்கள் என்று சொல்ல முடியாது. அதை வெற்றி கரமாக நடக்க உயர் ஜாதி வீற்றுக்களிடம் தக்க தொரு பரிகாரம் செய்ய வில்லை. மேலும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய கல்வி, சுகாதாரம், குடி தண்ணீர் போன்ற காரியங்களிலும் பொருளாதாரத்திலும் முன்னேற்றினால் தான் அவர்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ததாக கூற முடியும். அது போன்ற திட்டங்களை முன் வைத்து நம்பிக்கை தீர்மானம் வைத்தால் ஆதரவு கிடைக்கும் அல்லது இந்த வெற்று தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து விட்டு மக்களிடம் நாங்கள் போய் பிரசாரம் செய்யும் பொழுது அவர்கள் என்ன செய்து விட்டார்கள், வோட்டு போட்டார்கள் என்று கேட்பார்கள்.

"மற்றும் தொழிலாளர் விஷயத்தை எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் டால்மியா தொழிலாளிகள் அஹிம்சா பூர்வமாக தாங்கள் கோரிக்கையான இரண்டு மாத போனஸ் 1949 வருஷத்திற்காக போராடிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு சட்ட பூர்வமாக கிடைக்க வழி கிடைக்காது செய்திருக்கிறது தற்பொழுதிய சட்டங்கள். அது மாற்றப்பட்டு, ராஜாஜி சர்க்கார் தொழிலாளிக் கான நியாயமான பங்கு கிடைக்க வழி வகை செய்திருக்கிறது என்று நினைத்து தீர்மானத்தில் ஆதரிப்பதா அல்லது எங்கள் தொகுதிக்கான புள்ளம்பாடி வாய்க்கால் திட்டம் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா? ஒன்றும் இல்லையே. நான் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து விட்டு மக்களிடம் என்ன சொல்வது. எங்களுக்கு வழி வகையைக் காணோம். எப்படி ஆதரித்து ஓட் செய்தாய் என்று தானே சொல்லுவார்கள்."

"அடுத்த படியாக நம்மாகாணத்தில் வேலையில்லா திண்டாட்டம் பெருகிக் 6 p.m. கொண்டு போகிறது. நல்ல வேலைத் திட்டங்களை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு நடத்துவதற்கு அநேக காரியங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. நம்மாகாணத்தில் திட்டங்களை எடுத்து நடத்துவதற்கு நிதி இல்லாவிட்டால் மத்திய அரசாங்கத் தோடு போராடி நமக்கு வேண்டிய நிதியைப் பெற்று, நல்ல திட்டங்களை நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டு வந்தால் நம் நாட்டை ஒரு பொன்னாடாக கொண்டு வரலாம். அவ்விதம் பொன்னாடாக்குவதற்கு திட்டங்களை போட்டு வேலையை ஆரம்பித்தால் நிச்சயமாக இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் மீது மக்களுக்கு நம்பிக்கை ஏற்படும். காரியமாற்றுவதற்கு நம் நாட்டில் மூலப் பொருள்கள் மிகுந்து கிடைக்கின்றன."

"மந்திரிகளில் ஒருவர் திராவிட நாடு பிரிவினைக்காக ஆதரவு தருவதாக வந்தவர்தான். அந்த பிரச்சினையும் நிறைவேறி விடும்."

"நல்ல முற்போக்கான திட்டங்களை கொண்டு வரும்போது, அன்று கனம் சி. சுப்ரமணியம் அவர்கள் ஓமந்தூரார் மந்திரி சபை காலத்தில் முதலாளிக் காக கள்ளமார்க்கெட் வழக்கில் லோடஸ் மில் கேவிலில் வாதாடவில்லையா? அது போல் உண்மையை பேசுமிடத்து அந்த பக்கத்திலிருக்கும் முதலாளிகள் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு எதிராகவும், இந்தப் பக்கத்தில் உள்ள முற்போக்கு எண்ணமுடையவர்கள் அந்த பக்கத்திலும் வரக் கூடிய காலம் வந்தாலும் வரலாம். சுருக்கமாக இந்த சபையில் கொண்டு வரும் படியான நல்ல

[Sri M. Palaniandi]

[2nd July 1952]

திட்டங்களுக்கு, ஏழை, நடுத்தர மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யக் கூடிய திட்டங்களுக்கு என் போன்ற இளைஞர்கள் ஆதரவு இருக்கும். அப்படி நல்ல திட்டங்களை யொன்றும் கொண்டுவராமல் எங்கள் மீது நம்பிக்கை உண்டா, இல்லையா என்று கேட்டால் அதற்கு என்ன பதில் வரும். நல்ல பதிலாக இருக்காது. ஆனால், என்ன அடிப்படையில் கேட்கிறார் என்று தெரியவில்லை. அடிப்படையில்லாத ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை நான் ஆதரிக்க முடியாது.

“நான் ஒன்றை குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன். மேல் சபையில் கனம் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் பேரில் ஒரு மோஷன் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டு, அதை வாபஸ் வாங்கிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். உண்மையில் கடவுளையே பெயரால் தான் அவர்கள் அந்த மோஷனைக் கொண்டு வந்தார்களா? ஐக்கிய முன்னணி கட்சி தனிப்பட்டவர்கள் மேல் அதிகுப்தியை தெரிவிக்கவில்லை. காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியின் கொள்கை சரியில்லை, நடைமுறையில் நிறைவேற்றப்படவில்லை என்று தான் ஒன்றுபட்டிருக்கிறது. திட்டத்தின் அடிப்படையில் ஐக்கிய முன்னணி கட்சியின் திட்டத்தை ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சொல்லியது போல் தழுவிக்கொண்டால் அங்கிருக்கும் முதலாளிகள் எங்கு எதிர்ப்பார்க்கலாம் என்ற பயமும் அங்கு இருக்கிறது.

“இந்த குழப்பமான, திட்டமில்லாத நிலையில் என் மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது, இல்லையா என்று கேட்டால் நம்பிக்கை இல்லை என்று சொல்வதைத் தவிர வேறு விதமாகச் சொல்லமுடியாது. ஆகையால் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை வாபஸ் வாங்கிக் கொண்டால் நல்லது என்று தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய வார்த்தையை முடித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.”

• SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானம் எல்லோரும் ஆச்சரியப்படும்படியாக இருக்கிறது. ஏனென்றால், இந்த மந்திரிசபை மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறது, இல்லையா என்று எதைக்கொண்டு நாங்கள் சொல்ல முடியும்? அது மாதிரிமல்ல. அநுபூதிக்கேட்டையில் இழந்த நம்பிக்கையை இங்கே மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட இடத்தில் எங்களைக் கொண்டு நம்பிக்கை தெரிந்துகொள்ளவேண்டுமானால், இது கொஞ்சங்கூட அர்த்தமில்லாத விஷயம். கோகு ஷாஷ்டபிக்கும் குலாம் காதருக்கும் என்ன சம்பந்தம் இருக்கிறதோ அதே சம்பந்தம் தான் இதிலும் இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் தான் என் போன்றவர்கள் இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை எதிர்க்கக்கூடிய நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறோம்.

“எதிர்க் கட்சியை சர்க்கார் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்த நிலைவர்கள் எதிர்க்கட்சியாகவே நினைக்கவில்லை. சாதாரணமாக ஒரு கட்சியானது இந்த நாட்டை ஆளக்கூடிய நிலைமையில் வரும்போது, எதிர்க் கட்சியை எந்த முறையில் மதிக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர்களுக்குத் தெரிந்திருக்கவேண்டும். ஜனநாயக முறையில் நடக்கும் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு ஜனநாயக ரீதியில் ஒரு எதிர்க் கட்சி இருக்கவேண்டும். அமெரிக்கா போன்ற மேலாதிசுயம் அந்த நிலையில் எதிர்க் கட்சி அமைந்திருக்கிறது. ஆனால், நமது ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் 1937 லேயே இந்த நாட்டை ஆண்டுவந்த காலத்தில், ‘தம்பி வா’ என்று ஒரு புத்தகம் எழுதியிருக்கிறார். அதன் முன்னுரையில் அவர் எழுதுமபோது, ‘எதிர்க் கட்சி பேசிக் கொண்டிருக்கும்போது இந்தப் புத்தகத்தை எழுதினேன்’ என்று சொல்லியிருக்கிறார். அதிலிருந்து என்ன தெரிகிறது? எதிர்க்கட்சியாருக்கு எந்த முறையில் மதிப்பு கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள், எந்த விதத்தில் அவர்களைக் கௌரவப்படுத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள் என்ற விஷயத்தைப் பரிசீலனை செய்ய வேண்டிய நிலையில் இருக்கிறோம்.

“நாங்களும் மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டவர்கள் தான். மக்களுக்கு ஏதாவது இந்த சட்டசபையின் மூலம் நன்மை செய்யமுடியுமா என்பதற்காகத்தான் இந்த சட்டசபையில் நுழைந்திருக்கிறோமே தவிர, எங்களைத் தொடக்கூடாதவர்கள், நாங்கள் மக்களின் குறைகளை எடுத்துச் சொல்லக் கூடாது, அப்படி நாங்கள் எடுத்துச் சொன்னால் ‘நாங்கள் குழப்பம் விளைவிப்பவர்கள்’ என்றெல்லாம் சொல்லிக்கொண்டே போனால், இந்த மாதிரி இந்தச் சட்டசபையில் இருப்பதைவிட நாங்கள் அத்தனை பேரும் இந்தப் பதவியை ராஜினாமா பண்ணி விட்டுக் கூட போகக்கூடிய நிலைமையில்

[2nd July 1952]

[Sri K. R. Sambandam]

இருக்கிறோம். நாங்கள் பட்டம் பதவிக்காக இங்கு வரவில்லை. நாங்கள் எதிர்க்கட்சியில் மெஜாரிட்டியாக இருந்தபோதிலும்கூட, எங்களுக்கு ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தைக் கொடுக்காமல், மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் ஒரு காங்கிரஸ்காரர் என்ற முறையில், காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்கு எப்படியாவது உயிர் கொடுக்க வேண்டும், அதை முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே நோக்கத்தில் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களை நியமனம் மூலமாகக் கொண்டுவந்து, அதன் பிறகு ஒரு பக்கபலத்தை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொண்டு இந்த ராஜ்யத்தை ஆளவந்தார்கள். இந்த ராஜ்யத்தை ஆண்டு கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தக் குறுகிய காலத்தில் அவர்மீது நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதா, இல்லையா என்பதை எதைக்கொண்டு சொல்வது? அவர்களெல்லோரும் புதிய மந்திரிகள். இண்டொருவரைப் பற்றி மாதிரம் எனக்குத் தெரியும்.

“குறிப்பாக நான் ஒரு பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பைச் சேர்ந்தவன். கனம் ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கர் அவர்கள் வன்னிய குலக் கந்திரிய வகுப்பிற்கு மாகாணத் தலைவராக இருந்தார் என்ற முறையில் அவரை எனக்குத் தெரியும். நான் லாயோலா கல்லூரியில் படித்துக்கொண்டிருந்தபோது, கல்லூரியின் சுதந்திர நுனக் கொண்டாட்டம் கொண்டாடினோம். சுதந்திர நுனக் கொடியேற்று விழா நடந்தபோது, அந்த ஹாஸ்டல் நிர்வாகிகள் ஹாஸ்டலிலிருந்து கொடியை எல்லாம் எடுத்துச் சென்றுவிட்டார்கள். அதை ஒருவித ‘கண்டிஷனம்’ இல்லாமல் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டோம். அவர்கள் கொடுக்கவில்லை. அதன் பிறகு, அப்பொழுது பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்த ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களிடம் என்னுடைய தலைமையின் கீழ் ஒரு ‘டெலிகேஷன்’ சென்றோம். அப்பொழுது திலிருந்தே அந்தக் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியில் அதிகமான சேவைகள் செய்து கொண்டு வந்தோம். ஆனால், இப்பொழுது அது மக்களின் நன்மையைக் கொஞ்சங்கூட நினைக்காமல் இருக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது.

“மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகள் என்ன சொன்னார்கள்? ‘நீங்கள் எல்லோரும் பிராமணர்களுக்குப் போகவேண்டும். கிராமங்களில் மக்களுக்கு ஒருவிதமான செளகரியமும் இல்லை. ஆகையால் அத்தனை பேரும் கிராம மக்களின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக வேலைசெய்யவேண்டுமென்று’ மகாத்மா காந்தியடிகள் அறைகூவிச் சென்றார்கள். இன்றைய நிலைமையில் கிராம மக்கள் கொடுக்கும் வரிக்களைக் கொண்டு அவர்களுக்கு என்ன நன்மைகள் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன? இன்னும் அறை வயிற்றுக் கஞ்சி கூட இல்லாமல் அவர்கள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள்.

“தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், பிற்பட்டவர்களும் ஆதித் திராவிடர்களும் விவசாயத்தை நம்பியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு சொந்தமான நிலம் இடையாது. மற்றவர்கள் வைத்திருக்கக்கூடிய நிலத்தைச் சாகுபடி செய்து, கூலியையும் வாரதையும் வைத்துக்கொண்டு அவர்கள் ஜீவனம் செய்யவேண்டிய நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். உணவுப் பிரச்சினையைத் தீர்க்க இந்த முக்கியமான விவசாயப் பிரச்சினையை முதலில் கவனிக்க வேண்டும். இதுவரையிலும் இந்தச் சர்க்கார் அந்த வகையில் என்ன செய்தது?

“தொழிலாளர்கள் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் அதற்காக ஜே. லி. குமரப்பா ஒருவரையும், சுப்ரமணியம் என்பவரையும் சேர்த்து ஒரு கமிட்டியொன்றை நியமித்து, அதன் மூலமாக எந்த மாதிரியான ஒரு வாரதையைக் கொடுப்பது, எந்த மாதிரியான உயர்ந்த கூலியை நிர்ணயிப்பது என்பதை கவனிக்கப்படும்படி அந்த கமிட்டியைக் கேட்டிருந்தார்கள். ஆங்கிலேயர் இந்த நாட்டை ஆண்டுவந்த காலத்தில், இம்மாதிரியான பல பக்குவமான கமிட்டிகளைக் குறைந்த செலவில் கொண்டுவருவது வழக்கமுண்டு. அக் கமிட்டிகளின் நடவடிக்கைகளும் அடிக்கடி வினம்பரப்படுத்தப்படும். அவர்களும் தங்கள் திட்டங்களை சமர்ப்பிப்பது உண்டு. காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியில் இம்மாதிரியான கமிட்டிகளுக்கும், அவர்கள் சமர்ப்பிக்கும் திட்டங்களைப்பற்றியும் வினம்பரம் செய்வதும், அதற்காக நிறைய பணத்தை விரயம் செய்வதும் சர்வ சாதாரணமாகப் போய்விட்டது. இப்பொழுது இந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு என்ன செய்தார்கள்? நிலத்தில் உழைத்து சாகுபடி செய்பவர்களான அவர்களுக்கு போதிய கூலியும் கொடுக்காமல், வாரமும்

[Sri K. R. Sambandam] [2nd July 1952]

சரிவரக் கிடைக்காமல் இருக்கும்படியான நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டால், அந்த மக்கள் என்ன செய்வார்கள்? அவர்கள் எப்படி உயிர் வாழமுடியுமென்று நான் நாங்கள் கேட்கிறோம்.

“மாயவரம், சீர்காழியிலுள்ள விவசாயிகளுடைய நிலைமை என்னவென்பதை கவனித்துப் பார்த்தால், அங்கே காங்கிரஸைத் தோற்கடிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சுயேச்சையாக நின்ற பிரபல நிலப் பிரபுக்களும் மிராசதாரர்களும், ஏழை விவசாயிகள் சென்று வாரத்திற்கு அவர்களை நிலம் கேட்கும்போது, ‘நீ காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு வோட்டு போட்டாயே, அவர்கள்தான் வந்திருக்கிறார்களே, அவர்களிடம் போய் நிலம் கேளுங்கள்’ என்று சொல்லி அந்த விவசாயிகளை விரட்டிவிடுகிறார்கள். மற்ற இடங்களில் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களிடம் போய் கேட்கப்போனால், ‘நீங்கள் எங்களுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடவில்லையே, கம்யூனிஸ்டுகளுக்கு வோட்டு போட்டீர்களே, அவர்களிடம் போய் நிலத்தைக் கேளுங்கள், என்னிடம் ஏன் கேட்கிறீர்கள்?’ என்று அவர்களும் விரட்டிவிடுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால், இரண்டு புரத்திலும் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா விவசாயிகள் அவதிப்படுகிறார்கள் என்று எடுத்துச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். விவசாயிகளுடைய வீடுகளெல்லாம் இடித்து எறியப்படுகின்றன. ஒருவிதமான வழியும் இல்லை. முன்சீப் கோர்ட்டுக்குப் போனால், அவர்களால் ஒன்றும் செய்யமுடியாதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஜில்லா கலெக்டரிடம் சென்றேன். இந்த மாதிரியான அநியாயம் நடக்கிறதே, இதற்கு ஏதேனும் நியாயம் வழங்கவேண்டாமா என்று கேட்டேன். அதற்குப் பிறகு கன்ஸிலி யேஷன் ஏற்பட்டது. அவர்களிடமும் சொன்னோம். அதற்குப் பிறகு 1948-ம் வருஷத்தில் விவசாயிகளிடையே ஒரு ஒப்பந்தம் ஏற்பட்டது. விவசாயிகளுக்கு 30% வாரம் என்றும், கூலி நாளொன்றுக்கு ஒரு மரக்கால் சாயிகளுக்கு ஒரு அணு கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்றும் ஒரு முடிவு ஏற்பட்டது. நெல்லும் ஒரு அணு கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்றும் ஒரு முடிவு ஏற்பட்டது. அந்த முடிவுப்படி கூட மிராசதாரர்கள் செய்யவில்லை. அப்படி ஒருவருக்கு கொருவர் நம்பாமல் இருக்கும்படியான நிலையில், சாதாரண விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு எப்படி அனுகூலம் ஏற்படுமென்பது சந்தேகமாக இருக்கிறது.

“விவசாயிகளைத் தவிர மற்ற தொழில்களில் உள்ள தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு தங்களுடைய குறைகளைத் தீர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்கு வழி இருக்கிறது. ஒரு விதமாக முடிவு சொல்லப் பட்டபின் ஒருவருமே எதிர்க்கக்கூடாது. தொழிலாளர்கள் எதிர்த்தாலும், முதலாளிகள் எதிர்த்தாலும், உடனே அதற்கு பாக்கி இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் என்று ஒருவரை வைத்து, யார் பேரில் குற்றம் இருக்கிறதோ, யார் தீர்ப்பை மீறினார்களோ, அவர்கள் தண்டிக்கப் படுவார்கள். ஆனால், விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு அந்த வசதி இல்லை. 1948-ம் வருஷத்தில் ஒப்பந்தம் ஏற்பட்டது. அதைப் பெரிய மிராசதாரர்கள் மீறினார்கள். அதற்கு வழியொன்றும் செய்யமுடியவில்லை. அவர்களை ஒன்றும் செய்யமுடியாதென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இந்தமாதிரியான நிலை இருந்தால், அவர்கள் என்ன செய்யமுடியும்? அவர்களுக்கு ஏதாவது வழிசெய்ய வேண்டுமென்று அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“கடைசியாக ஒரே ஒரு விஷயத்தைப் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன். இன்றைக்கு என். ஜி. ஓ. க்கள் என்று சொல்லக்கூடியவர்களும், போலீஸ் கான்ஸ்டபிள்களும், ஆசிரியர்களும் இன்றைக்குப் போம் அல்லல்களைச் சொல்லமுடியாது. அன்றைக்கு எந்த நிலைமையில் போலீஸ் கான்ஸ்டபிள்கள் இருந்தார்களோ அதே நிலைமையில் தான் இன்றும் இருக்கிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் சொல்வது போல எதைச் செய்கிறார்கள்? கான்ஸ்டபிள்கள் ஒரு வேலைக்காக வெளியே சென்றால், அவன் எப்படித் திரும்புவான், எப்போது திரும்புவான் என்று சொல்ல முடியாது. அதுவரையில் அவன் என்ன செய்யமுடியும்? அவனுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்படும் 35 ரூபாய் சம்பளத்தில் அவன் படிச்செலவு செய்துகொள்வானோ, குடும்பத்தைக் காப்பாற்றிக் கொள்வானோ என்பதைப் பார்க்கவேண்டும்.

“ஆகையால், இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் மீது நமக்கு நம்பிக்கை இருக்கிறதென்று எப்படிச் சொல்ல முடியும்? மற்ற மந்திரிகளைப்பற்றி அதிகமாக ஒன்றும் சொல்ல முடியாது. மூீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களைப் பற்றி நமக்கு அதிகமான அளவுக்குத் தெரியுமாதலால், அவர் மீது நம்பிக்கை வைக்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்லி இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை எதிர்க்க வேண்டுமென்று எல்லோரையும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

[2nd July 1952]

* SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Finance Minister has sprung a surprise on us by bringing forward a Motion of Confidence before this House at this time. As we all know, last month at the time of the election of the Speaker, there was a trial of strength between both the parties and we came to know that the party in power, which was a minority party after the elections, had managed to gather strength and get a working majority. When such was the case, I am at a loss to know the reason why this Motion should be brought forward at this juncture because the party in power can be going on with the working majority which they enjoy now. But it is said that the main cause for bringing in this Motion of Confidence is the verdict of the Aruppukkottai electorate. At the time of the election, the Chief Minister went there and appealed to the people to vote for the Congress and said that a vote in favour of the Congress candidate was a vote in favour of his leadership of the Congress Party. The electorate there did not respect his appeal. They have given a verdict against his leadership and the Chief Minister now says that this result has disturbed him. He now seeks a Vote of Confidence from this House. Sir, I do not know why this result should disturb him. He had given the promise there that if the verdict went against him he should no more be expected to be the leader of the party in power. So, the alternative, the only alternative before him is to resign and leave the party to its own fate. That he has not done. On the other hand, he has come before us to seek a vote of confidence. Again, Sir, I would say that his appeal itself was fallacious on two grounds. Firstly, as Chief Minister he goes to the people and appeals to them to vote for the party in power. In a democratic Constitution is it proper for a Minister to go before the voters and ask for votes? Is it free and impartial election? Next, the appeal was not made at the proper time. We all know that it was a bye-election and the Constituency had earlier, at the general elections, returned a candidate of the U.D.F. Did the Chief Minister think that within this short time the minds of the electorate had been converted? Perhaps he thought that his magic influence had managed to convert the electorate to his own ideology. I think he did not study the minds of the people correctly and the appeal was not made after studying the electorate properly. Therefore, he was bound to fail. In these circumstances, the Motion before us can have only this meaning. In the recent general elections, the electorate have given their verdict that the Congress Party should not rule. But somehow or other they have manoeuvred to get a majority after asking Rajaji to form the Government. He has run it for two months now. And now they ask for a Vote of Confidence. The people well understand that the Congress rule for the past four or five years has been one of oppression. People all over the State say that the Britishers were better than the Congressmen. The Ministers themselves, I think, must admit that the past Congress Ministries were not doing their duty properly. They have failed to carry out the promises made in their election manifestos. Now there is a Ministry which is not a Congress Ministry according to them but a Ministry headed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. They say, because it is headed by Mr. Rajagopalachariar,

[Sri K. R. Viswanathan] [2nd July 1952]

it can do something good to the country. Now the Government have been there for two months, and we are asked to take into consideration the activities and achievements of this Government in these two months and give our opinion. The Motion is brought forward in this light. What have this Government done in these two months? Of course, as soon as the Ministry took up office, they gave certain concessions to the N.G.Os.—School fee concession for the education of their children, etc. Now they say they have removed Controls. All these things do not satisfactorily solve our problems. The N.G.Os. are not satisfied with these concessions. The removal of Controls can satisfy the people only if the prices are kept at the level at which they were prior to decontrol.

"Last of all, the Chief Minister was saying that the Opposition is only for chaos. When he comes before the House he says that the opposition is only for chaos and can do nothing else. I object to this statement. In this connexion, I am reminded of an instance in Mahabharata which is very dear to the Chief Minister. Dharmya goes about the world and sees that everything in the world is good-natured, handsome and wholesome, whereas Duriyodhana goes about the world and sees everything wicked, ugly and unwholesome. This is the way in which these two people saw the world. The respective ways in which they saw the world was not due to any defect in their eyes or in the world. The defect was in the heart of Duriyodhana. I would request the Chief Minister not to play or assume the role of Duriyodhana and say that the Opposition is always for chaos and not for constructive work."

SRI P. SURYACHANDRA RAO :— "సభాస్యజ్ఞ, తొలుత మన ఎదుట నున్న తీర్మానముయొక్క ఆవశ్యకత విడిచి, దాని సారాంశమేమి అని మనమందరము, అలాచించుకొనవలసియున్నది. ఈ తీర్మానమును ప్రతిపాదిస్తూ ప్రభాని, అరుపుకోట ఎన్నిక ఫలితంయొక్క ప్రసంగం తెచ్చారు. అరుపుకోట ఎన్నిక సందర్భంలో ఆయనచేసిన ఉద్ఘాటన ప్రకారమైనట్లయితే ఈ సరికి ఆయన ప్రధానామాత్య పదవికి రాజీనామా ఇచ్చి యుండవలసినది. ఆయనపై అరుపుకోట ప్రజలకు విశ్వాసమున్నదో లేదో ఆ ఎన్నిక ఫలితమే రుజువుచేసినది. కాంగ్రెస్ పట్ల ఆ నియోజకవర్గంలోని ప్రజలకు విశ్వాసంలేదని విస్పష్టమైంది. ఈ సాకుదూకి ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన తీర్మానము ఈ శాసన సభలో తెచ్చుటకు అగత్యమేమో, అంత ర్యమేమో నాకు బోధపడుటలేదు. బహుశః అది నిరూపమైన రహస్యమై ఉండి ఉండాలి. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మేధా సంపన్నుడు, పరిపాలనాదక్షుడు, వయో వృద్ధుడు. ఆయనకు ఈ శాసన సభలోగల బలమంతో తెలియనిదాదు. ఏ ఏ పార్టీల సభ్యులు ఆయనను బలపరుస్తున్నారో, ఎవరు బలపరచరో తెలియకకాదు ఆయన ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని ప్రవేశపెట్టినది. ఈ తీర్మానం అంతర్యం, ప్రయోజనం వేరు. అదొక ప్రవృత్తి విషయం. రాజగోపాలాచారియెడల మాకు విశ్వాసమున్నదో లేదో తెలిపే ముందు వారికొక ప్రశ్న వేస్తాను. ఆయనకు ఆయన నిర్మించిన మంత్రివర్గ సభ్యుల యందు, ఆయనను బలపరచుచున్న కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులయందు విశ్వాసమున్నదా అనే నా ప్రశ్న. ఈ రెండు, మూడు రోజులలోను ఆయన ఒక్క కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులైనను ప్రసంగించినయితే. దీని భావం ఏమో సభ్యులందరు గుర్తించగోరాలి. ఆయనను బలపరచే సభ్యులను, ఆయన నియమించిన మంత్రివర్గము మాదా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి విశ్వాసము లేదనే దానికిది ప్రబల నికర్యమనుటలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందే

[2nd July 1952] [Sri P. Suryachandra Rao]

హములేదు. ప్రజా ప్రతినిధులయందుగాని ప్రజలయందుగాని రాజగోపాలాచారి గారికి విశ్వాసము లేదనే విషయం నిర్వివాదాంశం. ఇటువంటి నియంతృత్వదోరణికి, నిరంకుశ విధానానికి ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులమైన మేము ఎన్నడు తల ఒగ్గమని ఎంత త్వరగా ఆయన గుర్తించిన అంత మంచిదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఏ విధాన మంత్రి వర్గాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసినది, ఏ విధంగా శాసన సభ—కాన్సిల్—కు నామినేటు చేయబడినది, ఏ పరిస్థితులలో పదవీ స్వీకారంచేసినది మాకు తెలియను. ఇందుకుగాను వారవలంబించిన విధానములు ప్రజాసామ్య సిద్ధాంతాలకు విరుద్ధమని ఆయనకు తెలియకపోలేదు. ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలచేత ఓడింపబడిన కాంగ్రెస్ ను తిరిగి ప్రభుత్వాన స్థాపించే తలంపుతోనే ఆయన ఈ విధంగా ప్రవర్తించి ఉంటారు. ఇట్టి విధానా లవలంబించిన వ్యక్తిపట్ల ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులమైన మాకు విశ్వాసముండదని ఆయన గ్రహించి ఉండవచ్చును. ఆయన అరుపుకోట ఎన్నికల సందర్భంలో ఆ ఎన్నిక ఫలితం బట్టి ఆయనపై ప్రజలకు విశ్వాసమున్నదో లేదో తేల్చుకుంటానన్నారు. ప్రజలు ఖచ్చితమైన తీర్పు యిచ్చారు. ఆ తీర్పుకు ఇక తిరుగులేదు. అరుపుకోటలో కాంగ్రెస్ అభ్యర్థి ఓడిపోయినట్లయితే అది తన వోటుమే అని అంగీకరించి ఉన్నట్లయితే ఆయన ఎన్నిక ఫలితం తెలుసుకొనగానే రాజీనామా చేసియుండవలసినది. విజ్ఞానవంతుడైన రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు అంతటి హృదయ వైశాల్యము కలవాడనే భావిద్దాము. కాని ఈ తీర్మానం తీసుకొని రావడంలో అంతర్ధామేమో ఇప్పుడైనా ఆయన తెలుపుతు చేసినట్లయితే ఉదారంగా ఉండునని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులమైన మాకు రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిపట్ల విశ్వాసము లేదు అని వాళ్ళిక్కడ చెప్పగలము. ప్రాధానామాత్యపదవి స్వీకరించడానికి ఆయన అమలు జరిపిన విధానాలే ఇందుకు కారణం. ఆయన అనుసరించిన పద్ధతులను, గవర్నరుగారు ఆయన పదవీ స్వీకరణకుగాను పడిన తాత్కాలికపట్ల మా విశ్వాసరాహిత్యాన్ని తెలుపుచుచేసే నిమిత్తమే అనాడు మేమందరము గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగ సందర్భంలో శాసన సభా సమావేశంనుంచి నిష్క్రమించాము. మొన్నమాదా గవర్నరుగారి చర్యపట్ల అసమ్మతి తెలుపుటకే మేము ఆయన ప్రసంగకాలంలో సభకు రాలేదు. ఈ విషయా లన్నీ ఆయనకు తెలియకనా రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ తీర్మానము తెచ్చుట అని ఆశ్చర్యపడుతున్నాను. దీనిలోని పరమార్థమేమో, తిరురహస్యమేమో ఆయనకే బోధపడాలి.

"ఈ మంత్రి మండలిపై మాకెవ్వరికి విశ్వాసముండదనటానికి ఒక్క విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి మధ్యపాననిషేధం అమలు చేయాలని చాల వట్టుదల. ఈ నిషేధం అమలు జరుగదని ప్రజలు అంటున్నారు. ఇంతవరకు ఈ విధానం జయప్రదంకాలేదనే విషయం జగద్విదితం. అయినప్పటికీ, కష్టమైనా నిష్కారమైనా దానిని కొనసాగిస్తాను, ఎంత ఆదాయం సక్తం వచ్చినా వెనుకాడను. కొత్త వస్తువులు ప్రజాసామాన్యం నెత్తిమీద రుద్దుతాను, అంటారు రాజగోపాలాచారి వర్కులు. ఇట్టి వ్యక్తిత్వైన, ఆయన ఎంతటి విజ్ఞానవంతుడైనప్పటికీ, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి విరుద్ధంగా వర్తిస్తున్నాడనే కారణంచేత విశ్వాసం ప్రకటించలేదుని గట్టిగా తెలియజేస్తున్నాను.

"శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు దైవాన్ని స్మరించమని అందరుకు ఉద్బోధించేస్తూ ఉంటారు. ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులు దైవభక్తి వేసివారని వారు ప్రభుత్వంలోనికి వచ్చినట్లయితే అలజడి, అరాచకం తప్ప వేరేమో ఉండదని ప్రజల మనస్సులలో భూతాత్మతం కల్పించటానికి ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారు. ప్రతిపక్ష సభ్యులపట్ల ఆయన చూపుతున్న గౌరవం ప్రశంసాపాత్రంగాలేదు. మే మందరము ఆయనకు రాక్షసులవలె. నాస్తి

[Sri T. C. Narayana Nambiar] [2nd July 1952]

തന്നെ കൊടുത്തിരുന്ന നിവേദനത്തിന് ഇതുവരും കാര്യമായ യാതൊരു നടപടിയും എടുത്തിട്ടില്ല എന്നത് കുറുകരമോ, കേവലമോ അല്ല രണ്ടുംകൂടിയതെന്ന് എന്ന്, സ്പീക്കർ, ഇത് സഭ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളട്ടെ.

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p.m.

“സ്പീക്കർ, സ്പീക്കർമാർക്കും, കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് കാർക്ക് മനുഷ്യത്വമെന്തെന്ന് ചോദിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ 67 വയസ്സ് പ്രായംചെന്ന ചെറിയവർ എന്ന ഒരു കക്ഷമാനുഭവം. അവർ എല്ലാവരെയും ക്ഷണിക്കുന്നു. എന്റെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പ് റഫി ടിഡം—ശ്രീ കേളപ്പൻ എ. കെ. ജി. യും പങ്കെടുത്ത ഒരു വയസ്സ് റഫി—ചെറിയവർ എന്നൊരു കൂട്ടം വെട്ടിപ്പുറം ഫോറത്തിൽ വെച്ച് തരികയുണ്ടായി. സ്പീക്കർ, ആ വട്ടി ആ മറുതിയുടെ യോജിപ്പിൽ 1948ൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗ്രന്ഥകളും വേർതിരിക്കുകയും കൂടി കയറിച്ചെയ്തിരുന്നു. ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള സ്പീക്കർമാരുടെ വെട്ടുമാനം ആരുംകൊള്ളുകയും അതിന് ഏതെങ്കിലും മാപ്പാക്കണം. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ തളിപ്പറമ്പ് കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മുന്നണിയിൽ രണ്ടാമതായി വന്നു. മലബാർ ആകെയാണ് നടന്നതെന്നും, സ്പീക്കർ, കണ്ണൂർ എന്താണീ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് സർക്കാർ. സ്പീക്കർ, ചീഫ് നേതാക്കളുടെ സ്വന്തം നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ ഒരു കഥ പറയുകയുണ്ടാകും. കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാരുടെ അക്രമം പറയുന്ന ചീഫ് നേതാക്കൾക്കും ആൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു : ‘ആയിട്ടുള്ള ആരാണ്, എവിടെയാണെന്ന്, സ്പീക്കർ, സീനിയർ സോവിയറ്റ് ഓഫീസറും പാടി പുകഴ്ത്തുന്ന കോൺഗ്രസ്സിന്റെ ജനാധിപത്യവും വെർഫോർ സ്റ്റേറ്റിന്റെ ഗുണവും ഇതിൽനിന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കും. ആയിട്ടുള്ള കണ്ടോട്ടിയിലാണ്. സ്വന്തം മകൻ കണ്ടോട്ടി ഒരു കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റാണ്. മകൻ ഒരു ചിവസം ചോറുകൊടുത്തതിന് അവർ ചാർജ് ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടു. ആയിട്ടുള്ളവയെ മറയ്ക്കുകയും കോടതിയിൽ ഹാജരാക്കുകയും ചെയ്തു. അവർ അന്ന് കോടതിയിൽ കൊടുത്ത സ്റ്റേറ്റ്മെന്റ്, സ്പീക്കർ, ചീഫ് നേതാക്കൾ പറയുന്ന ജനാധിപത്യത്തിന്റെ തൊഴിയുണ്ടായി കാണിക്കും. ആയിട്ടുള്ള പറഞ്ഞു ‘കോൺഗ്രസ്സ്! (സ്പീക്കർ, ഇവിടെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് എന്ന് സംബോധന ചെയ്യുന്നത് മജിസ്ട്രേറ്റിനെയാണ്) എന്റെ മകൻ ഒരു ചിവസം വയറു നിറച്ച ചോറു കൊടുത്തതിന് ഇവിടെ എന്നെ മൂന്നു മാസം ശിക്ഷിക്കുമെന്ന് പറഞ്ഞു. അവർ അവനെ വയറിൽ വെച്ചതിന് എന്തു ശിക്ഷിക്കും. സ്പീക്കർ, ഇത്തരം രൂപ രൂപ കഥകൾ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് മുന്നണിയിൽ നടന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. ജനങ്ങളെ ഇത് മട്ടനത്തിൽ നിന്നു രക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ അവരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി പോരാടുവാൻ ആരും എന്തും ത്യാഗപൂർവ്വം മുന്നോട്ടു വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയാണ് കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റുകാരെ യുദ്ധ പ്രഖ്യാപനം ചെയ്യുന്നത്. സ്പീക്കർ, നാട്ടുകാർക്കിടയിൽ, സംഭാരണകാരന്മാർ എതിരായി സർക്കാർ യുദ്ധം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ആരും നാട്ടുകാരുടെ കൂടെയാണ്. യാതൊരു മട്ടനത്തിനും ജനങ്ങളെ അടക്കാനാവില്ല. ജനശത്രുക്കളുടെ മുമ്പിൽ വാചാളി സ്ഥാപിത കാലയളവിന്റെ സ്തംഭിതകരായി, നില്ലാത്ത ആളുകളെ ആർ തെറിപറഞ്ഞാലും ആരും നാട്ടുകാരുടെ കൂടെ നില്ക്കും. ചീഫ് നേതാക്കളും കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതാക്കളും യോജിച്ച് തെറിയും ചുമയ്ക്കും പറഞ്ഞാലും സംഭാരണ മുന്തിയതും മറ്റു ജനങ്ങളെ ആരും നോക്കേണ്ടതോളം ചേർന്നുനിന്ന് ജനങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി പോരാളും. സ്പീക്കർ, ഇത് പൂർവ്വം സമരകാലത്താണ് ഇവിടെ നാട്ടുകാരുടെ കാഴ്ച പറയുന്നതിൽ ആളുകളെ വിചാരിക്കാൻ എന്ന് ആൻ പ്രഖ്യാപിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ.

“പ്രവേശനമേൽ നികുതിക്കും ചുമക്കുകയും, പണക്കുരുടെമേലാണ് നികുതി അടയ്ക്കുന്നത്. ഇത് ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ജനങ്ങളുടെ യാതൊരു ജീവിത പ്രശ്നത്തെയും പരിഹാരം കാണാത്ത പിൽനിൽക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇത് നിലയിലിട്ട് പാസ്സാക്കി ഉള്ള മറ്റൊരു ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പക്ഷത്തിന്റെ അണിമുട്ടി എതിർക്കും. അതിൽനിന്നു രക്ഷ കേടാക്കുക ഒരുപക്ഷേപമായിട്ടാണ് ഇത് വിചാരിച്ചതായും ആദ്യംകൊണ്ടു കൊണ്ടുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I want to know whether any hon. Member wants to speak now. If not I am going to adjourn the House.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“The hon. Member Mr. Nambiar might be allowed to continue if no other Member is willing to speak.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I have already allowed him ten minutes.”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“There are ten more minutes. Let some hon. Member speak. If there is none, Mr. Nambiar might be allowed to continue.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“I am quite prepared to wind it all up now.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Is it the desire of the House to wind up the debate now?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“I do not know the exact state of affairs. Is the list of speakers exhausted?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The Leaders of Parties want to speak to-morrow.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“So I cannot wind it up now. If we are not winding it up now, I think you might as well allow us to have ten minutes off.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I agree Members who have not received their tickets for the Visitors' Gallery can take them from the ticket office.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“We get only ordinary tickets.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“They can be used both for the ordinary and the distinguished visitors' galleries.”

“I now adjourn the House to meet again at 10-30 a.m. on Thursday, 3rd July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 3rd July 1952.

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

I.—ALLOTMENT OF SEATS TO MEMBERS.

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ The seat allotted to one of our Members has been changed. He is not able to find where his seat actually is. If seats of hon. Members are to be changed inconveniently like this, they will find it difficult to sit properly. Mr. Pulla Reddi's seat has been changed and in his seat some other name has been pasted. He wants to know where he should sit.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I will ask the office to show him the seat. It appears the office has already shown him his seat.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ No, Sir. The point is, only just now Sri C. Pulla Reddi came to me and told me that his seat has been changed. If the office had shown him his seat, he would not have asked me for the information. Anyway if he is shown his seat I am satisfied.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ His seat has already been shown to him by the office. I will ask the office to show it to him again.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—“ Why is it that hon. Members' seats are being changed? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Hon. Members' seats are changed on their own requests.”

II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Formation of Linguistic States.

* 25 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH : Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that he told pressmen on 30th April 1952 that delay in the formation of linguistic states would create greater difficulties later on; and

(b) whether it is the Government's intention to create the Andhra State at an early date?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ (a) It is true that as time advances, the mixture of peoples and languages across borders proceeds apace so that lying down boundaries becomes more and more difficult. This is what I referred to.

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"(b) The matter is outside the scope of the State Government."

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—" May I know, Sir, whether this Government will bring in a motion urging the immediate formation of the Andhra State? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the Government will consider the suggestion. At present there is no intention of moving an official motion."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" The Hon. Chief Minister has been good enough to state that the matter is outside the jurisdiction of this Government. May I know from him whether, in view of the fact that the people of this State are vitally concerned with this question, the Government would take urgent steps to make representations to the Government of India in this matter? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The Government, Sir, will certainly take into account all things that agitate the mind of the people of the State. I only stated the position as it stood with reference to the scope of our powers."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, with reference to answer to clause (b) may I ask whether the Hon. Chief Minister is aware that the Constitution does throw an amount of responsibility on this Government and this Legislature, and the Legislature has got to consider the provisions of the Bill for the formation of the new State? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Yes, Sir. A certain amount of responsibility or privilege, whatever it might be called, is with the House. But I have answered quite correctly as the law stands."

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—" When the Government propose the formation of the Andhra State, will they keep in mind the strong opposition of Rayalaseema people to their inclusion in such a State? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Without accepting the premise, yes, Sir."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Will the Hon. the Chief Minister remember, Sir, that all the important parties and organizations in Rayalaseema want the Andhra State and will he consider the desirability of sending this information to the Prime Minister of India? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the matter is not merely the wishes of important parties, whatever 'Importance' may mean and 'parties' may mean . . . "

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SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" The Congress Party, the Communist Party, the K.M.P. Party and other parties . . . "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" 'Importance' may mean anything. 'Parties' may mean anything. But the Government will consider not only the wishes of the people or the desires of the people but also all necessary facts and circumstances."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" Sir, will it not be better or in the interest of the State that before the formation of the Andhra State the administration is bifurcated on a linguistic basis? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" All these questions should really be put in the Parliament."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" This is a pretty stale subject and I do not think I can cover it by an answer to a question."

Marine Research Station and Aquarium.

* 26 Q.—SRI P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU : Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have considered any proposal to locate a Marine Research Station and Aquarium;

(b) if so, where they propose to locate the same; and

(c) whether they have considered the suitability of Waltair for the purpose?

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—" (a) There is no proposal to locate a Marine Research Station. A proposal for constructing a Marine Aquarium is under consideration.

"(b) It is under consideration to locate the Marine Aquarium in Madras on the Marina. The exact site has not yet been decided.

"(c) No."

SRI P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU :—" Do the Government mean when they say they have not considered the proposal for putting up a Marine Research Station, that it is unnecessary? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—" No. Sir, it does not mean that."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I know whether the Hon. Minister will take steps to investigate the possibilities of locating a Marine Research Station at Waltair near Lawson's Bay which was recommended by old officials as long ago as sixty years? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—" The matter will be considered, Sir."

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DR. K. B. MENON :—“ Will the Government consider the desirability of opening a station in Malabar Coast it being one of the most important fishing centres in the whole world? ”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“ When the question of starting a Marine Research Station is taken up, the question as to where it should be located will be considered.”

Recognition of District Unions of Elementary School Teachers.

* 27 Q.—SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIYAR: Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state whether the Government have received any representation to withdraw G.O. No. 2775, Education, dated 24th October 1951, relating to the rules for recognition of District Unions of Elementary School Teachers, and, if so, the action taken thereon?

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The answer is in the affirmative. The Government have since cancelled the G.O. No. 2775, Education, dated 24th October 1951.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIYAR :—“ Sir, what were the grounds on which the Government were forced to cancel the Government Order? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, representations were received from various organizations of teachers.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIYAR :—“ Is it a fact that the Madras High Court declared the Government Order null and void according to the Constitution? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ There was an earlier G.O. No. 416 of 1939 on which the High Court passed the judgment declaring it void. This particular Government Order was objected to on the ground that it was in spirit against that judgment. Therefore, the matter was considered and the Government Order cancelled.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIYAR :—“ Sir, are teachers prohibited from forming trade unions on firka, taluk, district or provincial basis? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ A separate question may be put.”

Relief for the orchard growers in Rajampet taluk.

* 28 Q.—SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA: Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state whether any relief will be given for fasli 1362 to the orchard growers in the Rajampet taluk whose gardens are withering away for want of water and if so what relief?

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ The Government have not so far received any proposal to grant relief to orchard growers for fasli 1362. They will consider the question of giving relief later if it is found necessary.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Are not the Government aware already that valuable orchards worth lakhs of rupees have been lost? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ The Government are aware that orchards are valuable. But concrete proposals are not yet ready.”

SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—“ Is it not the duty of the Government to help the ryots who are in distress having lost what all they have, by way of investment in the gardens? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ It is the duty of the Government to give relief to ryots when they are in need of it.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware that Rajampet taluk forms part of the worst famine-affected area of Rayalaseema? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I think so, Sir.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ How long will the Government take to finalize the proposals to help the ryots? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ It may not take a very long time, Sir.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ We have been told, Sir, that it may not take a very long time. May I ask the Hon. Minister whether he will publish the proposals within a few days? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ In this case, it won't take a very long time, Sir.”

Representations from the cane-growers of Thummapala Sugar Factory.

* 29 Q.—SRI K. GOVINDA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that representations have been made by the cane-growers of Thummapala Sugar Factory Area (Visakhapatnam district) to the effect that the Sugarcane Co-operative Society be entrusted with supplying cane to the Sugar Factory for the next year; and

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(b) if so, the action taken thereon?

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“(a) Yes.

“(b) The matter is engaging the attention of the authorities.”

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—“Is it a fact, Sir, that the management of the Thummapala Sugar Factory has not followed the rules in regard to the payment of minimum price for the cane supplied during 1951-52?”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“That supplementary question does not arise here, Sir.”

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—“May I know, Sir, whether similar representations have been received from the sugarcane growers of Vuyyuru, Krishna district?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“Sir, the Hon. Minister was pleased to state that the question of prices does not arise out of the present question. May I know, Sir, whether it is not one of the points in the representation received by the Government?”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“The point that was stressed in the representation was about the supply of cane to the factories through the co-operative society, and that matter is under the consideration of the Government.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to state whether the Government will take a decision on this before the cane crushing season is over?”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“It is the intention of the Government to take a decision in the matter before the cane crushing season commences and not after it is over, Sir.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“In view of the fact that for this factory the season has practically come to an end, may I know how long the Government will take to come to a decision?”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“The representation was not concerning the last crushing season at all. It relates to the supply of sugarcane in the coming season.”

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—“May I know, Sir, whether because the supply of cane was not entrusted to the co-operative society last year, there was corruption in regard to the supply of cane to Thummapala Sugar Factory?”

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—“Supply of sugarcane to the factories by the co-operative societies is not the system in this State.”

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

II.—CHANGE IN THE DATE FOR RECEIPT OF CUT MOTIONS ON THE BUDGET.

MR. SPEAKER :—“In modification of the announcement made by me on the 27th June 1952, I have to inform hon. Members that the time for receipt of notices of Cut Motions is extended from the 3rd to the 8th July 1952 as His Excellency the Governor has changed the dates for the general discussion of the Budget for 1952-53.”

IV.—GOVERNMENT MOTION RE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—cont.

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, for the last three days we have been hearing mostly the voices of the Opposition and I had expected, probably wrongly, that the other side also would come forward with their arguments why this Motion has been brought forward at this stage of the proceedings of the House. Even though our Hon. Chief Minister had told us that freedom had been given to his party Members to vote according to their conscience or as the god or gods seated in their hearts told them to do, I find that freedom of lifting their hands only has been given to them and not the freedom of opening their mouths. And that is the reason, Sir, why we find that the only two or three Members who came forward to support the Motion have not been from the Government benches, but from other benches somewhere in the centre of this Hall. The arguments that have been advanced by those who wanted to support the Motion have been peculiar enough and not very much concerned with what the Hon. the Chief Minister has stated in his own statement. They were much more particular of attacking a section of the Opposition, and because they wanted to attack this section of the Opposition, they thought they should vote for the Congress Government whatever might be its policies or its actions or its principles. So, it has happened that the very first hon. Member who spoke in support of the Motion has been Mr. Muthiah Chettiar, a very, very important personage, of course, in this State, who has been very much trying to see, from the date the elections were over, to get, in whatever way possible, the Congress into power. I am not surprised and certainly the Opposition is not surprised at the vehement way in which he supported the Motion, because he knows that his interests and the interests of his class can be protected only by the Government that is now sitting on the Treasury Benches and certainly not by a Government that would come into power if the Opposition is given a chance. Therefore, Sir, that kind of support is a welcome sign so far as we and the people are concerned and I wish many more Members of that type would come forward and speak out what is in their hearts so that people will know as to who stands where.

“So far as the Muslim League's support to the Motion is concerned, it is another welcome sign. The Muslim League thinks that the Congress Ministry is to be supported because it believes

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in God. It is wishful thinking or a fear without any foundation, that revolutions are going to take place in all the countries where the Communists and their friends are ruling; and the Muslim League Member therefore thinks that the Communists should not come to power here. He can go on with such arguments and I have no objection. But I would like to remind the hon. Member that God as he thinks, and the people as he thinks, are moving in a different direction, in a direction opposite to that in which he is trying to move. At this stage, I would like to remind all those people who have begun talking of God unnecessarily, in season and out of season, that they are trying their utmost to make the people grope in the dark and not see the realities. In this connection, I may be permitted to read a few stanzas written by our great poet Tagore :

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads !
Whom dost thou worship in his lonely dark corner of a temple with doors
all shut ?
Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee ?
He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-
maker is breaking stones.
He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with
dust.
Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil !
Deliverance ?
Where is this deliverance to be found ?
Our Master himself has joyfully taken upon Him the bonds of creation :
He is bound with us all for ever.
Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense !
What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained ?
Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow.

Sir, that is where we stand in relation to the people and God. I would request them not to go on trying to deceive the people in the name of God by telling them 'Everything will be done by God; I will not be able to do anything; God will help you.' It is not going to bring us any success. Therefore, Sir, the Muslim Leaguers can go on supporting this Government and the people will give them proper reply when they go back to them again.

"Then, Sir, why is it that the Opposition to-day is opposing this Motion? That is a very important factor. We have been told that Sri Rajagopalachari has come forward with this Motion at a time when he has already taken certain decisions and when he is going to take more decisions in future. But we feel he wants to have dictatorial powers in his hands so that he can act as he likes and he can go on with his administration as he thinks fit. It is not a question as to what the people think. It is a question as to what he thinks. He thinks that he has got an absolute majority in this House. What are the circumstances under which he has got the majority? Where do we stand in relation to the people? What is the socio-economic position of our people to-day in our State? You know, Sir, that there is famine in our State. You know, Sir, that unemployment is the biggest cancer in the body politic of our society. As a matter of fact, the Members of the Legislative Assembly have the experience of a number of unemployed people meeting and telling them that they are hungry and that they have not taken meals for the last three or four days. They are all educated people, more educated than most of us. There is

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no work for them. At this stage the Government have brought forward their budget in which, of course, there is no programme or plan to provide employment for these people. On the other hand, they have brought in additional taxation proposals to break the people's backs which are already burdened with a top heavy administration, and they may in fact die due to the strain. And the Government think that with this Motion of confidence before the Budget discussion is started, they can get the Budget easily passed and they can even bring fresh taxation proposals.

Sir, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has told us that Aruppukottai has been an eye-opener to him. I would tell him that, if he goes and sees properly, of course with the idea of seeing, he will find that it is not Aruppukottai alone, but even Coimbatore should be an eye-opener to him, because in Coimbatore where the Congress had won without opposition previously, now after Sri Rajagopalachari had announced his policy of decontrol, the Opposition got 52,000 votes. 11 a.m.

"Coming to the Aruppukottai bye-election what is it that we find? Mr. Rajagopalachari has come out with an apology as to why he need not take the Aruppukottai bye-election very seriously. Because according to him only 40 per cent of the voters in that area actually went to the polls and the vast majority of the people have not exercised their franchise, he now comes to us saying: 'I need not go to the people again. I only want a vote of confidence from this House to carry on the administration.' I would like to tell the Chief Minister that even though only 40 per cent of the voters in Aruppukottai went to the polls the percentage of votes polled by the Opposition was greater than what they polled previously. This should be an indication to the Chief Minister that the vast majority of the people of this State are in opposition to the Government of which the Hon. Chief Minister is the head. Their opposition is much stronger than what it was at the time of the general elections.

"The same is the case with the Kakinada bye-election. Mr. Rajagopalachari has told us at the last Assembly session that the main opposition consisted only of the Communists. We have seen in Kakinada that the independent candidate supported by the Congress and all the other parties was defeated. To their utter disappointment and most astonishingly enough the Communist candidate was declared elected by a majority. The people there have given a decisive verdict. It virtually amounts to this, viz., 'The Congress has no place to carry on the Government.'

"I can say to the Hon. Chief Minister that even in Coimbatore, in spite of the fact that the Congress did win the contest, the votes polled by the Opposition had considerably increased. Let me leave it at that.

Mr. Rajagopalachari being a man of morals and scruples should take a lesson from the result of these three bye-elections. He asked during the last Assembly session whether anyone of us belonging to the Opposition would be prepared to resign his seat for him to contest that seat. Let me tell him on the floor of this

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House this very day that I am prepared to vacate my seat. We the Communists are ready to resign any seat that the Hon. the Chief Minister wants us to resign to enable him to contest that seat. I can give an assurance to this House that we will definitely and decisively come out successful in the elections. Not only that, we are definite that the number of votes that we polled during the last general elections would be outnumbered and that we will get a thumping majority. We will give the Hon. the Chief Minister a decisive answer that he need not be the only man to rule and preserve law and order, but that there are better men who will work for the poorer classes and the humbled and starved masses.

"All these things go to show that we should vote against this Resolution. Let us for a moment see what this Ministry has done ever since it came to office. I have told the Chief Minister during our last session that this Ministry, so long as it goes on keeping the society as it exists at present and is not prepared to introduce fundamental changes in the existing structure, it can never be a stable one. What is the manner in which the Government are functioning? During our first session we found the police vigilance at its top. That was the beginning and a beginning well-done. What is the state of affairs at present? Under section 41 of the Police Act some other order in a different form has been issued; the object is stated to be to preserve public safety at the time the Assembly is meeting. Hence I say that this Government headed by Mr. Rajagopalachariar is a Government of the police force. When a Government does not give opportunities for the public to come to their representatives in the Assembly and represent their grievances, can we say that it is a Government for the good of the people?

"I shall cite an instance. Immediately after the last Assembly sittings, I and Mr. Venkateswarlu went to the Chief Minister's house. We were surprised to find that at the gates we were stopped by the police and asked not to go in. I told the policeman that I had a right to see the Chief Minister. I straightaway began to proceed. The policeman came running after me saying: 'Please do not go in. Otherwise I would be taken to task later.' I told him that inasmuch as the Chief Minister had given us permission to meet him I had a right to go to the Private Secretary and ask whether the Chief Minister was present and whether I could meet him. I ask, is this the way in which the Chief Minister receives the representatives of the people with a police-raj in the background.

"Let me narrate another instance. Fortunately or unfortunately I happened to travel by the same train by which Mr. Rajagopalachari was to proceed to Anantapur. To my utter surprise I found that the whole of Central Station was surrounded by policemen and officials of the C.I.D. The crowd was so much that I was led to think, 'Oh! in this country there seems to be only policemen all round.'"

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"There were only very few police officials."

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* **SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—**"Apart from the crowd at the Central Station, to my utter surprise I found that at each station two policemen would go in and come out of the compartment to see that the Hon. the Chief Minister was safe. The action of the policemen was as though there was a big revolution going on in that part of the State. Perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister thought that anyone among the people would spring up and shoot him. I am sorry to note that Mr. Rajagopalachari should have made his tour of Anantapur in a 'frenzy of fear.' I venture to submit that there are Communists in every nook and corner of this land who are being driven and tortured by the police under the dictates of this Government. When I alighted at Anantapur, for the first time after I had become a political figure, to my utter surprise I found that that small town which had never seen such a huge array of policemen was besieged by constables. I would ask the Hon. the Chief Minister whether ours is a Welfare State or a Police State? How is it that our Chief Minister finds the company of policemen more pleasing than that of the ordinary men for whom he says he is ruling this State? I am not going to talk on the Budget proposals but am going to touch only upon simple facts, as things are happening at the present moment under the leadership of Sri C. Rajagopalachari.

"Seeing these police activities I can only say that this State is being turned into a pucca Police State, much worse than what it was under the previous Congress Ministry. Our Chief Minister is a clever and tactful man. That is why he has been called a Chanakya. He is working cautiously. He only knows where he is taking the administration of this State. I appeal even to those sitting on the opposite benches to vote against the Resolution. The Leader of the Congress Party has appealed to one and all to vote according to their conscience and as the gods in their hearts would direct them. Let them vote against this Police State. Let them vote against this Government which bamboozles the innocent people by police force. Let the Ministers who are the representatives of the public at large realize this."

"There is another reason why I oppose this Motion. Mr. Rajagopalachari came to power with the intention of establishing unity in his ranks. Unfortunately for him and his followers, in spite of the fact that he did succeed to some extent in maintaining unity, he had been only partially successful. If he pursues his present programmes and policies and alienates the sympathies of the people he will soon find that his own ranks would not follow him.

"Coming to the policies of Government, what is it we find with regard to irrigation? I would ask the Members sitting on the other side whether they approve of the programmes of Mr. Rajagopalachari. Even though the Technical Committee has not yet submitted its report our Chief Minister has come forward to say that this State is ready to take up the Krishna-Pennar Project. I do not see any reason for the hurry. It has been reported in the papers yesterday that the Central Minister for Planning

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Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda has said that the Madras Government is really pressing for the implementation of the Krishna-Pennar Project. I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister to go through yesterday's issue of 'Andhra Patrika.' The Technical Committee headed by Mr. Khosla has not published its findings. When such is the case, the Chief Minister has come forward with a statement that the State is ready to undertake the Krishna-Pennar Project. This is a move to disrupt the unity of the people of Andhra and striking their political death-knell. Besides all these, he has now come forward with this Motion asking the House to place confidence in him and allow him to rule over the people. This is just like the story of the monkey and the cats. This sort of blackmail cannot go on for long.

"Speaking in a place in Andhradesa the Chief Minister is reported to have asked the people not to tell lies. He would ask the Chief Minister what he meant by that statement. Does it mean that Mr. Rajagopalachari is the only 'Satya Harischandra' of this Kaliyuga? Why should he dictate to the people to speak truth? Our Chief Minister is never tired of asking people to be morally good. But I can say that this Government which talks of morals only to cover its unscrupulous acts is neither moral nor can it be called by any other analogous term.

"During our last session many of us belonging to the Opposition were very critical of the manner in which the Government were giving relief to the famine-stricken people of Rayalaseema. We told the Hon. the Chief Minister definitely and decisively that the contractors were swallowing up the whole of the money spent, at the expense of the famine-stricken masses. Even the PTI gave a report to that effect. What was the answer of the Chief Minister? 'I do not believe in exaggerated reports' was his remark. Then came out the truth from his own ranks, through Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi and Sri P. Ranga Reddi. Now who was speaking the truth? Who has been exaggerating? Were we uttering falsehoods? It is for the people to decide. In the name of maintaining morals and the like the Government are threatening the people so that their voices could not be heard. No doubt Mr. Rajagopalachari is a great moralist. He has a very kind heart no doubt, which never melts!

11-15
a.m.

"Where people are suffering and the fact is taken to his notice, he never gives an answer, even the answer of the bureaucrat that he would consider it, the common answer of the white bureaucrat that he would go into it. It means as though telling this House that the people who speak of the sufferings and grievances of the people outside, the common man, are all liars and that he is the only truthful man. If that is the manner and the method of his administration, how is he I ask, Sir, going to unite this country. I say, Sir, that he is not going to unite this State; and for the sake of the unity of the State, for the sake of the different classes of people in the State and for the sake of peace and order in the State, I would request hon. Members with a clear conscience to vote against this Resolution and get rid of this Ministry.

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"The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has been telling us very often that immediately he came to office, he had a full view of the sufferings of the people of Rayalaseema and that was why four Ministers were given to them, that he loved Rayalaseema and that was why four Ministers have been given to those districts. Well and good. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'I did not say so.') If you, Mr. Speaker want it Sir, I can place the Press report on the table of the House even to-morrow; I am definite about it and there is nothing I am adding by way of comment to what appeared in the Press. There is another small thing that took place in the Tiruchirappalli Central Jail when we were all together there. We asked him why at least one Minister had not been provided for Rayalaseema and why Mr. Koti Reddi, one of the seniormost Congressmen was not provided with a place in his Cabinet. We were told that it could not have been done because Sri Gopala Reddi was the man whom he loved most and he had to be given a place in the Cabinet. I would like to ask him, where was the love and affection for Rayalaseema at that time. Why was it . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"It is a very interesting conversation that happened in jail; but I fear it is totally wrong. I do not remember a word of it and I am sure Sri Nagi Reddi might not remember it. I would only ask Mr. Nagi Reddi to say whether Sri Gopala Reddi was present at that time."

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"I think he was there and it was at a time he was leaving that place. People who were there at that time will quite remember what happened and some of the Members sitting on the other side of the House were present and they will also remember. If I could have an answer to that question from those benches it will be well and good. My question has not altered since and it is this: Where was the Chief Ministers's affection for Rayalaseema at that time? It was not there then, but to-day it is there with a purpose and that is to divide the people, the Rayalaseema Andhras from the Circar Andhras, so that he can have his way in regard to the governance of the State and rule in a dictatorial manner. People on this side of the House have explained the situation and my hon. Friend Sri C. Pulla Reddi has fully exposed the move, and I am sure any reasonable man will be convinced by it and there will be no dispute about it. This kind of divide and rule policy which Sri Rajagopalachari is adopting and has been adopting is nothing new; it has been there for a long time, and we also told him even during the last sittings of the House that his contention that he had been asked by the people of the State to be the Chief Minister is all bunkum, and that the people do not require him to divide and rule them, but on the other hand the people want a party or group of persons who can give them food, provide them with employment, give them the return for their labour and make them realize their national aspirations by granting them their demand for linguistic provinces. Just now when answering questions, he was asked whether he would take into consideration the attitude of the important parties in Rayalaseema in regard to the Andhra State question and he replied: 'I do not know what the

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hon. Member means by taking into consideration the attitude of important parties, but the Government would take into consideration the attitude of the people. The parties in Rayalaseema that are for the Andhra State are the Congress, the Communist and the K.M.P. Parties. Which other party is there today with such strength and backing behind it which is demanding the Andhra State? Is there any other party or a group of parties with the backing of the people behind them which say that they want a separate Rayalaseema province? There are of course a few nonentities who raise their voice being sure of the weight and support that Sri Rajagopalachariar wants to give them, on which he may base the finding that the Rayalaseema people are against this question. That is the way, as I said, he is trying to divide the people, so that he may be there permanently and safely and he may not be disturbed from that position either by the people or the Opposition. Sir, taking into account the progress so far achieved in the matter of adopting this divide and rule policy, I say, it is not going to give the State a safe, sure and secure Government, which is what the people have been asking for.

"The Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has the credit always of speaking in generalization and not in particularization; he is a great adept at generalizing, but he never tries to take the House into his confidence and tell them what exactly he is going to do, for them to vote for him, and as I said, he has no reply to give even on points that we may raise. There have been questions raised in this House both at the last sitting and during this sitting. The point was very pertinently raised by many hon. Members, and they asked if the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari as a truthful man will come forward and make some enquiries into so many of the police acts which have taken place during the last four years and a half. I gave him an example last time, one in a hundred and a thousand where a brother had been forced to molest his sister; and hundreds of instances have been given by Mr. Gopalan and Mr. Vinayagam regarding incidents in Malabar and Chingleput. There are hundreds of instances in Andhra. He says that he stands for justice and he wants law and order; he speaks of truth, he speaks of God, but I would like to ask him in the name of God, in the name of truth whether he is ready to institute an enquiry into the atrocities that have taken place, and whether he is ready to see that those that have been found responsible for such acts are punished. I ask him if he would be ready to give a feeling of confidence to the people and make them feel: here is a Government which has come forward to remove those people who have been responsible for such atrocities. But what do we find? We find that even when we catch hold of such people redhanded, nothing turns out. In Guntakkal we caught hold of a contractor who was collecting four annas when he had to collect only two annas, and he had actually four anna tickets printed and he had been giving it to the people regularly collecting four annas when he was entitled to collect only two annas by way of cart tax. The matter was reported to the Municipal Commissioner and I personally went to the Police station and handed over the receipts and also gave quite a number

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of names for purposes of evidence. To this day, Sir, I do not know what has taken place and the only thing is that an enquiry is being made and something will be done. But four months have elapsed. That is the way the Government move so far as the people's enemies are concerned; if any one were to go with the people's grievances, however justifiable and proper they may be, he is put inside jails or threatened with police force. That is the way the Government act and they even go to the extent of supporting and justifying their actions.

There is another thing that I would like to say. The Government say one thing in one place and another in another place. I represented to His Excellency the Governor about conditions in Rayalaseema and suggested that joint pattadars should be given loans. In reply to this I got a communication to the effect that joint patta holders would also be given loans. But when we went to the Collector, he told us that such a communication might have been received by Sri Nagi Reddi but it has not been received by him. The fact of the communication from His Excellency the Governor was published in the papers so that the people might avail themselves of loan facilities, but when they approached the Collector, he told them that nothing of the sort had been sanctioned. I ask, Sir, why one kind of report to me and none or another to the Collector of the district. Why was it not sent to the Collector? It has been suggested that truth is very important and that has to be brought to the forefront, but Sir, here is a Government which does not know its own mind, its own programmes and policies. Its policies and schemes are not for the well being of the people, but for dividing the people in all aspects of their national life, so that it will be able to rule the State for quite a long time and the representatives of the landlord classes and others might be safe in their seats of privilege and power.

"In Rayalaseema, the Hon. the Chief Minister was telling the people that land revenue would not be collected from the people. I am receiving telegrams after telegrams from the people that it is being collected. The same kind of reports are coming from Nellore, and Sri Yellamanda Reddi also referred to the fact that collections are being made and people are being threatened that the police would come and make the collections if the people would not pay the tax themselves. Is this the way the Government are trying to function? The Government do not move immediately with the result that the sort of thing that happened in Rayalaseema is happening in all spheres of Government. How is it that the orders of Government are not treated as such and acted upon by those responsible whose duty it is to carry them out? If they do not heed the orders of Government, will the Government be ready to remove them, for having set up a kind of revolt? (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'It is wrong.') If what I am saying is true, as I will prove, will he take action against the officers responsible for not giving effect to the orders of Government? Such a thing will not happen as he loves to defend them, and no action will be taken against them, and their acts of omission and commission are ignored. So far as their programmes are concerned, so far as their

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policies of rehabilitation and reconstruction go, the Government are not a people's Government but they have been carrying on against the wishes of the people, and we on this side of the House would only request hon. Members on the other side of the House who have not spoken so far, to calmly and seriously give their thought to the situation before they go back to face the people again, so that they may be able to face them calmly and conscientiously. If they vote for the resolution, I am sure people will be ready to give them the proper answer. We say that the whole of the United Democratic Front whether they be independents, K.M.P. Members or T.N.T. Members, we are ready to face any election at any period to prove that not only the members sitting here will come back but we will come back in greater numbers, and that many who are sitting there will not be able to return to this House if they go back to the people and tell them what their policies and programmes are regarding the future. If after voting for this motion, hon. Members on the other side go back to the people, I am sure the verdict of the people would be to their detriment, and that will be the answer that they would be able to get."

* JANAB K. UPPI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion moved by the Hon. Leader of the House. Let me begin my speech with a prayer to God, that our country may be saved from those who are expecting to come back in large numbers if there is a re-election in this State. The previous speaker referred to this and gave a warning to the Members of the Muslim League that most of us will not be in the next Legislature if we vote for the Motion. May God save us. But I must tell him that the Muslim League and the Muslims have received many such warnings and challenges throughout their life.

11-30. " My hon. Friend Mr. Nagi Reddi was dilating upon our State a.m. being converted into a Police State. Let him know that in this State we have got the right to speak at least within the four walls of this House and even criticise the Government in power. But can we do so in the country from where he takes his inspiration and directives? What is the state of affairs obtaining in that country? Let me now read to you some excerpts from a book written by a Russian himself who was a Member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in America. This is what Mr. Victor Kravchenko, in his book, ' I Chose Freedom ' says about Russia, the country about which it is said that every person there is free to do anything as he or she likes :

" The people of my country are in the clutches of the police-state ; they cannot possibly make their views and their hopes and their distress known to the world. In the measure that I can reveal the true physiognomy of the Kremlin dictatorship to the peoples and Governments of democratic countries, I feel that I am helping in a small way to warn the world against self-delusions . . .

Then he says—

" The Communist dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. is not a problem for the Russian people alone, or for the democracies only. It is the problem of all humankind. The world dare not continue indefinitely to turn its back on the martyrdom of a great segment of the human race inhabiting one-sixth of the earth's surface . . . "

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SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know the name of the book. Is it from Koran or Bible? "

* JANAB K. UPPI :—" I have already given out the name and author of the book. The name of the book is ' I Chose Freedom. ' It is written by Victor Kravchenko, a member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in America."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member's speech is inaudible. He may come to the mike used by the Leader of the Socialist Party and speak."

* JANAB K. UPPI :—" Unfortunately for me, I have got a very small voice and that has been the complaint always.

" Sir, the whole world knows that in the past we were the main Opposition. We opposed the Congress. We criticised them. We also supported them when measures intended for the benefit of the people were brought forward. But we never indulged in destructive criticism. Our motto was and is to offer constructive criticism and to see that a stable Government functions in this State for the welfare and prosperity of the people. Of course, in the recent elections we opposed Congressmen and criticized them. At the same time we never believed and declared that the Congress Party was altogether an undesirable party. The Congress is a party which has fought for and brought freedom to this country. But the persons who came to the helm of affairs in this State immediately after the attainment of freedom mismanaged affairs and we were faced with a situation in this State which might have even led to chaos in this State. Fortunately for the people of this State and the country, Rajaji has agreed to run the Government. It is a great sacrifice on the part of Rajaji to have done so for the sake of the country for he had retired from active public life and was leading a quiet and calm life. His reappearance gave us hope and we have decided to support the Government so long as they carry on their affairs in a manner which will be beneficial to the people. Within the last 81 days or so—an hon. Member from the Opposition had referred to the number of days the Congress Government have been in office—they have done things which have emboldened us to repose our confidence in him. He has helped the Non-Gazetted Officers by granting to their children educational concessions. Secondly, he has applied the specific of decontrol for the cancer of control, procurement, etc., that was eating into the vitals of society. The controls had been responsible for the moral deterioration of the people. I ask, was not control and procurement of food a cancer eating into the morals of the whole people of this State? Is there any man who has observed the rules of control strictly and has not violated them. I am sure, even the Members of this House when they left their mufassal stations would not have handed over their ration cards to the rationing authorities when there was control. In that way, they would have committed an offence. But all these things have been removed by the introduction of de-control in this State. This is also one of the reasons why we must repose confidence in Rajaji.

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" Sir, certain charges were made against the members of the Muslim League that they have gone back on their solemn pledges that they gave to the electorate. I must say that we have never gone back on our pledge. In fact the pledge that we gave was that we would never co-operate with parties which do not believe in God. It is true that we opposed the Congress in the elections for its commissions and omissions but that does not mean that we must vote against the Congress Party when it does good to the country.

" Sir, yesterday reference was made by one of the hon. Members on the other side to the minimum programme of the United Democratic Front and invited the Muslim League to join the United Democratic Front to work that programme. Unless they are prepared to give us an idea of their maximum programme also we will not touch it with a pair of tongs. I want to know, what is up their sleeves. They have invited us to walk into their parlour; we know it is only to swallow us like the spider. A few days ago it was stated in the newspapers that the Communist Party in this country has received directives from Russia that they should join hands with the nationalists under different names and work their programme. This is their game; that is what had happened in Malabar during the recent elections. At first the Communists did not favour an alliance with the Praja Party on the ground that it was nothing but the Congress Party. But ultimately they thought that by having an alliance with the Praja Party and making common cause with them, they would be able in the end, to make them enter into their parlour and they succeeded in their objective to a very great extent. This is the policy they are now trying to follow. 11-45 a.m. We are not going to fall a prey to their machinations.

" Then, Sir, I have to say something about police atrocities in Malabar, of which much is made here and about which a big list was sought to be made out by one hon. Member. It was in Kottayam taluk of Malabar district that some of these atrocities were committed. That very amsom where those atrocities were committed, happens to be my neighbouring amsom. I ask, were those Communists sitting in their houses doing tapas when the police were committing those atrocities. Did the police unnecessarily go there and molest them? What all atrocities the Communists committed there, only the residents of that amsom know. In fact the residents of those amsoms were really living with their lives in their hands as it were. In short, that was the state of affairs there. In terror and in fright they were living there. One hon. Member was shedding crocodile tears in this House yesterday for one Kunhali's mother and sister. Really what happened was, this Kunhali was a Communist. Orders were issued by the police to arrest him. He went underground. He was going about from place to place by bylanes asking for food, asking for some *kanji* water. If anybody helped him with food, he noted in his book the names of such who gave him food as having given him excellent meals and so on. When the police caught hold of him finally, that note book also fell into police hands. Therein the police saw who had helped him

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and immediately they took action against those innocent persons. Thus he brought trouble to many innocent persons who out of their ignorance helped him with food. So, Sir, it is in this way so many Muslims were brought to trouble. Now, Sir, if this Kunhali had some feeling of pity and consideration for his mother he could have come out and saved his mother from trouble. So, Sir, so far as we are concerned we know that we will have troubles from the Communists, and so, we will try to take care of ourselves. We are not afraid even if they kill us; for we, Muslims are never afraid of killing or being killed. We are God's creatures and we feel God will help us. In conclusion, Sir, I feel once more bound to say that we are God's creatures and we cannot have alliances with those who have no belief in God. (Interruption from Opposition Bloc.) You have been inviting us, not only here, but also outside this House to join you even by cajoling, threatening and intimidating.

" Finally, Sir, I feel the Government's policy of excluding religious education from schools is a blunder. If there is no religion in this country, the country will be a devilish State, for a State without a religion will be a devilish State. The whole civilisation of this world is built upon religion; in fact, the bedrock of civilisation has been belief in God. So it is up to this Government if they want to save this country from chaos to inculcate religion in our children, or to give at least facilities for teaching of religions. With these words I once more say we Muslims give our whole-hearted support to this Motion of Vote of Confidence and in this step we have the whole Muslim population of this province behind us."

* Dr. K. B. MENON :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, we have before us a very intriguing issue. We are confronted with a demand for a vote of confidence from a Cabinet which has been in office only for three months. What are the facts of the case? What are the conditions under which this Vote of Confidence is sought? Let me first say a few words about the Ministry. The status and stature of the Ministry that is in office solely springs from the person who heads it. As far as the others are concerned, 90 per cent of them have no parliamentary experience like the majority of the Members of this House. It is very difficult to weigh the work and worth of a Cabinet that has been in office only for three months. The demand for a Vote of Confidence is premature. The Ministers will say that individuals do not count, that it is the party that counts and that the individuals or Ministers only carry out the instructions and directions of the party in power. I accept this contention. We all know however the record of the Congress in the last five years. I am quite sure that the Congress itself is not very proud of it. I do not propose however to avail of this opportunity or to make use of the floor of the Assembly to arraign the Congress for all the misdeeds and mistakes of omission and commission that Congressmen have been guilty of in the last five years. I only wish to state that three months are too short a time to correct this record or build up a fund of goodwill. From this

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point of view also, my submission is that the demand for a vote of confidence is premature.

"Are there any extenuating circumstances which ease the situation and justify the demand? Let me analyse very briefly the Press interview given by Rajaji. There, he says, in the first place, the deliberate effort on the part of the Opposition to boycott or to be absent from the Joint Session of the Legislature summoned in connexion with His Excellency's Address, has disappointed him, and so he feels that they do not want him to be the Chief Minister. I do not know why the Chief Minister should be surprised at it. That is the attitude which the Chief Minister should certainly expect from the Opposition. To him such methods will be familiar, and so I do not see any reason why he should dislike them. We ourselves do not see eye to eye with the United Democratic Front. We did not abstain from attending the Joint Session. We believe that under the present circumstances walk-outs, boycotts and neutrality positions are weapons of the weak, and we also believe that if these weapons are used without care and caution, and except under exceptional circumstances, we are more likely to express our weakness than exhibit our strength. My submission is, that there is no reason why the Chief Minister should feel disappointed or disgruntled with the attitude of the Opposition. So I feel this demand for a Vote of Confidence is unnecessary and unprovoked.

"Then, Sir, there is another reason urged by the Chief Minister for this Motion of Vote of Confidence, and that is the Aruppukkottai bye-election. Is a bye-election sufficient reason to come to the House for a Vote of Confidence and that a bye-election immediately following a general election? I think not, Sir.

"Analysing the results of the recent three bye-elections—one in Kakinada, the second in Coimbatore and the third in Aruppukkottai, it is obvious that in all of them, the sitting party, if I may use that word, has been invariably returned. For in the Kakinada bye-election it is a Communist candidate who has been returned; in Coimbatore it is a Congress candidate who has been returned and in Aruppukkottai it is a member of the Forward Bloc who has been returned. Sir, this only shows that if a bye-election immediately follows a general election, it will not yield a result very different from that of the general election. So there is no reason, again, for the Chief Minister to be disappointed. So, I see no reason why the Chief Minister should have thrown this challenge. I understand he had a very good reception at Aruppukkottai, when he visited that place recently; and if the election result is otherwise, it is only natural that that result should be expected. From that point of view, again, my submission is that this demand for a Vote of Confidence is unprovoked and unnecessary.

"Now, Sir, whatever be our opinion as far as this Motion is concerned, we are confronted with a demand for a Vote of Confidence. We have to vote for it or we have to reject it. If it were a No-confidence Motion sponsored by the Opposition, the situation would have been slightly different. I am not suggesting, when I

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make this statement, that if such a Non-confidence Motion were moved the Socialists would vote with the Congress against the Opposition. For we are committed to vote in this Assembly on a merit basis. I brought this up only to show the difference in the decree of embarrassment the situation would have created.

"As far as we are concerned, we feel as if we are between the devil and the deep sea. We are between the capitalist Congress on the one hand and the fascist Communists on the other. We cannot vote with the Congress on this issue for we feel that if we vote with the Congress, we will be associating ourselves with the capitalist Congress, recording our confidence in the Congress which we do not have. We walked out of the Congress because we believed then and we also believe now, that the Congress is unable to carry out the Socialist programme and that we, the Socialist Party, have an ideology, a programme, a policy, a message and a mission, which is very different from those of the Congress. When we walked out of the Congress, the Congress was the pink of perfection; it was then at the pinnacle of its name and fame. It was the Congress Mahatmajji had built up. We left the Congress because of the courage of our conviction, because we felt that the Socialist policy and programme could only be carried out by the Socialist Party and not by the Congress. It may naturally be asked why we were in the Congress before that and why we left it. We remained in the Congress during all the period of our struggle, because we felt that political independence of the country was of primary importance and that it was a pre-requisite to economic independence. The Communist Party did not believe in that, and that is the reason why they remained outside and built up an organization of their own. The Communist Party had not the interest of the country at heart then nor do they have it now. We remained with the Congress and we fought along with the Congress in the struggle, and after we found a solution to the problem of independence on the 15th August 1947, we came out. We parted company with the Congress then not with any malice, not in any anger, but because we thought it was our duty to say good-bye to the Congress and organise ourselves as an independent party, and because we felt, as I said, that we had an ideology, a programme, a message and a mission very different from those of the Congress. The Congress was a multi-class organization, before the struggle, with all sections of the people in it, but after 15th August 1947 when they accepted office, they ceased to be a multi-class organization and became a monolithic political party. We left it then and we have now organized ourselves as an independent political party. These are general statements, and I should illustrate my position with just a very few examples, although I am afraid I may not have much time to go into details.

"First, take our policy with regard to the various problems in the country. Take for example, the question of land. There again it is not possible for me to go into details; but I may say our approach to the whole problem is quite different from that of the Congress. We approach the problem from two angles of view.

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Land in the first place is limited in quantity, and therefore naturally it should not be the monopoly of a few. We do not believe in concentration of land in the hands of a few zamindars or feudal landlords, because we feel that that would tilt the social balance. We therefore feel that there should be a redistribution of land. We claim that there should be confiscation without compensation, not because we wish to see the rich pauperised, not because we wish to push them into the street, but because we believe we should dry up all sources of unearned income. Unless we confiscate without compensation, we would only be converting the feudal landlords into industrial magnates, which would be in no way better. That is with regard to the land question.

"Coming to the question of nationalization, the Congress claims that they have a Socialist programme and that they have nationalized bus transport in the City of Madras. I submit that nationalization without socialisation, the result would be what we have experienced without socialisation, the result would be what we have experienced in the City of Madras—corruption, nepotism, favouritism, and much worse than all that, unemployment. Unless there is nationalization going along with socialisation, the result would be disastrous, because the workers must be taken into co-operation in the industry. It is the worker who knows the weak spots in the industry; it is the worker who will be able to make constructive suggestions; and unless the workers are taken into confidence and their co-operation sought in industry, it would be very difficult to make a success of nationalization. That is the reason why the Congress failed in its attempt at nationalization. Again, where the Government have taken up industries, like the railways, the administration has not been satisfactory, because the Congress lacks that point of view which the Socialists have, viz., the social point of view according to which there should be equality of opportunity which comes from equality of distribution.

"In respect of taxation, also the Socialist approach will be very different from the Congress approach. Imagine the suggestion that is made in the recent Budget proposals of imposing a surcharge on bus-fare. We would never have thought of making the poor bus traveller—and the majority of travellers in the bus in rural areas are extremely poor people—pay a tax or a higher bus-fare. On the other hand, we would have got hold of the bus-owner. On the floor of this very Assembly, I believe Mr. Gopala Reddi made the statement that for every bus-route in this State, there are nearly 200 applicants. If there are 200 applicants for every bus-route in the State, I am perfectly sure that the bus transport is a paying proposition. The bus-owners are not a set of half-starved hungry looking people like me; they are all well-fed and good-looking men; they can afford to make up the deficit in the Budget. I am quite sure the Chief Minister could have collected, not Rs. 2 crores, but Rs. 10 crores from them if only he had taken care to devise some means by which he could squeeze the bus-owner and not the poor bus-travelling public.

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"These are some of the differences between the Congress approach to national problems and the Socialist approach to national problems. We have nothing against the Congress as a party; but our ideologies are different, our programme is different, our message is different and our mission is different. That being the case, how can we go and tell them, 'we have confidence in the Congress, we shall befriend you here, you carry on, and we will support you'. It is very difficult for us to do that.

"The next position we can possibly take is one of neutrality. I have already said that the position of neutrality is a position of the weak. A virile political party can never afford to remain neutral. A virile political party would be expected to give a positive lead and not seek refuge in a negative policy.

"Now I must also make the position of the Socialist Party clear with regard to the U.D.F. and the Communist Party. That we are voting against the Congress is not to be taken as a vote for the Communist Party. Many of our friends have told us that a vote against the Congress is a vote for the Communist Party. It is never so; we do not mean it so; I wish to make that position clear. From the very start of the U.D.F., we have fought it tooth and nail, because we knew that the U.D.F. was organised and led by the Communists, and we fought it because we knew the Communist tactics of the United Front. The United Front tactics may be new to some in India and in the Madras State; but it is not new to the world, and it is not certainly new to the Socialist Party. It is by a tactful and careful manoeuvring of the tactics of the United Front that the Communist Party in the East and South-East Europe succeeded in checking rival parties and in smothering rival political groups. From that kind of tactics, let India be saved! The public of this State may perhaps have a short memory, but the world certainly has not got a short memory; they cannot forget the fate of persons like Dr. Benes and Jan Masaryk; their ill-fated history has been written in rubrics in the World History of the Communist Party; and it is not possible either for us or for others to forget all that, and we do not forget it. Capitalism is a spent force; it has no future; capitalism cannot recover itself; it is disintegrating before our very eyes. The coming struggle in the world is not going to be between capitalists and socialists; the coming struggle in the world is going to be between democratic socialism on the one hand and fascist imperialist communism on the other. Let the naive take note. The Communists do not believe in parliamentary institutions; they have no respect or regard for democratic traditions. In Communist thinking, parliamentary institutions are abominations. It is one of their first revolutionary tasks to get rid of these parliamentary institutions. Their leaders, like Lenin and others, have been very frank, in fact brutally frank, with regard to their intentions. If I may quote from memory, Lenin says 'It is difficult to see anything more vile and abominable and treacherous than a Parliament'. But he does not advise his followers to boycott the Parliament or to shun it; he asks his followers to get into Parliament and work it. He says,

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again if I may quote from memory, 'if it is not possible to disperse the bourgeoisie Parliament or such reactionary institutions like the Parliament, get inside them and work them'. Put in popular language, it means, 'legally work inside the Parliament and illegally work outside the Parliament'. That seems to me to be the Communist policy and programme, and it is an exhibition of that policy we have seen in this House in the last few days. Whatever be the mistakes of omission and commission on the part of the Congress, whatever be the sins they have committed in these last five years, I cannot admit that they have bartered away or betrayed democracy. (Cheers.) On the other hand, we have had recent experiences both in this House and also in Parliament, where the moment a voice was lifted against the Communist Party, there were hisses and howls in order to drown the voice of the opposition. The essence of democracy lies in giving your opposition, the man in the opposite party, a chance to express his opinion, however distasteful that opinion may be. It is true that democracy has no worth or meaning for the Communists, and it is also true that the Communist Party has consistently betrayed it. Unless and until the Communists begin to look with love and affection on their own country, until and unless they break away from their moorings abroad, until and unless the Communist Party takes to democratic ways and parliamentary methods which are legal and constitutional—which alone can make a democratic State survive—and until and unless the Communist Party discovers new values of life and new ways of doing things, I am afraid that no party in India that loves India, and looks to India and wishes to serve India, can ever have any truck with that Communist Party. (Cheers.)

12-15 P.M. "Now that is all that I have to say to make my position clear so far as the vote of the Socialist Party against the Confidence Motion is concerned. I have now to say something about where we stand and how we vote. I have made my position fairly clear in my analysis that the demand for the Vote of Confidence was ill-timed, ill-advised, unprovoked and unnecessary. That is the conclusion I have come to after weighing all the facts that the Ministry has placed before us and the facts that are available to us. It is the only conclusion that we can arrive at. I do not venture to go and speculate on the possible motives that the Congress may have in bringing this Motion of Confidence on the floor of the Assembly, for I am afraid, as a public man, that it would be unfair and I would be treading on uncertain and risky grounds. I do not wish to do that. Therefore, judging from the facts that are before us, I politely tell our friends who are sitting on the other side that it is not possible for the Socialist Party to oblige them in this matter."

* SRI P. T. RAJAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, after the highly emotional and intellectual discourse of my friend on my right, I find myself in a very difficult and delicate position to speak. I thought, Sir, that after the election of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker the Government as well as this House had settled down

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to business and I was convinced in that belief when the Hon. the Chief Minister took courage into his hands and removed the control on foodstuffs. Suddenly this Motion of Confidence was thrown at us. As a matter of fact, Sir, I referred to the election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker because prior to that election both the Congress and my friends of the United Democratic Front had been trying to form the Ministry. It took two months for them to find out which party was to form the Ministry. Eventually the Congress formed the Ministry, no doubt, with the help of the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari. There is something in common between both the parties in that they could not find a leader who was a Member of this House. The Congress had to go out of this House to find a leader and so also the United Democratic Front. This is, of course, no reflection on my friend, Sri T. Viswanatham, who is capable as well as brilliant. I am happy to see him there to fill the place of that leader and that worthily. In this contest the Congress came out successful. This was really a test between the two parties as to who possessed the confidence of this House. I had the honour to occupy the Chair which you are occupying, Sir, and announce the results. I believe there was a difference—my memory is getting short—of 30 to 40 votes."

MR. SPEAKER :—"There was a difference of 44 votes."

* SRI P. T. RAJAN :—"Thank you, Sir. It was a Vote of Confidence—an indirect Vote of Confidence. No doubt in France when a Ministry is formed the first thing they do is to ask for a Vote of Confidence from the Assembly unlike in the House of Commons where it is presumed that only the party which can command the confidence of the House can form the Ministry. The Hon. the Chief Minister indirectly asked for a Vote of Confidence and he got it. Why should he then spring this surprise on us and invite trouble not only for himself, but for my friends here and for myself also? (Interruption.) My friend says, 'a funny affair'. Sir, as far as I am concerned, I do not think it is a funny affair. My first reaction was that I should keep mum and wait and see what was going to happen. I was not allowed to remain in that happy or unhappy position because a number of young friends came and asked me, 'What are you going to do? Are you going to speak? If so, on which side are you going to vote?' I thought, being the solitary representative of the Justice Party having no flock to worry myself with and no flock to worry me, I might as well have been left alone. Now I am going to speak and also say how I am going to vote. If I do keep neutral, I will be charged with sitting on the fence. Of course, no fence will be sufficiently strong to bear my weight—I speak metaphorically. I have nothing to seek and so I need not be sitting on the fence. I have never sat on the fence throughout my political career and I am not likely to sit on the fence at this fag-end not only of my political career but also of my life. But, as my friend Mr. Menon, Leader of the Socialist Party, said, a virile party must vote one way or the other, even a man who is not virile must vote

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one way or the other. I therefore thought over it. I cannot vote against this resolution for the simple reason that I had the fortune or the misfortune to make a speech, not on the floor of this House but somewhere in this City about two months back, giving a survey of the political situation in this State. There I said that I proposed to give my general support to the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of the Government of Madras. The main reason for it was this. My friends here say that the Ministry must command the confidence of the House, must command the confidence of the people, must command the confidence of God; and some others may say perhaps it must command the confidence of the devil; but all the time they forget that there is one other important factor, namely, that the Ministry must command the confidence of the services. No democracy can function in a practical and efficient manner unless it has a well-trained, efficient and contented service. Such a service was the legacy left to us by the Britisher, and thanks to the good work of the members of the services this Government has been functioning till to-day. Unfortunately, after the Britisher left these shores the services were getting—if I may be permitted to say so—demoralized. Political influence was brought to bear on them; partisan influence was brought to bear on them and but for the advent of my esteemed friend, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, things would have gone from bad to worse.

"In this connexion let me point out the Theni incident. I am not going into the details now because I have no time. The fact remains that four or five subordinate officials were taken to task and though the incident took place nearly a year ago these poor devils are still under suspension. Either they should be dismissed once and for all or they should be taken back into service. At least as far as one member of the service is concerned, because he happened to be the Sub-Magistrate-in-charge of that place, the District Collector was asked to enquire into the conduct of this official and to take suitable action, namely, that this officer should either be dismissed from service or be restored to office in case no charge was proved against him. The Collector went into the case carefully and restored the officer. What did the Government do then? The Government which had delegated its power to the Collector took it away from him and said the officer should not take charge of his duties. If the Government are going to treat their services like this, God help them! The kind of interference that had obtained during the last five years had disappeared as if by magic and on this particular ground alone we should stand by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. (Cheers.) This is what happened when I brought this case to the attention of the then Hon. Chief Minister, Sri Kumaraswami Raja. He said that my suggestion that a judicial enquiry be held into the conduct of these officers especially when there was a political controversy attached to the incident was a novel one. I then knew what I should think of this Hon. Minister and I also knew what would be the fate of these poor subordinates. I am now quite sure that the Hon. Sri

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C. Rajagopalachari after listening to this point would call for the records of the case and dispose it of one way or the other because this kind of suspense is most demoralizing. Once your services are demoralized, you can never have a Government where you can expect efficiency and justice.

"If I had to go back on my former decision, Sir, I must have sufficient reasons for doing so. Nevertheless this Confidence Motion is uncalled for and unnecessary. There were three bye-elections. The Leader of the House said he never bothered about Kakinada. It was a Communist seat and so it did not matter.

"Next came the bye-election in Coimbatore for a seat that had been held by a Congress candidate. It was fitting and proper that the Congress should set up a candidate there. My friend Dr. Subbarayan's daughter contested there on behalf of the Communist Party. She is a nice, educated and well-behaved girl, though it is long since I have seen her. I would have liked her to get elected political reasons apart. Anyhow she was defeated and the Congress won. Quite rightly they won because it was their seat. 12-30 p.m.

"Next came the bye-election at Aruppukottai. There the position was the reverse. The Congress was represented by a lady and the Forward Bloc was represented by a gentleman. That gentleman, like me, in the first instance, was rejected when he stood as a candidate for this House. Afterwards he was promoted to Delhi. (Interruption.) My hon. Friend, Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar, is giving me the information that Aruppukottai area is included within Mudukulathur constituency. It was said that my friend is the monarch of all that he surveys there. This reference to him was intended only to be complimentary and I see no reason why he should have taken objection to the remarks of the Leader of the House. I call Aruppukottai constituency a pocket borough. It is a rotten borough in the sense it is a pocket borough.

"Unfortunately I find it very difficult to criticise a gentleman who is much senior to me in age and very much more experienced than I am. Mr. Rajagopalachari is wrong in the attitude he has taken, namely, that the Aruppukottai bye-election was a test case for his continuance in office. That is a bye-election for the Parliament and we are not concerned with the Parliament as Members of this House. Individually, Members of this House may take an interest in elections to Parliament but this House in its collective character has no interest whatsoever. Why should the Hon. the Chief Minister make it a test contest? It was not his personal election. Supposing the Chief Minister had stood in some constituency for this Assembly and had been defeated, I can then understand his moving this resolution. The people in Aruppukottai constituency have probably not even seen the Hon. the Chief Minister." (Interruptions.)

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MR. SPEAKER :—“ Two hon. Members should not speak at the same time.”

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR :—“ The people of my constituency have seen Mr. Rajagopalachari from the days of 1937 when he came to my constituency and worked for me against the Raja of Ramnad who contested the election then. Mr. Rajagopalachari then spoke in very many places in my constituency and the people there know him well.”

* SRI P. T. RAJAN :—“ I am very thankful for the information. What I meant, Sir, is, if Mr. Rajagopalachari had gone round the area where he (Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar) is the uncrowned king (interruption), and then if he had made that election a test case it would have been a different thing. The Hon. the Chief Minister got down at Kovilpatti—a strong centre for the Congress—and spoke a few words. That is all he did and he then takes the defeat of the Congress candidate in that constituency as his. I am not saying anything uncomplimentary to any candidate. All I wish to say is that if a candidate is not known to the electorate of a particular constituency he cannot make it a test case. I think it is wrong on the part of the Hon. the Chief Minister to have ventured to make it a test case and put all of us into trouble. If the Hon. the Chief Minister had stood for election in any constituency, I have no hesitation in saying that he would have been returned with a thumping majority. I can say this from the reception he had received in a district like Madurai which is not his native district. He will be returned from any constituency with a thumping majority in his own Salem district. A bye-election taking place in an unknown corner, taking the whole of India into consideration, should not have been made a test by the Hon. the Chief Minister for his continuance. I will leave it at that.

“ During the course of the debate criticisms were made against my friends, the Communists. It was said that they were responsible for chaos and confusion in the country. I am afraid it is wrong to say that they are responsible. Communism and Communists are the product of chaos and confusion (laughter)—I am afraid my friends are laughing before I finish the sentence—confusion brought about by my friends who are to my left during the last five years. If they had managed things as well as they were expected to do, my Communist friends would not have been sitting here. My friend Mr. Nagi Reddi himself admitted that he had been returned to this House because of the mistakes made by the Congress. If someone else had led that Ministry during the last five years, I wonder whether my Communist friends would have come here. Communism will only thrive in chaos and confusion. Communism cannot be put down by the Government by brute force. The Government must bring about a state of affairs where Communists will automatically disappear or where they will change their views and be more sober and be

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useful to the public. I was promised the other day that I would follow Mr. Nagi Reddi after he had made his speech, but unfortunately I was not here to listen to the whole of his speech. He had his complaints against the Police and about the formation of a separate Andhra State. Before I come to Mr. Nagi Reddi I wish to deal with my friends, the Communists. I should have been very happy if the Communists had formed the Ministry and Mr. Nagi Reddi occupied the seat now occupied by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar. They could not form a Ministry because they had no majority. For forming a Ministry they must make alliances with other parties. So instead of heterogeneous groups combining into one party and forming a Ministry, it was much easier for a party especially the Congress with a much bigger number than any of the other groups to form a Ministry and run the Government. I hope my friend Mr. Nagi Reddi and his colleagues will wait for sometime and hold their souls in patience before they can occupy the Treasury Benches. I especially wish my Communist friends to occupy the Treasury Benches because people realize their responsibility only when they are in office. It was so with my Congress friends. The Justice Party was the butt-end of their ridicule and they made jokes at its expense. Where are they now? Likewise my friends on my right, once they occupy the Treasury Benches will find themselves in the same position as the Congress. (Cries of ‘no, no’ from the Opposition benches.) I am happy to hear their ‘no, no’. But I want them to put their professions into practice. I am not against the Communists. In this rotten country for everything done or said motives are attributed. If Sri Rajagopalachariar has become the Chief Minister, he must have some motive, it is said. If Sri Rajagopalachariar has tabled a Resolution of Confidence in his Government, it is said that there must be some motive. In this country for everything a motive is attributed. Our people cannot be generous. For Heaven’s sake please change this mentality. Democracy without those finer sentiments is not worth the paper on which it is written.

“ As regards the Andhra State, the formation of it is not in the hands of the Hon. Chief Minister. It is in the hands of the Government of India. As far as we are concerned we welcome the formation of the Andhra State at the earliest possible moment. The non-formation of an Andhra State seems to be a stumbling block to the progress of this State. My Andhra friends’ minds seem to be functioning under a grievance. When a person feels like that, it is not good either to himself or to others. If it is within the power of this House to vote for an Andhra State—I am quite sure I am voicing the sentiments of all the Members whatever their political leanings may be—all will vote for an Andhra State.

“ You, Sir, have given me 45 minutes. I do not know how much time I have taken. I do not propose to talk any more, and I am going to finish my speech by saying that my vote means that Mr. Rajagopalachariar is best fitted to be the Chief Minister

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in the present difficult circumstances prevailing in this State. (Cheers.) That does not mean to say that we approve the whole of his policy or programme. If I am not letting out a secret—I hope I am not letting out a secret, because it was mentioned in the tea-party where there were other friends—the Chief Minister would like to form a Council of Members of this House who would be in a position to advise him. I hope I am not divulging any secret. That is a very good suggestion—a suggestion born out of long experience, and especially at the present moment you cannot conceive of anything better than that. (Interruptions.) Some friends say that there are limitations. My friends are always theoretical. You must be practical men. There is no use of being theoretical. Why has England succeeded where we are failing? It is because they are practical and not theoretical. I would like the formation of such a Council. Then, Sir, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has come out of his retirement not of his own seeking. He has come out in these difficult days and has consented to serve the people of this State. There are people, I know, who will attribute motives. I never attribute motives and I always attribute the best of motives even to my worst enemy and unless the contrary is proved, I take him to be the best of men. In England, law presumes a man is innocent until and unless he is proved guilty; the French law presumes a man to be guilty unless he proves himself innocent. So, I never attribute motives to my friends or enemies. As I said, Sir, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has come to serve the people of this State in difficult times, and he has asked for a Vote of Confidence in him. You can give it. By that you do not approve of every policy of his. For instance, I cannot possibly say, we are supporting the Prohibition policy. No doubt, the Government have been good enough to give me a permit. I do not of course find it necessary for me. There is an erroneous belief that people returning from England must necessarily drink. It is absurd. May I say, it is nonsense? It is absurd and nonsense to say that people who have returned from England must drink. In fact, there is no need for the people going to England to eat meat. My permit is only to see whether the Congress Government would treat me with any courtesy, and as the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari has put it, I got it as a test. I do not feel any need for drink. It is not a question of supporting the policy from the theoretical point of view, but even from the practical point of view, if you can actually produce the result which you expect, even if I am inclined to drink, I will give it up for the sake of the country. But the Prohibition policy has been a failure and illicit distillation has become a cottage industry. So, Sir, my vote does not mean approval of all his policies. I do hope that those who want to see progress—no doubt it will be slow—those who want to see an efficient well-organized service in the State functioning well, will support the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. By giving that support it does not mean that you will accept his views or his programmes in toto. The House has got a right to vote as it likes, especially when the Budget demand is made.

12.45
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"I hope, Sir, I have made my position clear and I am going to vote for the Motion with the reservations I have made."

* SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all I request my Andhra, Malabar and Kanarese friends to excuse me as I am going to deliver my speech in Tamil so that it might enlighten very many Tamil Members including the public from whom emerges the leader of the Congress Party, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, and they might be in a position to understand the views I express and the news I am going to give, regarding the position of the Congress then and now and the doings of the Hon. Minister and his Colleagues, and the reasons behind this Motion. The Hon. the Chief Minister began his statement by saying that even if he accepted all the policies of the Opposition, they would rather change their policies than support him. With that preamble he started and that proves the agony that is behind the Hon. Chief Minister in spite of his old age. That should not be the procedure to be followed by a great man; that should not be the attitude of a learned man and that should not be the attitude of a man who is calling himself the custodian of God. It will be an insult to the youngsters and it will have an adverse effect on them. Then, unfortunately, the problem of God has come over here. There is a meaning in it, and that is, those who are sitting on his side are having some belief in God and are keeping God in their heart of hearts, while unfortunately, we who are sitting in the Opposition are not having it. I think, however, he might not have meant it at all. I should clear the position there and the Hon. Chief Minister also must listen to this because I want an answer from him also to this point. He is a learned man; he is also proceeding on philosophy and he has also written some books. That is all right. First of all, as the yogis and the philosophers of our country have made the public understand, first is body; second senses; third mind and fourth is intelligence and that which is superior even to intelligence is 'atma'. In this arrangement first of all there is instinct, then only comes intelligence and then comes intuition. These are the three things among living beings. Instinct is there even among the animals, but intelligence is given only to human beings and that is developed according to birth, education and association. Then, Sir, instinct is liable to err and it may fail and it has failed very many times. But, intuition is one which never fails. And, if it fails, it is not intuition. But that intuition is given only to wise men and wise men are those who are opposed to intelligence. First, Aruppukottai election has disturbed him. And if he is a man of wisdom, as he poses himself to be, and if he is above intelligence and had some intuitive knowledge he would have been in a position to understand what things are going to come, and like the Rishis of old and men of wisdom like Swami Vivekananda, Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Ramalinga Swami of South India, he would have been in a position to know that success would be on the other side. If he was aware of that, he would not have come forward with this challenge. He banked upon his

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intelligence and threw out this challenge by saying, 'If the voters are to vote for me they have confidence in me, and if they do not, I feel they do not repose confidence in me'. That was the challenge that has been thrown all of a sudden. That is the mistake he has committed in throwing the challenge without knowing what is going to happen. That is not superhuman. He is travelling and living within the bounds of intelligence and intelligence alone. He has not crossed the border of intelligence and has not entered into the arena of wisdom to talk about God. He does not therefore know the mind of the ordinary human being. So, let the God-business have a full stop there; let it not bungle and mislead the public and let it not make youngsters feel otherwise.

"With these observations, I wish to proceed with my speech in Tamil. So far I have spoken in English because he ought to understand it since on a practical analysis of it, this battle has been going on on the question of God-business.

"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே இந்தத் தீர்மானத்துக்கு விளக்கமாக பேசவேண்டிய அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டிருப்பதைக் காண்கிற போது நான் ஒரு புறத்தில் சந்தோஷம் அடைகிறேன். மற்றொரு புறத்திலோ துக்கப்படுகிறேன். ஏன் துக்கப்படுகிறேன் என்று கேட்டால் பழைய காங்கிரஸ்காரனாகிய நான், இந்திய நாட்டுக்கு விடுதலை கிடைக்கவேண்டுமென்று ஒரே எண்ணத்தோடு காங்கிரஸ் மஹாசபை செய்யச் சொன்ன தியாகங்களிலெல்லாம் பங்கு கொண்ட நான் அந்த காங்கிரஸ் மஹாசபையினிடத்தில் இன்று காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் எவ்வளவு பக்தி காட்டுகிறார்களோ அதைவிட அதிகமான மரியாதை என்னுடைய மனச்சாட்சி சொல்லுகிறபடி வைத்திருக்கின்ற நான் அந்த காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபையின் மீது நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொளும்போது அதற்கு எதிராக போட்டு அளிக்கவேண்டியிருக்கிறதே 1952-ம் ஆண்டுதான் என்ற ஒரு காரணத்திற்காகத்தான். என்றாலும் கூட, காங்கிரஸ் மஹாசபையானது என்ன நல்ல காரியங்களைச் செய்திருந்த போதிலும் கூட, 1937-லே இருந்த காங்கிரஸ் வேறு. அதன் கொள்கைகள் வேறு திட்டங்கள் வேறு. ஆனால் 1952-ம் ஆண்டுதான் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக் கொள்பவர்கள் செய்யும் காரியங்கள் வேறு. 1937-லே என்னை தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்கும்படி நான் அட்டஹாக் கமிட்டிக்கு மனுப்போடாவிடும்படி, 'நீதான் தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்கவேண்டு' மென்று, வற்புறுத்திய காங்கிரஸ் மஹா சபை வேறு. இன்று காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்பவர்களின் நடத்தை வேறு. நாட்டினுடைய மக்களின் நலனைக் கருதியே அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் பாடுபட வேண்டுமென்று உபதேசித்த காங்கிரஸ் மஹா சபை வேறு. இன்று பலாத் காரத்தில் மறைமுகமாக கபடமாக இறங்கி மக்களுக்கு இழைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கும் தீமைகள் வேறு. காங்கிரஸ் மஹாசபை என்னென்ன நன்மைகளைச் செய்யப் போகிறது என்று மக்கள் எதிர்பார்த்தார்களோ அது வேறு. ஆனால் சென்ற ஐந்து ஆண்டில் காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியினால் மக்கள் அடைந்த துன்பங்கள், கஷ்டங்கள் வேறு. காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியால் தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்க தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்றால் ஒவ்வொரு மெம்பரையும் பற்றி அட்டஹாக் கமிட்டி நியமித்து அதன் சிபாரிசின் பேரில் ஒவ்வொரு மெம்பரையும் பொறுக்கி எடுத்த காலம் வேறு. ஆனால் எந்தெந்த இடத்தில் தங்களுக்கு சாதகமான ஆட்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். எந்தெந்த இடத்தில் முனிசிபல் சேர்மனாகவோ, ஜில்லா போர்டு பிரசிடெண்டாகவோ வரக் கூடும் என்ற சுயநலத்தோடு ஒருவர் ஒருவரால் நன்மை அடையவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்தோடு காங்கிரஸின் துரோகங்களையும், கங்காளிகளையும், ராஜாக்களையும், ஸர்க்களையும் மெம்பராக நிற்க வைக்கப் பொறுக்கி வைக்கும் இன்றைய காங்கிரஸின் யோக்கியப்பொறுப்பற்ற நடத்தை வேறு. பொது மக்களை காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் நினைப்பது போல ஏமாற்றுவது சபைமான காரியமல்ல,

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பொது மக்கள் விழித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். தாங்கள் செய்யும் காரியத்தின் நன்மை தீமையை உணர்ந்து அந்தக் காரியத்தைச் செய்யக் கூடிய ஆற்றல் அவர்களுக்கு அதிகரித்துவிட்டது. அதனால் காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டிகளால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட நபர்களையும் கூட அவர்கள் சீர்தூக்கிப் பார்த்தே போட்டுப் போடுகிறார்கள். அப்படி அவர்கள் ஒரு யோக்கியப் பொறுப்பற்ற காங்கிரஸ்காரனாக, 1952-ம் ஆண்டுத்தான் காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டியால் காங்கிரஸ்காரன் என்ற சீலக் குத்தித் தேர்வுக்கு நிற்கவைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் ஒரு நபருக்கு எதிராக வேட்டுப்போட்டு அவர்களைத் தோற்கடித்து விட்டால் உடனே ஜனங்கள் செய்து மஹாத்மா காந்திக்குச் செய்த துரோகம் என்று கூக்குரலிடுவது. காங்கிரஸ் காரனல்லாத ஒரு யோக்கியப் பொறுப்பற்ற ஒரு நபரைத் தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்க காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டி தேர்ந்தெடுத்ததே, அந்த அவமானகரமான செய்கையை மறந்து விட்டு, அவனுக்கு எதிராக வேட்டுப்போட்ட மக்கள் உத்தமன் ஜவஹர்லால் நேருவாருக்குச் செய்த துரோகம் என்று கூக்குரலிடுவது. தேர்தலிலே ஒரு யோக்கியப் பொறுப்பற்ற நபர், பணத்தைக் கொடுத்து காங்கிரஸ் சீலக்குத்திக் கொண்டு தேர்தலில் நின்ற நபர் தோற்றுப்போய்விட்டால் அது மஹாத்மா காந்திக்கு ஏற்பட்ட தோல்வி, ஜவஹர்லால் நேருவுக்கு ஏற்பட்ட தோல்வி என்று பறைசாற்றுவது வெட்கமில்லையா என்று அந்தப்புறத்திலிருக்கக்கூடிய நபர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன்? இது மிகவும் இழிவான, அவமானகரமான செய்கை என்பதை அந்தப் பக்கத்திலும் இருப்பவர்கள் உணராமல் இருக்கமுடியாது. அவர்களுக்கு உண்மையிலேயே ஆச்சார்யார் சொல்லுகிற தான மனச்சாட்சி இருக்குமேயானால்.

"அதற்கு அடுத்தாற்போல மற்றொரு விவரத்திற்கு வரவேண்டும். 'எப்படி இருந்தபோதிலும் நாங்கள் கவர்மென்டை நடத்தவேண்டும். நாங்கள் சென்ற காலத்தில் எவ்வளவோ சிறிய சிறிய குற்றங்களை எல்லாம் செய்திருந்த போதிலும் வருங்காலத்தில் எவ்வளவோ பெரிய பெரிய நன்மைகளையெல்லாம் செய்ய திட்டம் போட்டிருப்பதால் நாங்களே நான் மீண்டும் சர்க்காரை நடத்தவேண்டும்' என்று சொல்வது ஒரு மிகவும் புத்திசாலித்தனமான வாதம். ஆனால் மற்ற பேர்களுக்கு சர்க்காரை நடத்தத் தெரியாது என்று சொல்வதோ, மற்றவர்களுக்குப் பேசத் தெரியாது, வாதாதத் தெரியாது என்று சொல்வதோ அறிவுக்குப் பெருந்தியதாக ஆகாது. ஆனால் வன் அருளால் நான் ஊமைமால்ல. நன்றாகப் பேசத் தெரியும். ஆங்கிலத்திலும் பேசுவேன் தமிழிலும் பேசுவேன். ஆனால் 1937-ம் ஆண்டுத்தான் நான் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரை பிரதமராகக் கொண்ட காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபை பதவியில் இருந்த காலம் வரையில் நான் ஒரு வார்த்தைகூட பேசியது கிடையாது ஒரு கேள்விகூட கேட்டது கிடையாது. என்? அதன் காரணத்தையாரும் ஆராயவில்லை. ஆனால் எனது காங்கிரஸ் நண்பர்கள் என்னை பற்றி இழிவாக தேர்தலிலே பேசும் பொழுது, 'முத்திராமலிங்கத் தேவரை ஒன்றும் பெரிய ஆளாக எண்ணி விட வேண்டாம். சட்டசபையிலே நாலு வார்த்தை ஒழுங்காகப் பேசத் தெரியாது. டேபையிலே வேண்டுமானால் சண்டப்பிரண்டம் செய்வாரே தவிர சட்டசபையிலே வாய்ப்பே திறக்கத் தெரியாதபோது அவரை தேர்ந்தெடுத்து என்ன செய்வது,' என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பேசிய வஷ்யங்கள் எனக்குத் தெரியாததல்ல. ஆனால் எந்த நிலையில் சட்டசபையில் பேசாமல் இருந்தேன், என் பேசாமல் இருந்தேன், பேச தெரியாதவனா? பேசுவதை புரிந்துகொண்டு பதில் சொல்லத் தெரியாதவனா? ஊமை இல்லையே. அப்பொழுது என் பேசாமல் இருந்தேன் என்பதை யாராவது யோசித்துப் பேசினார்களா என்பதை கொஞ்சம் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். நான் என் பேசாமல் இருந்தேன்? அஹிம்சா தர்மகர்த்தாவாகிய, காந்தியின் பிரதம சீடராகிய ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் மந்திரியாக இருக்கும்போது அவருக்கு மிகப் பிடித்தமான ஒரு நபரைப் பற்றி எதுவும் கேள்வி கேட்கவோ, மறுத்துப் பேசுவோ உரிமை மெம்பர்களுக்குக் கிடையாது என்பது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும். 1936-37-ம் ஆண்டுத்தான் நடந்த தேர்தலிலே காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியின் சார்பாக பிரசாரம் செய்வதற்கு ஆள் கிடையாது. ராமநாதபுரம் ஜில்லா ராஜ் ஸர், அண்ணாமலை செட்டியாரும் அவருடைய திருக்குமாரான முத்தையா செட்டியாரும் உள்ள தொகுதியிலே. அவர்களிடம் டை பஸம், பண பஸம், அதிகாரத்திலிருந்த ஆங்கிலத்துறைத்தனத்தின் சினேக பலம் இவ்வளவையும் கொண்டு அவர்

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அந்தப் பகுதியிலேயே அவருக்கு எதிராக காங்கிரஸ் பிரசாரத்திற்கு வருபவர்களை ஒரு ஆட்டம் ஆட்டி வைத்துக் காண்டிருந்தார். அதையும் மீறி, அவர் செல்வத்தை மீறி, காங்கிரஸ் பிரசாரத்திற்குச் சென்ற போது காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் அங்கேயுள்ள பிரிட்டிஷ் கையாளான ராஜா ஸர் அண்ணாமலை செட்டியாருக்கு எதிராகப் பேசுகிறோம் என்பதற்காக போலீஸ்காரர்களால் இழுத்து தள்ளப்பட்டு அவமானம் செய்யப்பட்டார்கள். அந்த அவமானகரமான, இழிவான போலீஸ்காரர்களின் செய்கைக்குத் தக்க தண்டனை கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக எங்கள் உள்ளம் குமுறிற்று.

“அந்தப் பிராந்தியத்தில் அப்பொழுது டில்லி சட்டசபை மெம்பராயிருந்த கனம் சத்தியமூர்த்தி அவர்கள் தேர்தல் பிரசாரத்திற்கு சென்ற பொழுது அவர் மேடையில் பிரசங்கிக்கிற காலத்தில் ஒரு ஷெட் காண்டபின் கையிலாவால்வருடன் முன் வந்து ‘நீங்கள் பேசினால் கைகள் ஏற்படும். ஆகையால் பேசக்கூடாது,’ என்று தடுத்தது மேடையை விட்டு இறங்கச் செய்தான். அந்த அளவிற்கு போலீஸ் பலாத்காரம் தலைவிரித்தாடியது. பிரஜா உரிமை இருந்த இடம் தெரியாமல் மறைந்தது. அப்போது நான் அங்கு சென்று ஒவ்வொரு இடங்களிலும் போலீஸ் மிரட்டலை மீறி பிரசங்கங்கள் புரிந்து காங்கிரசை இயங்கச் செய்ய வேண்டியதாய் இருந்தது.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch. The House is adjourned till 2-45 p.m. for lunch.”

(After lunch--2-45 p.m.)

* SRI. U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே காலையிலே ராஜா ஸர் அண்ணாமலை செட்டியாரின் தொகுதியிலே எப்படி தேர்தல் பிரசாரம் செய்வதற்கு ஆனால் இல்லாத நிலைமை இருந்தது, அந்த நேரத்தில் நான் எப்படி என் உயிரையும் மதிக்காமல் அந்த இடத்திற்கு பிரசாரம் செய்ய சென்ற போது போலீஸாரால் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் அவமானம் செய்யப்பட்டார்கள் என்பதைப் பற்றி குறிப்பிடக்கொண்டிருந்தேன்.

“இப்படிப்பட்ட சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் கனம் ராஜாஜியை பிரதமராகக் கொண்ட காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரி சபை சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட உடனேயே அந்தத் தொகுதியில் போலீஸாரால் இழைக்கப்பட்ட அவமானத்தை விசாரிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் முதன் முதலில் ஒரு கேள்வி எழுதி அனுப்பினேன். அந்தக் காலத்தில் யார் கேள்வி கேட்பதாக இருந்தாலும் அந்தக் கேள்வியை முதலில் பாட்டிக்கு அனுப்பவேண்டும். பாட்டியினுடைய அனுமதியின் பேரில்தான் அந்தக் கேள்வி பின்னர் அசெம்பிள் செக்ரடரிக்கு அனுப்பி வைக்கப்படும். என்னென்ன விதங்களிலெல்லாம் மெம்பர்களை கட்டுப் படுத்த முடியுமோ அந்தந்த விதங்களிலெல்லாம் கட்டுப் படுத்தி வைத்திருந்தார்கள். கட்டுப்பாடு இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பது வாஸ்தவம்தான்; கட்டுப்பாடு இல்லாவிட்டால் எந்த பார்டியும் வெற்றிகரமாக இயங்க முடியாது. ஆனால் கட்சியின் தன்மானத்தை அதிகரிக்கச் செய்கின்ற கட்சிக்கு ஏற்பட்ட அவமானத்தை துடைக்க வேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே உத்வேகத்தோடு கொண்டுவரப்பட்ட நியாயமான, ஒரு கேள்வி தலைவர் ராஜாஜிக்கு வேண்டிய ஒரு நபரைப் பற்றியது என்ற காரணத்திற்காக கட்சியின் பொதுநோக்கம் குன்றி, கட்சியின் பொது நலனை மறந்து அதை வர முடியாதபடி கட்டுப்படுத்தி வைப்பது என்றால் அது மிகவும் அவமானகரமானதாகும்; நான் அனுப்பிய கேள்வியும் அப்படிதான் ஆயிற்று. அதிலிருந்தே நான் எதுவும் பேசுவதில்லையென்று தீர்மானித்து விட்டேன். சட்டசபையின் தலைவருக்கு, கட்சியின் தலைவருக்கு, நானும் சட்டசபை மெம்பர் என்பதான பலகாரங்களைக் கொண்டு காங்கிரஸுக்கு விசுவாசமாக போலீஸாரின் உதவியைக்கொண்டு ராஜா ஸர் அண்ணாமலை செட்டியார் செய்த அக்கிரமங்களை விசாரிக்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் அனுப்பிய ஒரு கேள்வியை, இந்த மஹா புருஷர் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார், கட்டுப் பாட்டுடன் கட்சி இயங்க வேண்டுமென்று அடக்கு முறையை அளவற்று கையாளக் கொஞ்சமும் கூசாத

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காந்தி பக்தர் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார்; தானே கடவுளின் அவதாரமென்று சொல்ல வாய் நடுங்காத அவதார புருஷர் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார், தனக்கு ராஜா ஸர் வேண்டியவர் என்ற காரணத்திற்காக அந்தக் கேள்வியே கேட்கக் கூடாது என்று தடுத்ததுவிட்டார். மானம்போன காங்கிரஸ் சபையின் அங்கத்தினர் என்ற அவமானச் சீட்டை, தாங்கிக் கொண்டு நான் அன்று முதல் மந்திரி சபை கலையும் ஸீரையில் பேசுவதில்லை என்று தீர்மானித்து விட்டேன். அப்படியே பேசாமலும் இருந்தேன். இதுவும் இந்த மஹாநாபாவரின் அடக்கு முறையினால் தான் தன் மானம் பறி போன காங்கிரஸின் மானம் கப்பலேறாமல் இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக இரண்டு வருஷம் மௌனம் சாதிக்க வேண்டிய நிர்ப்பந்தம் ஏற்பட்டு விட்டது. அன்றும் எதிர் தரப்பிற்கு போகலாமென்றால் அன்றே எதிர் தரப்பில் அரசியலே கிடையாது. அந்த நிலைமை இருந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற போதுதான் அதற்குப் பின்னால் வருகிறது காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கைக்குத் துரோகம் செய்துவிட்டு வெள்ளையனோடு கூடி குலாவிப் பேசப் போகும் சமஷ்டி திட்டம். இந்தத் திட்டம் முறிந்தபின் தான் அதற்குப் புறம் பாண்டல விஷயங்களை ஒப்புக்கொள்ள இவர்கள் வற்புறுத்தப்பட்டார்கள். அப்போதுதான் அதை ராஜநாமா செய்துவிட்டு வெளியே வரவேண்டுமென்பதானதொரு தீர்மானம் நிறைவேற்றிற்று.

“C.R. தாஸ் காலத்தில் இதே ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் முதலில் தேர்தலுக்கு யாரும் நிற்கக்கூடாது என்று சொன்னார். சட்டசபைக்கு போக வேண்டுமென்று யாரும் விரும்பக்கூடாது. அங்கே போனால் பிரிட்டனுக்கு போகவேண்டும், பிரிட்டன் என்பது ஒரு மாய வலை. விபாரம் செய்யும் விடுதியைப் போன்று பாய்கரமானது, என்பதாக வெல்லாம் அசற்கு எதிராக பிரசாரம் செய்யப்பட்டது. ஆனால் லி. ஆர். தாஸும், புதுக்கோட்டை சத்தியமூர்த்தி ஐயருமாக தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்கத்தான் வேண்டுமென்பதாக தீர்மானம் செய்யப்பட்டவுடன் என் பிராந்தியத்திலே தேர்தலுக்கு என்னைத் தவிர வேறு ஒரு ஆள் கூட நிற்க முடியாது என்று சொல்லி எனக்கு தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்க டெபாசிட் கட்டுவதற்காக 250 ரூபாய் தந்தி மணியாடரும் உடனே தேர்தலுக்கு நாம் நேஷனல் பண்ணச் சொல்லி தந்தியும் வந்தது அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டியிடமிருந்து. அட்லாக் கமிட்டியை நான் கேட்கவில்லை. தேர்தலில் போட்டியிட்டபோது மக்களிடம் காங்கிரஸ் என்னசொல்லி வோட்டு வாங்கிற்று என்பதை நான் எல்லோருக்கும் புரியவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக ஆங்கிலத்தில் சொல்லுகிறேன்:

“We are not going to work the Constitution; we are going to wreck it. So, please vote for us; that was the Congress election manifesto in 1937.”

“நாங்கள் காண்ஸ்டிடியூஷன்படி வேலை செய்யப்போகவில்லை. அதை உடைக்க போகிறோம், ஆகையால் எங்களுக்கு வேண்டுப் போடுங்கள்,” என்று 1937-ம் ஆண்டு திலே ஒவ்வொரு வாக்காளரிடம் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி சென்று கேட்டது. பிரிட்டிஷ்காரர்களோடு ஒத்தழைக்கப்போகிறோம் என்று வோட்டு கேட்கவில்லை. அவர்களுக்கு கால் வருடியாக இருக்கப்போகிறோமென்று வோட்டு கேட்கவில்லை. ஆனால் வோட்டுக்கேட்டு வெற்றிப் பெற்று உள்ளே வந்த பின் நடந்தது என்ன? காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் பதவிக்கு வந்தவுடன் காண்ஸ்டிடியூஷனை உடைக்கபோகிறார்கள் என்று நிலைத்தார்கள் ஆனால் உடைத்தார்களா? இல்லை. காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் பதவிக்கு வரவேண்டுமென்று தன் உயிர், உடல், பொருள் யாவையும் தியாகம் செய்த உத்தமர்களின் தலைகளை உடைத்தார்கள். கைகளை உடைத்தார்கள், கடவுளின் அவதாரம்தானே என்று சொல்லிக் கொள்ளுகிற, கிருபாகடாசுஷம் மிக்கவரான நமது ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரின் தலைமையில் நடந்த காரண்யமிக்க காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார். அவ்வாறு செய்வது மிகவும் தவறு, அநியாயமானது என்று நான் குறுக்கிட்டு கேட்ட காலத்தில் எனக்கு கிடைத்தபலன் சிறைச்சாலை. தன் மானம் மிக்க காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களின் செய்கையா? இது சொன்ன வார்த்தையை நிறைவேற்றி வைக்கும் குணமிருக்கும் என்று யாராவது சொன்னால் அது உண்மையாகுமா? காண்ஸ்டிடியூஷனை உடைத்து, குற்றத் திருத்த சட்டத்தின் ஏடுகளை சட்டப் புத்தகத்திலிருந்து பக்கம் பக்கமாக கிழித்தெரியப் போகிறோம் என்று

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மக்களிடையே வேட்டு கேட்ட காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரின் தலைமையின் கீழ் மந்திரிசபை அமைத்தபோது, பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியில் இருந்ததை விட மிகக் காரமான அளவில் குற்றமான வகையில் அதே குற்றத்திருத்தச் சட்டத்தின் ஒவ்வொரு எட்டிலுமுள்ள விதியையும் மீறிய அளவில், தேர்திற்கு தயாகம் செய்த தேசபக்தர்களின் மீது உபயோகித்தார். பாட்லிவாலாபீது இந்த கருணமூர்த்தி, அஹிம்சா, தர்மவாதி, அவதார புருஷான ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரின் திருக்கரத்தால். அடக்குமுறையை எதிர்த்துப் பார்த்துப்போராடிய காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியின் தலைவரான இந்த மஹானுபாவன் அரசாங்கத் தலைவராவதன் தன் தேசபக்தர்களின் தலையை உணக்க, மனதைவிட்டு அவர்கள் சொல்லும் அபிப்பிராயத்தை குலைக்க அடக்குமுறைகளை முன்பிருந்ததைக் காட்டிலும் அதிக அளவில் கையாண்டார். தேசபக்தர்களை சிதைச்சாட்சியில் கொண்டு வந்தார், உடனே நிரந்தரமாக பதவியில் இருக்கப் போகிறோமென்ற எண்ணத்தில்.

“இப்படி வெறித்தனமான அடக்குமுறையை உபயோகித்து கங்குலிற்று மறறெரு மகத்தான கிரீடத்தைச் சூடியனா, இந்த அவதார புருஷர். பதவிக்கு வருமுன், அடக்குமுறையை எதிர்த்தவர்கள் பதவிக்கு வந்தபின் அதே அடக்குமுறைகளை கையாண்டார்களோ, தாங்கள் நினைந்தாரா பதவிப் பொறுப்போடுமே என்ற எண்ணத்திலா, உடனே தரமான பதவிப் பொறுப்போடுமே என்ற எண்ணத்திலா, உடனே இரண்டொரு வருஷத்தில் அவர்களும் ராஜினாமா செய்து எங்கே தள்ளின சிறைக்கதான் அவர்களும் வரவேண்டும் என்று நினைத்திருப்பார்களா? ‘கருப்பன் கருப்பன்,’ என வெள்ளையனாக நடுத்திக்கப்பட்ட உதாசினம் செய்யப்பட்ட இந்திய மக்கள் தங்கள் மந்திரி சபையை அமைத்தவுடன் என்ன செய்ய வேண்டும்? யார் நம்மை நிந்தித்தானோ அதே போலவே யானுக்குக் கால் வருடியாகவா. அவன் ஆணைக்கு அடிபணிந்து கொண்டா பதவி வகிப்பது? வெள்ளையனுக்கு விரோதமாகப் பேசுவோட்டா காங்கிரஸ் வந்த இந்த காங்கிரஸ் கட்சி என்ன செய்தது? வெள்ளையன் விரோதத்துக் கொண்டதா? இல்லை. பீஹாரிலும் மற்ற இடங்களிலும் அவர்களுக்கு உத்யோகம் கொடுத்து அவன் கட்டளைக்கு அடிபணிந்தது. இந்தியனுக்கு கொடுக்கப்படவேண்டிய உத்யோகம் வெள்ளையனுக்குக் கொடுக்கப்பட்டது பீஹாரில். அப்பொழுதுதான் மந்திரி சபை ஜலமா செய்திருக்க வேண்டும். அதைச் செய்யாமல் மீண்டும் காங்கிரஸ் விற்கு அவமானத்தை உண்டு பண்ணினார்கள். அந்த நிலைமை உண்டு பண்ணப்பட்ட பிறகு தான் சமஷ்டியை ஒதுக்கொள்வது என்று எண்ணத்தொடுக்காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் ரகசியமாக ஒரு கூட்டம் போட்டு, ஏற்கனவே அவமானமுறையில், அவலட்சண முறையில் தன் மானத்தைச் சிறைத்துக் கொண்ட முறையில், சுய மூலையை மழுப்பிக் கொண்டு வேலை செய்தார்கள். அந்த சமயத்தில் ராஷ்டிரபதி தேர்தல் வந்தது. அந்த ராஷ்டிரபதி தேர்தலில் சுபாஷ்சந்திர போஸ் போட்டியிட்டார். அவருக்கு எதிராக பட்டாபி சீதாராமய்யாவை அவர்களுடைய சார்பில் நிறுத்தி வைத்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது என்ன நடந்தது? இப்பொழுது அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் தேர்தல் நடக்கிற காலத்தில் ஆச்சாரியாரைப் போன்ற வயது முதிர்ந்தவர்கள், அறிவுமிக்கவர்கள், அனுபவமிக்கவர்கள் என்ன நிலைத்தார்களோ சடைசியில் எப்படி ஏமாந்து போனார்களோ, அதே போலத்தான் அன்று காந்தியடி அவர்களும், பட்டாபி சீதாராமய்யா அவர்களும் ஷெயித்து விடுவார் என்று எண்ணினார். உண்மையில் என்ன நடக்கும் என்று அவர்கள் புரிந்து கொள்ளாமல், ஆனால் புரிந்து கொண்டவர்களைப்போலத்தான் நடக்கிறார்கள். காந்தியடிகளும் நிச்சயமாகவே தனக்குத் தேர்வில் வருமென்று தெரிந்து கொள்ளவே இல்லை. அவர்களும் தேர்தலுக்கு வேலை செய்தார். நாங்களும் வேலை செய்தோம். உண்மையில் யாருக்கு வெற்றி கிடைத்தது? இப்பொழுது அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் நடந்தது பால்தான் அப்பொழுதும் சுபாஷ்பாபுவால் பட்டாபி சீதாராமய்யா தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்டார். அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலில் காங்கிரஸ் தோற்றுப்போனவுடன் எப்படி இந்த மகானுபாவர் தனக்கு எதிராகவே எல்லோரும் வோட்டளித்ததாக எடுத்துக் கொண்டு இந்த நம்பிக்கை தீர்மானத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்தாரோ, அதைப் போலவே அன்று மகாத்மா காந்தியானவர், ‘பட்டாபி சீதாராமய்யாவின்

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தோல்வி, என் தோல்வி’ என்பதாக அலறினார். சுபாஷ்பாபு ராஷ்டிரபதியாக தேர்தெடுக்கப்பட்டவுடன் ஆங்கிலேயனுக்கு இன்னும் ஆறு மாத நோட்டீஸ் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று கோரப்பட்டது, ‘Why should we give this six months’ notice?’ What is the sanction behind it?’ என்பதாக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் குமுறினார்கள். ஆறு மாதத்திற்குள் நடந்தது என்ன? வந்தது உலக யுத்தம்.

“தங்களுடைய கொள்கைகளை மறந்து, குறிக்கோள்களை மறந்து, ஜனநாயக சட்டம், ஒழுங்கு முறை யாவையும் மறந்து, பிரிட்டிஷ்காரர்களோடு தொடர்பு கொள்ளக்கூடாது, வெள்ளையனுக்கு கால் வருடியாக வாழக்கூடாது என அன்னிய ஏகாதிபத்தியத்திற்கு எதிராகக் குரல் கொடுத்த எங்களை காங்கிரஸ்விலிருந்து வெளிப்பெற்றிவிட தீர்மானம் செய்தார்கள். வெள்ளையனை எதிர்த்துப்போராட வேண்டுமென்ற கொள்கையோடு ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்ட கட்சி அன்னிய ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தை விரட்ட வேண்டுமென்று ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்ட கட்சி, வெள்ளையனை எதிர்த்து நிற்கவேண்டும் என்று தீர்மானம் செய்தது. உலகம் இவர்களைக் கண்டு நகையாடத்தக்க முறையில் வெள்ளையனுக்கு எதிராக யார் என்ன சொல்லுகிறார்களோ அவர்கள் மேல் ஒழுங்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும் என்றும் தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டது. இது எப்படி இருக்கிறது என்று பார்த்தால் தாய்க்கு தன் குழந்தையிடத்தில் அதிக அபிமானம் உண்டு என்பதும், அது அன்பு உண்டு என்பதும் எல்லேபுக்கும் தெரியும். தாயைக் காட்டிலும் குழந்தையை நேசிக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் வேறு யாருமே கிடையாது. இருந்தாலும் கூட கற்பை இழந்ததாய், தன் காமத்தை தணித்துக் கொள்வதற்காக பிற ஆடவருக்குச் செரும் தாய் அதற்கு விரோதமாக தன் குழந்தை இடக்கறது என்று அறிந்து கொண்டாலேயானால் அந்தக் குழந்தையிடம் அவளுக்கு அபிமானம் குறையும். அது மாதிரியல்ல. தன்னுடைய விபசார நடத்தைக்கு விரோதமாக இருக்கிற தன் குழந்தையிடமே கொல்ல அவள் ஒரு நாளுமே கூசமாட்டாள். இதைப் போல வெள்ளைகாரனோடு விபசார உறவு பூண்ட இந்தக் காங்கிரஸானது காங்கிரஸ்விற்காகவே உழைத்த எங்களை, காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கை திட்டங்களை நடைமுறையில் அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்று பாடிப்பட்ட எங்களை, கட்சியை விட்டே வெளியேற்றிற்று. பிறகு சுபாஷ்சந்திர போஸ் பேரிலும் ஒழுங்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தார்கள். அந்த நிலைமை வந்தது. அந்த நிலைமை வந்ததோடு நிற்கவில்லை. பின்னால் என்ன நடந்தது? அரசியல் போராட்டமாக தனி நபர் சத்தியாக்ரகம் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டது. அந்த தனி நபர் சத்தியாக்ரகம் ஆரம்பித்தவுடன் அதில் சேர்ந்து கொண்டு போராட முன்வந்தவர்கள் காந்தியடிகளிடம் நற்சாட்சி பத்திரம் பெற்றுக் கொண்டதான் அஹிம்சா முறையில் அதில் ஈடுபட வேண்டுமென தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்டது. தனி நபர் சத்தியாக்ரகம் என்பது என்ன? மக்களை தாங்கள், ஏதோ சுதந்திரத்திற்கு பாடுபட்டுக் கொண்டே இருப்பது போல ஏமாற்றுவதற்காக, நடத்தப்பட்ட அரசியல் நாடகமே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுமில்லை. மதில் மேல் பூனைப் பல் அந்தப் பக்கமும் இன்றி ந்தப்பக்கமும் இன்றி அதாவது வெள்ளையனையும் தாக்கிப் பேசாமல் அரசியல் கூட நாடகம் நடத்தார்கள். காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு இப்போது இடக்கிற காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கும் அவர்களுடைய கொள்கைகளுக்கும் எவ்வளவு வேற்றுமை உண்டோ அவ்வளவு வேற்றுமை அந்தக் காந்தியேயே, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சொல்வதற்கும் நடந்துகொள்வதற்கும் வித்யாபம் இருந்தது. வெள்ளையனுக்கு விரோதமாக எதுவும் சொல்வது கிடையாது. சத்தியாக்ரகம் இன்னதுதான் பேச வேண்டும் என்பதை எழுதிக் கொடுத்துவிடுவார்கள். அதைத்தான் அவர்கள் அப்படியே படிக்க வேண்டுமே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றும் சேர்த்துப் பேசக் கூடாது. ஒருவன் சத்தியாக்ரகம் செய்யப் போகிறான் என்றால் அதை அவன் முன்பே போலீசுக்கு சொல்லுவான். உறவினன் ஒருவன் மாலையை வைத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பான், பக்கத்தில் ‘போலீஸ்காரன் வாருங்கள் வைத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பான், இவன் எழுதி வந்திருப்பதை படித்தவுடன் ‘போலீஸ்காரன் இம்மாதிரி நீங்கள் பேசியது தப்பு; உங்கள் பேரில் வாரண்டு கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறேன், என்னுடன் வாருங்கள்’ என்பான். உடனே அவனுடைய உறவினன் ‘போய்விட்டு வாருங்கள்’ என்று

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மாலையைச் சூட்டுவான். இவர் லாரியில் போய் ஏறி உட்கார்ந்து கொள்வார். இப்படியாக இந்தக் கேலிக்கூத்து ஒரு நாடகமாக நடந்தது. பிறகு போலீஸ்காரர்கள் பார்த்தார்கள். இது என்ன வென்றும் கேலிக்கூத்து நாடகமாய்ப் போய்விட்டதே என்று நினைத்து ஒருவரையும் அப்புறம் கைது செய்வதில்லை. இந்த இயக்கத்தில் மிகவும் முக்கியமானவர்களை மாதிரி கைது செய்து விட்டு மற்ற காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களை சும்மா விட்டு வந்தார்கள். கைது செய்யப்படாமல் வெளியே விடப்பட்டிருக்கும் சத்யாக்ரக கோஷ்டி எல்லோரும் மந்திரிகள் உள்பட, மாகாண எம். எல். எக்கள் உள்பட; மாகாண கமிட்டி அங்கத்தினர்கள், தலைவர்கள் உள்பட, எல்லோரும் டெல்லிக்குக் கால் நடையாகப் வரவேண்டும் என்று முடிவு செய்தார்கள். காங்கிரஸின் மானம் இன்று பறி போகவில்லை. அன்றே அந்த முடிவு ஏற்பட்டவுடனேயே பறிபோய் விட்டது. 'ஐயோ, டெல்லிக்கு எப்படி நடந்து போவது' என்று அவ்வித அபத்தங்கொண்டு ஓடி போலீஸ்காரன் காலில் விழுந்து 'ஐயா, தயவு செய்து என்னைக் கைது செய்யுங்கள், இல்லா விட்டால் நான் டெல்லிக்கு நடந்து போகும்படி தண்டனை கிட்டத்து விடும், நீங்கள் தான் கருணை செய்ய வேண்டும்' என்று கெஞ்சி 20), 50), 750 ரூபாய் என்று பணத்தைக் கொடுத்து கைது செய்யும்படி செய்து கொண்டார்கள். மாலம், தன்மாமம், மதிப்பு எல்லாவற்றையும் காற்றிலே பறக்க விட்ட காந்தி சிஷ்யர்கள். அன்று அவர்கள் அரசியல் தலைவர்களாக இல்லை. அரசியல் நாடக அரசர்கள்தான் ஒரு நடிக்கன் என்ற பெயர் வாங்க வியாபாரியாகிவிட்டார்கள், தங்களைக் கைது செய்ய போலீஸ்காரன் பேரம் செய்து கொண்டு காலம் கடத்தினார்கள். இன்று காங்கிரஸ் பெஞ்சின் ல் உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற அநேக காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்கு இந்த விவரங்கள் ஒன்றும் தெரியாமல இருக்கலாம். ஏனென்றால் அன்று அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் காங்கிரஸின் பரம விரோதிகளாக பிரிட்டிஷ்காரரின் கண்காணிகளாக காலநதிள்ளினவர்கள்தான் இன்று காங்கிரஸிலே காங்கிரஸ் என்ற சொல்-ஐக்குத்தி கொண்டு உட்கார்ந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் நானே இன்று எதிர் கட்சியில் இருந்தாலும் அன்று காங்கிரஸ்காரனாகத்தானிருந்தேன். இதை யாராவது காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் ஆகேற்பித்தால் நபர்கள் பெயரும், நடந்த விவரமும் புள்ளி விவரங்களுடன் சொல்லத் தயார். மல்லாந்து படுத்துக் கொண்டு மேலே எச்சிலே உழிந்தால் அது அவன் மார்பிலேயேதான் விழும் என்பதையும் போல, அவைகள் எல்லாவற்றையும் எடுத்துச் சொல்லும் போது நானும் இன்று வெட்கத்தோடு, உவமானத்தோடு தலை குனிவத் தான் வேண்டி இருக்கிறது என்பதைச் சொல்லாமலிருக்க முடியாது.

3 p.m.

"அப்பொழுது நடந்த அரசியல் தியாகம் ஒரு வியாபார தியாகமாக மாறி விட்டது. எப்படி அப்பொழுது கோவாபரேடிவ் சொசைட்டிகளின் டைரெக்டராகவும் காரியதரிசிகளாகவும் தங்கள் சுயநலத்தை உத்தேசித்து சுரண்டி சம்பாதிக்கலாமே என்பதற்காக போட்டி போட்டுக் கொண்டு தியாகிகள் வருகிறார்களோ, அதைப்போலதான் அன்றும் அந்த அரசியல் வியாபார நாடகத்திற்குப் பங்கு கொள்ள எல்லோரும் முன் வந்தார்கள்.

"பிறகு நான் வேலூர் சிறைச்சாலையில் இருந்தேன். தனிப்பட்டோர் சத்தியாக்ரகத்தில் ஈடுபட்டதற்காக அப்பொழுது நமது ஆட்சாரியார் கைது செய்யப்பட்டு அவரும் அந்த வேலூர் சிறைச்சாலைக்கு வந்தார். அவர்களை உள்ளே அழைத்து வரும்போது நான் குளித்துக் கொண்டு நின்றேன். அவர் அப்பொழுது 'என்ன தேவரே, செளக்யமா' என்றார். எங்கள் இருவருக்கும் எத்தனையோ அபிப்பிராய பேதம் இருந்தாலும் பரஸ்பரம் சிநேகிதர்போலத்தான் நாங்கள் பேசிக் கொள்வோம். என்றும் அப்படியே இருக்க வேண்டுமென்றும் எதிர் பார்க்கிறேன். அதனால் என்னை அவர் செளக்யம் விசாரித்தபோது நானும் அவரை வரவேற்று, நீங்களும் இங்கே தானா வரவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டவுடன், அதிகாரமே தனக்கு இருக்கும் என்று நினைத்துக் கொண்டிருந்த ஆச்சாரியார் அவமானப்பட்டு ஒன்றும் பேசாது சென்றார்.

"அதற்கு பிறகு என்ன நடந்தது? உண்மையான சுதந்திரம் இவர்களுக்குக் கிடைத்ததா? ஆங்கிலேயர்களைப் பார்ப்பதென்பது நேராக எதிர்க்கட்சியை திறமை இந்த நபர்களில் யாருக்காவது வந்ததா? இந்தியர்கள் கோழைகள், பேசத் திறமையற்றவர்கள், பிரயோஜனமற்றவர்கள் என்றிருக்கிறார்கள்.

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அளவுக்கு ஆங்கிலேயர்கள் இவர்களை இழிவுபடுத்தக்கூடிய நிலையில்தான் இவர்கள் இருந்தார்கள். இங்கே இருக்கிற அரசியல் வாதிகள் எல்லாரும் 'Very many political leaders are not leaders. They are nothing but dealers' என்று அவர்களை இழிவுபடுத்தக்கூடிய நிலையில் இவர்களுடைய நடத்தை மாறிவிட்டது. இந்த நிலைமையில் இவர்கள் வந்து விட்டதன் காரணமாக இவர்களை யாரும் மதிக்கமுடியாது போய்விட்டது.

"இப்படிப் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கின்ற காலத்தில் யுத்தம் வந்துவிட்டது. யுத்தம் வந்த பிறகு, அந்த யுத்தம் வேகமாக நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிற காலத்திலும்கூட, வெள்ளையர்களை வெளியேற்றி, நாடு விடுதலையடைய வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்தோடு அது சம்பந்தமான காரியங்கள் நடந்து வந்தன. யுத்தமோ ஐரோப்பா அரங்கிலிருந்து உலகத்தின் பல பல மூலைகளுக்கும் பரவிக்கொண்டிருந்தது. வெள்ளையர்களுக்கு எதிராக எப்போதும் சவால்விட்டுக்கொண்டிருந்த சுபாஷ் சந்திர போஸ் அவர்கள் உடல் நலம் குன்றியிருந்தபோது, ஏகாதிபத்திய போலீஸ்காரர் சிறைக்குள் போடப்பட்டிருந்தார். இருந்தும், சுபாஸ் பாபு கடைசியாக இந்தத் தேசத்தின் விடுதலையொன்றையே குறிக்கோளாகக்கொண்டு, தேசத்தை விட்டு மாயமாக மறைந்து, ஐரோப்பா நாடு சென்றார். அங்கே ஓர் சுதந்திர இந்திய ராணுவத்தைத் திரட்டி, ஐரோப்பிய யுத்த முனையிலே இந்திய தேசிய வீரர்களை திரட்டியதோடல்லாமல், அங்கிருந்து ரகசியமாக ஜப்பானை அணுகினார். ஜப்பான் அந்த நேரத்தில் சிங்கப்பூர், மலேயா போன்ற பிரிட்டிஷ் ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தின் பிடியிலிருந்த பிரதேசங்களைக் கைப்பற்றி கிழக்கு முனையிலே யுத்தத்தை வெள்ளையனுக்கு எதிராக மிகத் தீவிரமாக நடத்திக்கொண்டிருந்தது. சுபாஷ் பாபு பர்மா போர்முனையிலே இந்திய தேசிய ராணுவத்தை ஒன்று திரட்டி பிரிட்டிஷ் ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தை இந்திய மண்ணை விட்டு விரட்டுவதற்காக, இந்தியநாட்டின் தலைநகரான டில்லியை நோக்கி படையோடு முன்னேறினார். இந்தியர்களாகிய கறுப்பர்கள் கோழைகள், சண்டைபோடத் தெரியாதவர்கள் என்றெல்லாம் மிக இழிவாக இந்தியாவைப்பற்றி எண்ணியிருந்த வைகிராய் வேவல் இம்பால் போர் முனையிலே, பிரிட்டிஷ் படைகளைத் தகர்த்தெறிந்துகொண்டு, 'டில்லி சலோ', 'நேதாஜி ஜிந்தாபாத்' என்ற கோஷங்களோடு முன்னேறி வரும் இந்தியப்படைகள் தாக்குதலை சமாளிக்கமுடியாது பிரிட்டிஷ் படைகள் வாபஸ் ஆவதைக் கேட்டு, ஆயுதமோ, யுத்தப் பயிற்சியோ, நவீன பாங்கு விமான வசதிகளோ இன்றி, எப்படிக் கருப்பர்கள் இம்பால் போர்முனையிலே சண்டை போடுகிறார்கள் என்பதைக் காண், விமானத்தின் மூலம் மலேயா சென்றார்; அங்கே குண்டுகளால் தாக்கப்பட்டு, இரண்டு விலா எலும்புகள் ஒடிந்தன; உடனே சொல்லிக்கொள்ளாமல் உயிருக்கு மன்றாடிக்கொண்டு மீனம்பாக்கம் விமான நிலையத்திலே வந்து இறங்கி சென்னை ஜெனரல் ஆஸ்பத்திரியிலே 'சிசிசெயடைந்து' பூர்ண குணம் ஏற்படுத்திக்கொண்டு, டில்லியை அடைந்தான். ஆனால், அவன் உள்ளத்திலே ஏற்பட்ட பயம், ஆயுத தளவாட உதவியின்றி, இந்தியர்கள் இவ்வளவு கோரமாக யுத்தம் செய்ததால், இவர்களால் பிரிட்டனுக்கும் இங்குள்ள பிரிட்டிஷ் மக்களுக்கும் என்ன ஆபத்து ஏற்பட்டுவிடுமோ என உள் உதறல் எடுத்தது. உடனே, காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களை சமரசப் பேச்சுக்காக சிம்லாவுக்கு அழைத்தான். காங்கிரஸ் எதிர்த்து மக்களிடம், காங்கிரசுக்கு எதிராகப் போராடுவன் எனச் சொல்லி வேட்டு பெற்று வந்த ஸ்ரீமான் மாணிக்கவேலர் இன்று எப்படி வாக்காளர்களுக்குத் துரோகம் செய்த, காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியோடு சேர்ந்து கொண்டார்களோ அதைப் போலவே தான் அன்றும் ஸ்ரீமான் மாணிக்கவேலரைப் போல் காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள், 'வெள்ளையனுக்கு விரோதி' யென்று சோஷலிக் கொண்டிருந்த கொள்கையைக் காற்றிலே பறக்கவிட்டு, சிம்லாவிலே வேவல் மகாநாட்டிலே கலந்துகொண்டு, 12 பார்ட்டி சாப்பிட்டார்கள். பலாத்காரத்தின் விரோதிகள், அகிம்சா தர்மத்தின் கர்த்தாவாகிய காந்தியடிகள் உள்பட இந்தக் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சிம்லா மகாநாட்டில் முடிவு செய்தவந்தது என்ன? பர்மா-இம்பால் கிழக்கு முனையிலே இந்திய நாட்டை ஜப்பான் ஓரே கடுமையாகத் தாக்குவதாகவும், இந்தத் தாக்குதலைத் தடுக்க இந்திய ராணுவத்தைக்கொண்டே போராட பரிபூரண உதவியைத் தர இந்தியத் தலைவர்கள் தயாராக இருப்பதாகவும், அன்றைக்கு பிச்சையாக வைகிராய் எக்ஸிசுடிவ்

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [3rd July 1952]

கவுன்சிலிலே இந்தியத் தலைவர்களுக்கு ஒரு மெம்பர் ஸ்தானத்தைக் கொடுப்பதற்கும் ஒப்பந்தம் ஆயிற்று. மந்திரி பதவிக்கு ஆசைப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு ஆரோகம் வழித்த. ஐக்கிய முன்னணிக் கட்சிக்கு துரோகம் விளைவித்த மந்திரி கனம் மாணிக்கவேலரைப்போல் அன்று காங்கிரஸ் தராகள் வைசிராய் பதவிகூடிய கவுன்சில் மெம்பர் பதவிக்கு இசைப்பட்டு, தேசமக்களையும் காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கைகளையும் மாற்றி அன்றே தேசத்துரோகிகளாய்விட்டார்கள். சுதந்திரத்திற்காகப் போராடிய சபை, சுதந்திரத்தைப் பெறப்போகிறோம் என்ற சபை, அவர்கள் அளித்த வாக்குறுதியை நம்பி திருப்பூர் குமரன் போன்ற இளம் வாலிபர்களும், பெணைமணிகளும் தூக்குமேடையில் தங்கள் உயிரை பலியிடும்படிச் செய்த, இந்த காங்கிரஸ் சபை வைசிராய் பதவிகூடிய கவுன்சில் மெம்பர் பதவிக்காக மாணத்தலிட்டு, மரியாதையை இழந்து, அரசியல் வாழ்விலே பல்பு அடித்து, பருமைக்கும் புகழுக்கும் இழுகதைத் தேடிக்கொண்டது. கிழக்கு முனையிலே போராடி இந்திய நாட்டுக்கு விடுதலையைத் தேடித் தருவதற்காக அல்லும் பகலும் கஷ்டப்பட்டு பெரிய தியாகம் செய்து வந்தவர் சுபாஷ் பபுவா? அவரது தலைமையின்கீழ் போராடிவந்த இந்திய தேசிய ராணுவ வீரர்களா? அல்லது ஜப்பானியர்களா? அல்லது இவர்களுக்குத் தெரியாமலா இருக்கும்? தெரிந்தே அன்று தேசத்தைக் காட்டிக் கொடுத்து சுபாஷ் பபுவாவுக்கு எதிராகச் செய்த சிம்சாவில் துரோககையெழுத்து இடப்பட்டது. இதைவிடவா நாட்டுக்கு 'செய்யவேண்டிய chaos பாக்கி' யிருக்கிறது? நீங்கள் செய்த துரோகம் ஆண்டவனுக்குத் தெரியாதா? உங்களுக்கு உண்மையிலேயே ஆண்டவனிடம் பக்தி இருக்குமேயானால், (நான் வயதில் சிறியவனாக இருக்கலாம், அறிவிலும் உங்களைக் காட்டிலும் அதிகம் இல்லாதவனாக இருக்கலாம்) அன்று நீங்கள் செய்தது துரோகமென்பதை உரைமலையோ இருக்கிறீர்களா? என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்.

“ஜப்பானையும், ஜெர்மனியையும் சென்ற மகா யுத்தத்திலே அழித்த அமெரிக்காதான் தான் சுகமாக வாழப்போகிறது மென்று நினைத்தான். ஆனால், இன்றைக்கு அவதிப்படுகிறான். ஆனால், கொரியாவைக் கண்டு நடுங்குகிறான். உலகில் தானே தான் வாழவேண்டுமென்று எண்ணி வரிகள் எவரும் ஒரு நாளும் அவர்கள் எண்ணியதுபோல் செளக்கியமாக வாழ்ந்ததே இல்லை. இது சரித்திரம் கூறும் உண்மை. அன்று அமெரிக்காவோடு கொரியா யுத்தத்திலே இறங்கினால், இவ்வளவு நாளாக பெருமை யோடு, வாழ்ந்த பிரிட்டனோ, ரஷ்ய அணுகுண்டுத் தாக்குதலினால் அழிந்து போனாலும் பேசக்கூடும் என்பதாக, நான் அல்ல, இங்கிலாந்து தேசத்தின் தொழில் கட்சி மெம்பர் ஒருவன் பேசுகிறான். எழு வருடங்களுக்கு முன்னால் இந்தியாவையும், இதுபோன்ற நாடுகளையும் தாங்களே ஆண்டுகொண்டு இருக்கபோகிறோமெனக் களவுகண்ட ஆங்கிலேயன் இன்று யுத்தப்பீதிக்கொண்டு அழிந்துவிடுவோமோ என்று அலறுகிறானென்றால், அப்புறமுள்ள காங்கிரஸ் காரர்களே! சிறப்பாக இந்தக் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுடைய கட்சிக்குத் தலைமை வகிக்கக்கூடிய ஸ்ரீமான் முச்சாரியார் அவர்களே! இந்த உலகில் நீங்கள் தான் வாழலாம், வாழமுடியும்; வாழவேண்டும். நீங்களே அரசாட்சி பண்ணவந்தவர்கள் என்பதாக எண்ணிவிடாதீர்கள் என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன். எதிர்த்தரப்பார்கள் எல்லோரும் அழிந்துபோய்விடவேண்டும், அவர்களை அழித்து விடுவேண்டும் என்பதாக நினைக்கவேண்டாமென்றும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“தேசம் இன்று சுதந்திரம் அடைந்துவிட்டது. ‘சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்தவர்கள் நாங்கள் தான்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறீர்கள். அப்படியா? தயவு செய்து அமமாதிரி சொல்லாதீர்கள். சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக்கொடுத்தவர்களில் ‘நாங்களும் ஒருவர்’ என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுங்கள். அதை ஒத்துக்கொள்ளுகிறோம். சுதந்திரப் போராட்டத்திலே பெரிய ஊர் தெரியாத ஆயிரக்கணக்கான வாலிபர்களும், ஸ்திரீகளும் ஈடுபடவில்லையா? மண்டையை உடைத்துக்கொண்டும், தூக்குமேடையிலும் பலர் உயிரை விடவில்லையா? அகிம்சையால் மாத் திரம் சுதந்திரத்தை வாங்கிவிட்டீர்களா? உங்களுடைய சுதந்திரப் போராட்டத்திலே பலாத்காரம் சம்பந்தப்படவில்லையா? இன்று எதிர்க்கட்சியில் இருக்கின்ற எங்களிற்பலர் அந்த சுதந்திரப் போராட்டத்

[3rd July 1952] [Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar]

திற்கு உடல், பொருள், ஆவி அனைத்தையும் துறந்து, போராட முன் வரவில்லையா? நாங்கள் சிந்திய ரத்தமும், ஆயிரக்கணக்கான இந்நாட்டு வாலிபர்கள் கொட்டிய ரத்தமும், இன்று நீங்கள் மந்திரியாக வருவதற்கு உதவவில்லையா? மனச்சாட்சி உங்களுக்கு இருக்குமேயானால், அதைத் தொட்டு யோசித்துப் பார்க்கக்கூடாதா? இன்றைக்கு நீங்கள் மந்திரிகளாவதற்கு அன்று நாங்கள் சுதந்திரப் போராட்ட இயக்கத்தில் ஈடுபட்டு மறியல் செய்து, மாணவர்கள் கல்லூரிகளைவிட்டு வெளியேறி, சிறைக்குச் செல்லவில்லையா? இவ்வளவையும் கொஞ்சம் சிந்தித்துப் பார்க்கக் கூடாதா? கிடைத்ததுதான் உண்மை சுதந்திரமாகுமா?

“It is an adjustment. The Britishers know that there will be a Third World War and they are in need of Asiatic soldiers. So, Lord Mountbatten came forward with a plan to give the so-called Independence to India. But what is actually given is only Dominion Status. To call it a Republic is a first-rate lie. When the King has a place in the Constitution it is not a Republic. The Pakistanies and the Ceylones know that they have only Dominion Status and are not a Republic and say so. To call our Constitution a Republican Constitution is neither forward nor backward but awkward Sir.

“இந்தப் பக்கத்திலிருந்த ஸ்ரீமான் மாணிக்கவேலர் அந்தப் பக்கத்தில் சேர்ந்த பின் அவர் கடவுள் தன்மையை அடைந்து விட்டாரா? உங்கள் பக்கத்திலுள்ள கடவுள், ‘உங்களுக்கு எதிராக நாங்கள் இருக்கிறோம் என்பதற்காக எங்கள் பக்கம் வரமாட்டேன் என்கின்றாரா? உங்களுடைய தியாகம், எங்கள் பக்கத்தில் இருப்பவர்களுடையதைக் காட்டிலும் அவ்வளவு சிறந்ததாகுமா? நீடுழிகாலமாக நீங்களே பதவியில் இருப்பீர்கள் என்ற எண்ணத்தில் நீங்கள் செய்து வரும் அக்கிரமங்களுக்கு ஒரு எல்லை தான் இல்லைபா? நீங்கள் நினைக்கிற, சொல்லுகிற, உண்மைக் கடவுள் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் என்ன சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்? அதிகாரம் உங்கள் கையில் இருக்கிறதென்பதற்காக தப்பு செய்யக்கூடாது, அதிகாரத்தை வைத்து தப்பு செய்தவன் முன்னுக்கு வந்தது கிடையாது, வருவதும் கிடையாது, இனி வரவும்முடியாது. ‘Blessed are those who are meek, for they shall rule the land’ என்பதை ஞாபகமுட்டிக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். நீங்களே ரொம்பவும் கடவுள் பக்தி யுள்ளவர்கள் போலவும், பாக்கி இருப்பவர்களுக்கெல்லாம், கடவுள் பக்தி இல்லை என்பது பேரவும், சொல்லுகிறீர்களே. அது சரியா? அது பொருந்துமா? அடக்கமாக இருக்க வேண்டும் அல்லவா?

“தேசத்தில் பாகிஸ்தான் என்ற பரம பாதகமான நாட்டுப் பிரிவினையை உண்டுபண்ணுபபடிச் சொன்னது நாங்கள் அல்லவா? அப்பொழுது என்ன சொன்னீர்கள்: ‘பாகிஸ்தான் என்றால் ஜின்னாவுக்கு என்ன வென்றாவது தெரியுமா? பாகிஸ்தானைக் கொடுத்துவிட்டால் அதனால் நமக்குத் தொல்லை இருக்காது’ என்று நீங்கள்தானே சொன்னீர்கள். ‘Pakistan bubble will be pricked’ என்று சொன்னீர்களே. பாகிஸ்தானைக் கொடுத்தபிறகாவது இன்று அதனால் தொல்லையி லாமல் இருக்கின்றீர்களா? காஷ்மீரில் இன்று நக்சு காரியங்கள் என்ன? இரண்டாவதாக, பாகிஸ்தான் கொடுக்கப்படுமானால், அந்தப் பாகிஸ்தானின் பொருளா தாரம் அழிந்து விடுமென்று சொன்னீர்களே, அது என்ன ஆயிற்று? அவர்கள் மொத்தார்களா? உங்களுடைய பணத்தின் மதப்பைக் குறைத்துக்கொள்ளும்படிச் செய்தார்களேதவிர, அவர்கள் குறைத்துக்கொண்டார்கள்? அவர்கள் கணக்கப்படி, உங்கள் ஸ்டர்லிங் நிதியைக் கைப் பற்றிவிடவில்லையா? உங்களுடைய பொருளாதாரம் என்னவாயிற்று? மூன்றாவதாக, பாகிஸ்தான் கொடுத்தவுடனேயே அந்தப் பிராந்திய மக்கள் அந்தப் பிராந்தியத்திலேயே வசிப்பவர்கள் பாகிஸ்தான் பிரஜையாகி விடுவார்கள் என்று சொன்னீர்களே, பாகிஸ்தான் கிடைத்தவுடனேயே 1½ கோடி இந்திய மக்களை அடித்து விரட்டவில்லையா? பாகிஸ்தானைப்

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [3rd July 1952]

பற்றி நீங்கள் சொல்லியதெல்லாம் என்னவாயிற்று? பாகிஸ்தானை நிலைப் படுத்திக் கொண்டுவீட்டான் அவன். பொருளாதாரத்தை உங்களுடையிருந்து அம்மானகரமாக உங்களுடைய ஸ்டர்லிங்கைக் குறைத்துக்கொள்ளாமல் உங்களுடையிருந்து அந்நகரத்தோடு வாங்கினான். நீங்கள் கைக் கொடுத்து, விட்டு எமாந்துநன்றி என் அல்லவா? காந்தியடிகளுடைய தவறான மனத்திற்கும் தங்கள் பாகிஸ்தான் யோசனையல்லவா துரானகருவி.

“ஆசாரியாரே! உங்களுடைய அறிவு அப்போது எப்படி ஆயிற்று? நீங்கள் யாரை எமாற்றப் பார்த்தீர்கள்? அவர்களை உங்களுடைய எமாந்தர்களா? அல்லது நீங்கள் எமாந்தர்களா? கொஞ்சம் சொல்லுங்களேன். அரசியலுக்கு அறிவு மட்டும் இருந்தால் போதுமா? ஆற்றல் இருந்தால் மட்டும் போதுமா? ‘Politics certainly needs brain, Sir. But shoulder and head also must combine. Without shoulder, if the head is to proceed, there will be quixotic programmes which will end in disaster. To work in politics, a man must have broad shoulders, a good heart and he must be in a position even to lay down his life at any place and in any moment. Then only he will have some peace. By mere intrigue, a man will not succeed and the country that follows him also will go wrong with him.’

“அந்த நிலைமையிலே, இவர்கள் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிய பிற்பாடு நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்ட நிலைமை என்ன? பாகிஸ்தானிலே மாட்டிக்கொண்ட 1½ கோடி மக்களின் உதி என்ன ஆயிற்று? அவர்கள் நடுச்சந்தியிலே நிறுத்தப் பட்டார்களே? சொத்தை இழந்து, வாழ்க்கை நிலைமையிலே இழந்து, மனைவி மக்களை இழந்து, அலறித் துடித்தார்களே? அதற்காக இங்கு இருக்கும் முஸ்லிம்களை பாகிஸ்தான் ஒடு என்று ஆசாரியார் கொஷடியால் விறட்ட முடிந்ததா? அல்லது அவர்களை தான் நீங்கள் பாகிஸ்தான் பிளஜை—போ, என்று சொல்ல முடிந்ததா. நாட்டிலே அதைத் தொடர்ந்து ஏற்பட்ட பற்பல தொழிலாளப் பரீட்சையில் ஒன்றையாவது வெற்றிபெறாமல் இவர்களால் தீர்த்து வைக்க முடிந்ததா? 150 வருடங்களாக அட்டை போல நாட்டில் ஓட்டிக் கொண்டிருந்த பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியாளர் நம் இந்திய நாட்டின் செல்வத்தை சுரண்டினார்கள் என்றால், உங்களுடைய ஐந்து வருட காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியிலே ஒவ்வொரு இந்திய நாட்டின் குடும்பச் செல்வத்தையுமே சுரண்டி விட்டார்களே? அது இல்லையா? என்றைக்குமே இல்லாத தரித்திரம் உங்கள் ஆட்சியில் நாட்டைப் பற்றிக் கொண்டுவிட்டதே, இல்லையா? பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியிலே இங்கே வாழும் மக்கள் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் 16 ஒளன்ஸ் ரேஷன் கொடுத்தார்கள் என்றால், உங்களுடைய ஆட்சியிலே கல்லும், மண்ணும், மட்டையும் மயிருமாக 6 ஒளன்ஸ் அரிசி போட்டார்களே, இல்லையா? சில இடங்களில் அந்த 6 ஒளன்ஸ் அரிசி போடக்கூட வகையிலாறு புண்ணுக்கைத் தின்னுங்கள் என்று புத்திசெல்லவில்லையா, சொந்த புத்தியற்ற மந்திரிகள்?

“இப்போது கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் ரேஷனை எடுத்து விட்டார்கள் என்றால் எல்லோரையும் போல நானும் சந்தோஷந்தான் படுகிறேன். ஆனால் அதேசமயம் எப்போது ரேஷனை எடுக்கவேண்டுமோ? எந்த சமயத்தில் ரேஷனை எடுக்கவேண்டுமோ? என்பதை தனக்கே எல்லாம் தெரியும், தானே சாணக்கியத்தில் வல்லுனர், தான் செய்யக் கூடிய காரியங்களில் தவறே இருக்காது என்றெல்லாம் எண்ணி இறுமாப்புக் கொள்ளும் மஹானுபாவர் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் யோசிக்க மறந்து விட்டாரே என்று எண்ணும்போது தான் நான் இந்த ரேஷனை இப்போது எடுத்தது சரியாகாது என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். அறுவடை முடிந்து எங்கு பார்த்தாலும், தீவிர கொளமுதலும் நடந்த பிற்பாடு கிராமங்களில் கொஞ்சம்கூட அரிசி இல்லாமல் மக்கள், விவசாயிகள் எல்லோரும் ரேஷன் கடைகளை தங்களுக்கு தின்படி வேண்டிய அரிசிக்குப்பாத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும்போது சர்க்கார் ரேஷனை ரத்து செய்துவிட்டு, உங்கள் இஷ்டப்போல் வெளியிலே தானியத்தை வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடுங்கள் என்று சொன்னால், இது மக்களுக்குச் செய்த அனுபவமா? அல்லது மக்களுக்குச் செய்த கொண்டிருந்த பொறுப்பை கைகழிவிட்டு எகேடு கெட்டாவது மக்கள் போகட்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்துடன் மக்களுக்குச் செய்த துரோகமா என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்? அறுவடை காலத்தில் நீங்கள்

[3rd July 1952] [Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar]

ரேஷனை எடுத்திருந்தீர்களேயானால் மக்கள் தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய தானியத்தை சுலபமாக மலிவாக வாங்கிக் கொள்ளமுடியும். அதை விட்டு கொள்முதல் ஆனபிறகு, இப்போது நடவே ஆகாமல் மறு மகசூல் வருவதற்கு இன்னும் ஐந்தாறு மாதங்கள் இருக்கும்போது இடையே ரேஷனை எடுத்தது நன்மையைச் செய்யாது. அதைவிட அதிகக் தீமையே மக்களுக்குச் செய்யும் என்பது ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாருக்குத் தெரியாதா? தெரிந்தும் செய்தார் என்றால் அவர் மீது நம்பிக்கை வைத்திருக்கும் மக்களுக்கு ஆசாரியார் செய்த துரோகமே இது.

“கடைசியாக அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். 3-15 அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலில் நிச்சயமாக எனக்குச் ஜெயம் கிடைக்குமென் பது எனக்குத் தெரியும். ஆனால் நான் கர்வம் கொள்ளவில்லை. நான் தான் அவ்விடத்தில் ஜயிப்பேன் என்றும் சவால் விடவில்லை. என்னுடைய தொகுதியில் நிச்சயம் எனக்கு வெற்றி கிடைக்குமென்ற நம்பிக்கையுள்ள நான் எந்த அறிக்கையும் விடாமல் அமைதியாக, அமைக்கையாக இருந்த போது, கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் என்ன சொல்லுகிறார். ‘அருப்புக் கோட்டை தொகுதி மக்களே! இந்தத் தொகுதியில் காங்கிரஸ் ஜெயித்தால் நான் வேண்டுமென்று அர்த்தம். நான் வேண்டுமென்றால் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கு போட்டுப் போடுங்கள்’ என்று சவால் விரிகிறார். ‘நான் வேண்டுமென்றால் காங்கிரஸுக்கு போட்டுப் போடுங்கள் என்றால், காங்கிரஸுக்கு போட்டுப் போடாவிட்டால் நான் வேண்டாமென்றே அர்த்தம்’, என்பது தானே அதற்குப் பொருள். காங்கிரஸ் தோற்றுப்போனால் தான் பதவியில் இருக்கப் போவதில்லையென்று தானே அதற்குப் பொருள். கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரே! அருப்புக்கோட்டை மக்கள் உங்கள் காங்கிரஸ் நபர் வேண்டாமென்று உங்களுக்கு எதிராக, உங்கள் சர்க்காருக்கு எதிராக, நீங்களே வேண்டாமென்று போட்டுக் கொடுத்து விட்டார்களே. சொன்ன வார்த்தையை சொன்னபடி செய்யும் உண்மை சத்யசந்தர் நான் என்று நீங்கள் சொல்லிக் கொள்ளும்போது நீங்கள் உடனே ராஜினாமா செய்யவேண்டியது அல்லவா தன்மானமுள்ளவனது கடமை? ஆனால் நீங்கள் ராஜினாமா செய்யத்தான் பிரியப்பட்டீர்கள் என்று கேள்விப்பட்டேன். அது உண்மையோ, பொய்யோ எனக்குத் தெரியாது. ஆனால் அதைக் கேட்ட அளவுக்கு நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். ஆனால் உங்களுடைய சகாக்கள் தான் உங்களை ராஜினாமா செய்யக்கூடாது என்று தடுத்துவிட்டார்கள் என்று அறிகிறேன். அப்படியானால் உங்களுடைய சகாக்களுக்காக நீங்கள் சொன்ன வார்த்தையை கடைப்பிடிக்காதவராக, தன்மானம் இழந்தவராக, ஆவீர்கள் என்று, யாரும் தமிழ் நாட்டில், உங்களைப் பற்றி பூர்ணமாக உணராது உங்களுக்குப் புகழ் மாலையென்றும் அன்பர்கள் எதிர் பார்த்திருக்க மாட்டார்கள். தொகுதியிலே தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்ட நீர் இப்போது ஒழுக்கமுள்ளவர் போல இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தை எங்களிடமா கோருவது? மக்கள் கொடுத்திருக்கும் தீர்ப்புக்கு பாதகமாகவோ, சாதகமாகவோ போட்டுக் கொடுக்கும் கோர்ட்டா இது. ‘As far as my knowledge of democracy goes, if any thing untoward happens in the Legislature, the proper course is to appeal to the electorate outside and get their verdict. Here is a wonderful democracy coming in through our Hon. Chief Minister? He wants to make the Legislature an appellate Court when he had a knock out in a general constituency. Is this democracy? Is there any answer to this from any side of the House? It cannot be a democracy. It is nothing but demomonocracy, if I am not wrong.’

“தலைவர் அவர்களே! அப்படி தேர்தலில் தோற்றுப் போய்விட்டு சபையிலே நம்பிக்கை கோருவது விச்சித்திரமாக அல்லவா இருக்கிறது! இது மாதிரி எங்காவது நடந்ததுண்டா? கனம் ஆசாரியார் அவர்களே! உங்களுக்குச் சட்டங்கள் தருமாடுகின்றனவா? யோக்கியதைப் பொறுப்பு உங்களுடைய விட்டதா? அரசியல் சட்டம் கண்களில் படாமல் போய்விட்டதா? எடுத்ததெறகெல்லாம் ஆண்டவனைக் கூப்பிடுகிறீர்கள். அந்த ஆப்தார்ந்தவன், அனாதரஷ்கன் உங்களை அனாதரவாக விட்டுவிட்டாரா உங்களை எதிர்த்து போட்டுப்போட்ட மக்கள் எல்லோரும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள். ஆனால்

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [3rd July 1952]

பற்றி நீங்கள் சொல்லியதெல்லாம் என்னவாயிற்று? பாகிஸ்தானை நிலைப் படுத்திக் கொண்டிருப்பது அவன். பொருளாதாரத்தை உங்களுடைய கையிலேயே வைத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். உங்களுடைய உட்காரத்தோடு வாங்குங்கள். நீங்கள் கைக் கொடுத்து, விட்டு எமாந்துதன்றி உங்கள் அல்லவா? காந்தியடிகளுடைய தவறான மனத்திற்கும் தங்கள் பாகிஸ்தான் யோசனையல்லவா துரான்கருவி.

“ஆசாரியாரே! உங்களுடைய அறிவு அப்போது எப்படி ஆயிற்று? நீங்கள் யாரை எமாற்றப் பார்த்தீர்கள்? அவர்கள் உங்களுடைய எமாந்தர்களா? அல்லது நீங்கள் எமாந்தர்களா? கொஞ்சம் சொல்லுங்களேன். அரசியலுக்கு அறிவு மட்டும் இருந்தால் போதுமா? ஆற்றல் இருந்தால் மட்டும் போதுமா? ‘Politics certainly needs brain, Sir. But shoulder and head also must combine. Without shoulder, if the head is to proceed, there will be quixotic programmes which will end in disaster. To work in politics, a man must have broad shoulders, a good heart and he must be in a position even to lay down his life at any place and in any moment. Then only he will have some peace. By mere intrigue, a man will not succeed and the country that follows him also will go wrong with him.’

“அந்த நிலைமையிலே, இவர்கள் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிய பிற்பாடு நாட்டில் ஏற்பட்ட நிலைமை என்ன? பாகிஸ்தானிலே மாட்டிக்கொண்ட 1½ கோடி மக்களின் உதி என்ன ஆயிற்று? அவர்கள் நிச்சந்தியிலே நிறுத்தப் பட்டார்களே? சொத்தை இழந்து, வாழ்க்கை நிலைமையிலே இழந்து, மனைவி மக்களை இழந்து, அலறித் துடித்தார்களே? அதற்காக இங்கு இருக்கும் முஸ்லிம்களை பாகிஸ்தான் ஒடு என்று ஆசாரியார் கொஷடியால் விறட்ட முடிந்ததா? அல்லது அவர்களை தான் நீங்கள் பாகிஸ்தான் பிஜை—போ, என்று சொல்ல முடிந்ததா. நாட்டிலே அதைத் தொடர்ந்து ஏற்பட்ட பற்பல தொழிலாளப் பரீட்சையில் ஒன்றையாவது வெற்றிபெறாமல் இவர்களால் தீர்த்து வைக்க முடிந்ததா? 150 வருடங்களாக அட்டை போல நாட்டில் ஓட்டிக்கொண்டிருந்த பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியாளர் நம் இந்திய நாட்டின் செல்வத்தை சுரண்டினார்கள் என்றால், உங்களுடைய ஐந்து வருட கால்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியிலே ஒவ்வொரு இந்திய நாட்டின் குடியரசு செல்வத்தையுமே சுரண்டி விட்டார்களே? அது இல்லையா? என்றைக்குமே இல்லாத தரித்திரம் உங்கள் ஆட்சியில் நாட்டைப் பற்றிக் கொண்டுவிட்டதே, இல்லையா? பிரிட்டிஷ் ஆட்சியிலே இங்கே வாழும் மக்கள் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் 16 ஒளன்ஸ் ரேஷன் கொடுத்தார்கள் என்றால், உங்களுடைய ஆட்சியிலே கல்லும், மண்ணும், மட்டையும் மயிருமாக 6 ஒளன்ஸ் அரிசி போட்டார்களே, இல்லையா? சில இடங்களில் அந்த 6 ஒளன்ஸ் அரிசி போடக்கூட வகையிலாறு புண்ணுக்கைத் தின்றுங்கள் என்று புத்திசெல்லவில்லையா, சொந்த புத்தியற்ற மந்திரிகள்?

“இப்போது கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் ரேஷனை எடுத்து விட்டார்கள் என்றால் எல்லோரையும் போல நானும் சந்தோஷந்தான் படுகிறேன். ஆனால் அதேசமயம் எப்போது ரேஷனை எடுக்கவேண்டுமோ? எந்த சமயத்தில் ரேஷனை எடுக்கவேண்டுமோ? என்பதை தனக்கே எல்லாம் தெரியும், தானே சாணக்கியத்தில் வல்லுனர், தான் செய்யக் கூடிய காரியங்களில் தவறே இருக்காது என்றெல்லாம் எண்ணி இறுமாப்புக் கொள்ளும் மஹானுபாவர் ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் யோசிக்க மறந்து விட்டாரே என்று எண்ணும்போது தான் நான் இந்த ரேஷனை இப்போது எடுத்தது சரியாகாது என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். அறுவடை முடிந்து எங்கு பார்த்தாலும், தீவிர கொளமுதலும் நடந்த பிற்பாடு கிராமங்களில் கொஞ்சம்கூட அரிசி இல்லாமல் மக்கள், விவசாயிகள் எல்லோரும் ரேஷன் கடைகளை தங்களுக்கு தின்படி வேண்டிய அரிசிக்குப்பாத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும்போது சர்க்கார் ரேஷனை ரத்து செய்துவிட்டு, உங்கள் இஷ்டப்போல் வெளியிலே தானியத்தை வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடுங்கள் என்று சொன்னால், இது மக்களுக்குச் செய்த அனுசூலமா? அல்லது மக்களுக்குச் செய்த கொண்டிருந்த பொறுப்பை கைகழிவிட்டு எகேடு கெட்டாவது மக்கள் போகட்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்துடன் மக்களுக்குச் செய்த துரோகமா என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்? அறுவடை காலத்தில் நீங்கள்

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ரேஷனை எடுத்திருந்தீர்களேயானால் மக்கள் தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய தானியத்தை சுலபமாக மலிவாக வாங்கிக் கொள்ளமுடியும். அதை விட்டு கொள்முதல் ஆனபிறகு, இப்போது நடவே ஆகாமல் மறு மகசூல் வருவதற்கு இன்னும் ஐந்தாறு மாதங்கள் இருக்கிறபோது இடையே ரேஷனை எடுத்தது நன்மையைச் செய்யாது. அதைவிட அதிகக் தீமையே மக்களுக்குச் செய்யும் என்பது ஸ்ரீமான் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாருக்குத் தெரியாதா? தெரிந்தும் செய்தார் என்றால் அவர் மீது நம்பிக்கை வைத்திருக்கும் மக்களுக்கு ஆசாரியார் செய்த துரோகமே இது.

“கடைசியாக அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். 3-15 அருப்புக்கோட்டை தேர்தலில் நிச்சயமாக எனக்குச் ஜெயம் கிடைக்குமென் பது எனக்குத் தெரியும். ஆனால் நான் கர்வம் கொள்ளவில்லை. நான் தான் அவ்விடத்தில் ஜயிப்பேன் என்றும் சவால் விடவில்லை. என்னுடைய தொகுதியில் நிச்சயம் எனக்கு வெற்றி கிடைக்குமென்ற நம்பிக்கையுள்ள நான் எந்த அறிக்கையும் விடாமல் அமைதியாக, அமைக்கையாக இருந்த போது, கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் என்ன சொல்லுகிறார். ‘அருப்புக் கோட்டை தொகுதி மக்களே! இந்தத் தொகுதியில் காங்கிரஸ் ஜெயித்தால் நான் வேண்டுமென்று அர்த்தம். நான் வேண்டுமென்றால் காங்கிரஸ் க்கு வோட்டுப் போடுங்கள்’ என்று சவால் விரிகிறார். ‘நான் வேண்டுமென்றால் காங்கிரஸுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடுங்கள் என்றால், காங்கிரஸுக்கு வோட்டுப் போடாவிட்டால் நான் வேண்டாமென்றே அர்த்தம்’, என்பது தானே அதற்குப் பொருள். காங்கிரஸ் தோற்றுப்போனால் தான் பதவியில் இருக்கப் போவதில்லையென்று தானே அதற்குப் பொருள். கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரே! அருப்புக்கோட்டை மக்கள் உங்கள் காங்கிரஸ் நபர் வேண்டாமென்று உங்களுக்கு எதிராக, உங்கள் சர்க்காருக்கு எதிராக, நீங்களே வேண்டாமென்று வோட்டுக் கொடுத்து விட்டார்களே. சொன்ன வார்த்தையை சொன்னபடி செய்யும் உண்மை சத்யசந்தர் நான் என்று நீங்கள் சொல்லிக் கொள்ளும்போது நீங்கள் உடனே ராஜினாமா செய்யவேண்டியது அல்லவா தன்மானமுள்ளவனது கடமை? ஆனால் நீங்கள் ராஜினாமா செய்யத்தான் பிரியப்பட்டுங்கள் என்று கேள்விப்பட்டேன். அது உண்மையோ, பொய்யோ எனக்குத் தெரியாது. ஆனால் அதைக் கேட்ட அளவுக்கு நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். ஆனால் உங்களுடைய சகாக்கள் தான் உங்களை ராஜினாமா செய்யக்கூடாது என்று தடுத்துவிட்டார்கள் என்று அறிகிறேன். அப்படியானால் உங்களுடைய சகாக்களுக்கு நீங்கள் சொன்ன வார்த்தையை கடைப்பிடிக்காதவராக, தன்மானம் இழந்தவராக, ஆவீர்கள் என்று, யாரும் தமிழ் நாட்டில், உங்களைப் பற்றி பூர்ணமாக உணராது உங்களுக்குப் புகழ் மாலை கொடுக்கும் அன்பர்கள் எதிர் பார்த்திருக்க மாட்டார்கள். தொகுதியிலே தோற்கடிக்கப்பட்ட நீர் இப்போது ஒழுக்கமுள்ளவர் போல இந்த நம்பிக்கைத் தீர்மானத்தை எங்களிடமா கோருவது? மக்கள் கொடுத்திருக்கும் தீர்ப்புக்கு பாதகமாகவோ, சாதகமாகவோ வோட்டுக் கொடுக்கும் கோர்ட்டா இது. ‘As far as my knowledge of democracy goes, if any thing untoward happens in the Legislature, the proper course is to appeal to the electorate outside and get their verdict. Here is a wonderful democracy coming in through our own Chief Minister? He wants to make the Legislature an appellate Court when he had a knock out in a general constituency. Is this democracy? Is there any answer to this from any side of the House? It cannot be a democracy. It is nothing but demomonocracy, if I am not wrong.’

“தலைவர் அவர்களே! அப்படி தேர்தலில் தோற்றுப் போய்விட்டு சபையிலே நம்பிக்கை கோருவது விச்சித்திரமாக அல்லவா இருக்கிறது! இது மாதிரி எங்காவது நடந்ததுண்டா? கனம் ஆசாரியார் அவர்களே! உங்களுக்குச் சட்டங்கள் தடுமாடுகின்றனவா? யோக்கியதைப் பொறுப்பு உங்களுக்கு விட்டதா? அரசியல் சட்டம் கண்களில் படாமல் போய்விட்டதா? எடுத்ததெறகெல்லாம் ஆண்டவனைக் கூப்பிடுகிறீர்கள். அந்த ஆப்தார்ந்தவன், அனாதரஷ்கன் உங்களை அனாதரவாக விட்டுவிட்டாரா உங்களை எதிர்த்து வோட்டுப்போட்ட மக்கள் எல்லோரும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள். ஆனால்

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [3rd July 1952]

உங்களை ஆதரிக்கும் ஜனங்கள் எல்லோருமே அறிவில் சிறந்து விளங்கும் ஜி. வி. எஸ். படித்த உத்தமோத்தமர்களா? இது மானமுள்ளவர்கள் பேசக் கூடிய சா? உங்கள் குமாரசாமி ராஜா நின்ற இடம் முனிசிபல் எல்லைக்குட்பட்ட ராஜ்யம் ராஜபாளையம் தானே? அவர் அங்கே தோற்றுப் போவானேன்? காங்கிரஸுக்கு ஏற்படும் தோல்விக்கு உண்மையான காரணம், அவதார புருஷரான உங்களுக்கே தெரியவில்லையா? ஏன் தெரியப்போகிறது? நீர் உண்மையாக ஆண்டவனின் பிரதிநிதியாக இருந்தால் அல்லவா தெரியும். இன்னும் உங்களுடைய விட்டைகளா? Egoism is the great enemy of any man and all the more so to a man who talks philosophy. ஆதலால் எதிர் கட்சியை நசுக்க நீங்கள் ஆண்டவன் பஜனை செய்கிறீர்கள். அதை மக்கள் உணராமலிருப்பதாக நினைத்துக் கொண்டிருந்தீர்களேயானால் மறுபடியும் ஆண்டவன் உங்களை மூளையை மழுக்கி விட்டார் என்றே நிச்சயமாகச் சொல்லிவிடலாம்.

“நீங்கள் உண்மையில் உண்மை நிலையை, நாட்டின் யாதார்த்த நிலவரத்தை உணர்ந்தீர்களானால் கூட்டு மந்திரி சபையை அமைத்திருப்பீர்கள். அப்படி அமைக்க நீங்கள் தவறியதோடு, காங்கிரஸின் துரோகிகளையும், பரம விரோதிகளையும் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டு மந்திரி சபையை அமைத்ததோடு, இந்த மந்திரி சபை காங்கிரஸ் மந்திரிசபையேதான் என்று டமாரம் போடுவதால் தான் நான் இந்த மந்திரிசபையை எதிர்த்தேன். கடவுள் பெயரைச் சொல்லி எங்களை நீங்கள் நசுக்கப் பார்த்தீர்களேயானால், ஆனான் பட்ட சர்ச்சிலாலேயே கூட நசுக்கப்பட முடியாதவர்களான எங்களை ஆசார் யார் அவர்களே! நீங்கள் ஒரு நாளும் நசுக்க முடியாது. அப்படி நினைத்தீர்களேயானாலும், பிறருக்கு இன்னல் விளைவிக்க முயல்பவர்கள் ஆண்டவனாலும் காப்பாற்றப்படமாட்டார்கள். காப்பாற்றப்பட்டதும் கிடையாது. நீங்களும், உங்கள் மந்திரி சபையும் காப்பாற்றப்படவும் மாட்டீர்கள் என்பதை இன்று, இன்மேலாவது உணர்ந்து கொள்ளுங்கள். (Hear, hear.)

“ஆகையால் நாங்கள் உங்கள் மந்திரி சபைக்கு விரோதியே தவிர தனிப்பட்ட நபர்களுக்கு விரோதியில்லை. இந்த மந்திரி சபைக்கு விரோதமாக போட்டுப் போடுவதின் காரணமாக நான் கம்யூனிஸ்டோ என்று யாரும் எண்ணிவிடவேண்டாம். நான் ஒரு கம்யூனிஸ்டு என்று யாரும் நினைத்து விடக்கூடாது.

“The Communist principle ‘from each according to his capacity and to each according to his need’ is a principle which I cannot accept. I do not stand for that principle. I want gradation of society.

“As regards God, I belong to the Ramakrishna Mission and I like Swami Vivekananda. I am not an atheist. I want the oriental cult of religion to spread instead of the occidental cult of the atom bomb.

“The position of India is at stake. Asia has come up. In the First World War, the British and the Americans had their victory. Yet it has created a Russia. In the second World War, they had their so-called victory. It has created a China. In the Third World War, they hope they are going to have a victory and the Congress people are hobnobbing with them in the name of the so-called neutrality. But it is going to create an India, take it from me. When the time comes, you all will know where you are and whether God is on your side or on the other side. Please feel for the country, please feel for the Asiatic nations, for the non-Whites. Make me serve a national purpose, an anti-White policy, the building up of a sound economy in the State. I am thoroughly for a clean and good Government. No government

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can cover its weaknesses by means of audacity. Power politics is wrong. With these words, I oppose the Motion. In the name of the very same God which you possess and with the very same heart of which He is the custodian, I appeal to every Member to vote as per his wish.”

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI:—“Sir, on behalf of the Independent Progressive Bloc, I oppose the Motion.”

* SRI S. S. RAMASWAMI PADAYACHI:—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! கடந்த நான்கு நாட்களாக இந்த மந்திரி சபை மீது நம்பிக்கை தெரிவிக்கும் தீர்மானத்தின் மீது விவாதம் நடந்து வருகிறது. வன்னியகுல கூத்தியர்களாகிய நாங்கள் மிகவும் பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள். எங்களுடைய பிற்பட்ட இனமும் எங்கள் போன்ற இனத்தவர்களும் முன்னேற வேண்டும் என்பதற்காகத் தான் நாங்கள் ஒரு கட்சியாக ஏற்படுத்திக்கொண்டு இங்கே வேலை செய்கிறோம். எங்கள் சமூகம் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையிலே இருக்கிறதென்பதையும், எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகத் தான் நாங்கள் உழைக்க வந்திருக்கிறோம் என்பதும் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுக்கு, நன்றாகத் தெரியும். எங்கள் சமூகத்தவர்கள் யாரும் பெரிய உத்தியோகங்களிலோ, அல்லது படித்தவர்கள் அதிகமாகவோ இல்லை. இதற்கு முன்பு இருந்த சர்க்கார் கலிடமும், காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களிடமும் நாங்கள் எங்கள் குறைகளை எவ்வளவோ எடுத்து சொல்லியும் கூட நாங்கள் உதாசீனம் செய்யப்பட்டோம். எங்கள் குறைகள் ஒன்றும் நிவர்த்திக்கப்படவேயில்லை. தலைவர் காந்தி முதற் கொண்டு பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்கள் நிலையை எல்லோரும் உயர்த்தவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். தவிர உருப்படியாக எதுவும் செய்யவில்லை. அதற்குப் பிறகு தான் நாங்கள் சட்டசபையிலே சென்று எங்கள் உரிமைக்காக பாடுபடவேண்டுமென்று தீர்மானம் செய்தோம். கல்வி நிலையிலே, பொருளாதார நிலையிலே உத்தியோக நிலையிலே மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருக்கின்ற நாங்கள் முன்னுக்கு வரவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத் தான் வந்திருக்கிறோம். கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாரிடம் இதைப் பற்றி கேட்டபோது உங்கள் சமூகத்தின் பிரதிநிதியாக ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலர் இருக்கிறாரே என்று சொன்னார்கள். ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலரைப் போல பல மாணிக்கவேலர்கள் எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் நிலையை உயர்த்துவதற்கு மேல் நிலைக்கு வரும் வரையில் நாங்கள் ஒரு நாளும் ஓய்ந்து இருக்க வேண்டிய நிலைக்கு இவ்வளவு காலமாக எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் நலனைக் கவனிக்கத் தவறி விட்டதின் காரணமாக நாங்கள் காங்கிரஸை எதிர்த்துக் கட்டியிருக்கிறோம். பிற்பட்ட இனத்தவர்களின் குறைகளை தீர்க்கப்படுவரை நாங்கள் எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கமுடிவு கொண்டுள்ளோம். ஆகையால் தான் நான் இப்போது இந்த தீர்மானத்தை எதிர்த்தேன்.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Confidence in the Chief Minister Rajaji. Every one, rich and poor including the Communists, will have to applaud that bold measure of Rajaji, the decontrol of food. As Rajaji said in his statement, even if he accepted all the policies of the Opposition, they will discover some other things to differ from Rajaji. As is usual with him, Rajaji, by introducing decontrol of food in this State, has set an example to the whole of India at this critical time. Every State is following suit in the matter of decontrol. Our Communists search for loopholes in this measure, but they cannot find them. They have been challenging Rajaji and many others to resign and stand for election on many different issues. I request the Communists, if they are bold enough, to resign any seat and fight an election on this particular issue of

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decontrol. Are they prepared and ready to take up the challenge? If so, I am prepared to resign my seat. Let us go to the people and get their verdict as to whether they want decontrol or not. In the beginning the Communists committed themselves to the position that decontrol was wrong. Later on they corrected themselves. I hope they will correct themselves fully and follow Rajaji in making decontrol a success.

"I was a member of a glorious house built by a great man, till recently. Great men were members of that household and I was an younger brother in that house. We fought many glorious wars and eventually secured independence. After independence, in the glory and pride of success, members of that house went mad, went corrupt. They did not care for the younger brother. They did not care whether the members of the house were properly fed and taken care of or not. They did not care whether the cattle were properly kept or not. They did not even care whether the building itself was properly kept or not. In the feeling that they were masters of the house, they went mad. Many friends who are sitting in the Opposition to-day belonged to that glorious house, and they used to harangue and sing the praises of that house. Their minds were full of Gandhiji and the Congress, and to maintain the glory of these two names, they were prepared to shed their life blood. To-day many an erstwhile good Congressman is sitting in the Opposition. He feels miserable, he feels sad, he feels very sorry that he has come out. He was forced to go out. The leaders went bad and that was why many have gone over to the other side. Some of the Members opposite are trading in the name of Independents. They are not Independents, they are Independents to mislead, they are Communists in the guise of Independents. There are many friends who are ready to step out if a stable government is formed in this State but not a Congress Government. It should be a people's government, a national government. They could have had the pride of having a Congress Government. But they feel ashamed because the misrule of the Congress Government during the last five years brought so much infamy and dishonour. Otherwise, why should any one feel ashamed to call himself a Congressman? Whether one belongs to the Congress, the Communist, the Krishak Lok or any other party, his existence depends upon the goodwill of the people.

3.30 p.m. "It is the goodwill of the people that has made the Congress. As long as the Congress commands that goodwill, it will survive and it will get on. That goodwill of the people is lost to the Congress. But then I for one and many friends on the other side want that the glory of the Congress and the good name of Bapu should be there. Yesterday the hon. Member Mr. Jeevanandam and several others were saying that the Congress organization was the greatest organization. Their leadership was great in the past. But if that name should survive and if that leadership is to be accepted, the Congress must come out in its original colour, and then it will again be a great party—a democratic party in this

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country—, even though I do not wish to join it. I would like to get out of politics and see that the Congress becomes a glorious organization. But is that to come about? I doubt. Because times are not favourable to the Congress. Times have changed. Even this construction, in course of time, say, after 50 or 100 years, is bound to go. There is a certain period of life for everything. That period of life for the Congress has gone. In this House we do not find only one dividing wall. There are several walls in this very hall. I would like to see there is only one dividing wall in this House separating the Government side from the Opposition side. It is not the fault of the leader. The leader is there anxious to do all that is necessary. It is the fault of the organization. It is the result of the wrong opinion held by the Congress leadership. I wish there were only two parties in this House—the Opposition party and the party in power. Then, each man will have to form his opinion as to how the administration of this State and also the Centre must be carried on. The time at my disposal is short. But I would like to mention a few things which have taken place. In the past five years of misrule, I was in Vijayawada as Vice-President of the Provincial Congress Committee. Shall I tell you, Sir, what happened in those districts, namely, Krishna, Guntur and the Godavaris? In those four districts, there was no Government. Ask any police officer whether there was any Government there in those years. I have myself heard from police officers and Collectors that there was no Government in those four districts. Why? We know it all. My Communist friends there are experts in propaganda. They are experts in making even poison popular. They have been carrying on propaganda. In the beginning Congressmen were doing propaganda. They have now forgotten that it is by propaganda that they got all the people with them. By propaganda they made all people follow their line of action. They had the people with them to get independence. But after independence, they have forgotten to do propaganda. But my Communist friends who are experts in propaganda carried on propaganda and indulged in many atrocities. I ask, Sir, is it the police or the Communists that are responsible for the atrocities? There is need for an enquiry. I would like an enquiry to be conducted. I would very much welcome an enquiry into the atrocities of the police wherever they may be and at whatever time they may be. There must be impeachment of the guilty person, whoever he may be. It may be the Government or it may be others or it may be a Minister, or it may be Members sitting here after committing crimes and murders. I ask, Sir, who has committed atrocities? When did the police go to assault people? The police is there to preserve law and order. When there is a murder, they have to make enquiries. They are requisitioned then. To detect crimes, they have to adopt certain methods. But there are limits to the way they treat people. I know certain cases in the Circars where police officers behaved like mad dogs. But why did they go there? It is because murders took place there. Members from

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Guntur and Krishna have come here. Many Communists also have come here. I ask them this question, namely, what happened in Achampet. Should they go to shoot a mother with a small baby in her breast? If they had anything against a particular Sub-Inspector, they could do anything with him, because they had formed a parallel Government, they had their own people's court, they had their own judgments, and they executed their judgments to the very letter. I know of a case where a particular man was sought to be punished, and the punishment inflicted on him was the removal of his eyes. When the people went out to loot or put into execution the judgment on that particular man, they caught that man after murdering one or two men. Somebody then reminded that the judgment was not to kill that particular person but to pull out his eyes. They removed his eyes, but somehow that person is alive to-day. Hon. Members can see him to-day if they go to Krishna. His name is Basavayya. Probably he is a strong man, and therefore he is alive to-day. The Communists however are defending themselves. If these Communists should come to power, they will use dynamite one day, as Rajaji has said. The hon. Member Mr. K. Krishna Rao was saying that Rajaji was making too much mention of the police and the C.I.D. But for the police and the C.I.D. there would be no Government functioning in this country. I say that this is a fact. In fact I have a charge against the police in this State, especially because they did not discharge their duties fully. They did not investigate the crimes fully. They did not award punishments fully and properly. Just now, about two hours back, at the Cafeteria I was hearing a leader of this State speaking to a leader of all India, 'Why, let them do anything; they will be finished'. Are they going to finish us? Are they going to put dynamite under our cushion? Let them do it. Theirs is the policy of destruction. Theirs is the policy of demolishing the entire country and bringing in men, cattle, implements, and instruments from outside. They may do it, Sir. (Interruption.) Not men from America but from Russia if possible to blow up this country. If India is not to be a satellite of America, they would like it to be a Province of Russia! Is this not their idea? Where does money come to us from? We, some of us, are ryots. When we are engaged in politics, our old parents, brothers and others are struggling to keep the family going. We are not finding the money for them to get on. Of course, some of my friends have got some bus routes. But others in the organization do not have money. Wherefrom does money come to the Communists? Let the proletariat who say that they have got enough money say that they are prepared to go to the lowest standard of life. But then what is the life that is led by them? These things are meaningless, and they may look personal. I do not like to indulge in these things. I can say that they have been trying to dig a hole in the hill to find a rat. They cannot find the rat in Rajaji. They cannot, because he is a man with the greatest capabilities. He has tackled the biggest of

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problems and come out successful. On principle, he even fought with Bapuji and has come out successful. We have our confidence in him and not in the Congress Party, nor even in the Ministry, which may not be to our liking. The people have got their confidence in the leader of the present Ministry, i.e., Rajaji. We say that we have our fights also with Rajaji. We have many points on which we are at loggerheads with the Ministry. We will discuss these points when the Budget comes up for discussion. The Ministry has not cared for the ryots. The Ministry has not cared to examine whether the taxation that is sought to be imposed on the people could be borne by the people or not. Rajaji is a leader, and he is a democrat. He is ready to discuss with others problems and policies. If we are prepared to discuss the good and bad with him, and follow the good, he is there ready to discuss with us. He is our leader, your leader, everybody's leader, and the leader of the entire State. With these words, on behalf of my party, I support the motion moved by the Leader of the House."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“అక్కడ, ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానం మాట్లాడి 2-48
ముందు, మొదట ముఖ్యంగా ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానం తీసుకొనిరావలసిన అవసరమున్నదా, P.M.
లేదా అనేదిషయాన్ని ఆలోచిస్తే ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన ప్రతిపాదన తేవలసిన సందర్భ
కాలముగాని అవసరముగాని ఇంకా ఆసన్నముకావడని భవితంగానేను వనవిచేస్తు
న్నాను. ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకొనిరావలసినవచ్చినందుకు 4 ర జి.పాలాకారి
గారు కొన్ని కారణాలు చెప్పారు. మొదటిది అప్పటికి ఉపప్రభుకలలో కాంగ్రెసు
అధ్యక్షి వాడిపోయినందువల్ల ప్రభావముగలిగారు ఆ ఎన్నికలప్పుడు చేసినటువంటి ప్రక
టనను సరించి ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకురావలసి వచ్చిందని చెప్పుతున్నారు. కాని
ఈ ఎన్నికలవల్ల కొత్తమార్పు ఏమీకాలేదు. మాద్యష్టికి సంబంధించినంతవరకూ ఇటీ
వల జరిగిన ఉపప్రభుకలలోనూ ప్రభుత్వంపై విశ్వాసము ప్రకటించవలసినంతవరకూ మార్పు
లుగాని, సంఘటనలుగాని ఏమీ జరుగలేదు. ఎటువంటిగా, కానీనాడ జనరల్ ఎలక్షన్
మొదట విజయము కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీకివచ్చింది. తరువాత దాని ఉపప్రభుకలలోనూ
కమ్యూనిస్టుపార్టీ గెలిచింది. అయితే, కొంతమంది మొదట జనరల్ ఎలక్షన్
లోనూ, తరువాత ఉపప్రభుకలలోనూ రెండుమార్లు కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీయే గెలిచింది. అదే
మాదిరిగానే అప్పటికి ఏమీ జరిగలేదు. కానీనాడ జనరల్ ఎలక్షన్లో ఫార్వర్డుబ్లాక్కు
పార్టీయే గెలిచింది. ఇటీవల ఉపప్రభుకలలోనూ మరల ఫార్వర్డుబ్లాక్కు పార్టీయే
గెలిచింది. కనక ఇందులో ఒక పెద్దమార్పు కలిగిందని అనుకోవడంగాని ప్రభుత్వము
పైగల విశ్వాసాన్ని గురించి అనుమానపడడంగాని చాలాపొరబాటులని మనవిచేస్తు
న్నాను. ఈ విశ్వాస తీర్మానాన్ని తీసుకురావడానికి వారి కారణాలు విచిత్రముగా
తీర్మానం సభ ఎదుటవచ్చినది కాబట్టి ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని మేము బలపరచవలసివచ్చింది.
మంటే ఇందులో మా ఫార్టీ యొక్క దృక్పథమువిడో స్పష్టపరచవలసిన అవసరమున్నది.
ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వనిర్మాణసందర్భంగా కె.యం.పి. ఫార్టీవారు 4 రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వ
ముకు responsive co-operation ఇస్తామని మొట్టమొదటసారిగా చేసినటువంటి
రాజీయ తీర్మానము సభ్యులందరికీ తెలిసినదే. కనక అప్పుడుచేసిన వాగ్దానం
ప్రకారము మా responsive co-operation continue చేయడానికిగానే ఈ విశ్వాస
తీర్మానాన్ని మేముబలపరుస్తున్నాము. అంతేగాని ఈ తీర్మానంద్వారా, ఇప్పుడు ఏర్పడి
గతువంటి మంత్రివర్గాన్ని అమోదించడం అనే ఉద్దేశ్యంతోగాని లేక కాంగ్రెసు

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[3rd July 1954]

యొక్క ప్రతిష్ఠకు భంగముచేయదనే ఉద్దేశ్యంతోగాని మేము దీనిని బలపరచడం లేదు. ఇప్పుడు నిర్మించిన రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గం పట్ల విశ్వాసాన్ని చూపవలసివస్తుంది అవసరము మాకు ఎంతమాత్రములేదు. అయితే ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వమునకు responsive co-operation ఇవ్వడంలో మా ఉద్దేశ్యమేమిటి అనుకున్నాను. ఇది స్పష్టంగా అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటి విషయమే. మొట్టమొదటసారిగా రాజాజీ లీడరుగా ఎన్నుకోబడినాడు. కనుక ఆయనలో విశ్వాసముంచి ఆయన లీడరుషిప్పను అంగీకరిస్తామని కె.యల్.సి. వార్షిక ప్రభుత్వములోనే ప్రకటించింది. రాజాజీ ప్రముఖ రాజకీయవేత్త. రాజకీయాలలో గొప్ప అనుభవాన్ని గడించినటువంటివాడు. అటువంటి రాజకీయ ప్రవక్త సాధారణమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాలను ధర్మాలను అనుసరించి మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో నిజమైనటువంటి, ఉత్తమమైనటువంటి గుర్తింపునకువంటి, ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసేదానిగానే ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానాన్ని అవలంబించగలుగుతారు. గాని ఇవివరలో అధికారముతో ఉండి ప్రజావిశ్వాసాన్ని గొప్పయిస్తూంటేయూ, ఎన్నికలలో వోడిపోయి మైనారిటీవచ్చినటువంటి కంట్రోలు పార్టీవారికొకటే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నిర్మిస్తామని తలచినట్లు అతే అది చాలాతప్పు. అది ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి విరుద్ధము. కనుక వారు పూర్తిగా నిజమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలమీద విశ్వాసం కలిగి దానిని క్రియాయాచముగా అవలంబిస్తూ ప్రభుత్వంగా చూపవలసినట్లు నిజమైన ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేయుట వారియొక్క ప్రధానోద్దేశ్యమని రాజాజీని హెచ్చరిస్తూ ఉన్నాను. ఈ విశ్వాసంతోనే రాజాజీ ఏర్పాటు చేసే ప్రభుత్వానికి ఫేర్ ట్రయల్ ఇవ్వడానికిగాను వారి ప్రభుత్వమునకు రిస్పాన్సివ్ కోఆపరేషన్ ఇస్తామని చేసినటువంటి లిక్కానం ప్రజలందరికీ తెలిసినదే. అయితే మాకువచ్చిన రిస్పాన్సు ఏది అనే ప్రశ్న రావచ్చును. దీనికి సమాధానంగా ప్రధాన సమస్యలలో ఒకటైనటువంటి కంట్రోల్లుమీద రిస్పాన్సు వచ్చిందని చెప్పుతున్నాను. ఈ కంట్రోల్లు చాలా ప్రధానమైన సమస్య అని సభ్యులందరికీ తెలిసినదే. మన దేశంలో 10, 12 సంవత్సరాలుగా ఈ కంట్రోల్లుపై ఎక్కడదూచిన అవినీతి, బ్యాగ్ మార్కెట్లు లంకాండ్ల తనము ప్రచురించునదని అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటి విషయమే. దీనిని నిర్మూలించే యెటకు శ్రీ రంగాచారి నాయకత్వాన కృషిచేస్తూఉన్నటువంటి రైతుకుల సంఘము యొక్క సంగతి ప్రత్యేకంగా చెప్పవలసినటువంటిది కాదు. దానికి ఆయన దోహదము ఇచ్చారు. సహకారము ఇచ్చారు. దేశముయొక్క ప్రధాన సమస్యలలో ముఖ్యమైనటువంటి ఈ సమస్యలో దూకినటువంటి responsive cooperation చూపాగాని యిన్ని రుజువుచేస్తుంది. ఇంకా ఇటువంటి అనేక ప్రజాసరిమైనటువంటియా, ప్రజాపయోగకరమైనటువంటియా, ప్రజానివృద్ధికరమైనటువంటి కార్మికమానిషి రాజాజీ సాగిస్తారనే ఆశతోనే ఈ responsive co-operation & continue చేయడానికి మేము ఇప్పుడు ఈ లిక్కానాన్ని బలపరచడానికి అంగీకరించాము. కాని రాజాజీ ఇప్పుడు ఏర్పాటుచేసినటువంటి మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యథాతథంగా ఆమోదించడానికి దీనిని బలపరచడము ఎంతమాత్రము కాదని మనవి చేయబడుతున్నది. అంతేకాకుండా ఇప్పుడు ఈ విశ్వాస ప్రకటన లీసుకురావడానికి ఈ సందర్భము బాగాలేదని ఇది సమంజసము కాదు, సబబు కాదు, అని మావార్షిక దృఢముగా అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నది. ఇట్లు అభిప్రాయపడడానికి మరొక ప్రబలకారణమున్నది. ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో బాంధించినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నుల విధానము మావార్షిక సిద్ధాంతం రీత్యా ఎంతమాత్రము సహించరానిదనిమాదా మావార్షిక అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నది. ఈ విధానము రైతాంగము సహించలేదు. ధరించలేదు. అది సహించడానికిగాని, అంగీకరించడానికిగాని వీలులేదని ప్రకటిస్తున్నాము. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో ఇప్పుడు ఈ విశ్వాస

3rd July 1954]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

ప్రకటనను కొరడం అనేది విమాత్రము సమంజసము కాదని గాఢంగా విశ్వసిస్తున్నాము. కనుక ఈనాడు ఈ విశ్వాస లిక్కానాన్ని బలపరుస్తున్నామంటే, ఈయొక్క బడ్జెటులో చూపినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నుల విధానాన్ని ఆమోదించడంగాని, ఇప్పుడు రాజాజీ గారు నిర్మించిన మొత్తం మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యథాతథంగా ఆంగీకరించడంగాని కాదని ఖచ్చితంగా ప్రకటిస్తున్నాము. అందువల్లనే ఈ రిస్పాన్సివ్ కోఆపరేషన్ విషయంలో మీకు ముందరికాను. ఇప్పుడు కంట్రోలు లీనివేయడానికి మేము దోహదము ఇచ్చామంటే దేశానికి వెన్నెముక అయినటువంటి రైతాంగముయొక్క ఉత్పాదాన్ని పెంపొందించి వారు ఇప్పుడున్నటువంటి పీన స్థితిని బాగుపరచడానికే. చాలామంది కంట్రోల్లు లీనివేసినందుకు అనేక విమర్శలు చేశారు. ఇప్పుడు విమర్శించినవారే ఇంతకు ముందు కంట్రోల్లు ఉండకూడదని చర్చించేవారు. కాని ప్రజల కోరిక ప్రకారము కంట్రోల్లు లీనివేసిన తరువాత, దీనిని గురించి మరల విమర్శించడమంటే అర్థములేదు. కంట్రోల్లు రద్దు చేయడంవల్ల అనేక ప్రమాదాలు ఏర్పడుతాయి. ధరలు విపరీతంగా పెరిగిపోతాయి, భాష్యము కొరత ఏర్పడుతుంది. పెన్షన్ రైతులంతా వారికి సరియైన ధరలు గిట్టటంతవరకూ భాగ్యాన్ని దాచుకొంటారు. ఆ విధంగా ప్రజానీకానికి భాష్యము లభించకుండా పోతుందని చెప్పి ఈ విధంగా అనేక విధాల విమర్శించారు. అయితే, ఇవివరము గత పన్నెండు సంవత్సరాలుగా ఈ కంట్రోల్లపై ఎంతటి ఆరాట కము, అవినీతి, బ్లాకు మార్కెటింగు, ఎంత ఆక్రమాలు ఉద్యోగస్థులలో లంకాండ్ల తనము జరుగుతుండినో ఎవరికిని తెలియనిదిగాదు. ముఖ్యముగా వీడ రైతాంగము, మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలు, ఉద్యోగస్థులు ఈ కంట్రోల్లపై ఎంతటి ఆవమానకరమైనటువంటి, సహించరానిటువంటి కాధలకు చర్యలకు గురిఅగుతుండినో చెప్పవలసిగాదు. ఉద్యోగస్థులలో అనేక మంది, కరెక్టరు ఆఫీసు మొదలగు పెద్ద ఆఫీసులలోగూడా పెద్ద పెద్ద గుమాస్తాలు (senior clerks) మొదలగువారు, అవారపదాధిపతులు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో వివరీత ధరలకు కొనుక్కోవలసివచ్చి, దుడ్డు లేక తమ భార్యలయొక్క సొబ్బులు పట్టు వీరగూడా కుదువబట్టుకొనో, అప్పుకొనో కాలము గడుపుతూ వచ్చారు. ఇటువంటి సంఘటనలు ఎవరు మరచిపోకూడదు. కంట్రోల్లు ఉండేటప్పుడు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో అమ్మబడుతుండిన ధరలకు, ఇప్పుడు యదేచ్ఛగా అమ్మబడుతుండిన ధరలకు పోల్చి చూస్తే, ఎంత భేదమున్నదో ఇప్పుడు ధరలు ఎంత తగ్గియాన్నవో తగ్గదమేకాకుండా, ఎవరికీ కావలసినంత భాగ్యాన్ని వారు యదేచ్ఛగా కొనుక్కొనుటకు నూడా అవకాశమేర్పడింది. ఇప్పుడు కంట్రోల్లను లీనివేసినందుకు ధరలు పెరుగుతాయని బయ్యిందేవారు, కంట్రోల్లు ఉన్న కాలములో బ్లాక్ మార్కెటులో అమ్మబడుతుండిన ధరలకు ఈనాడు అమ్మబడుతుండే ధరలకు ఎంత లేదా ఉండో, గమనించకుండా విమర్శిస్తున్నారు. అప్పుడు ప్రజలు రేషను షాపులలో ఇచ్చే భాష్యము చాకె, బయట బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో మితములేని ధరలకు కొంటూ ఎవరెవరు ఎన్నేస్తే కష్టాలు పడవలసివచ్చిందో, ఒక సారి పురిణకు తెచ్చుకోవడాని కొరుతున్నాను. గొప్ప గొప్ప భూస్వాములు, భవనంతులు, పెద్ద ఉద్యోగస్థుల ఎంత దుడ్డు అయినా పెట్టకొనవలసిన అవార పదాధిపతుల కొనగలరు గాని, సామాన్య రైతాంగము, మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలు మితములేని హెచ్చు ధరలకు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో కొనలేక, దినముక్కు యాగముగా గతుతికూ వానావస్థలు పడుతుండినటువంటి ఎవరు మరచిపోకూడదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇట్లు గత పన్నెండు సంవత్సరాలుగా అనేక నిర్బంధాలతో ప్రజలను నానా కాధలకు గురిచేస్తున్న ఈ కంట్రోల్లను లీనివేయడాన్ని జయప్రదంగా సాగించడానికి ప్రతి ఒకరు ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి ఈ కంట్రోల్లను సంపూర్ణంగా నిర్మూలించి తిరిగి ఇది తల ఎత్తకుండా చేయుటకు బదులుగా కంట్రోల్లను రద్దుచేస్తే అనేక ప్రమాదాలు సంభవిస్తాయని లేనిపోని వ్యతిరేక ప్రకారాలు విమర్శలు చేయడమంటే దాని అంత

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[3rd July 1952]

యొక్క ప్రతిష్ఠకు భంగమువచ్చినదేదో తెలియజేయడానికి మేము దీనిని బలపరచడం లేదు. ఇప్పుడు నిర్మించిన రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గం పట్ల శ్రద్ధాపాన్ని చూపవలసివస్తుంది అవసరము మాకు ఎంతమాత్రములేదు. అయితే ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వమునకు responsive co-operation ఇవ్వడం మా ఉద్దేశ్యమేమని అనుకున్నాను. ఇది స్పష్టంగా అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటి విషయమే. మొట్టమొదటసారిగా రాజాజీ లోక రుగా ఎన్నుకొంటాడు. కనుక ఆయనలో విశ్వాసముంచి ఆయన లోకరూపిత్వము అంగీకరిస్తామని కె.యల్.సి. వార్షిక ప్రభుత్వమునానై ప్రకటించింది. (రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వ రాజకీయవేత్త. రాజకీయాలలో గొప్ప అనుభవాన్ని గడించినటువంటివారు. అటువంటి రాజకీయ ప్రవక్త సాధారణమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక సూత్రాలను ధర్మాలను అనుసరించి మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో నిజమైనటువంటి, ఉత్తమమైనటువంటి శుద్ధిరమైనటువంటి, ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసేదానినై ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానాన్ని అవలంబించగలుగుతారు. గాని ఇవివరలో అధికారముతో ఉండి ప్రజావిశ్వాసాన్ని గొప్పయినటువంటియు, ఎన్నికలలో వోడిపోయి మైనారిటీవచ్చినటువంటి కంట్రీలో సార్వభౌమత్వంతో ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నిర్మిస్తామని తలచినట్లు అతే అది చాలాతప్పు. అది ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి విరుద్ధము. కనుక వారు పూర్తిగా నిజమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలమీద విశ్వాసంకలిగి దానిని క్రియాయోగముగా అవలంబిస్తూ ప్రభుత్వంగా చూపవలసినట్లే నిజమైన ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేయుట వారియొక్క ప్రధానోద్దేశ్యమని (రాజాజీని హెచ్చరిస్తూ ఉన్నాను ఈ విశ్వాసంలోనే (రాజాజీ ఏర్పాటు చేసే ప్రభుత్వానికి ఛేరట్రయం ఇవ్వడానికిగాను వారి ప్రభుత్వమునకు రెస్పాన్సివ్ కోఆపరేషన్ ఇస్తామని చేసినటువంటి లిప్తానం ప్రజలందరికీ తెలిసినదే. అయితే మాకువచ్చిన రెస్పాన్సు ఏది అనే ప్రశ్నగావచ్చును. దీనికి సమాధానంగా ప్రధాన సమస్యలలో ఒకటైనటువంటి కంట్రోల్లుమీద రెస్పాన్సు వచ్చిందని చెప్పుతున్నాను. ఈ కంట్రోల్లు చాలా ప్రధానమైన సమస్య అని సభ్యులందరికీ తెలిసినదే. మన దేశంలో 10, 12 సంవత్సరాలుగా ఈ కంట్రోల్లుపై ఎక్కడదూచిన అవినీతి, బ్యాకమార్కెటు లంకాండితనము ప్రచురించినదని అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటి విషయమే దీనిని నిరూపించే యుటకు శ్రీ రంగాచారి నాయకత్వాన కృషిచేస్తూఉన్నటువంటి రైతుకుల సంఘము యొక్క సంగతి ప్రత్యేకంగా చెప్పవలసినటువంటిది కాదు. దానికి ఆయన దోహదము ఇచ్చారు. సహకారము ఇచ్చారు. దేశముయొక్క ప్రధాన సమస్యలలో ముఖ్యమైనటువంటి ఈ సమస్యలో దూకినటువంటి responsive co-operation చూపాగాని స్పష్టమైతే ముఖ్యమైనది. ఇంకా ఇటువంటి అనేక ప్రజావసరమైనటువంటియు, ప్రజాపయోగకరమైనటువంటియు, ప్రజాభివృద్ధికరమైనటువంటి కార్యాచరణాన్ని (రాజాజీ సాగిస్తారనై అశోకానై ఈ responsive co-operation & continue చేయడానికి మేము ఇప్పుడు ఈ లిప్తానాన్ని బలపరచడానికి అంగీకరించాము. కాని రాజాజీ ఇప్పుడు ఏర్పాటుచేసినటువంటి మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యథాతథంగా ఆమోదించడానికి దీనిని బలపరచడము ఎంతమాత్రము కాదని మనవి చేయబడుతున్నది. అంతేకాకుండా ఇప్పుడు ఈ శ్రద్ధానైతీసుకు రావడానికి ఈ సందర్భము బాగాలేదని ఇది సమంజసము కాదు, సబబు కాదు, అని మాపార్టీ వ్యక్తిమతముగా అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నది. ఇట్లు అభిప్రాయపడడానికి మరొక ప్రబలకారణమున్నది. ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో బాంధించినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నుల విధానము మాపార్టీ సిద్ధాంతాల రీత్యా ఎంతమాత్రము సహించరానిదనిమాదా మాపార్టీ అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నది. ఈ విధానము రైతాంగము సహించలేదు. ధరించలేదు. అది సహించడానికిగాని, అంగీకరించడానికి గాని వీలులేదని ప్రకటిస్తున్నాము. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో ఇప్పుడు ఈ విశ్వాస

3rd July 1952]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

ప్రకటనను గొరిడం అనేది విమోచనము సమంజసము కాదని గాఢంగా విశ్వసిస్తున్నాము. కనుక ఈనాడు ఈ విశ్వాస లిప్తానాన్ని బలపరుస్తున్నామంటే, ఈయొక్క బడ్జెటులో చూపినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నుల విధానాన్ని ఆమోదించడంగాని, ఇప్పుడు రాజాజీ గారు నిర్మించిన మొత్తం మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యథాతథంగా ఆంగీకరించడంగాని కాదని ఖచ్చితంగా ప్రకటిస్తున్నాము. అందువల్లనే ఈ రెస్పాన్సివ్ కోఆపరేషన్ విషయంలో మీకు మునిచిరాము. ఇప్పుడు కంట్రోలు లీనీవేయడానికి మేము దోహదము ఇచ్చామంటే దేశానికి వెన్నెముక అయినటువంటి రైతాంగముయొక్క ఉత్పాదాన్ని పెంపొందించి వారు ఇప్పుడున్నటువంటి పీన స్థితిని బాగుపరచడానికే. చాలామంది కంట్రోల్లు లీనీవేసినందుకు అనేక విమర్శలు చేశారు. ఇప్పుడు విమర్శించినవారే ఇంతకు ముందు కంట్రోల్లు ఉండకూడదని చర్చించేవారు. కాని ప్రజల కోరిక ప్రకారము కంట్రోల్లు లీనీవేసిన తరువాత, దీనిని గురించి మరల విమర్శించడమంటే అర్థములేదు. కంట్రోల్లు రద్దు చేయడంవల్ల అనేక ప్రమాదాలు ఏర్పడుతాయి. ధరలు విఫలీతంగా పెరిగిపోతాయి, భాష్యము కొరత ఏర్పడుతుంది. పెన్షన్ రైతులంతా వారికి సరియైన ధరలు గిట్టేటంతవరకూ భాష్యాన్ని దాచుకొంటారు. ఆ విధంగా ప్రజానీకానికి భాష్యము లభించకుండా పోతుందని చెప్పి ఈ విధంగా అనేక విధాల విమర్శించారు. అయితే, ఇవివరకు గత పన్నెండు సంవత్సరాలుగా ఈ కంట్రోల్లపై ఎంతటి ఆరాట కము, అవినీతి, బ్లాకు మార్కెటింగు, ఎంత ఆక్రమాలు ఉద్యోగములలో లంకాండితనము జరుగుతుండినో ఎవరికిని తెలియనిదిగాదు. ముఖ్యముగా వీడ రైతాంగము, మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలు, ఉద్యోగములు ఈ కంట్రోల్లపై ఎంతటి ఆవమానకరమైనటువంటి, సహించరానిటువంటి కాధలకు చర్యలకు గురిఅగుచుండినో చెప్పవలసిగాదు. ఉద్యోగములలో అనేక మంది, కరెక్టరు ఆఫీసు మొదలగు పెద్ద ఆఫీసులలోగూడా పెద్ద పెద్ద గుమాస్తాలు (senior clerks) మొదలగువారు, అవారపదాధిపతులు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో వివరీత ధరలకు కొనుక్కోవలసివచ్చి, దుడ్డు లేక తమ భార్యలయొక్క సొబ్బులు పట్టు వీరగమూడా కుదువపట్టుకొనో, అప్పుకొనో కాలము గడుపుతూ వచ్చారు. ఇటువంటి సంఘటనలు ఎవరు మరచిపోకూడదు. కంట్రోల్లు ఉండేటప్పుడు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో అమ్మబడుచుండిన ధరలకు, ఇప్పుడు యదేచ్ఛగా అమ్మబడుచుండిన ధరలకు పోల్చి చూస్తే, ఎంత భేదమున్నదో ఇప్పుడు ధరలు ఎంత తగ్గియాన్నవో తగ్గడమేకాకుండా, ఎవరికీ కావలసినంత భాష్యాన్ని వారు యదేచ్ఛగా కొనుక్కొనుటకు నూడా అవకాశమేర్పడింది. ఇప్పుడు కంట్రోల్లను లీనీవేసినందుకు ధరలు పెరుగుతాయని బలపరిచేవారు, కంట్రోల్లు ఉన్న కాలములో బ్లాక్ మార్కెటులో అమ్మబడుచుండిన ధరలకు ఈనాడు అమ్మబడుచుండే ధరలకు ఎంత లేదా ఉండో, గమనించకుండా విమర్శిస్తున్నారు. అప్పుడు ప్రజలు లేదను పాపులలో ఇచ్చే భాష్యము చాలాక, బయట బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో మితములేని ధరలకు కొంటూ ఎవరెవరు ఎన్నెన్నో కష్టాలు పడవలసివచ్చిందో, ఒక సారి పురణకు తెచ్చుకోవడాని కొరుతున్నాను. గొప్ప గొప్ప భాష్యాములు, భవనములు, పెద్ద ఉద్యోగముల ఎంత దుడ్డు అయినా పెట్టికొనవలసిన అవకాశ పదార్థాలు కొనగలరు గాని, సామాన్య రైతాంగము, మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలు మితములేని హెచ్చు ధరలకు బ్లాకు మార్కెటులో కొనలేక, దినమొక్క యాగముగా గడుపుతూ వానావస్థలు పడుచుండినటువంటి ఎవరు మరచిపోకూడదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇట్లు గత పన్నెండు సంవత్సరాలుగా అనేక నిర్బంధాలతో ప్రజలను నానా కాధలకు గురిచేస్తున్న ఈ కంట్రోల్లను లీనీవేయడాన్ని జయప్రదంగా సాగించడానికి ప్రతి ఒకరు ప్రభుత్వముతో సహకరించి ఈ కంట్రోల్లను సంపూర్ణంగా నిర్మూలించి తిరిగి ఇది తల ఎత్తకుండా చేయుటకు బదులుగా కంట్రోల్లను రద్దుచేస్తే అనేక ప్రమాదాలు సంభవిస్తాయని లేనిపోని వ్యతిరేక ప్రకారాలు విమర్శలు చేయడమంటే దాని అంత

[Sri G. Latchanna]

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చార్జీ షేరు తెలియకున్నది. ఇదేనా, మనకు ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి నోచుద ముసంగు విధానమని వారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. వారి విమర్శలూ ఉద్దేశ్యమేమో మాకు అర్థంకాకుండా ఉన్నది. ఏ రైల్వే రేళ్ళానికీ సర్వ ప్రజలకు ప్రాధాన్యమే నటువంటివాడో, అట్టి రైతుకు తన ఉన్నాహున్నచ్చి, సౌకర్యాన్ని తన కృషికి తగిన ఆదాయాన్నిచ్చి కాపాడకపోతే అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తిగాని, ప్రజావసరాలు గాని, భరణగ్గడలగాని ఎట్లు చేపూర్వగునో గమనించవలసియున్నది. ఆహార వదాదాలకు భరణ యధేచ్ఛగా విడిచిపెట్టినట్లేగాని దున్నేవాడికిని, ఖాస్సాదికిని ఉత్పాదము ఉండదు. ముఖ్యముగా రైతాంగములో చాలామంది రైతు కూలీలు ఉన్నారు. ఖాస్సాములకు వారి పంటలనుండి ఎక్కువ ఆదాయము వస్తేనేగాని వారి కూలీలకు ఎక్కువ కూలి ఇవ్వజాలరు. కనుక భరణ యధేచ్ఛగా రైతులకు విడిచిపెట్టినట్లేగాని ఉభయాలకు అవగా ఖాస్సాములకు రైతు కూలీలకు ఇద్దరికీనీ ప్రోత్సాహముండదు. అధిరోత్పత్తికి కాదుపడదు. ఎప్పుడైతే భార్యభు భరణు వారి స్వాధీనులూ అంటామో, అప్పుడు సహజముగా వారు ఎక్కువ పండించగలరు. అవిధంగా ఎప్పుడైతే ప్రజావసారాలకు చాలిన ఆహార పదార్థాలను పండించగలరో, అప్పుడు భరితు కూడా క్రమముగా, న్యాయముగనే ఉండగలరు. భరణు ఎక్కువ అగుటకు వీలుండదు. అప్పుడే సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికికలతకు ఆహార పదార్థాలు సులభంగా అందగలవు. ఇందువల్ల ప్రజలందరు తృప్తిపడగలరు. ఇదే ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానము. కట్టుగాక, పెద్దపెద్ద భవనంతులు ఖాస్సాములు బ్లాకు మార్కెటు వ్యాపారములు మొదలగు వారువారి స్వార్థము దూమకొంటూ ఆర్థికమైన అక్రమంగా ఆన్యాయంగా భనాన్ని అర్జించుకొంటూ, రైతుకు శ్రీరంసితులు చెప్పచూ 'మీరు రేళ్ళాన్ని ఉద్ధరించేటటువంటివారు, మీరు కట్టపడి అధికారాన్ని పండిస్తేగాని ప్రజలు బ్రతుకజాలరు. మీరు ఈ విధంగానే కట్టపడతూనే ఉండండి. మేము మాత్రము ఈ విధంగా సుఖపడుతూ ఉంటాము' అని చెప్పిన, ఎంత న్యాయంగా ఉంటుందో ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలను అనుగణంగా ఎట్లు ఉండగలదో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు.

“కనుక సభ్యులందరు రాజకీయ విభేదాలతో నిమిత్తం లేకుండా ప్రజాసామాన్యానికి మేలు కలుగజేసేందుకు ఈ డిక్టేటోలు విధానాన్ని బలపరచవలసినదని సవిశయంగా మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈనాడు అమలు జరిపిన డిక్టేటోలు విధానము పూర్తి అయిన. లోకరహితమైన డిక్టేటోలు విధానము కాదు. ఇంకా నాడు మాత్రంగానేనా కొన్ని జిల్లాలను జోనులుగా విచ్ఛేదించారు. ఈ విచ్ఛేదముకూడా సాధ్యమైతే త్వరలో తొలగించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. అనాడే రాజాజీ తల పెట్టిన ఉద్యమానికి సంపూర్ణమైన ఫలితము సాధించగలము మన ముద్రాను రాష్ట్రములో కంట్టాల్సు తొలగించిన తరువాత - దేవిధానాన్ని యు.పి., ఏజరు రాష్ట్రాలు నూడ అనుసరించడం ముదావహం. ఈ విషయంలో మన రాష్ట్రం మార్గదర్శకంగా ఉండడం గర్వించదగ్గ విషయం. కనుక ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వానికి తగిన సహకార మిచ్చి కంట్టాల్సు పూర్తిగా తొలగిపొయ్యటన్ని కృషిచేయవలసిన సభ్యులందరినీ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కాని రాజాజీ నాయకత్వాన ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడిన మంత్రివర్గము సరియైనది కాదని, ప్రజావిశ్వాసమున్న ఒక సుస్థిరమైనటువంటియు, శాశ్వతమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ముద్రాను రాష్ట్రంలో ఏర్పాటు చేయగలిగినాడే ఈ నిరంకుశ ఆరాజకశక్తులకు ప్రతిఘటించడానికి ఆరాజకముంటుండగ ననుక, ఒక మైఖాలిటీ పార్టీ యొక్క మంత్రివర్గముతో నడిచేస్తున్న ప్రభుత్వ విధానము సవ్యమైనది కాదని నేను మరియు ప్రకటన చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రస్తుతము ఈ రెండు మాసాలలో రాజాజీ నాయకత్వాన ఏర్పడినటువంటి ప్రభుత్వము మా రెస్పాన్సిబుల్ అవతరణ

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విధానాన్ని సరిగా అర్థంచేసుకొని ఉదారమైన విశాలమైన ప్రజోపయోగకరమైన ఈ డిక్టేటోలు విధానము అమలుపరచారు. వారిచేత ఈ సత్కార్యం చేయించగలిగా మనే ఉత్సాహంతో ఈ విశ్వసనీయతాన్ని మేము బలపరచడానికి నిశ్చయించుకొన్నాము. అంతేగాని ప్రస్తుతము ఏర్పిన మొత్తము మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యధాశిథిగా అంగీకరించడమనే ఉద్దేశంతోగాని, కాంగ్రెసుయొక్క క్రిమిలకు భంగము వచ్చించని గాని, లేక ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో దూపించినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నులవిధానాన్ని ఆమోదింపడమనిగాని ఎంతమాత్రము కాదు. కనుక ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో ఈ పన్నులవిధానంలో తగిన సవరణలు చేస్తుందనే విశ్వాసంతో మేము ఈ బిల్లానాన్ని బలపరచడానికి అంగీకరించామని చెప్పచూ ఇంతటితో విరమించుకొంటున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The Hon. the Chief Minister will now 4 p.m. speak. After he has spoken, the Leader of the Opposition will speak and then the Leader of the House. If the Hon. the Chief Minister wants to have a say again, I shall allow him. I have made this arrangement because the Hon. the Chief Minister may want to say a few words on a point of personal explanation. I shall allow him to speak again, if necessary.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“If there is anything requiring personal explanation, he is certainly welcome, Sir. We require his explanation.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, as regards procedure, the Leader of the Opposition wanted very much to speak after me and I have no objection whatsoever to agree to that. I do not wish to get any advantage out of mere time or order or position. Let us go into the merits of the question. What I have asked for, Sir, is confidence in me and I cannot get it by mere debate. I know very well that it is a matter of confidence and not a matter of argument or debate or strategy.”

“Before I begin, Sir, you will permit me to tender my congratulations to those who have spoken from the Opposition Benches. I hope that they will not consider that I am patronising them. In spite of my complete opposition to the Communists, in spite of my very frank expression of opinion that their work injures the best interest of the country, in spite of all these, I assure them that my dislike is sweetened by a sneaking affection for the young men who show industry, talent and earnestness of purpose, whatever may be their views. I know very well that we, old people, do not last for all time and that the country will have to be looked after by the younger people, and from that point of view, I welcome ability and earnestness of purpose apart from any opinions that any man may hold at any time. I claim and I fondly believe that the young men opposite know that there is a corner in my heart for them, in spite of everything harsh that I might say about them. I occasionally have to use strong language, for my conviction on those points is as earnest and as sincere as is their own conviction about the ideology for which they stand. Most of the gentlemen opposite, although new to Parliament, new

[Sri G. Latchanna]

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చార్జిమేషన్ తెలియకున్నది. ఇదేనా, మనము ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి నోచుకొని విధానముని వారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. వారి విమర్శలూ ఉద్దేశ్యమేమో మాకు అర్థంకాకుండా ఉన్నది. ఏ రైతులే దేశానికి సర్వ ప్రజలకు ప్రాధాన్యతను నటువంటివాడో, అట్టి రైతుకు తన ఉన్నాహున్నచ్చి, సౌకర్యాన్ని తన కృషికి తగిన ఆదాయాన్నిచ్చి కాపాడకపోతే అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తిగాని, ప్రజాసరాలుగాని, భరణగ్గుడలగాని ఎట్లు చేపూర్వగునో గమనించవలసియున్నది. ఆహార పదార్థాలకు ధరలు యధేచ్ఛగా విడిచిపెట్టినట్లేగాని దున్నెవాడికిని, ఖాస్సాదికిని ఉత్పాదము ఉండదు. ముఖ్యముగా రైతాంగములో చాలామంది రైతు కూలీలు ఉన్నారు. ఖాస్సాములకు వారి పంటలనుండి ఎక్కువ ఆదాయము వస్తేనేగాని వారి కూలీలకు ఎక్కువ కూలి ఇవ్వజాలరు. కనుక ధరలు యధేచ్ఛగా రైతులకు విడిచిపెట్టినట్లేగాని ఉభయాలకు అవగా ఖాస్సాములకు రైతు కూలీలకు ఇద్దరికీనీ ప్రోత్సాహముండదు. అధిరోత్పత్తికి కాదుపడు. ఎప్పుడైతే ధాన్యపు ధరలు వారి స్వాధీనులూ ఉంటాయో, అప్పుడు సహకారముగా వారు ఎక్కువ ఉండించగలరు. అవిధంగా ఎప్పుడైతే ప్రజాసహకారము చాలిన ఆహార పదార్థాలను పండించగలరో, అప్పుడు ధరలు కూడా క్రమముగా, న్యాయముగనే ఉండగలవు. ధరలు ఎక్కువ అగుటకు వీలుండదు. అప్పుడే సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికికలతకు ఆహార పదార్థాలు సులభంగా అందగలవు. ఇందువల్ల ప్రజలందరు తృప్తిపడగలరు. ఇదే ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానము. కట్టుగాక, పెద్దపెద్ద ధనవంతులు ఖాస్సాములు బ్లాకు మార్కెటు వ్యాపారములు మొదలగు వారువారి స్వార్థము దూరమొంటూ ఆర్థికమైన అక్రమంగా ఆన్యాయంగా ధనాన్ని ఆర్జించుకొంటూ, రైతుకు శ్రీరంజితము చెప్పచూ 'మీరు దేశాన్ని ఉద్ధరించేటటువంటివారు, మీరు కట్టపడి అధికారాన్ని పండిస్తేగాని ప్రజలు బ్రతుకజాలరు. మీరు ఈ విధంగానే కట్టపడతూనే ఉండండి. మేము మాత్రము ఈ విధంగా సుఖపడుతూ ఉంటాము' అని చెప్పిన, ఎంత న్యాయంగా ఉంటుందో ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాలను అనుగణంగా ఎట్లు ఉండగలవో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు.

“కనుక సభ్యులందరు రాజకీయ విభేదాలతో నిమిత్తం లేకుండా ప్రజాసామాన్యానికి మేలు కలుగజేసేందుకు ఈ డిక్టేటోలు విధానాన్ని బలపరచవలసినదని సవిషయంగా మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈనాడు అమలు జరిగిన డిక్టేటోలు విధానము పూర్తి అయిన. లోకరహితమైన డిక్టేటోలు విధానము కాదు. ఇంకా నాడు మాత్రంగానేగాని కొన్ని జిల్లాలను జోనులుగా విచ్ఛేదించారు. ఈ విచ్ఛేదముకూడా సాధ్యమైతే త్వరలో తొలగించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. అలాగే రాజాజీ తల పెట్టిన ఉద్యమానికి సంపూర్ణమైన ఫలితము సాధించగలము మన ముద్రాను రాష్ట్రములో కంట్రీలు తొలగించిన తరువాత - దేవిధానాన్ని యు.పి., వీహారు రాష్ట్రాలు నూడ అనుసరించడం ముదావహం. ఈ విషయంలో మన రాష్ట్రం మార్గదర్శకంగా ఉండడం గర్వించదగ్గ విషయం. కనుక ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వానికి తగిన సహకారమిచ్చి కంట్రీలు పూర్తిగా తొలగిపొయ్యటన్ని కృషిచేయవలసిన సభ్యులందరినీ మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కాని రాజాజీ నాయకత్వాన ప్రభుత్వము ఏర్పడిన మంత్రివర్గము సరియైనది కాదని, ప్రజావిశ్వాసమున్న ఒక సుస్థిరమైనటువంటియు, శాశ్వతమైనటువంటి ప్రజాస్వామిక ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ముద్రాను రాష్ట్రంలో ఏర్పాటు చేయగలిగినాడే ఈ నిరంకుశ ఆరాజకత్వము ప్రతిఘటించడానికి ఆరాజకముంటుందని గనుక, ఒక మైజారిటీ పార్టీ యొక్క మంత్రివర్గముతో నడిచేస్తున్న ప్రభుత్వ విధానము సవ్యమైనది కాదని నేను మరియు ప్రకటన చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రస్తుతము ఈ రెండు మాసాలలో రాజాజీ నాయకత్వాన ఏర్పడినటువంటి ప్రభుత్వము మా రెస్పాన్సిబుల్ అవరేషన్

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విధానాన్ని సరిగా అర్థంచేసుకొని ఉదారమైన విశాలమైన ప్రజోపయోగకరమైన ఈ డిక్టేటోలు విధానము అమలుపరచారు. వారిచేత ఈ సత్కార్యం చేయించగలిగామనే ఉత్సాహంతో ఈ విశ్వసనీయతాన్ని మేము బలపరచడానికి నిశ్చయించుకొన్నాము. అంతేగాని ప్రస్తుతము ఏర్పిన మొత్తము మంత్రివర్గాన్ని యధాశిథిగా అంగీకరించడమనే ఉద్దేశంతోగాని, కాంగ్రెసుయొక్క క్రిమినల్ భంగము వచ్చిందనిగాని, లేక ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో దూపించినటువంటి హెచ్చు పన్నులవిధానాన్ని ఆమోదింపడమనిగాని ఎంతమాత్రము కాదు. కనుక ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వము బడ్జెటులో ఈ పన్నులవిధానంలో తగిన సవరణలు చేస్తుందనే విశ్వాసంతో మేము ఈ బిల్లాన్ని బలపరచడానికి అంగీకరించామని చెప్పచూ ఇంతటితో విరమించుకొంటున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The Hon. the Chief Minister will now 4 p.m. speak. After he has spoken, the Leader of the Opposition will speak and then the Leader of the House. If the Hon. the Chief Minister wants to have a say again, I shall allow him. I have made this arrangement because the Hon. the Chief Minister may want to say a few words on a point of personal explanation. I shall allow him to speak again, if necessary.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“If there is anything requiring personal explanation, he is certainly welcome, Sir. We require his explanation.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, as regards procedure, the Leader of the Opposition wanted very much to speak after me and I have no objection whatsoever to agree to that. I do not wish to get any advantage out of mere time or order or position. Let us go into the merits of the question. What I have asked for, Sir, is confidence in me and I cannot get it by mere debate. I know very well that it is a matter of confidence and not a matter of argument or debate or strategy.”

“Before I begin, Sir, you will permit me to tender my congratulations to those who have spoken from the Opposition Benches. I hope that they will not consider that I am patronising them. In spite of my complete opposition to the Communists, in spite of my very frank expression of opinion that their work injures the best interest of the country, in spite of all these, I assure them that my dislike is sweetened by a sneaking affection for the young men who show industry, talent and earnestness of purpose, whatever may be their views. I know very well that we, old people, do not last for all time and that the country will have to be looked after by the younger people, and from that point of view, I welcome ability and earnestness of purpose apart from any opinions that any man may hold at any time. I claim and I fondly believe that the young men opposite know that there is a corner in my heart for them, in spite of everything harsh that I might say about them. I occasionally have to use strong language, for my conviction on those points is as earnest and as sincere as is their own conviction about the ideology for which they stand. Most of the gentlemen opposite, although new to Parliament, new

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to its privileges as well as to its rules and restrictions, and although their speeches were all maiden speeches, have done well. We must pardon and ignore the tub-thumping practice that occasionally exhibited itself. That is due to a persistence of habit, for they have indulged in that style of speaking for quite a good long time without any Parliamentary interruption. They are used to that kind of eloquence and old habits cannot be given up easily, but I have no doubt that by and by they will have achieved even that.

“ Sir, I have been going about preaching the necessity for belief in God and I am told that I have no right to do it, having accepted office under Government. (Interruption from Sri S. T. Adityan.) Don't be in such a hurry. Did I contradict the hundreds of misstatements and exaggerations that were made? So, things will clear themselves if we permit one another to speak. Sir, has been felt and it has been said also that I was committing an error of judgment in speaking about God, and that I was drawing travelling allowance and misusing that travelling allowance when I was speaking about God. I deny altogether the charge that was made that I was guilty of the great blasphemy of thinking that I was sent down by God or that I was God Himself. It is blasphemy of the uttermost type and I deny that charge. But when a person hears a thing, he hears what is in his own mind, he hears his own prejudices. When a person reads something, he reads what is in his own mind and what is his own prejudice. There is no time, in the present world of great hurry and of suffocating leaflets and literature of that kind, for people to listen clearly, to think clearly and even to read clearly. What I claim and what everyone is told from time immemorial is that every one has a God in his heart, and when I appealed to the members to vote according to the dictates of the god in their hearts, god is not spelt with a capital 'G'; it is spelt with a small 'g', according to English idiom. I was appealing to what other Members might refer to as conscience. I was appealing to what Socrates referred to as the deity in one's own heart. That is a time-honoured appeal and I was not claiming that the votes of the people should be given as from God Himself. God has a way of His own and we need not appeal to Him in the matter of votes, but I appeal to the men and women who are here to vote according to the dictates of their free judgment and according to what their conscience tells them to do and not anything else. I was told that when I went about preaching the Gita or anything from the Gita—I was told by the hon. gentleman Sri Ramamurthi, I think—I was trying to copy the Great Krishna Himself. Whether he considered him great or not, I consider him great. He also made it appear as if I were trying to imitate Sri Krishna by believing and by saying that I have come down to set *Adharma* right and to bring *Dharma* back again. He quoted from an early chapter, not the chapter on duty but from the preliminary chapter, wherein Sri Krishna says 'God comes down in many forms whenever there is occasion or need for setting things right.' I never imagined and I never said

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to anybody anywhere either in private conversation or on the platform that I represented or had a mission from God or anything of that kind.”

(An hon. Member from the Opposition Benches rose.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Order, order.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Let me tell my Friends here that God is truth, that it is a fact that every one of us is but a tool in His hands and that every little act of ours is His act. Both the votes on this side and on that side are but His activities, and He has His own inscrutable ways. I appeal to my Friends on the other side, 'Do not imagine and charge me with the blasphemy that I was guilty of saying that I was God Himself or anything of that kind.' Because one dislikes the reference to God and because one dislikes the reference to religion, one does not hear properly the things that are said about God. I cannot read a book or understand a book aright unless as I leave my shoes behind before going into a temple, I put aside my prejudices and read the book with respect and sympathy and affection. If we wish to understand one another, we must be humble and we must put aside prejudices. That is the secret of the matter. So many friends who are young and growing, who have got the urge of life in them and the urge of ignoring everything else, do not know the meaning of the laws of Nature. The hon. Gentleman Sri Adityan explained it correctly on my behalf. He correctly explained the position and he wanted me to stick to that position, and I wish he had also added that I would never swerve from that position. It was nothing else that I said and I maintain that God must be kept in our mind. If anybody does not wish to do that I cannot interfere with him; I can only plead.

“ As regards the question whether Ministers of the State or any officer or any man in my position or any of my Colleagues should not preach any particular religion or even religion itself in general because they go about on public business, let me ask, 'Am I not to preach when I go round? Has the salary that I receive or the allowance that I receive bought up my life-breath, my faith, and everything?' Certainly not. Even as I breathe free air and eat my own food, not under the dictates and regulations of the Travelling Allowance Rules, I must have the right to speak about the God that I believe in and it is part of my breath and faith and, therefore, I do it. The hon. Gentleman, Janab Seethi, correctly answered the argument. He brought out the pith of the matter. Sir, it has been said that I have suddenly taken up preaching about God. Those who did not hear me before, those who did not hear me preaching about God before, those who did not bother about what I wrote or what I said, could not have heard what I wrote or said before and I do not blame them, but they ought not to come to the presumption that suddenly I began to preach God or believe in God. It is a very old habit of mine; even if it is a bad habit, I would like to be excused. I have always talked

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about it and preached about it and it is not correct to presume that I suddenly began to do it. The hon. Gentleman Janab Seethi correctly explained, that one acts according to the environment and the necessity of the occasion. Here are a number of people who have been going about for some decades past, preaching that we need not recognize the existence of God, whether He is there or not is no concern of ours and that we had better carry on our work without reference to Him. It is a very reasonable proposition but it is not a good proposition, not good for the world and not good for the country. We must work with love and fear of God every moment. It is not enough to ignore it and to work as if nothing existed but yourself and your surroundings. There must be a law from within.

"Then, Sir, complaints were made that there were too many policemen in the country. I could remove all the policemen if you would accept my advice about God. It is because people do not accept my advice about God that the police are necessary. But however many the policemen may be, it will not be effective unless there is the policeman inside and that is why I make no hesitation in accepting Janab Seethi's advice when he said, 'Do not swerve from the line you have taken?' Simply because these young men have flippantly talked about it, I am not going to swerve from it nor do I mind the flippancy of the talk. Even that flippancy will grow into a constant memory and a constant memory will create a constant habit of thought about the subject, and I hope for improvement in that direction even as a result of the debate that has taken place in this House.

"The hon. Gentleman complained that this House has become a *bhajana matam*. Indeed, I wish it had become that. There is nothing else that is wanted. But what are we doing? We are making new laws of a very superficial character. We are here to make laws of a very superficial and trifling character. If really we become a temple or a *bhajana matam*, much better laws than what we can make will prevail without any exertion on our part, no amendments would be necessary. (Laughter.) If only we followed them, if only the people followed them, there would be no need for further activities on the part of this Legislature. The hon. Gentleman who spoke flippantly about *bhajana matam* had better go to a *bhajana matam*, whenever possible, and it will do him considerable good.

"Then, many people here charged me and found fault with me for attributing to them want of faith in God. I wish I were wrong. I wish that they were right that I had made a mistake at least in a large number of cases. I do wish to be contradicted by a larger and larger number of people by saying, 'No, we are believers in God as much as you. We do not talk about it, but we are pious; we are humble and we are good as you.' I wish every one would tell me that. But I am sorry I have to say that these denials do not have the ring of truth in them. These denials of the charge have a jeer in the heart because there is a flippancy about it. It does not ring true just like a false coin. It has a

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ring of mere debate and argument. I wish what they said were true but in many cases it is not true. I do not like the idea of young men accepting positions theoretically and provisionally in order to meet a debate. They should be straight about it.

"I take my hat off—only I have no hat (laughter)—I take my hat off to my old and beloved friend, now my enemy No. 1, Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker. I take my hat off because he says, 'I shall preach my No-Godism; I shall continue to preach it in spite of any number of Acharyas.' Let him preach it, but the two together will keep the God alive in the hearts of men. I want that continuous work and that is the meaning of the old story of the man, who was anti-Narayana and who kept a bell attached to his ear so that he might not hear the name of Narayana uttered by anybody. Even he is supposed to have been saved because he continually thought about Narayana while all the time the tendency was not to hear the mention of the name of Narayana. So, there is no finching on my part and I thank the hon. Gentleman Janab Seethi for putting the vigour of eloquence on that subject and in that connexion.

"Sir, the privilege of Members is very large but there are some limitations. But here in this debate every restriction was put aside. Whether it was the privilege of a Court, whether it was the privilege of a Judge and whether it was the privilege of absent people who could not defend themselves and about whom you make statements here, whatever they might be, they were ignored. I do not mind it. I am glad, Mr. Speaker, that you allowed the debate to go on freely because this is a Vote of Confidence and it should not be conducted under restrictions of any kind. I read in this morning's papers that in the Parliament Sri Jayasoorya apologised for having made against somebody a charge which was not substantiated.

"He has done that because of his hereditary qualities and I am glad. But I did not object to such statements made here. Hundreds of statements like that were made here. It would be utterly impossible for me to meet them even by a bare denial or contradiction in each case. However, I do wish to say that there is no point in making such statements without going into any particular case. If a group of people start a riot in a village, or commit a murder, or burn a few houses or pull out the eyes of somebody as stated by the hon. Member Sri Thimma Reddi, the policemen learn the information later and go to the scene. The criminal chooses the time and place for the crime. He knows the time, place, hour and circumstances. But the police could know it only later and they proceed to the place. Afterwards complaints are started of oppression and terrorism in order to discover what had happened. That was the story probably in many cases. But in all these cases, the primary thing is forgotten. For instance, a man might have been killed or a child wearing a few rupees worth of jewellery might have been persuaded to go with a persons as if with a friend and killed. Considerable time elapses

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before the young man is charged with the crime and sentenced. It might take six months or one year to bring the person to trial and prove his crime, and if proved, he might be punished. But pity flows like a stream for the young man who is sentenced. What about the little boy who was killed? They talk of police terrorism and all that. They forget the tragedy of the child and the feelings of the parents who lost the child. When the police receive complaints as to certain crimes committed, they go to the scene of occurrence to find out the criminal and thus help the people. Charges are made about the action of the police but the crimes committed earlier by certain groups of people are forgotten. Human memory becomes slipshod. Sir . . .

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" There should be an enquiry."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" There have been enquiries into these matters . . . (Interruption.) Please don't shout. You cannot do that . . . (Interruption.)"

MR. SPEAKER :—" Order, order."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Justice must be done."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have already allowed the hon. Member to speak and he has had his own say in the matter."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, on a point of order, I wish to ask the Hon. the Chief Minister through you whether he can go on speaking about things which we have challenged him to prove in public? Let him come forward and do that and let him not go on referring to such things."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is not a point of order."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" This is how points of order are raised by the young gentlemen on the opposite side. Let me make the position clear here. They never said, 'Please enquire into this.' They only said, 'Such and such a thing has happened. Therefore don't vote for the Confidence Motion.' When such statements were made by hon. Members opposite, I did not wish to interrupt them then and there, nor raise points of order, unless I wanted to get away with points of order. They have made certain statements and I did not want to contradict them one by one. It is impossible. I may say in general that Courts have gone into cases and have come to certain conclusions and have convicted people. Let me, however, tell the hon. Members here, through you, Sir, that I have gone into the files and have recommended commutation in certain cases under certain circumstances. I have examined cases of crime committed by a party that calls itself now as a party standing for World Peace and as having certain minimum programmes. I have seen the papers in the cases tried in Courts and their results. Therefore, the charge of the Opposition is rather misleading. Apart from that, no policeman or group of policemen enter a village or any other place

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except to raid a centre engaged in some illicit liquor programme as referred to in the Gingee case or to raid some other crime centre. It is always easy to make charges against the policemen and circumstances lead some people to think that the policemen are likely to have been guilty of that charge. But they do not go into the crimes that might have actually been committed. However, it would be impossible to contradict or disprove the various statements that have been made one by one. There were people who wanted to speak about those remarks and put forward counter arguments. But I advised them, 'There is no good in doing that, Please do not do that. Let things take their course.' If anyone asks me to go into any particular case which is worth going into and which would be right for me to go into, my practice, as is known to those who know me, is to go into that. I do not refuse to go into such requests, provided they remember the limitations on my time and mortal capacity. I do not refuse anything which I can do.

"It was said that there must be some motive behind this Motion. The expression 'motive' in a psychological sense is all right. But when that word is used in a debate of this kind, it is something else. What is the motive behind this? I have explained the motive that I had. I have put my reasons clearly in my statement. I have not suppressed my feelings. I have said why I wanted this Motion to be brought before the House. Members on the Opposition Benches one after another have repeatedly tried to discover and explain that there must be some motive other than what I have said. They tried to find some wrong motive behind this Motion. I do not think it is worthwhile for me to go into the analysis that was sought to be made for this Motion. But I do wish to answer one of the charges in connexion with that. The most important motive that they were able to discover was that I brought this Motion in order to get the position of a dictator. Sir, it is not my object to become a dictator of this State. That was not my intention at any time and much less at this difficult time. Even if that was my intention, am I so stupid as to believe that by bringing a Confidence Motion like this before this House, I can get that dictatorship? Surely, if hon. Members will refuse to me good character, at least they must give me credit for a certain amount of intelligence. If I had wanted to achieve dictatorship, there are other ways of getting that, than by bringing a Motion like this before this House. I know there are people who will refuse to give me their vote of confidence and such people who are permanently pledged to that attitude are not going to change their mind. I have referred to this point in my statement also. It is not dictatorship that I wish to secure. My convictions are there. I am asking for this vote of confidence not to get any appreciation for what I have done or to prove that what I have done is right. I have already explained clearly in my statement that I am asking for the vote of confidence not as an attestation of the worth of what I have done or achieved, but to strengthen me in order to do more work in future. I have said that if you give me that vote of confidence, I shall be able to carry the burden on my shoulders more satisfactorily. It is for future use and future work that I

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have asked for this confidence vote and not for the past work. Everybody knows that I am asking for this vote of confidence in the very early period of my stewardship. I do not want that you should come to some judgment as to my merit or demerit so early. I know that very well. That is why I explained clearly that I want this vote of confidence in order that I may be enabled to do my work. Therefore I thought that there may not be a debate on this motion, as it was only a case of the expression of opinion by you whether you have confidence in me or not. I believed that the whole thing would be closed in one forenoon or one afternoon. I thought that it was only a matter as to whether you liked me to continue to work or would like somebody else to take my place and that of my colleagues. That could have been done very briefly and could have been over in no time. But Leaders and Groups in the Opposition wanted at the outset 15 days—I do not know whether they wanted a month—and then a week at least and then agreed to four days. We have now gone through the agony for the past 4 days and I think that to-day at least we will be able to close this business. Sir, I am told that because I said at Koilpatti that I wanted the voters of the Aruppukottai constituency to consider the issue as a question put to them whether they wanted me to continue as Chief Minister or not and since that constituency had voted against me, I should resign my office and there was no need for me to ask for this vote in this House. I beg to differ in that. I accept that the constituency of Aruppukottai has given me an adverse vote. I do not propose to analyse the votes nor analyse the reasons that brought about that result. I am a sportsman even in elections. The election is completed and I admit that the verdict is against me. What did I say at Koilpatti? I feel that I must say something about this story of my challenge. I did not make any challenge at all in that connexion. I was not in a mood to challenge. Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar rightly told the House that I knew him very well and I know the place very well and also know the position that he occupies there. He also said that there had been no right intuition in what I expressed regarding the election in that constituency of Aruppukottai. He is right in saying all those things. But did I say, 'Well, I am going to win in that constituency?' Then it would have been wrong on my part. I did not say that and so there is no question of challenge. I would like the hon. Member to remember what I said at Koilpatti, where I stopped on my way to Tirunelveli for half-an-hour or so. I closed my speech and sat down without any reference to the Aruppukottai election. Then some friends told me, 'There is election coming. You must speak something about it.' I again got up and said 'Well, there is nothing to be said about the election. The only question for the constituency is whether they want me to continue in office or not.'

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR :—“ On a point of order, Sir. I did not hear the speech of the Hon. Chief Minister at Koilpatti, and I saw only newspaper reports. The report was like that. If Rajaji is to say in this House that his speech was misreported, then I shall be content with it.”

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* MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is not a point of order.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Thevar wants me to say that the papers have misreported. I had no time to read what the newspapers have written about it. So I dare not say that they have misreported me. If I said like that, they will take me to task and ask me whether I read the news. I have narrated on the floor of the House what I said. Let the hon. Member judge me on what I say here and not on the report of the newspaper which he says he has read. I said, 'Here is an election coming. There is not much to be said about it. The issue before you is this: If you want me to administer the Province you had better vote for the Congress candidate. If you don't want me, you had better vote against the Congress candidate.' That is all what I said. I made no challenge whatever. Now I accept the results of that election. The vote was against the Congress, seventy to fifty and it showed that they did not want me. That is correct but can I resign on that? Do I have a right to go out on that issue? Here is a House which consists of Members sent from all the constituencies and there are several parties in this House. There is a purpose in my coming before this House with this motion. If I decide to go, I must approach this House and say why I am going. Surely, Aruppukottai constituency is not the whole of India or Madras. Did they appoint me? I must therefore beg leave of the House. I ask the House, 'Do you want me or not?' The statement I made and the result of the Aruppukottai election were sufficient reasons for me to put the question to this House. I do not ignore it. It may be treated as a sample or random vote so to say. It may also be that I did not select the correct place. Mr. P. T. Rajan said that I was wrong in selecting that place and I should not have selected that place as a test. He may be quite right. But the point is this. (I said what I said and the constituency has said 'no' to it. I therefore put it to the House and ask, 'Do you Gentlemen, 375 people, want me to continue in office or want some one else among you to take over my place and run the Government?' That is the question that I am putting to the House. I do not undervalue the vote of that constituency. I have frankly and definitely said that so far as that constituency is concerned, it has given me an adverse decision. But that does not entitle me to run away.)

“ When the constituency has given an adverse vote, it follows that the constituents have no confidence in me and I must take the steps that follow. I submit I have taken these steps.”

“ When we proceed further with this subject I must recall one important fact. The Members of the Opposition have been saying from the very beginning and repeated it from time to time, 'you cannot get away with a vote of confidence only on your own merits; we have a right to refer to the old Congress Ministry's work—their sins of commission and omission right from the beginning.' One Member, Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, went one step further and began from the year 1920. He went through the World War and the Japanese War. I admire his capacity for getting through

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foreign policy. I do hope he will get into some Foreign Ministry where he can do well. (Laughter.) But I hope, for the good of our country, he will not get into one (laughter), though from a personal point of view I would love it. Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar was a young man when he was offered to me by some of my friends. He praised me to the skies and drove me in a car through the sandy and muddy roads of his constituency. It is an interesting story and we shall talk about it in an unofficial manner, not now. What did the Members say? They said that I cannot get away with a vote for this Motion on my own merits and that they have a right to refer to the actions of all the Congress Ministries. I have no objection to this. It is right. They have a right to do so because this is a party Government and they have every right to say, 'We judge you from the group to which you belong, from the party to which you belong and if they have committed wrongs, we expect you to commit wrongs also.' I cannot object. That is why, I listened patiently to what they said from the outset. But I could not understand one thing they said. If I went to the electorate for an election, the electorate had every right to consider the past. It has every right to go into the entire history of the Congress and its merits and demerits. But what I ask here is not in the nature of an appeal which may be made by a Congress candidate or the party in a general election or a by-election. What I say to the House is, 'We are here; do you want me and this Government now?' That is the question and not whether I am a good man or the party is a good party. That has been decided, whatever be the decision. Therefore, we need not put that question to the House here. The only question is whether this House wants the present Government or not, because the House is in charge of the State, in supreme charge of the State. Here is the organization which must appoint its Executive and the Executive holds its place during the pleasure of the House. Therefore it is that the question before the House is not the question that is put by the party to the electorate but this: 'Does this Executive command the confidence of this House?' It is not a party question or one relating to the manifesto of the party. These questions are not relevant here, though I do not wish to object to references being made to them in order to interpret, to understand, and estimate and appraise the Executive's capacity and the like or its motives and programmes.

"Then, Sir, the speech of Mr. Anthoni Pillai comes to my mind. He also said that this Motion was premature. He said that there is no reason whatsoever for the Chief Minister to put this question of confidence at this time to the House. He added: 'Here is an undemocratic man; he made a great change in the Food policy of the State without consulting the House and is he the democrat I am going to vote for confidence in?' Sir, he has answered his own question. Because I made a great change without consulting the House it was necessary that I must come to the House with this Motion if at least for that reason. He has given a good and important reason and I must now put to the House, 'Do you want me, a man who has made this change, or not?' Therefore, Mr. Anthoni Pillai, in arguing against me as

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an undemocratic person has proved the need for this Motion in this House at this time. The answer that I got from the speeches of hon. Members on the merits of our Food policy is, I submit, enough for me. Everyone of them has not grudged against it. No one has had the courage to say, 'Decontrol is bad.' What they say is, 'Decontrol is good in itself but will you put prices down also?' They ask 'Will they fall, are they likely to fall?' If they are mere weather prognosticators, I do not mind. I only hope that they do not pray for its failure; I hope they do not wish for the failure of the scheme; I hope they will not work for the failure of decontrol; I hope that they will not try to prove that I am wrong but help to make the country happy and prosperous. If they want to prove that I am wrong, what an unworthy object it would be for the young men who want to govern this country! I want them to prove something bigger. I want them to prove that we can govern this country without controls and without harassment. I want them to prove that we can see, without controls, that the people observe economy and restraint and honesty in trade, business and production. I would ask the young men to work for that and not continually to pray for the downfall of the Chief Minister or for proving that he is wrong. (Sri T. Nagi Reddi: 'We pray for the downfall of prices.') Supposing I am proved wrong, what do hon. Members here gain? I have been proved wrong and right on many matters. These will be forgotten as they have been forgotten. But if decontrol succeeds, we give an example to the whole of India. We give courage to all kinds and classes of people. Let us try to work for that.

"Then, Sir, the argument proceeded: 'Why do you come for a vote now when a clear vote has been already given against the Congress in the election?' Member after Member declaimed on this point. This, I submit, is a confusion of the system of democratic voting. It is not always possible for a party to command an overall majority. Because the Congress all these years commanded an overall majority—either expressed in votes or expressed in a general way in enthusiasm—because the Congress had that overwhelming majority, the disappointment or the sharp difference between the number of seats that they have now got at the elections and what they enjoyed before should not be converted into a theory that the Congress has lost. The Congress has not lost. The Congress has not attained that which it sought to get. It was disappointed. That is loss enough. That is disappointment enough with which the greedy Opposition may be satisfied. I grant it straightway. Now take the voting figures. The Congress secured 70 lakhs of votes, never mind the number of seats or the delimitation of constituencies which may be just or more or less unjust. The Congress secured 70 lakhs of votes under adult suffrage. The Independents—not groups like, say, of my friend, Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, who stood each one of them in his own right, got 53 lakhs of votes, all put together. The Communists got 26 lakhs of votes and the K.M.P. 18 lakhs of votes. I need not go into the smaller numbers. (An hon. Member: 'You can do that.') What is the need for it? The proposition has been repeatedly put forward that disunity among the opponents of the Congress gave the Congress

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152 seats or 70 lakhs of votes. That is to say, the group that is represented by the Members in the Opposition was by nature united, but because there was a split among them, the Congress took advantage of it and got so many votes. Sir, the position, I submit is totally different. These fifty-three lakhs of votes which the Independents got were given to persons who were careerists, egotists and people with loyalties to different ideas and different aims and whose patriotism narrowed down to love for a particular group or community. If all these persons opposed the Congress, surely, it cannot be imagined that they were all bound together by a high and common ideal and that all their votes should be added up to say that the Congress is defeated and that it was only bad strategy that gave the Congress these 70 lakhs of votes. They could not have united. It is easy to unite in opposition. It is possible after election to unite on a legislative programme and work in Parliament. But it is not so easy to unite and make a common party to get the votes of the people. In the same manner in which my Friends opposite wish to make out by some arithmetical process that the Congress did not secure the overall support of the people, I say that everyone of these groups failed to secure the overall confidence of the public. Everyone of these groups got less than half the total and less than what the Congress secured. They did not secure the confidence of the people by a majority. It amounts to this. If the Congress did not secure an overall majority, the Independents did not also get it, even if they should be treated as one single party from the outset. The Communists did not get a majority either. With the same eloquent force that they employed, but without the noise that accompanied it, I say that the country has totally rejected the Communists' appeal. It has refused to give them anything more than 26 lakhs of votes. This applies to everyone of the groups that are in the Opposition. We have here no overall majority for any party and yet we must make the best of it in order to govern the country properly. This is what I propose should be done and that is my advice also. How it is to be done, is for the Members of the Opposition and others to decide after due deliberation in this House, and the Motion of Confidence is only a step in that direction."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"What is your proposal?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"My proposal is that you should confide in me and run the Government. If all the votes which the Congress did not get should be counted against them, all the votes which the Communists did not get should be counted against them also. Similarly, all the votes that the K.M.P. did not get should be taken as having gone against them. This simple mathematical truth has been pointed out by many in public and I have done it now. But it is ignored in the eloquent arguments that are produced—for whose benefit I do not know—by the Opposition. I have no objection to groups combining and voting against the Congress; what I object to is the claim that the country has voted against the Congress. How can I, in the face of the figures that I have before me, accept the proposition that the country has voted against the Congress, a statement which was

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made repeatedly by one Member after another? As a matter of fact, the country has given the largest number of seats to the Congress among the various competitors. Let the leaders opposite or the behind-curtain-leaders of those who sit opposite try to unite on a common ideology which is good for the country as they have often said and let them go to the country, get a majority of votes and form a Government. I shall obey the laws of that Government as a loyal citizen. No one will grudge them the votes which they can secure on such a common basis. But they have not secured any comparable number of votes on such a basis. Merely combining now in opposition is totally different from running the Government.

"Now, the Opposition is the champion of every grievance in the country. Of all the vested interests, the worst form of vested interest is the vested interest in the misery or the grievances of the people. Of all the forms of vested interests which we all combine to oppose, the worst form is the vested interest in grievances. I am afraid that that vested interest is now growing apace. We should strive to remove those grievances. We should not strive to thrive on grievances. (Interruption from the Opposition benches.) Put your finger on your heart and listen to me. Let me, Sir, in this connection, say one thing. Whenever I refer to the Opposition it is not always to the U.D.F. that I refer. I refer more often to a particular bloc, the Communist bloc. Let me explain it. When I referred for instance, to not believing in God, I did not refer to many of the Members who protested, very rightly protested, against the remark. It did not include them. I was referring to the Communists and the Communists only because they are the predominant partners in this partnership. I know the strength of their predominance; I know the history of the satellite countries in Europe. I know how the Communists are humble in the beginning, how they are smooth and oily and get into every group and try to get first the G.C.M. as I would call it and then by multiplying it by a convenient figure get the L.C.M. (Cheers.)

"The Communists first find out the greatest common measure of everybody who have grievances and take possession of the G.C.M. and then multiply it by a factor which I call exaggeration and the exaggerated G.C.M. becomes the L.C.M., the least common multiple. That is the arithmetical formula of the Communists. (Interruption.) I have not discovered it here. It has been discovered during the last few decades to be the process by which Communists are operating in Eastern Europe. Let me not waste the time of the House too long on that. (Interruption.) It might be contradicted by the other side. The formula has not been discovered by the Communist Party here. The formula has been prepared for them almost like the Ayurvedic formula for preparation of medicines. It has been prepared on the principles laid down in the scriptures of the Communist Party. It is the result of long research in human psychology. They know how to work on human psychology. The thing is there. If you take ginger, jagger, and pepper, grind them up and put the mixture

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in your stomach, it produces an irritation which finally increases digestion. In the same way they know the way to put the grievances together, find out the greatest common measure and then multiply it and make it a common policy for everybody. Then the day comes when, just as the small fish are eaten by the big fish and the big fish alone remains, the Communist is the only party there and then comes a police raj worse than any police raj that my Friend Mr. Nagi Reddi has discovered. (Interruption.) I know the history of people who came under the Communist Party. People who left the Communist Party have written and published their experience. I have spoken to them, I have heard them. My dear Friends do not know that I am quite intimate with friends from China and Russia. Chance has given me that intimacy. I have cut many jokes with Communist friends in the Embassies from abroad. Let me not be drawn into all that. Communism works through this G.C.M. method, it gets hold of the people and the industries, and then everything is changed. Let me warn the country and the people as to what will happen in any country where Communists are to rule. After all, the fruit is the test of the tree. Take all the countries in the world. Take the countries where the Communists got hold of the Government. See whether it is the same as three or four policemen standing guard in my house or whether there is not a policeman in every family. In those countries there is a policeman in every house, not in uniform—but they are more loyal to the State than any policeman in uniform. Every citizen is a policeman. In two generations all opposition is wiped out and liquidated. Every child is brought up under the doctrine of a police state and everybody is put on the watch, put under control and regulated. It was said that we controlled and decontrolled food. But if the Communists come to rule through the United Democratic Front and their friends, what will happen is that the Communists will control not only food, but thought, word and action. (Interruption.) Perhaps, I have been infected by the invectives I have been forced to listen to all this time. I apologise for the force of the remarks but unfortunately my remarks are true."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to know how this anti-communist tirade is relevant to the Motion. Is it on this he wants the confidence of the House? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am not yielding. You cannot shout me down."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—" Is it on this—whether you like the Communists or not—that you want a vote of confidence? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Order, order."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, it is not a point of order. It is an argument which I shall answer immediately. The point is this : that the vote of confidence I ask is based on my claim and on my party's claim that it is dangerous

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to hand over the country to the United Democratic Front which is dominated by the Communist Members, and it will be more and more dominated as time goes on and power increases."

" Sir, reference was made to my policemen. I confess I do not like so many policemen standing around me. They do not really help me. But the old pomp continues and even if I were to interfere with the pomposity—which I wish to do slowly—I do not wish to say, 'Get away, I am a great man, I am a simple man,' and wear a loin-cloth. I cannot do it. I do not like the observance of these old formalities. I want these practices to be slowly withdrawn. But why are these maintained? Threatening letters are sent by some people. I do not say that any Communist did it because I know those who want really to hurt a man do not send notices to the police. Those who wish to kill a man do not send anonymous letters and make their position difficult. I told Policemen: 'Do not be alarmed.' I know that these people are not going to kill me. If they wanted to kill me they could take me any time unawares, without any difficulty in spite of these gentlemen standing with the bayonet. These policemen with the bayonets cannot move round. They cannot look around. They look only in front. They do not help me. Gandhiji was killed. Where was he killed? He was killed between the bathroom and the prayer-ground, and how can anybody guard inside the compound? If a man has to be killed he could be killed in spite of any number of policemen standing about. Mr. Nagi Reddi referred to some policemen standing at the entrance of the railway carriage in which I was travelling. Those gentlemen thought that they should protect me from being disturbed by my admirers not by my enemies. They have to protect the travellers and make the passage available to them so that they could get into the train. I told them that is what they should do. It may be that they did it. I do not apologise for that. I do not like it. I want to get rid of it. It is no pomp or power. My friends are not so simple as to believe that I am having the policemen there to make me a dictator in the country. The pomp does not help me a bit. 'It looks ugly, I admit. But the real process of power getting into the head, I say with frankness, is in the process the Communist Members believe, most. They have a power which is not exhibited. They have got their stranglehold on the essential services and production in the country. They feel that power and they need not be in uniform. They have exercised that power and that power has gone to their heads. I warn them, it is bad. I warn them, power is bad, in whatever form, if it intoxicates you. I wish I had a Prohibition Act against that kind of intoxication. It is not the Congress which for a time has been enjoying uniformed soldiers' loyalty that is drunk with power. It is the people who have a hold on the production of the country and who have a clientele who are ignorant, who can be easily misguided and operated upon in their plan of exploiting their greed by false promises, allegations and things like that. Power built upon that basis is dangerous. By all means let us organize labour and remove their grievances. Let us go round lecturing, let us protest, let us argue in courts and secretariats and get things

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righted. But do not pile up grievances for exploitation and try to build a superstructure of power on that basis. That is wicked. I must say, if that is the object of the Communists, it should not be done. You should work to remove grievances and to maintain industrial activity. But you must drop the desire to build power on the grievances. I do not grudge anybody trying to get grievances removed. But I do not want anyone should make it his profession, so to say, to build power thereupon. What do the opposition want done in their speeches against the Motion moved on my behalf? It is: 'There should be no taxes.' Can the Opposition run the Government without taxes? (An hon. Member: 'Your friends also say so.') Even that does not make your argument right. My hon. Friend rises to interrupt me unnecessarily. I do not mind it. But it should not be treated as a point of order. They say there should be no taxes, not even betterment taxes when irrigation works are carried out. All projects should be completed, all welfare schemes should be undertaken, they say. The time will come when, as my friend Mr. Rajan said, the younger men will take charge of the Government and they will come to the necessary contradiction of the policies they will have then to make if they maintain such propositions now.

"It is the Communist habit in all countries and it is now exhibited here. Their continuous policy is to demand every privilege arising from the concept of democracy in order to forward their own determined plan which finally includes a denial of similar privileges to those who oppose their authority when they should come to be established in power. That is their clear formula. They raise points of order now. When they are in power no one can raise points of order. Survey the countries from China to Peru. You will see, any traveller will see, whether points of order are allowed, whether privileges are allowed, whether freedom of speech is allowed, whether freedom of association is allowed in countries governed by Communists. I need not dilate on this subject. The strategy of the Communists through the United Democratic Front has to be exposed. They claim all the privilege of democracy so long as we are in power, but when they get into power democracy ends and all privileges end. It will not only be so in India, it is the case everywhere.

"Sir, I am a very ignorant man. I am an old fashioned man. But I know something about the Communists, the Communist theory, the Communist policy. They believe that class conflict is necessary and inherent in the present day civilization. (Interruption.) Forgive me if I make a mistake in the jargon. I do not know exactly the jargon. But I am right in substance. It is inherent in the present civilization and now that must be ended—the inherent class conflict—by the transfer of the means of production to national ownership and that is to be attained by force and revolution. I want gentlemen to follow this analysis of mine. It is to be attained by force and revolution and not otherwise. It is not possible otherwise. Subsequent to that necessary solution, there has to be an unlimited period of dictatorship based on open terror.

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This is the programme of the Communists. The Socialists do not like that. They think they can attain the same end by different methods, without the things I described. Now the Socialists have decided to vote with the Communists. It was curious to observe that the arguments of Mr. P. T. Rajan on the one side and Dr. K. B. Menon on the other side were exactly the same but it is wonderful, how two intelligent gentlemen could come to opposite conclusions on the same argument, exactly the same argument. (Laughter.) Dr. Menon came to the conclusion long ago, he and his colleagues came to the conclusion that they should never vote with the Communists. They say: 'No truck with the Communists. We are the true blue socialists of the world. No truck with the Communists, but because Rajaji has asked for a vote of confidence and because no virile political party can remain neutral, we must vote with the Communists, that is to say, we must remove Rajaji.' Supposing I lose the vote of Dr. K. B. Menon, what happens? The Communist-dominated United Democratic Front takes charge of the Government. Is that what the Socialists want? I ask them to consult Mr. P. T. Rajan sitting near them before they come to a conclusion.

"Dr. K. B. Menon does not want any advice or suggestions 5-p.m. from me. He knows the Communist Party through and through. The Communist Party has been operating in all satellite countries according to a certain policy. It is this: 'Completely conceal your own policy; do not talk about it or make any public exposition of it during the present period; keep the Communist Party intact and strong and do all that is necessary for it in your own secret conclaves; do not use the labour platform or any political platform; work on the G.C.M. principle.' (Hon. Members: 'From what are you quoting?') I am quoting from my heart. I have noted it down after careful thinking, so that I may not commit any mistake and I am reading it. It is not usual for me to quote. The policy is, Sir, 'Take hold of every grievance and form united front.' All the speeches made from the Opposition Benches have completely demonstrated the correctness of this appraisal. They are the champions of landless labourers; they are the champions of small peasant proprietors. Everybody knows the history of the peasant proprietorship in Russia and how it was changed subsequently. The landless labourers must look to the Communists as their champions; the small peasant proprietors must look to them as their champions; bus-owners must look to them as their champions; passengers must look to them as their champions; even the N.G.Os. must look to them as their champions. Everybody, middle class and upper middle class and even the small capitalist who is allotted the high place in the list, is to be championed by them. This only exemplifies what I have said, 'Take everybody's grievance and make it your own policy.'

"The other gentlemen who are in this group claim, very rightly and genuinely, that they have the right to be independent and that they will not be contaminated. But psychology cannot be ignored; history cannot be ignored; I have no doubt, that many of

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the leaders in the Opposition Benches imagine that they are perfectly independent. I must say, however, that their psychology is being unconsciously undermined. We know the history of Communist alliances in other countries and the same will follow here. The wonderful catalogue of claims made by the Communists and other Opposition leaders here is enough to condemn it. The Communists are to-day the champions of language autonomy and linguistic provinces. Some gentlemen referred to my familiarity with Communist friends during a certain period. I know what views they were holding then. I remember a time when they were vigorously arguing against linguistic provinces as parochialism. To-day they are champions of linguistic provinces. They are champions of the handloom industry; they are champions of the mill industry; they are champions of mill workers. I know something of the handloom industry. Had my hon. friends sitting opposite ever brought a broken thread together?"

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, the Hon. Chief Minister is speaking of spinning. I know spinning and weaving also."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Then the hon. Member was in the Congress."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" On a point of information, Sir. I have handled a thread right from the earliest process down to the process of weaving, after I left the Congress."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am grateful for the information, Sir. The championship of handloom industry is in direct conflict with their ideology about the mills and mill workers, their bonus and emoluments. There is a permanent and inherent conflict in the Communist jargon between the handloom industry and the mills. Whether we are going to solve that conflict and provide a remedy for the grievances, is a different matter. I am amazed at the claims made by them, Sir. Then, they talk of N.G.Os. There was a time when anyone who was working in an office and who was getting a salary without doing anything by hand, was anathema and was a parasite. Now they are champions of poor N.G.Os. It is easy to delude people in distress. They are again champions of economy in administration; they are champions of retrenchment; at the same time they are champions of the retrenched men also. They want economy; they do not want retrenchment. They have suddenly become champions and protectors of *mangalasutrams* of women, to which I was supposed to have referred. How I wish they had more faith in *mangalasutrams*! (Laughter.) There was a time when the Communists had their own views about marriage but they have found by experience . . . (Interruption from Opposition Benches.) The Communist Party knows the trick of making compartments for all these. There is an anti-God society; there is an anti-marriage society; there is a collectivized cultivation society. I do not claim to know exactly the Russian words for them. They give all autonomy except freedom in economic policy. All this autonomy I am quite conversant with. I know about the autonomy

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given to autonomous States! We know the jargon. They are now protectors of *mangalasutrams*, Sir. I do not mind all this. When I explained to a very mixed audience, common folk, the principles of public finance, I said that one cannot expect expenditure by the State without giving revenues to the State. I explained that taxes were abominations, but they were necessary for running the State, and if they wanted the State to take up welfare schemes and all irrigation projects, it was necessary that taxes should be levied. I stated at the meeting that the money would be spent for good purposes and that it was worth while their giving away even their jewellery. Far from taking offence, they followed my lesson on elementary principles of public finance with a degree of understanding and pleasure which pleased me also. But now, lo and behold, when I come here, I find that people want to cultivate hatred against me, my colleagues and my Government. All the pamphleteers were out to say, 'Here is a man who wants to take away your jewellery for paying taxes.' Do they not know public finance principles and that taxes have to be paid? The Communists know the way in which one has to put things before common people. They deliberately use my words for the purpose of increasing hatred and developing it with. They will not succeed."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU :—" You will not succeed either."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I did not say I shall succeed. I said, 'you will not succeed.'

" Sir, when I tell unpleasant truths, I have found that as I speak truthfully and with affection for the people to whom I am addressing, they do not misunderstand me. But when other people read it outside, they think there is material for the G.C.M. method, for increasing hatred against me. They are trying to do their worst. It is puerile. Let us fight as politicians must do and not as people working out intrigues against one another. If the people were really interested in my improvement, they would tell me, 'You should not use such language; you should speak a different language'. There is no use speaking over people's heads. Sir, some hon. Members referred to what I said at Coimbatore that I would put as much weight on the donkey as it can bear. I might have used the word 'camel' here. But the people in Coimbatore know only what a donkey is; they do not know what a camel is. So, I said, 'I have to take the clothes to the river-bed for washing but at the same time I cannot put more on the donkey than it can bear.' That explains the tax position in their language. Now they say to the people, 'What right has he to call you donkeys?' and all that. It is wickedness to put things like that and I consider I am perfectly in order to say so, Sir.

" Then they want all the police stations to be abolished. Do you know, why? They do not want these police stations because they desire to have an easy walk-over. I am sorry, I cannot oblige them. The police stations must be there and I am sorry to say that whoever takes my place, will not abolish them. It is idle to

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imagine that this large country can be governed without some policemen. There is a policeman, viz., religion that we believe in and you have no use for the police station of religion. Having done away with Mahatmaji who had great moral influence upon the people, can we run the State without police stations? On the contrary, there are not enough police stations. Crime is increasing. The greed of the people is increasing. Everybody wants to make money for everything and even children are murdered for the sake of money. We want not less police stations, but more police stations. We do not want to waste money on them. I know if there were less crime we could save money and spend it for useful productive purposes. But the negative is as necessary as the positive sometimes. So it is that police stations are there and will continue to be there. Let us not undermine the loyalty of the policemen by saying, 'your salaries can be increased if you join the Communist Party.' Let us wish for more loyalty rather than and less loyalty from the policemen. Then only could we reduce the expenditure and not by tirades against me that I am running a Police Raj.

"Sir, I am quoting from Mr. Panikkar. He said, 'The danger of Communists does not come from the discipline of their organization or their sabotage activities but from the intellectual instability of the educated classes.' The intellectual instability of the educated classes is used and exploited and that is what gives Communism its strength. I think, Mr. Panikkar was right when he said that. I would add that this intellectual instability arises from exclusive occupation with brains to the total exclusion of useful creative physical work. Mere games and movements of the body for relaxation or pleasure are not enough to give intellectual stability to our boys and girls. But given some time to actual useful work for a part of the day, their intellect would not be unstable and they would not be easy prey to anyone who will misguide.

"Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity. I cannot, as I said, go over all that has been covered already. I asked the Leader of the House to move this Motion and it is I that am on defence. But the Leader of the Opposition wanted to speak after me and he may do so. I shall not add to or subtract from what I have said. So many have been interrupting me and I do not mind it. I welcome interruptions. Indeed, I wish there were more interruptions which would have given me more material."

5 15 P.M. * SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Mr. Speaker, I rise not with pleasure but with a sense of some unpleasantness to say what I have got to say on this Motion. I have great respect for the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar. I am sure, that he will not mistake me when I speak what I feel about the Motion.

"The Hon. the Chief Minister has travelled over a very wide ground; only it was not relevant. Out of my respect for him, I did not interrupt him when he was speaking. The Motion before this House is one of confidence in the Cabinet of which Mr. Rajagopalachariar is the Chief Minister. The Hon. the Chief Minister

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was pleased to give us a statement just before this Motion of Confidence was moved. He explained the reasons which had compelled him to seek this vote of confidence. He said in it that he was responsible for changing the order of procedure of the Budget discussion. His statement begins as follows: 'Hon. Members may now be aware of the reasons and circumstances which convinced me that I must seek a clear expression of confidence from this House.' The newspapers widely published another statement of his elaborately. The two main reasons which compelled the Chief Minister to bring in this Motion were, according to these reports, the result of the bye-election in Aruppukkottai constituency resulting in the defeat of the Congress and the boycott of the Governor's Address to the Joint Session of both Houses of Legislature, by the Members belonging to the United Democratic Front. That is the reason why he says, 'Hon. Members are by now fully aware

He goes on further and says that the conditions in which he is working are very difficult. From his point of view he thinks without exaggeration that the conditions around him are difficult for him to surmount. Having alleged that the reasons for compelling him to bring in this Motion were solely the Aruppukkottai election and the abstention of the members of the United Democratic Front, he has now entirely side tracked the issue."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"I think, the point is misconceived. When I made the statement it was to explain the reasons for the Motion. It is one thing to explain why I am bringing this Motion. And it is another why I should confine the Confidence Motion only to the reasons for my bringing in the Motion. I hope the Hon. Leader of the Opposition understands this."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Sir, everything that comes from this side of this House is misconceived. To conceive well is perhaps the monopoly of the other side. With great respect to the Hon. the Chief Minister, I submit that it was not correct on his part to say one thing and do another. Sir, he has told us in Kollipatti, he has said in clear terms, 'Do you want me or do you not want me'. Everybody in the world, everyone in India, everyone who knew English, everyone who knew the meaning of words gave only one meaning to what he had said namely that he would resign if the election went against the Congress. Even the Chief Minister attached only the same meaning as others at the time he uttered these words. While bringing in this resolution he stuck to that meaning. But having brought forward the Motion and having heard the arguments of the Opposition, what does he say now? He changes the meaning, the meaning the world gave, the meaning his own party Members gave, the meaning the Opposition gave, which were all one. His own party Members and supporters asked why he made such a statement. Having made such a statement and having got a clear answer we naturally thought that he would resign.

"Sir, I am not anxious for power or any such thing. The Hon. the Chief Minister is at perfect liberty to change his views. After

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all politics are growing not only for young men on this side but they are constantly growing even for elder Members on the opposite side. But having made a deliberate statement, to change it so suddenly, I submit, Sir, is not correct. After all we have all held Sri C. Rajagopalachariar in the greatest respect. He evoked our admiration on many occasions. But only when greatness chooses to embody itself in a smaller vessel and say things which are not acted upon, Members belonging to the Opposition are not able to accept his words. There is no point in his bringing in philosophy into the debate and saying 'I did not mean what you think now.' On the other hand I expected him to stick to what he said at Koilpatti. After all he could have said, 'I am now resigning. You brought me here while I was in retirement. I was not much worried about you at that time. I went to Courtallam to take rest. Because you could not agree amongst yourselves, you brought me in. Having come into the picture I now find that the result of the recent election has gone against me. Therefore I am going. If there is any other method of obtaining the confidence of the people I shall come again. But for the present I am going. You can do what you like afterwards.' That would have been very proper. Actually on the 27th, I was expecting on the floor of this House some sensational news. I thought that the Hon. Chief Minister would be submitting his resignation. Truth would have triumphed in that case.

"The previous day the Hon. the Chief Minister was not aware of the result of the bye-election, even while he was addressing his party meeting. I submit, Sir, it is not the result of the Aruppukottai election that has disturbed him. It is some other thing which I will refer to later.

"A great man as he is, we expected that he would resign. If it was an ordinary man we would not mind it if he changed his views so quickly. But the greater the man, the greater the responsibility. Therefore I submit, Sir, that the explanation the Chief Minister gives that we have put too much meaning into what he had said is not at all convincing. Our own ancient Rishis have observed 'Satyam param. Param stayam'—Truth is ultimate. Ultimate is truth. There is nothing more ultimate than truth and beyond truth there is nothing ultimate.' I once more submit that the Hon. the Chief Minister was not correct in his trying to treat us through a lecture as though we were all children and explain away what he had said. On the other hand, it is open to him to say, 'I do not now want to do what I wanted to do. Because other events have intervened, I have changed my mind'. While speaking about truth and integrity and preaching morals it is but fitting that the Hon. the Chief Minister should stick to his statements. It is very painful for me to say that he did not do so. I will be untrue to myself if I did not speak out what I feel.

"The Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to say that we had thrown a challenge against him. But in reality he threw a challenge against the people. What was the answer the people gave, the whole world gave? Surely it was not in his favour. That

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being the case, we expected him to resign. If he has not done so, I have no quarrel against him; it is for him to reconcile his words and action. He has somehow got a majority. He could have carried on without this Motion.

"The Hon. the Chief Minister has told us that the conditions in which he was working were very difficult. Why are the conditions difficult? Why is that doubt hanging upon him? Having got in by nomination into the Legislature and thereby committing a constitutional impropriety and having been elected Leader of the Party and taken up the Chief Ministership and having run the administration for nearly three months, how is it that still, doubt is hanging upon him? I submit it is not really doubt. But it is the consciousness of the guilt of the way in which he has become the Chief Minister of this State. We do talk of democracy. But where is democracy?

"The Chief Minister just now expatiated on democracy in order to canvass support in favour of the motion. He said that if the United Democratic Front came into power there would be no democracy at all; there would be no more points of order at all because the U.D.F. is being dominated by the Communists; Democracy would be killed if the United Democratic Front came into power. That is the Chief Minister's contention. But I say that infanticide of democracy had been committed by the very act of nomination of Sri Rajagopalachariar to the Council and when a smaller minority party was called upon to take the reins of administration. Having done this much, if the Chief Minister now tries to confuse the public still further by side-tracking the issue, I can only submit that he is totally in the wrong. What does our Bhagavath Gita say? Great men may be intelligent. But that does not mean that they should confuse others however great they may be. It is not due to any doubt in his mind the Chief Minister has come forward with this motion. It is mainly to confuse the public so as to canvass support for the Congress Minority Government. Anyone who has seen things as they are happening at the present moment and anyone who has got any political conscience can clearly judge the Chief Minister's motive behind his wording. He has told us why power should not be handed over to the Communist-dominated U.D.F. Of course, if the resolution had been worded on those lines we would have been very glad to offer our own criticisms and explanation. But to prejudice the public mind by side-tracking the issue is not fair for anyone.

"By the kind intervention of the Governor a minority party had been handed over power and is now running the administration. Having taken the leadership of the party the Chief Minister wants to strengthen his hands. Members on the other side had been moving hither and thither to gather support for their party. Somehow an artificial majority has been built up. The Congress want to retain that power. They are not for giving up their power. That is why the Chief Minister has come forward with this motion to strengthen his hands still further. This is the

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ordinary, simple and plain power politics. The Chief Minister has said, 'Please do not attribute motives.' I for one, am not attributing any motive. When it is correct for him to have become the Chief Minister in an unconstitutional way there is nothing incorrect in my pursuing the motives he has already in mind. But I ask, 'why do you confuse issues by creating an atmosphere of Communism in the U.D.F.?' As a matter of fact there is nothing akin to Communist ideology in the programme of the U.D.F. Can it be called that the U.D.F. consisting as it does, of about 160 Members is being dominated by the Communists whose strength is only 62? It is ordinary mathematics. Judge the facts. To say that if the confidence motion is lost, power would go to the hands of the U.D.F. only to bring in chaos is absolutely malicious and unwanted. If Members on the other side only looked into the programme of the U.D.F. they would have found no basis for their prejudice against us in their utterances. As a matter of fact, I would have made a present of the copy of our programme to the Chief Minister; but unfortunately I could not get the copy in time just now.

5-30 p.m. "If only Members opposite will cast aside pride and will leave off prejudice and if they go through the programme evolved by the U.D.F. they will find that it is almost the same thing which the Congress has been saying since the date of the Karachi resolution on Economic Scheme. We are told that the U.D.F. is dominated by the Communists. It is not so. There are as many as 100 others who are not Communists. Sri V. V. Ramaswami is not a Communist; we are not Communists. But, of course, the Hon. the Chief Minister complimented us by saying that we are all innocent persons and are being slowly taken into the spider's web. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'I am right.') The Hon. the Chief Minister says he is right but I am saying, Sir, time alone will show that he is wrong. It is the progressive forces in the world joining together and progressive forces in the world are a little too difficult to understand for minds which are deeply imbedded in conservatism. I am myself a conservative to a certain extent; I believe in the right of private property; I believe in God and I believe in orderly progress and I also believe in truth more than anyone sitting on that side. When I said certain things in connection with the adjournment motion last time, things I saw and what actually happened and what the Police people did, the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to say that the assertions of Sri Viswanatham, have got to be verified. It deeply pained me that he should have said so despite his association with me for so long. I submit my heart is pure and the words of ten officers cannot under any account falsify what I said as a fact which I saw. I submit I have no false ambition, I have no undue ambition and I have no intrigues of which we are accused. I submit it is not intriguing if we say that the Constitution says that the Government of the State should be entrusted to the elected representatives of the people and that we somehow or other having got the good or the bad fortune of coming here, just as the 152 of the hon. Members on the other side have come to this House, we have got an equal right just as the Members

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of the party on that side to run the administration. What was the issue that the electorate had before it? As has been said on so many occasions, and we have been saying it since February, that is the thing which the Chief Minister wants to flout because he is not aware of it. I do not blame him for he was not in the fray; he was elsewhere and he never thought that he would have the misfortune of coming to this Province as the Chief Minister after having held so many high posts. We have been saying that the issue was whether the people wanted the Congress to come again to power and whether they should continue in office. There were independent candidates, Communist candidates and there were other parties which fought the elections and stood against the Congress candidates and in all these cases what was the thing that was put before the electorate? Come to my constituency or any neighbouring one or take out any constituency at random. What was the issue that was placed before them? Ask the peasant, ask the worker, ask the clerk and ask the liberal-minded man. To every one of them the issue was clear and that was whether the Congress should continue in office or not, and there was no denying it, and the result showed beyond doubt that Congress rule was not wanted. Take the results in my own Telugu districts; out of 143 seats only about 40 people were returned on Congress ticket. The issue was there and the answer is there for all to see, but the Hon. the Chief Minister wants to give us tests of his mathematical knowledge and says that no party has got an absolute majority, in fact other parties got fewer votes than the Congress and therefore, the people wanted the Congress to continue in power and run the Government of the State. Sir, we can also create some problems in mathematical jugglery but I wish to submit that politics are not decided by mere arithmetical jugglery. Indeed what is it that happened in Aruppukkottai? When we said in February last that whether the people voted Communist, Socialist or for Independents, they were all anti-Congress votes, our statement was disputed. The opportunity then came at Aruppukkottai and at Kakinada and it was shown at both these places that votes, which went to parties other than the Congress party at the General Elections were all anti-Congress votes and therefore, constitutionally and politically, we were right in assuming that in the General Elections in the State, the people gave the verdict that they did not want the Congress Party to continue in office. Those who came from retirement did not know the facts. The Chief Minister came by what I may call an unapproved way. It was not approved even by the Prime Minister of India, the President of the Congress Party, and I believe he is not happy over the way in which Sri C. Rajagopalachariar became the Chief Minister, but that is a matter between them both. Then, what were the conditions under which he came? It was under conditions, as I said when the Congress Party could not agree as to the leadership of the party. And all these things are upon his mind. Constant criticism not only by the Opposition who according to him are intriguing to get into power but by all constitutional-minded persons not only here but in other States, in the newspapers here and outside this State, questioning the constitutional propriety of such a course is sitting

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heavy on him. These things are hanging upon his mind. He may not know his own mind, but I am sure what is worrying him is the sense of guilt; the guilt lay in the killing of the infant democracy immediately after the first general election in this State and not all the mathematical figures can wash out a jot of this guilt and it is that that is worrying him.

"Then I have to say a few words about the abstention of Members of the Congress Party from participating in the debate. They never spoke anything. I do not know why there should be this non-co-operation in this House. A Motion is brought on the floor of this House and they say: You take it or leave it, we shall not talk or explain; you do all the talking and we shall be calculating and negotiating for votes. When a Motion is brought in the House both sides of the House must participate. What did the Hon. the Chief Minister say? He said that he has given perfect right for the members of his party, the perfect freedom to vote. Perfect freedom has been given but what is it that they had been told? They were told: 'After all what is it you are going to speak; there is nothing for you to speak about; you will have only to praise me and that is not quite correct and therefore, do not speak.' That was the advice and they have now abstained from speaking. The Leader of the House said that he did not want four days for the discussion of the Motion but that at the instance of the Leader of the Opposition, four days had been given. On what basis did we say that four days would be necessary? We expected and that is nothing out of the ordinary course, that the Legislature Congress Party would also participate in the discussion."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I informed the hon. Member even then that many on this side would not talk."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Not many of us, just a few and just a little—that is the kind of information he gave us. He never told us that the party would abstain; it is quite different from saying many would not talk. The Congress abstained from showing the ordinary courtesy of discussing the motion, simply flinging it at us and saying: 'You go on with your discussion but we will be collecting the chickens into our baskets.' I say, Sir, this is a positive act of discourtesy to the Members of the Opposition. But by that, do I take it and do they ask me to believe that they are all united in their view? The hon. Member Sri Latchanna made an excellent speech; I have carefully followed his speech. Although for certain reasons he is giving his vote for the Motion, he has not approved of the Cabinet. He said it should not be taken as an approval of the taxation proposals of the Government; he categorically said so; but what was he voting for? What is there for him to approve? The personality of Sri Rajagopalachari? It is true I am a very small man compared to the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. I am an ant-hill compared to him. But when we are here on the floor of this House we have got to discharge our duties just as he has got to discharge his duties, by the public and the electorate. I would only like to put one small question: The Chief Minister

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asked, 'How is it possible for two intelligent men Sri P. T. Rajan and Dr. K. B. Menon to come to opposite conclusions on exactly the same reasons?' I tell him, 'The same reasons for which Sri Latchanna is supporting the resolution.' What is the reason? While presenting the case, the Chief Minister was confusing the mind of the public. It is all like a battle, such battles as Indrajeet waged, creating the mist and cloud and trying simply to put people in a state of panic and fear. If there was ever any occasion for any Chief Minister to create panic and fear in the minds of the common people for his own benefit, this was the one.

"Sir, he has created a sort of cloud as he was speaking. I was observing my hon. Friends opposite then and felt doubtful whether they were really thinking that the world would come to chaos if Government is handed over to us. 'After me the deluge and without me, chaos'—that was the theme of his speech. He presented the case that if the Government is given over to the United Democratic Front, chaos will come because it is the Communist Party which dominates the United Democratic Front. I submit, it is a wrong conclusion. I can assure every member of this House that there is no domination of any single group in the United Democratic Front. May I ask, whether you are all reading what is appearing in the newspapers or are you reading only Ministers' pronouncements which are often explained away or contradicted? I would refer you to the proceedings of the meeting of the United Democratic Front which were printed in the newspapers on March 29, 1952. We passed a resolution at that meeting with regard to the composition of the United Democratic Front and the status of each group in it, whether the constituent group is a small group like the group headed by Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar or a larger group headed by Sri Nagi Reddi or a comparatively small group headed by Sri Padayachi or by Sri Ramaswami. Sir, the United Democratic Front is not going to be dominated by any party. Each group has equal status and whatever we do, we do only on the basis of unanimity. Apart from the fact that there are Communists in it—assume there are not Communists—do you think that a small group of four members headed by Sri Thevar would be drowned or submerged in a party consisting of 62 members? Would it have been fair on our part to invite Sri Thevar to come and join our party under such conditions? That is not our tactics. We are not exponents of the majority policy. It is the 'dominant group policy' of the Congress which has driven most of us outside. So, Sir, if anyone is under a misapprehension that our party is dominated by one group or another, let him read the constitution of our party without prejudice; let him give plain meaning to the plain words. Do you expect us to give you credit for your methods, credit for your intelligence and credit for the language you use and the meanings and intentions you express? We do not say that we are superior to you. But you must accept what has happened after the recent elections. After all, things have happened. We said as between the two minority parties, we being the bigger minority were entitled to form the Government. It is not the

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monopoly of the Congress alone to possess the capacity to form the Government simply because it has got a majority at Delhi or because it was the majority party in the last Legislature. Sir, things have changed. The Constitution has given us opportunities and rightly or wrongly the issue was decided by the electorate. We did not come here by back door. We all came here, like the Members of the Congress Party, after having fought the elections. But the Congress Party has been invited to form the Government by the kindly intervention of the Governor who, in my opinion, has practically upset all constitutional conventions. In this connexion, I must say this again. The Hon. the Chief Minister is trying to create confusion in the minds of the public by preaching the bogey of Communism. He is misrepresenting the composition of the United Democratic Front. I want him to correct himself and correct other Members of this House who belong to his party. I do not mind what happens to the Resolution before this House. After all we know it will be carried and we will be defeated. We ourselves would have brought a Motion of No-confidence against this Government if we had the marginal strength. After all, your Ministry is not very big as compared to the West Bengal Ministry which has a strength of 30. You have got only fifteen but it can be expanded to 17 to-morrow with some more accretions to your party.

"Sir, it has been consistently misrepresented by an influential section of the Press in this State that the United Democratic Front is dominated by the Communists. I do not say that the proprietors of such Press have got any malicious intention. They are suffering from the same panic which the Hon. Chief Minister wanted to create to-day. They started this panic on February 11th. After the results of the election in the State became known the panic started. They did not know what to do. The Congress Party then said that it would not form the Government and that the Governor should take over the administration. At that time they did not realise the constitutional implications. But gradually came the awakening when they saw that the Opposition was stronger than the Congress. They thought that the Opposition parties would never combine and they called us 'hotch-potch opposition.' The Hon. the Chief Minister complimented us by saying that we are a hotch-potch Opposition as though the Congress Party is not so but is cent per cent Congress Party; 152 became 163. Are the extra 16 members who have joined the Congress Party all cent per cent Congressmen? They created what is called 'associate membership.' They changed the rules also and they created 'Pundarika Vasudevas' as it were. I understand one of the Ministers has not even joined the Congress Party. He is honest enough to do so. I compliment him. Although he should have been with us, somehow by this panic which has been created presumably by a section of the Press, he has also been misled and he found safety there. It is fear complex. Nothing more. So, it is not quite right on the part of the Hon. the Chief Minister to compliment us by saying that we are a hotch-potch Opposition."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I should not allow Mr. Viswanatham to imagine that I used abusive language. 'Hotch-potch' is not an abusive word. It was no comparison between us and the other side. I said that I do not recognize the hotch-potch Opposition and that the Communists are my enemy No. 1. 'Hotch-potch' means that there is a strong central core in the Opposition."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am glad that the Hon. Chief Minister has intervened. He gives a new definition every time. He is so resourceful that meanings of words and phrases change at a moment's notice."

"Sir, it has been said by the Hon. the Chief Minister that the United Democratic Front has been formed against him. This is not correct. It is true that we are now opposing him but we did not think of Sri Rajagopalachari when we formed the Front. On the other hand we were thinking that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari would become the first President of the Indian Union at least after the recent elections. I know there were persons who some time ago collected signatures so as not to allow him to become the President. The same persons now work for him possibly for other purposes. We put the Chief Minister at the level of Delhi but not at Madras level. Sir, we did not think of him either ill or well, but we were thinking of the Madras Legislature Congress Party. Two hundred and twenty-three non-Congress Members were elected to this Legislature. Sir, we were elected with a certain understanding from the electorate. What was the understanding with the electorate? The electorate understood that all who were returned on the non-Congress ticket either as a single party or in combination with others should take over the administration of the State from the hands of the Congress. That was the simple verdict given and we had to meet together and we met on February 12th, a day after the election programme was completed. We drew up our programme and put it before the public. Our party is not dominated by one group or another. I cannot be dominated by Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar however powerful he may be. I cannot be dominated by Mr. Ramaswami however powerful he may be. Nor can they be dominated by Mr. Viswanatham because I have been in the Legislature for a number of years. All of us on both sides are in a common enterprise. It is a joint enterprise to be carried on in the interests of the people and for the welfare of the people. But prejudices and party walls are there and nothing correct can be seen. Everything is seen by the Chief Minister through . . . I will not finish that sentence. I think prejudice enters into their minds and they act in a way contrary to what they said to the electorate. After the elections were announced, it took nearly five months to form a Government. Is there any example anywhere, where after elections were notified it took nearly five months to form a Government? There is no precedent anywhere. But it has happened in our State. On November 7th summonses

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were issued by the Governor to send representatives to the Legislature, and the Ministry was formed only on April 9th. There was an interval of five months. Is it my bad mathematics? By whom was the delayed programme schedule prepared? By those who were in power. It was the Congress. Now, they cannot turn round and say, 'Your mathematics is wrong.' In this connexion, let me refer to what happened in England. When the Attlee Government decided to resign on the 4th October summonses were issued on the 5th October. On October 25th Mr. Churchill saw the King and on the 26th he formed the Government. That is how democracy functions elsewhere. That is how it functions in a country whose procedure we are expected to follow here. But here it took five months to form a Government.

6 p.m. " Sir, we met on February 11th and we gave our common programme to the public. We gave to Congressmen also our programme. So, there is no use trying to pass sneers of ridicule by saying that it is the G.C.M. multiplied by exaggeration which will be converted into L.C.M. It is all good dinner talk. The fact is not so. We are not here at a dinner table. And we had no dinners. Luckily for us, being non-Congressmen there were no dinners. Therefore, we were more serious-minded. Though Mr. Rajagopalachari says he is perturbed over the results of the elections and over the conditions which put him here in office, we were equally perturbed as he, and we were equally serious-minded. We are not here to make vested interests of grievances as it is alleged by the Chief Minister. For, is it not open to us to tell the Hon. the Chief Minister that certain tanks have to be repaired or that the labour union is going to start a strike, or that the M. & S.M. Railway workers are threatening to strike work? It is open to Mr. Ramasami Nayudu to draw the attention of the Hon. the Chief Minister to such things as much as it is open to any Congressman to do it. Because we are here in the Opposition, it becomes our greater responsibility to draw the attention of the Hon. the Chief Minister to such things. But, then, Sir, he says, this is all to make vested interests of grievances. Why does he say so? Sir, it is because his mind is not democratic. The mind of the Hon. the Chief Minister, great as it is, great as the Himalaya mountains, still it is not democratic. That is my complaint. If he were democratically minded, would he compel the Commissioner of Police to issue the order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, on the very first day of the meeting of this Legislature after the general elections held after the inauguration of the Republican Constitution of India, and follow it up with an order under Section 41 of the Police Act? I submit, he has done this because his mind is not democratic. That is the trouble with him. The other things that follow from that are all incidental. The other things are the branches, the flowers and the fruits, which are all born of one seed, and that is his autocratic mind. Was he not that great person who when he was the Home Minister there sponsored that great Bill recently in Parliament, the Press Bill against which his best supporters of

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to-day had protested, with the greatest vehemence? Some of those provisions in that Bill have been found to be unconstitutional to-day. Any constitutional point you may raise, he is against it. Ordinary courtesy would require that when the Speaker says there is a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege the Chief Minister should have moved a motion to refer the matter to the Privileges Committee. No, he does not allow it to be done. Why? His mind is not democratic. I do not say that he does consider every time whether his action would be democratic or autocratic. He does not. But the seed is like that; he has been trained to think like that. Sir, I was a member in a small constitutional sub-committee of the Congress appointed to frame certain fundamental rights. I, with his permission, offered and happened to work as an amanuensis, as a scribe. In that sub-committee, he was the first gentleman to oppose the proposal for the repeal of the death sentence. When country after country was trying to repeal capital punishment our Chief Minister opposed the move, because, he said, if we did that we would be placing the lives of law abiding citizens in the hands of the murderers! I believe, still he has not changed his mind. Because he has in his mind a Police State. His argument is, 'If four policemen are now required to guard my house, if the United Democratic Front come to power every house will have to be guarded by a policeman.' And therefore, I submit, it is his mind that is so framed. Why do I say like that? For, he does not agree to talk with other Parties. He should have the courtesy to speak with others instead of merely saying, 'No, you are all non-Congressmen; if you do not join our ranks or sign our Congress creed I would not have anything to do with you.' He visualizes only the enthronement of Congress, and in doing so he does not give room for other parties in the State to exist. He sees only Congressmen and non-Congressmen. The Hon. the Chief Minister has called all those members of this House who have been returned to this House under the Independent ticket, who have come in here by defeating the Congress candidates as opportunists and careerists. Is it gentlemanly to call them so, I ask? It greatly pained me to hear it. I do not presume to know the world as much as the Hon. the Chief Minister. But I believe, every Member in this House will agree with me when I say that the Hon. the Chief Minister was wrong and unfair in having characterized Independent hon. Members of this House as opportunists. What is it he calls as opportunism? Whatever is done here, on this side of the House, is opportunism. Whatever is done on the other side of the House is not opportunism. If the Congress can rope in people like Mr. Manickavelu Naicker, it is not opportunism; but if some members join the United Democratic Front it must be styled as opportunism."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—" Sir, I rise on a point of personal explanation. I would not have risen, if Mr. Viswanatham had not been expatiating on this point. I did not say that all Independents are opportunists. I shall read to him what I said exactly, because I have got in on paper here. I said, Independents had attachment to communal groups and ideas,

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and not the whole lot of them were opportunists. That is my description of them."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Agreed, Sir. The explanation has made the matter worse. I ask, is the Chief Minister an opportunist, because he came here by nomination and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of India? I ask, if 223 members of this House came here on non-Congress tickets, can I say, they are all opportunists and careerists? Who is an opportunist. They are opportunists who have no leanings towards the creed of the party in power, who had fought it in Elections, but who, at the same time have joined it when it came to power, on a request sent round by the Chief Minister to get people somehow to join his party as associate members. Surely that description would not apply to us. Sir, if the Chief Minister had not mentioned about this, I would not have uttered a single word about this. For, in the field of politics, we are like pieces of wood floating in rivers; we come together and part as the current takes us. Sir, I would not have talked about it but for the fact that the Hon. Chief Minister has roundly abused us in his explanation. His explanation is not at all a mitigation of the offence, if I may so call it.

" Then, Sir, it is said that we have an unholy alliance with the Communists sitting by our side in the Opposition. Where else do you (Government) ask them to sit? If they are not to sit here, on our side, will you ask them to sit on your (Government) side? Does the hon. Member, Mr. Seethi Sahab remember what the history of his Muslim League was when he said we have formed an unholy alliance? Is it holy alliance for the Congress to ally itself with the Muslim League, the Muslim League which stood for the two-nation theory and which continues to exist in spite of the incidents that followed therefrom, to the utter disgust of so many of us? Sir, it is all right for people to criticize; for it is easy always to criticize; but there must be a limit to it. If it is unholy for us to join together, it must be equally unholy for the Congress to bank upon the Muslim League."

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

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, I thought I would be given one hour. The Chief Minister took us over grounds not covered by the Resolution before us and surely I am expected to cover them in my reply though it may not be strictly relevant to the present Motion. I only request I may be given some more time."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member may take a quarter of an hour more."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Thank you, Sir. Sir, I was on the point that it was the Hon. the Chief Minister who was responsible for the idea of dividing the country. It is true that to-day we all pride ourselves on attaining independence after the

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maiming and vivisection of India. But let us see what a future historian has to write about this division of India and the part played by the Chief Minister and the Muslim League in the dissections of the country, the sores of which are still bleeding. Eleven lakhs of people lost their lives thereby. So many would not have died even if there was a civil war. On both sides, there was tremendous loss of life and pools of blood were created in Hindustan and Pakistan. But I shall not go into all that here. I shall briefly wind up in ten minutes.

" Now, what is it that is troubling the mind of the Chief Minister? It is not merely the result of the Aruppukottai election; it is not merely the circumstances in which the Congress has come to power, it is not merely how he came to become the Chief Minister of this province; more than all these, it is the unity of the Opposition that is worrying him. In fact, he ought to have been proud of it. For, he is a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi, and what did Mahatma Gandhi say? He said that constructive activity lay in the process of integration and not disintegration. Following that, the Chief Minister should have said, ' I appreciate the efforts you are making to unite in a body. Democracy can only function in a two-party system. I wish you good luck.' That is what he ought to have said. No, he did not say that. He wants disunity among us and to grow on it. From the beginning he has been declaring, or, at any rate allowing other persons in close association with him to declare that he is coming to this province as its ' Saviour,' and that he is working on no ' Salary.' After all, the Chief Minister cannot claim ' salary,' just at present; even if he does, the Accountant-General is there; when the Salary Bill goes to him he will see that he does not draw his pension as well as the full salary as the Chief Minister. Perhaps, Sir, the Chief Minister should not be made responsible for all this unfounded praise. I agree. But, Sir, certain persons are allowed to tom tom in this way, to beat the drum day in and day out, that unless Rajaji came to the State there will not be a stable Government and that he is the only person who can save this State. I submit this attitude of encouraging this sort of praise is wrong. Mahatma Gandhi did not allow this sort of thing. I remember, some years back, when some Congressmen approached Mahatma Gandhi and told him, ' You are a Mahatma, the saviour of our land,' he replied, ' Never cultivate this sort of hero worship; never allow this personal worship.' Sir, if that was to be said by Mahatma Gandhi, how much more should it be said by Rajaji? No, Sir, all this fuss by him is intended to confuse and bamboozle the people into thinking that it is a Communist dominated United Democratic Front we have in the Opposition and an alternative to Congress means chaos.

" What is the use of trying to bamboozle the public and deceive the public by raising a hue and cry that the Communist dominated United Democratic Front will land us in chaos and disorder, by expatating on the composition of the United Democratic Front and by canvassing for vote—I am quite certain that the Chief Minister is quite certain of his vote to-day, more certain

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of it to-day than he was yesterday and the day before—by expatiating on the dangers of communism? But where is that communism, I ask? I repeat that a communist-dominated Legislature party is only in the mind of the Chief Minister and he is always thinking about it. The United Democratic Front has got a definite programme, and no one party in it dominates another. I would request the Chief Minister and the Members of his party to come and see all the items in the programme and then say whether any one item means communism. Certain items no doubt are common to all the groups. For the matter of that, in Karachi, a Fundamental Rights Committee was appointed and we wrote to the Committee on the question of the abolition of landlordism. That is what the Congress has been saying and that is also what the United Democratic Front is saying. More than that, we also say that there should be gradual abolition of landlordism. If the Chief Minister does not like us even then, let him say so. He has got a majority; let us wish him God-speed; but at the same time, let him not say that we are out for chaos or we are for G.C.M. first and then we will have it multiplied to L.C.M. and all that. These are all words which will not weigh with any intelligent gentleman. No doubt they are good words to catch the unwary person by the neck.

"I submit therefore that the Members of this House should not be taken in by his eloquent speech and by whatever he has said. If, as free men, you wish to vote for the Resolution, by all means I request every one of you to vote for it. I will not grudge that vote; but please do not vote with the idea that an alternative Government will mean chaos. What I want you to understand is that. I am not worried about it to-day; for I can certainly wait till some other day, till events fructify, till those who are carried away by the Congress slogan are disillusioned, and till the United Democratic Front comes to power and those who are doubtful now and who are away from us now will think of coming back to us tomorrow or the day after and joining the United Democratic Front. Therefore, I am not in a hurry on that point. I am not appealing to you to vote in one way simply because I make an appeal; but for Heaven's sake, do not be misguided by what the Chief Minister has stated. The group system prevails, I agree. I thought he gave freedom of vote to the members of his party, but now I am told that all the members of his party are expected to vote for this Resolution. Of course when great men speak everything is true, but when I speak, everything becomes untrue. As a responsible man he says the Congress should be there if there is to be orderly progress, but that an alternative Government cannot mean orderly progress. Let me take this opportunity and emphatically say that I believe in orderly progress; I do not like jerks and jolts. But I do not believe in stagnation, calling it orderly progress; I do not believe in sitting tight over everything saying that everything is safe in my hands, and prescribing some ordinary palliatives for small troubles. I believe in a good change and a refreshing change. I believe in non-violence; and non-violence is not the monopoly of Congressmen of the present day.

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Therefore, let them not say there cannot be non-violence in the United Democratic Front. We believe in progress, we believe in order; and therefore, if all the Members of the party opposite believe in orderly progress, there is nothing to prevent them from casting their vote in our favour like free men. I believe the word 'free' has got a full meaning, and like responsible citizens entrusted with the fate of sixty million people let them vote on the Resolution. Thank you, Sir. (Cheers).

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am sure the whole House will share with me the feeling of relief that after all, this discussion is coming to an end. For the last four days, we have had a barrage of abuses and nothing but abuses; and the Leader of the Opposition wanted to know why no speeches were made by Members on this side. Sir, I wanted to know how much and how many kinds of abuses could be heaped upon us by Members sitting on the opposite side. We do not want to indulge in the same kind of stuff. We have got the greatest confidence in our leader and that needs no speech. We shall show that in action when the voting takes place. Therefore, no speech is required on our part for the purpose of showing our confidence in our leader; and that is why no member on this side participated in this discussion.

"Sir, when the Hon. the Chief Minister was telling this House about the strategy of the Communists, some people would have wondered, 'could this be true'? But after the eloquent speech of my hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition, every word of what was said about the Communist strategy has become true and nothing but true. When he was expatiating on the United Democratic Front programme and stating how it was not dominated by any group or party, he was nothing but a victim to that strategy. I also indulged in some thought-reading even as my friend the Leader of the Opposition was indulging in. I was reading the mind of my Friend Mr. Ramamurthi. He was feeling very joyful and thinking, 'How well my strategy is working, the Communist strategy is working; how well I have put Mr. Viswanatham as the Leader of the Opposition by removing Mr. Nagi Reddi. That strategy has worked well.' When my friend says, 'There is no domination, look at our programme,' and when he asks if there is anything wrong about it, I say: 'Yes, that is the further strategy which the Hon. the Chief Minister was mentioning about and which he was warning you about.' But unfortunately, my Friend the Leader of the Opposition is not a free agent; he is a creature of circumstances . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. He says I am not a free agent. I may tell him I have not been purchased, I have not been negotiated with, and no inducement has been offered to me."

THE HON. C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"No; we have not given him any inducement and we are not also prepared to give him any inducement."

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I do not want anything from this Government."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" But that is not the point; I said, Sir, that he was a creature of circumstances; he is a disappointed man (Sri T. Viswanatham : 'Question.') Let him question but let him search his heart and he will find disappointment and frustration there. It was fully exhibited in the bitter speech he has made to-day in spite of the fact that he professes that he has the greatest respect for our leader. But he used the most discourteous language about the leader and it is not becoming of a Leader of the Opposition to talk in that fashion about a leader who is the Chief Minister of a State. But that is quite a different thing."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" May I know what was actually mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition about the Chief Minister? "

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Coming now to the Resolution, both our opponents and some of our well-wishers and supporters have expressed the opinion that the Resolution was quite unnecessary. On the other hand, the Leader of the Opposition even now maintains that it is a minority party which has formed the Government. Sir, whether this is a minority party or not, the Government has got to get the majority support of this House; otherwise it won't exist. That is why, and it is because it is a minority party, we have come before this House again. In spite of additions to our party, we are only 165 to-day, and we do not claim that we are in a majority, while you claim to be 160 and say you have an absolute majority. I say we are not in a majority and that is why we are now coming before this House, so that we may know the mind of the House, whether the House has confidence in the Government and whether we should carry on or not. Therefore, in view of the assertions made by the Leader of the Opposition that we are a minority Government, we have come before you with this Motion. It may be the Aruppukottai election that is the immediate reason for it, but the other reason also has got to be taken notice of, viz., that it is being asserted time and again in the Press, on the platform and even in private conversations, that this is a minority Government. We do not want to continue in this office and in the Government if we do not have the confidence of this House.

" Then again, one hon. Member said, ' We know the result of this Motion.' But then if you know the result already, it is but fair that you should say that we have the confidence of the majority of the House. In such a case, why do you plead with the House, if you already know the result of the Motion? If he knows the result of the Motion, it is but fair on the part of the Leader of the Opposition to concede that the Government does command the confidence of the House. (Sri P. Ramamurthi : ' Not of the people.') I shall come to that. My hon. Friend says we do not command the confidence of the people. Sir, the general elections

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took place only a few months back and all the Members of this House were returned by the votes of the people, and they are therefore the representatives of the people. Therefore, whenever a majority of members in the House express confidence in the Government, it means that the representatives of the people have expressed confidence, and that therefore the majority of the people have expressed confidence in the Government. But is it contended that the representatives on that side alone are representatives of the people? Is it their monopoly that they represent the people just because they are in the Opposition? Is it only this mentality that could be expected of the Members on the other side, viz., that they alone are the representatives of the people and nobody else? Sir, I was elected by the people and I am as much a representative of the people as Mr. Ramamurthi is and perhaps a little more than that. There is a good deal of difference between Mr. Ramamurthi and myself. As far as I am concerned, I have been elected by the people; not only elected by the people, but I owe my allegiance to this country, to my people and to my country's flag. I do not parade under another country's flag and I do not receive my orders from another country . . ."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, the Hon. Minister is casting aspersion on the loyalty of the Members; I would like him to substantiate it."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" I am quite prepared to substantiate it. The Communist Party has its programme; it is not laid down by the party here; it is laid down by a party outside this country. (Sri T. Nagi Reddi :—" Wrong, withdraw it.") One question I will ask: Which is your flag? Which is the flag of the Communist Party? The hammer and the sickle. (Cheers from Government benches.) Here is a substantiation which cannot be refuted, I think."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Will the Hon. Minister please enquire of Sri Rajagopalachariar who has been acquainted with the Embassy, and find out what is the flag of the Soviet Union? The flag of the Soviet Union is not the flag which the Communist Party here is using at present."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Sir, I again assert that the Communist Party's programme is not formulated here in India. It is formulated by a party outside India. Therefore I have got a much greater right to say that I am the representative of the people. (Interruption.) I welcome this shouting; but shouting alone won't do. We must have the verdict of the House; and I am prepared to take the verdict of the House as the verdict of the people; but I am afraid my hon. Friends opposite are not prepared to take it that way. Whenever it suits them, they will say that they have been elected by the verdict of the people; but when they refuse to act according to the wishes of the people, I submit they cease to be representatives of the people.

" Sir, the allegation was made by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that all these four days intrigues were going on and . . ."

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promises were being made. As far as I am concerned, and as far as the Hon. the Chief Minister is concerned, we did not want any time to be spent on this Resolution. We wanted to move the Resolution and to take the vote within a few hours but who is it, Sir, that wanted ten or fifteen days and who is it, Sir, that came to the Speaker and said we should have at least seven or ten days? It was not at all in our minds that we should take advantage of this occasion to begin negotiations or intrigues. Perhaps it was in the minds of the Opposition that they wanted time for this purpose (Opposition cries of 'Not at all, Sir.') and now that their intrigues did not succeed they are charging us with intrigues and negotiations. The Leader of the Opposition has no business to say that while they were making speeches those on the Government side were indulging in some intrigues. (Interruption from the Leader of the Opposition.) If the Leader of the Opposition is prepared to say something about us he should also be prepared to take it back."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am talking about a fact. The Government intrigued but we did not."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I am also talking about a fact. You intrigued but you failed. I do not think the dignity of the House is preserved by saying the Government Members are intriguing."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On the other hand, this is what the Chief Minister said about us."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM: "The Hon. the Chief Minister wanted that no time need be spent on this Resolution. It was enough if it was moved without any speech and if any hon. Members on the opposite side wanted to speak they could do so for a few hours and it could be voted upon. This was what the Chief Minister thought and wanted. We never wanted any time for the purpose of any negotiation and we have continued in that attitude. I can assure this honourable House that we are not here to cling to power at any cost. We are here with the hope, with the sincere hope and with the honest belief that we will be able to do some good to this unfortunate State and, if the House thinks that we are not fit to carry that burden and someone else should do so, we will gladly give place to others. We are prepared to abide by the verdict of the House and we will not say, when the House votes us out, that these are not the representatives of the people, as Mr. Ramamurthi would put it. As already mentioned by me in my opening speech when I moved the Resolution, we are prepared to take your verdict and take all the consequences following from your verdict. We are not going to say 'This is not the people's verdict' and I think that Mr. Ramamurthi will also sportingly accept it, whatever be the verdict of the House, as the verdict of the people, because here are the chosen representatives of the people."

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"Sir, in opposing this Motion on merits, it was mentioned by more than one Member that this Ministry is after all a continuation of the previous Ministry. Their Budget and everything else is being continued. How else could it be? Could it be said, 'Here is the Bhavani Project; here is the Malampuzha Project and here is the Tungabhadra Project which were all started by the previous Ministry and we are a new Ministry and, therefore, we should not continue them?' We have made provision in the Budget so that these things could be carried on. We are certainly continuing the work which was started by the previous Ministry. Are we to say that because the schools and colleges were built and run by the previous Ministry we should not continue them? Are we to close all the hospitals, schools, etc., cogitate over them and start afresh after some time? After all, the various schemes which have already been started have got to be continued, and as pointed out very relevantly by the hon. Member, Sri P. T. Rajan, the difference lies in the administration and how it is run. I request hon. Members to note this reply and if you are prepared to take the words of Sri P. T. Rajan, it has made a world of difference within these two months. The administration is better and the services are now in a better position to discharge their responsibilities and this is the certificate given by him. It is for you to accept it or not. We are, in our own way, trying to better the administration as far as possible and, Sir, we feel confident that we have turned the corner and we will be able to better the administration. We may have a number of schemes—though it does not depend upon the number—to be placed before the Legislature, but the fact whether an administration is good or not lies in the way you execute these schemes. With even a number of good schemes one may mismanage the whole thing, and on the contrary even with a few schemes one may manage things all right. If, in this manner, hon. Members are able to point out in any of these schemes any defects and say, 'Here is a mistake which you are continuing and which you have not rectified' I am quite prepared to see that they are examined and rectified."

"Sir, it was also mentioned that the same old Police Raj is continued. I say, 'Yes, the Police are continuing.' Law and Order have got to be maintained whether it be by this Government or by any other Government. Even if my hon. Friend, Sri T. Viswanatham becomes the Chief Minister he will have to administer Law and Order. If there is any mistake in enforcing that Law and Order and if you point it out we are prepared to look into it and, if any error has been committed, to rectify it. After all we are not superhuman beings. We do not claim infallibility. We are ordinary human beings and, as far as we are concerned, excepting the Chief Minister, we are all new to the task of administration. (An hon. Member: 'What about Sri A. B. Shetty?') He is not as much experienced as the Hon. the Chief Minister. Excepting these two we are just new and we may therefore commit mistakes, but I can give you this assurance. We shall not commit any mistake knowingly, wantonly or for our own selfish purposes. If we have made any mistakes in the execution of

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these schemes we are prepared to be told that these are the mistakes which we have committed but, I think, we heard from the other side nothing but mere abuses. What happened in 1949 in Lord Wavell's time or even prior to those historic days were being pointed out. This is not the way in which to criticize the administration. We are prepared to rectify any mistake which is pointed out by the Opposition. Everyday, Sir, after going home I used to go through every speech made on the floor of this House and I wanted to find out whether any particular mistake done by this Ministry was pointed out. I was not able to find any. That being the case, you are still harping upon the past. (Interruption.) I do not say that we are not altogether responsible for the past. As Congressmen we are in a way responsible for that to a certain extent. We are telling you that mistakes have been committed—not that mistakes will not be committed hereafter also—and we feel that these mistakes should be rectified and we are endeavouring in our own way to the best of our ability to rectify them."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"Publish the report on the Salem Jail Shooting Incident."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"If there is any mistake committed in the past, let hon. Members make constructive suggestions and this Government is always prepared to look into them and rectify these mistakes. For example, this morning my hon. Friend, Sri P. Ramamurthi, pointed out to me that the Railway Grainshops were selling rice at Re. 1-3-0 per Madras measure and asked whether this was the way in which decontrol was going to work. We sent for the railway administration, argued and pleaded with them and at once they have agreed to reduce the price to the old level of Re. 0-13-3. Therefore, it is not as if we are not responsive to any representation made from the other side pointing out defects and difficulties. We took immediate action and I may tell hon. Members on the opposite side especially that any representations made or any difficulties pointed out by them receive priority over representations made by others. (An hon. Member: 'We thank you.') I would therefore request them to act in the same manner and to act in a responsive way and say, 'Here are the difficulties, here are the errors committed either by the Administration or by the officers, that have to be rectified.' We are prepared to approach them with an open mind but that is not the attitude the Opposition Members have taken up."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I made such a representation though it was privately done."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I am glad the hon. Member took that attitude privately but in public discussions in this Legislature my hon. Friend and the Members who follow him do not take up that attitude. They took up an attitude of complete vilification of everything done by us. They said we are not fit to rule this country. (Interruption from Sri P. Ramamurthi.) I know your opinion and it is for the House to say

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whether we are fit to rule this country or not and because Mr. Ramamurthi is an interested party, I am not prepared to take his word when he says we are not fit to rule. I know his mind; I know his strategy and I know his opinions and therefore I cannot take his word. That is why I have come before this House and not before Mr. Ramamurthi or the Communist Party as such. We have come before this House to know the decision which it is going to give on this Motion of Confidence.

"Then, Sir, we were attacked on the ground that there are certain proposals for fresh taxation. It was asked, 'Is the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari required for carrying on the Government with fresh taxation?' After all Government has got to be carried on and, if we want to cut down expenditure, where should it be cut down? There are two ways of doing it. You have either to retrench the personnel in the administration or you will have to give up beneficent schemes which are needed for the welfare of the people. If we cut down any personnel in the administration, at once the plea is put forward that there is retrenchment and therefore hardship to the middle classes. After all, Sir, controls were not intended for the benefit of the Civil Supplies officials. The Civil Supplies officials came for the purpose of administering the controls and they were definitely told that they were taken only for a temporary period as long as controls continued and that the Civil Supplies department would be abolished as soon as controls ended. When we took the decision to abolish controls on foodgrains I am sure, that as far as this was concerned, the whole House was agreed that it was a good thing that controls were going away. As a result of the abolition of controls should we not disband the officials who were administering these controls? Does the Opposition want us to continue these officials even though they are no longer necessary for the purposes of the administration? The general tone of the speeches made by many of the hon. Members was to the effect that retrenchment meant hardship to the people who were employed in these departments. We know these hardships and therefore we are slowing it down as far as possible and we are trying to give as much relief as possible to the retrenched officials

"In spite of all these, if Government have got to be run as a Welfare State and not a mere Police State, it has got to get its revenues for the purpose of meeting the needs of the people and for the purpose of providing necessary facilities for the people. Wherefrom could this money come? It is not as if we can go on printing notes and then go on spending it. That is not possible as far as this State Government is concerned whatever might be done in the Central Government. I have therefore got to get the money from the people. The only question is, from whom should it be got. We have made certain proposals and if you are able to point out that any of these taxation measures is inequitable, that the taxation will fall heavily upon a certain class of people who are already poor and that it will be a heavy burden on them, we are prepared to look into it. Our minds are not shut to the

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suggestions that you are going to make as far as these taxation proposals are concerned. It is not as if these taxation proposals come into operation and become law as soon as the Vote of Confidence is passed. It is not so. They have to be brought before this House, discussed and voted upon and, I am sure, if you are able to make out a proper case that certain of these taxation proposals are not in the interests of the common man, the poor man, the Government will be prepared to look into it. I can give you this assurance, if a proper case is made out that any of these taxes is going to fall too heavily on a class of persons who will not be able to bear it, I for one am prepared to consider that aspect. It is only after a good deal of thinking about it and after a good deal of consideration of this subject that we have made these taxation proposals. We might have committed an error of judgment but it is quite a different thing to say that it is our intention to tax more and more the poor people and gave complete relief to the rich people. This is not granting us our bona fides. (An hon. Member: 'We grant your bona fides.') I am glad for that much at least. Please, therefore, do not charge us with this, namely, that we are interested only in taxing the poor and leaving the rich to go as they like. It is not our intention and it is not going to be our policy at all.

6-45 P.M. "Our policy is going to be to tax only those people who are able to bear those taxes and not to take any taxes from people who will not be able to bear them. Therefore hon. Members may take it from me that it is far from our intention to saddle the poor people only with taxes and allow the rich people to enjoy the fruits thereof.

"Much has been made of the statement made by the Hon. the Chief Minister calling upon the people to make greater sacrifices. It was said, 'Here is a Chief Minister calling upon the poor people only to make sacrifices. He is therefore the enemy of the people.' Such an argument amply demonstrated how words could be torn out of their context to create misunderstanding. Even now, without sacrifices on the part of the people, it will not be possible to build up a prosperous State. It can be done only by the willing labour and co-operation of the people of the State. When the Hon. the Chief Minister pointed out that the people should be prepared for sacrifices and to put forth their best efforts for the prosperity of the State, at once it was said by the Opposition, 'Here is a wicked man who has designs to have more and more taxes from the poor people only.' Certainly that is an unjustifiable way of putting things.

"The question of land reform was also taken up to base their attacks on the Government. As a matter of fact we have not expressed any opinion on the land problem. I was a member of the Subramaniam Committee and I can claim a good share in compiling that report. I do not say that is the ideal to which we should all work. As practical men we have only made proposals which could be immediately given effect to. In approaching this problem, we have got to bear in mind, that merely owning land

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is not an end in itself. Land is a means for the production of food. It should be viewed only from this aspect of how land can be utilized and exploited to the maximum advantage possible for the production of maximum amount of food so that our food deficit may be wiped out. Therefore when we approach this problem of land, it has to be approached from this aspect, namely, whether by undertaking certain changes in the land tenures we will be able to increase the production of foodgrains. It is only from that angle that the land problem has got to be approached.

"It has always been said, Sir, that one of the greatest defects in our agricultural economy is the uneconomic holdings which prevent our using land to the maximum possible benefit. No doubt there are great estates, and there may not be any justification for them to exist; but on the other hand, there are a large number of uneconomic holdings. How are we to solve this problem? There should be a movement for consolidation of holdings. When the Members of the Opposition say, 'divide the lands,' they emphasize only one aspect of the problem. The division of lands will only result in more and more uneconomic holdings. This is not a problem for which an easy solution can be given. It has got to be thought out and considered in all its aspects.

"One charge made against the Government by some Members of the Opposition is that they are the agents of landlords. We are not agents of landlords. We are here for the purpose of seeing what is good and what is bad in every problem and in solving this land problem, I am sure, hon. Members will understand that we will take this aspect of increasing food production into consideration. Government will put into operation only those reforms which we consider immediately necessary and which will give immediate results. Hon. Members will agree that this is a matter which cannot be decided offhand. Therefore, as far as this land problem is concerned, I give once again this assurance that after the decontrol of food, the next problem that is engaging the attention of the Government is the land problem, and as far as possible we shall try to find a solution which will be acceptable to all. When I was speaking about decontrol during the last session, I assured the House that we would take a decision about it which would be acceptable to almost all the Members of the House. In pursuance of that Government brought about decontrol of foodgrains. In the same way, we give this assurance and when we announce our solution to the land problem, I am sure the hon. Members will give the verdict that we have found the best solution in the present circumstances.

"Then, Sir, the question of linguistic States was also brought in during the debate by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi. We are not at all in the way of the formation of the Andhra State. This involves the division of the State into two parts. Can that be done by arbitrarily issuing an order that this part of the Province shall form the Andhra State and that part of the Province

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shall form the Tamil State? This has to be worked out by agreement. That has exactly been the attempt made by the Congress High Command to have an agreed solution some time ago. Hon. Members know that the thorny problem which stands in the way of the formation of the Andhra State is the question of Madras City. I would like to know the attitude of the hon. Member Sri P. Ramamurthi on this question of Madras City. (Interruption from the hon. Member Sri P. Ramamurthi.) Please say it now. It is not as if we are not for the formation of an Andhra State. Time in and time out Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has made it clear that he is anxious to form an Andhra State. Very many Andhra Members who have assembled here have stated that Madras City belongs to the Andhras and shall form part of the Andhra State. At the same time there are very many Tamilians who feel more strongly that on no account should Madras be taken out of Tamilnad and that the City should form part of Tamilnad. If we are to arbitrarily decide or to leave it to a third party to decide this issue as to whether Madras should form part of Tamilnad or Andhra State, and some decision is given by it, will it not affect the people living here? Therefore we should come to an agreed solution in this respect. In spite of the geographical facts, the linguistic facts and other things, some Andhra leaders are insisting that Madras should form part of the Andhra State. That only shows that they do not want the formation of an Andhra State in their innermost hearts and are putting forth impossible demands here such as that the City of Madras should form part of the Andhra State, only for the purpose of postponing the issue of the formation of the Andhra State. That is the real truth, Sir."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"The Hon. Minister has not understood the problem . . ."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I do not understand the problem. That is beyond my comprehension and only Andhras can understand it! I know your capacity."

"Almost every other point has been answered by my leader, the Hon. the Chief Minister. But one point I wish to emphasize is this. Again and again we are told that there was a verdict of the people during the general elections against the Congress-raj in this State. I know that all the other forces in this State had combined against the Congress. Whatever might be their ideologies and whatever might be their programmes, they all joined together to defeat the Congress. In spite of that, the Congress was able to secure 70 lakhs of votes. The idea that the Congress has got no mandate to rule the State is a Communist conception, because in their conception there can only be one Party standing for election and all the electors have to say either, 'yes' or 'no'. As a matter of fact they started this bogey and it has been followed by others who have associated themselves with the Communists. The conception of the Congress is a democratic conception where various parties can exist side by side. In spite of the fact that all the various parties which fought the elections

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were interested in defeating the Congress, the latter had emerged as the single largest party in the State. The next best party is the Communist Party which had secured 62 seats. If the Congress had secured less than 50 seats, then there could be some justification to say that the verdict of the people was against the Congress. In spite of the false and malicious propaganda carried on against the Congress, they were able to get 152 seats in the Assembly. The Opposition had the advantage of having remained only in opposition while the Congress had the disadvantage of having been in office and then fighting an election. The Opposition parties have been disappointed because they have not been able to sit on the Treasury Benches and we are not going to yield to them without a clear verdict. I say, once again, the verdict of the people is not against the Congress. It might be as the Chief Minister said that they did not get as many seats as we expected. That is a disappointment no doubt. But that is a different thing from saying that the verdict of the people had been clearly against the Congress and that they should not rule this State at all. On the other hand the single largest party which has been returned is the Congress with 152 Members. The next best party has got only 62 seats. If any Member is under the mistaken impression that the verdict of the people during the last general elections was against the Congress and therefore he should not express his confidence in the Congress or in the Ministry headed by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari, I wish to assure him that the verdict of the people was not against the Congress and that he may freely and with a clear conscience vote for this Motion.

"With this appeal, I would also make an appeal to my Socialist Friends. I know they are between the devil and the deep sea, and they have to choose between the two. There is no use in saying that if a no-confidence motion had been brought forward by the Opposition they would have voted with the Congress, and since this was a Motion for a vote of confidence brought by the party in power they would vote against it. That is not a practical attitude to take in dealing with this problem. Here is the Congress running the Government. Here is the Opposition with which they do not agree. And they have to make a choice between the two. I can very well understand their attitude if there has been any other choice, namely, if there has been a possibility of forming their own Government. Then it is a different matter."

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—"Sir, I would like to know which is the devil and which is the deep sea . . ."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"The hon. Member can himself decide which is the devil and which is the deep sea, and come to a correct decision in this matter. With these words I commend the Motion to the House." (Cheers.)

V.—DISQUALIFICATION OF A MEMBER.

MR. SPEAKER :—"Before I put the Motion to the vote of the House, I wish to know whether Sri Saka Venkata Rao is here."

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AN HON. MEMBER :—" He is not here."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I suppose he is not going to vote."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" He is not now in the House and so cannot vote."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have received the following letter from the Election Commission addressed to the Secretary to the Legislative Assembly :—

"I am directed by the Election Commission to bring the following facts to the notice of the Hon'ble Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly for such action as he may think fit to take in the matter :—

(i) By a letter, dated the 2nd April 1952, Sri Saka Venkatarao applied to the Election Commission under section 7(b) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, for a reduction of the period of five years referred to in that section, in respect of his conviction for an offence under section 304 of the Indian Penal Code and sentence of rigorous imprisonment for seven years passed in 1942.

(ii) The Election Commission, after going through the judgment of the Sessions Judge in that case and considering all relevant circumstances, rejected Sri Venkatarao's application, and he was informed accordingly by letter, dated and issued on the 13th May 1952.

(iii) Despite these facts which render Sri Venkatarao disqualified for being chosen as, and for being, a member of the Madras Legislative Assembly, he has apparently been elected to fill the seat reserved for the Scheduled Caste in the Kakina Constituency of that Assembly at the recent bye-election, and he has also been permitted to take his seat in the Assembly on the 28th June 1952."

I wish to know whether the hon. Member, Sri Venkata Rao is here. (An hon. Member : "He is not here.") If he votes, it will be at his own risk.

"Now, I will read the relevant Article of the Constitution, namely, Article 193 (1)—

"If a person sits or votes as a member of the Legislative Assembly or the Legislative Council of a State before he has complied with the requirements of Article 188, or when he knows that he is not qualified or that he is disqualified for membership thereof, or that he is prohibited from so doing by the provisions of any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of the State, he shall be liable in respect of each day on which he so sits or votes to a penalty of five hundred rupees to be recovered as a debt due to the State."

I think, the hon. Member is not here."

IV.—GOVERNMENT MOTION RE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS—cont.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I will now put the Motion to the vote of the House."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I submit, Sir, the hon. Member was not here when you made this reference. But, if by any chance he comes later this relevant portion of the Constitution under which he cannot sit or vote, may be brought to his notice before he comes."

MR. SPEAKER :—" But, I do not know the gentleman; that is my difficulty. The question is—

"This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister."

The Motion was declared carried.

[3rd July 1952]

Sri T. Viswanatham demanded a poll.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I wish to know whether all the hon. Members are in their seats; no one should be in the lobby except the peons. I wish to know whether Sri Saka Venkata Rao is here. I think he is not here and so he is not voting now.

"Hon. Ministers who are Members of the Upper House are requested to take their seats on the dais.

"Now as there are many new hon. Members I wish to explain the procedure for voting. I am going to take the vote block by block; when, in respect of any block, I say 'hon. Members who are in favour of the Motion,' hon. Members in favour of the Motion in that block will please stand up. Then I will call those who are against the Motion. Then they will please stand up. In that way I will be calling hon. Members in each block. At the end I will call Members who remain neutral in all the blocks to stand up together."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" As there are many Members who cannot understand the procedure, will you please explain it in Telugu?"

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member himself may explain it."

Sri T. Nagi Reddi explained in Telugu.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" It may be explained in Tamil also, Sir."

Mr. Speaker explained in Tamil.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I wish to inform hon. Members that till the results are announced nobody should leave his seat. If any hon. Member has got any urgent matter to attend to and wants to leave the Hall he may inform the Speaker.

"Once again I will put the Motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

"This House expresses its confidence in the Council of Ministers of which Sri C. Rajagopalachari is the Chief Minister."

The Motion was declared carried.

Sri T. Viswanatham demanded a poll.

The House divided thus :

Ayes.

The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam	The Hon. Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu.
" Sri A. B. Shetty.	" Sri N. Sankara Reddi.
" Sri M. A. Manickavelu	" Sri D. Anjivayya.
" Naicker.	" Sri Shanmuga Rajeswara
" Dr. U. Krishna Rao.	" Sethupathi (Raja of
" Sri K. P. Kuttikrishna Nayar.	" Ramnad).
" Dr. R. Nagan Gouda.	" Sri S. B. P. Pattabhirama
" Sri V. C. Palanisami Gounder.	" Rao.

[Mr. Speaker.]

[3rd July 1952]

Ayes—cont.

Sri K. Rajaram,
 „ B. Lakshavatsalu Naidu.
 „ C. Rajam Ramaswami.
 „ P. G. Karanthiruman.
 „ B. K. Nallaswamy,
 „ S. C. Virupakshayya.
 „ P. S. Nalla Gounder.
 „ P. G. Manickam.
 „ N. Mahalingam.
 „ R. Kuppuswami.
 „ P. K. Thirumurthi.
 „ V. K. Palanisami Gounder.
 „ N. Mounaguruswamy Naidu.
 „ A. K. Subbaraya Gounder.
 „ P. S. Rangaswamy Naidu.
 „ S. R. Arumugham.
 „ K. H. Bomman.
 „ Kempai Gounder.
 „ T. M. Kallanathan.
 „ M. P. Periasami.
 „ Ardhanareswara Gounder.
 „ A. Sambasivam.
 „ C. Lakshmana Kandar.
 Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu.
 Sri N. Ramakrishna Ayyar.
 „ T. N. Venkata Subba Reddi,
 „ K. Koti Reddi.
 „ A. M. Sambandam.
 „ M. R. Ramachandran.
 „ O. Venkata Subba Reddi.
 „ B. Parameswaran.
 „ V. K. Ramasamy Mudalliar.
 „ T. P. Elumalai.
 „ S. Panoh Kanaram.
 „ A. J. Arinohala.
 „ A. K. Masilamani Chettiar.
 „ H. M. Jaganathan.
 Janab S. Khader Sheriff.
 Sri A. Ramachandra Reddiar.
 „ P. Thangavelu.
 „ R. A. Nataraja Mudaliar.
 „ M. Kandam Padayachi.
 „ L. Anandan.
 „ V. Krishnasamy Padayachi.
 „ G. Vagheesam Pillay.
 „ A. S. Sahajananda.
 „ O. A. Nanjappa.
 „ P. M. Munuswamy Gounder.
 „ S. Arumugham.
 „ K. S. Subramania Gounder.
 „ A. M. Ratnasani.
 „ M. Marimuthu.
 Janab Mohamed Salih Maraikayar.
 Srimathi Dr. Soundaram Rama-
 chan Iru.
 Sri Thamma Kotamma Reddi.
 „ M. S. Muniswamy Pillay.
 „ C. Chinnasami Naidu.
 „ S. Chinnakaruppa Thevar.
 „ V. S. Sivaprakasam.
 „ B. R. M. Muthu Thevar.
 „ A. Ayyanar.
 „ V. Muthu.
 „ A. S. Subbaraj.
 „ Thinnakarasa Thevar.
 „ R. Krishnaswami Naidu.
 „ S. Jayarama Reddiar.
 „ A. Vaikuntam.
 „ G. Govindan.

Sri P. S. Krishnasamy Ayyangar.
 „ S. Ramasamy Naidu.
 „ Ar. A. R. M. Chakkalingam Chettiar.
 „ P. Chellathurai.
 „ J. L. P. Roche Victoria.
 „ N. Rajagopal.
 „ R. M. Palaniappan.
 „ A. Ramasamy Thevar.
 „ T. K. Rama.
 „ T. V. Sannasi.
 „ Anthony Peter.
 „ T. R. Varadan.
 „ C. Muthiah Pillai.
 „ Thiagaraja Pillay.
 „ S. Venkatrama Ayyar.
 „ V. Nadimuthu Pillay.
 „ R. V. Swaminathan.
 „ I. K. Subramania Pillay.
 „ S. Chellapundran.
 „ K. T. Koalam.
 „ P. Urkavilan.
 „ R. S. K. Pandian.
 „ T. G. Apathy.
 „ M. G. Shanker.
 „ Venugopal Krishnasamy.
 „ S. Somayajulu.
 „ Chinnathambi Thevar.
 „ P. Selvaraj.
 „ V. Arumugam.
 „ K. Ramasamy Doss.
 „ R. S. Arumugam.
 „ A. Venkatramiah.
 „ A. Rami Reddi.
 „ N. Chenchurama Naidu.
 „ Dasaratharamiah Naidu.
 „ P. Gopalakrishna Reddi.
 „ K. Shanmugham.
 „ P. Venkatawami Reddi.
 „ Muthukumaraswamy.
 „ G. Narayanasamy Naidu.
 „ S. R. V. P. Murthy Raju.
 „ Raja V. V. Krishnam Raju Baha-
 dur.
 „ Thota Ramasamy.
 „ P. Satyanarayana Reddi.
 „ Raja Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad.
 „ Raja Mote Rangayya Appa Rao
 Bahadur.
 „ V. Durugaprasad Veerabhadra Deo
 Bahdur.
 „ A. Venkatasubramaniam.
 „ P. Gunayya.
 „ L. Lakshmana Das.
 „ K. Suryanarayana.
 „ H. Satyanarayana Dora.
 „ P. Sanganu Naidu.
 „ Raja Nagi Suryanarayana Raju.
 „ T. C. Atchannaaidu.
 „ K. Balanarayana Reddi.
 „ P. Venkatasubbayya.
 „ K. V. Vema Reddi.
 „ G. Sivasankara Reddi.
 „ S. Narayanappa.
 „ K. Santhappa.
 „ P. Ranga Reddi.
 „ N. Gopala Menon.
 „ A. Appu.
 „ B. Krishnamurthy Rao.
 „ A. Balarama Reddi.

3rd July 1952]

[Mr. Speaker.]

Ayes—cont.

Sri D. Ramabrahmam.
 „ K. Adikesavalu Naidu.
 „ M. Doraiswami.
 „ H. Ramalinga Reddi.
 „ G. Nagabhushanam.
 „ Ijari S. rasappa.
 „ Kotra Basavana Goud.
 „ S. Paramesw. rappa.
 „ T. Mallayya.
 „ T. Anantha Pai.
 „ Manjaya Shetty.
 „ K. Venkatramana Gowda.
 „ K. Ishwara.
 „ N. N. Suvarna.
 „ L. C. Pais.
 „ E. K. Sankara Varma Raja.
 „ B. Vaikuntha Baliga.
 „ M. S. Mogral.
 „ W. J. Fernandez.
 „ G. Latchanna.
 „ P. Thimma Reddi.
 „ N. V. Rama Rao.
 „ M. Muni Reddi.
 „ Asi Neeladhirao Reddi.
 „ K. Appala Naidu.
 „ P. Bapu Naidu.
 „ B. Gangayya Naidu.

Sri K. Narayana.
 „ M. Srungaram.
 „ K. Venkatnarayana Dora.
 „ N. Venkatayya.
 „ K. Ramamurthy Naidu.
 „ K. Veeranna Padal.
 „ M. Gangappa.
 „ M. Pentaunaidu.
 „ V. Darmalinga Nayakar.
 „ N. C. Ramasamy Kander.
 „ Somasundara Gounder.
 „ M. Subramania Nayakar.
 „ V. K. Kannan.
 „ P. T. Rajan.
 Janab K. Uppi.
 Sri M. Chadayam.
 Janab C. Ahmed Kutty.
 „ Kunhi Mohamed Shaffee.
 Sri K. M. S. ethi.
 „ G. S. mia Koorayar.
 „ R. Rangaswami Gounder.
 „ V. Govindasamy Naidu.
 „ Ch. Indrayya.
 „ M. P. Mangala Gounder.
 „ K. S. Lakshminpathy Naicker.
 „ N. Ratna Gounder.
 „ M. Rajeswara Rao.

Noes.

Dr. K. B. Menon.
 Sri M. Venkat Subba Reddi.
 „ S. C. C. Anthony Pillai.
 „ P. V. R. Gajapathi Raju (Raja of
 Vizianagaram).
 „ C. V. Somayajulu.
 „ S. Pakkirisami Pillai.
 „ K. R. Nallasivam.
 Janab K. Moidu.
 Sri K. V. S. Padmanabha Raju.
 „ K. Venkata Kurmi Nayudu.
 „ C. Velukkan.
 „ G. Suryanarayana.
 „ K. Ramakrishnan.
 „ M. Bipiah Choudary.
 „ S. Kasreddy.
 „ M. Lakshmanaswamy.
 „ B. Sankarappa.
 „ N. K. Palanisami.
 „ G. Bapayya.
 „ G. Yellamanda Reddi.
 „ P. K. Gopalakrishnan.
 „ K. C. Gopalan Umi.
 „ M. Kalyanasundaram.
 „ K. T. Raju.
 „ K. P. Gopalan.
 „ P. Jeevanandam.
 „ C. Kandaswami.
 „ S. Vadivelu.
 „ V. Madanagopal.
 „ S. Ramalingam.
 „ N. S. varaj.
 „ A. K. Subbiah.
 „ K. V. Ramasamy.
 „ T. S. Ardhanaari.
 „ P. Venkatesha Sholagar.
 „ P. Narasimha Reddi.

Sri N. Sivarami Reddi.
 „ D. Seetharamiah.
 „ C. H. Kanaran.
 „ K. Madhvan Nambiar.
 „ R. Krishnan.
 „ E. T. Kunhan.
 „ M. Hanumantha Rao.
 „ P. Venkatasiviah.
 „ K. Rajagopala Rao.
 „ C. Venkatakrishna Rao.
 „ P. Rama Rao.
 „ V. Rama Rao.
 „ T. Potharaju.
 „ P. S. Ramachandra Rao.
 „ K. Malakondayya.
 „ M. Narayanasamy.
 „ K. Venkatesh.
 „ P. Syamasundara Rao.
 „ B. Lakshminarasa Raju.
 „ G. Satyanarayana.
 „ G. Anjaneyulu.
 „ V. Sri Krishna.
 „ G. Joseph.
 „ D. Lakshmayya.
 „ M. Kune Rao.
 „ G. Nageshwara Rao.
 „ Alluri Venkataramaraju.
 „ R. Venkata Jagga Rao.
 „ K. Ranga Rao.
 „ K. Subba Reddi.
 „ Chandra Ramalingayya.
 „ C. Prabhakara Choudary.
 „ G. Rama Rao.
 „ K. Govinda Rao.
 „ M. Veerabhadran.
 „ K. Vinayagam.
 „ S. Swayamprakasam.

[Mr. Speaker]

[3rd July 1952]

Noes—cont.

Sri V. V. Ramasami,
 „ S. S. Ramaswamy Padayachi.
 „ U. Muthuramalinga Thevar.
 „ P. Ramaswami Pillay.
 „ A. Senapathi Gounder.
 „ Mookiah Thevar.
 „ M. Palanandi.
 „ K. Krishna Rao.
 „ P. Ranga wamy Reddiar.
 „ T. Shanmugam.
 „ A. Vello.
 „ M. P. Subramaniam.
 „ Mo tava Kudumban.
 „ Vav lala Gopalakrishnayya.
 „ N. Paramesivam.
 „ Lakshmana Narayana Reddi.
 „ P. Kandasamy Gounder.
 „ G. C. Kondayya.
 „ M. Manickasularam.
 „ A. K. Hanumanttaraya Gounder.
 Dr. G. Chitrambalam.
 Sri S. P. Thangavelu.
 „ P. R. Rajagopala Gounder.
 „ V. T. Eaya Polay.
 „ K. R. Sambandam.
 „ P. Chokkalingam.
 „ T. Nag Reddi.
 „ Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu.
 „ S. T. Adityan.
 „ S. Deivasigamany.
 „ Y. Andinarayana Reddi.
 „ Bojja Appalaswamy.
 „ A. Rathinam.
 „ D. Da-arathan.
 „ S. Vemiah.
 „ R. Siddanna Gowd.
 „ K. Srinivasulu.
 „ Kumarasamy Raja Bahadur.
 „ K. Ramiah Choudary.

Sri S. S. Kolkebail.
 „ Y. V. Krishna Rao.
 „ P. Suryachandra Rao.
 „ N. Ramabhadra Raju.
 „ C. Subbarayudu.
 „ P. Kunhirama Kidav.
 „ D. Basvi Reddi.
 „ B. Ramakrishna Reddi.
 „ P. Kotiah.
 „ K. Bapanna Dora.
 „ K. Ramiah.
 „ C. Pulla Reddi.
 „ T. Viswanatham.
 „ P. Ramamurthi.
 „ B. B. K. Rajachidambaram.
 „ V. R. Nagarajan.
 „ T. C. Narayana Nambiar.
 „ K. R. Viswanathan.
 „ N. Paramasivan.
 „ V. Gopala Gounder.
 „ A. Govindasamy Nayakar.
 „ K. Aranganathan.
 „ M. Jagannathan.
 „ M. Palanmuthu.
 „ A. Ayyaru.
 „ S. Kandasami Gounder.
 „ M. Venugopal Gounder.
 „ Kattumuthu.
 „ S. Radhakrishnan.
 „ A. Muthusamy.
 „ T. D. Muthukumaraswamy Naidu.
 „ T. Chennayya.
 „ V. Sankaranarayana Menon.
 „ K. T. Sridharan.
 „ M. Narayana Kurup.
 „ M. Narayana Nambiar.
 „ O. Koran.
 „ C. Kunhirama Kurup.
 „ K. R. Narasa Raju.

Neutral.

Dr. V. Balakrishnan.

Ayes 200; Noes 151; Neutral 1.

The Motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER:—“ I adjourn the House to meet again at 8-30 a.m. tomorrow, Friday, 4th July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 4th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Salary of compounders and nurses in private hospitals.

* 30 Q.—SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state whether the Government have prescribed any minimum salary payable to compounders and nurses employed in the private hospitals and dispensaries?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The answer is in the negative.”

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO:—“ Are the Government aware that there is no security of employment or fixity of salary for the compounders, nurses and midwives employed in private dispensaries and hospitals and that therefore they are completely at the mercy of the employers? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ This is a question about minimum salary and not about security of employment.”

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO:—“ In view of the fact that most of the compounders, nurses and midwives are either Harijans or Christians converted from Harijans with no security of employment or fixity of salary, will the Government consider the desirability of applying the Madras Shops and Establishments Act to private dispensaries and hospitals? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The question may be addressed to my colleague who is in charge of the portfolio.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“ Do the Government propose to appoint a committee to go into the matter and fix minimum salaries for compounders, nurses and midwives employed in private dispensaries? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ Government have recently fixed a minimum rate of wages for this class of employees under local bodies.”

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN:—“ The salary of teachers in aided schools is governed by Government rules and regulations. Cannot a similar procedure be adopted in respect of the salary of compounders, etc., in private dispensaries, hospitals and nursing homes? ”

[4th July 1952]

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ The question may be addressed to the Hon. Minister for Industries and Labour.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“ Is the question of implementing the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission, with regard to the salary of nurses and compounders, under the consideration of the Government? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ It is a general question which does not arise out of this question.”

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN :—“ Since there is a difference in the salary given to the midwives employed in rural dispensaries and the midwives employed in local board dispensaries, will the Government consider the desirability of giving the same scale of pay to the midwives in rural dispensaries as is given to the midwives in local board dispensaries? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ It is difficult to have a uniform scale of pay for this class of employees under different agencies. The scale of pay depends upon the financial capacity of the employer.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ Is it not a fact that, due to the low scale of pay of compounders, sufficient number of candidates are not forthcoming to undergo compounder's training? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ We are getting sufficient number of people to undergo compounder's training.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Will the Government accept the principle of equal pay for equal work at least in local boards and aided institutions which are under their aegis? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ Local bodies have different scales of pay. Their finances do not permit them to pay their employees at Government rates.”

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN :—“ Are the Government aware that many rural practitioners have no midwives attached to their dispensaries because of the very low pay given to the midwives? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ The pay of maternity assistants was enhanced a short time ago. It will be considered further if circumstances necessitate such a consideration.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“ Are the Government aware that the position of compounders and nurses in Government hospitals is no better? Since there is a grievance prevailing among the compounders and nurses in Government hospitals, will the Government take steps to remedy the grievance? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—“ All classes of low-paid employees have grievances.”

4th July 1952]

Recommendations of the Madras Handloom Committee regarding 40s yarn.

* 31 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state what action was taken by the State Government on the recommendation of the Madras Handloom Committee that 40s yarn produced out of the less costly Indian cotton alone should be supplied to the handloom industry instead of the costly 40s special yarn alleged to have been produced with admixture of foreign cotton? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government of India have been addressed endorsing the recommendation of the Handloom Committee in the matter.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ In view of the permission given to the mills to export yarn of coarse and medium counts including 40s spun out of Indian cotton, what arrangements have been made by the State Government to secure an adequate supply of coarse and medium counts of yarn including 40s spun out of Indian cotton for the handloom industry? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government are considering this subject. The subject is under correspondence.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Are the Government aware of the recent enhancement of the price of these varieties of yarn and, if so, what steps do they propose to take to reduce the price? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government are aware of the increase in price. They have had discussions with the officers of the Government of India and the Textile Commissioner, Bombay, on this subject. The matter is being looked into and I may be able to give the final position as it emerges in a few days.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Is the enhancement in price a result of the discussions between the Government of Madras and the officers of the Government of India? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I think the hon. Member is aware that the fixation of price of yarn is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Government of India and not of the Madras Government.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ When do the State Government expect the decision of the Union Government regarding the reduction of yarn price? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I cannot definitely say. As soon as the Government of India decide, I presume they will let us know.”

SRI A. J. ARUNACHALAM :—“ May I know what the object of the mills or mill-owners is in producing particularly yarn of 40 counts out of foreign cotton? ”

[4th July 1952]

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I have nothing to add to what I have already said."

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI :—" If the Government of India fix the price of yarn at a rate higher than what the handloom weavers of this State could afford to pay, will this Government protest against the action of the Government of India? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" As I have already said, we had discussions with the representatives of the Government of India and we have protested that our handloom weavers should not be subjected to this extra cost. The matter is being considered. Statistics have been asked for and we are collecting them."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" What action do the Government propose to take to avoid competition between the mill and the handloom industries? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Notice."

SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR :—" Are the Government aware that the prices of cotton in Tirunelveli district have gone below the floor price? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Notice."

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—" When there is sufficient Indian cotton to spin 40 counts of yarn, why are the mills allowed to spin 40 counts of yarn with an admixture of foreign cotton? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" The hon. Member will admit that this is the policy of the Government of India and that the Madras Government have nothing to do with it."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I know whether the Hon. Minister will take this House into confidence in the discussions he is having with the representatives of the Government of India? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" As soon as final decisions are arrived at, I shall inform the House if any question is asked."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Will the Hon. Minister take the help of any non-official Members of this House in his consultations? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" We have a High Power Committee on this subject and my Friend Sri Pragada Kotaiah is a member of that Committee. If any Member is willing to offer suggestions, he is welcome."

SRI A. J. ARUNACHALAM :—" May I request the Hon. Minister to see that instructions are issued to the mills to produce, at least hereafter, 40 counts yarn to the extent of the allotment to this State, out of Indian cotton? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I will communicate the request of the hon. Member to the Government of India."

[4th July 1952]

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" My question was whether the Madras Government would take into confidence some non-official Members or the High Power Committee in their consultations with the Government of India."

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" The suggestion will be considered."

Entrusting the work of Prohibition to Police Department in Anantapur district.

* 32 Q.—SRI K. V. VEMA REDDI : Will the Hon. the Minister for Prohibition be pleased to state whether the Government intend to entrust the work of Prohibition to the Police Department in Anantapur district?

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" The answer is in the negative."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, if the Government have entrusted this Prohibition work to the police department in any other district? "

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" Yes. The districts are Coimbatore, Salem, North Arcot, Chittoor, Tanjore, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai, Guntur and Nellore."

SRI K. VEMA REDDI :—" May I know, Sir, whether it is not possible to entrust the working of Prohibition in Anantapur district to the police? "

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" The suggestion will be considered."

SRI MANJAYA SHETTY :—" Will the Government consider the desirability of entrusting the working of Prohibition in all the districts to the police? "

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" As I already said, the suggestion will be considered."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, the reasons that forced the Government to entrust the Prohibition work to the police in the districts which the Hon. Minister mentioned? "

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—" It is a matter of administrative convenience."

Number of bus concerns in Nellore, Chittoor, etc., districts.

* 33 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state the number of bus concerns in Nellore, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput districts which—

(1) own over 30 per cent of buses in the districts, but below 75 per cent of the buses; and

(2) own over 75 per cent of buses in the districts and the number of buses owned by each category?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" (1) and (2) There are no such bus concerns in any of these four districts."

[4th July 1952]

Local Fund Dispensary, Quilandy.

* 34 Q.—SRI C. KUNHIRAMA KURUP: Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received any representation regarding the necessity of converting the Local Fund Dispensary at Quilandy in North Malabar, into a Government Hospital; and

(b) if so, what steps the Government have taken thereon?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“(a) The answer is in the negative.

“(b) Does not arise.”

SRI C. KUNHIRAMA KURUP:—“May I know, Sir, whether the Government have any plan for converting all local fund hospitals into Government hospitals?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question.”

Machkund dam.

* 35 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether the height of the Machkund dam has been reduced; and

(b) if so, by how much and what are the reasons for the reduction?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“(a) & (b) A statement* is laid on the table of the House.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Sir, the paper laid on the table of the House says, ‘In order to prevent undue silting at the generating dam, it is proposed to build that dam to a lower height than originally intended’ May I know, Sir, whether the engineers when they investigated this project did not have any idea of the silt problem? Is there no other method of removing the silt than by lowering the dam? I want to know whether silt ventilators cannot be constructed and whether lowering the dam is the only alternative.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I do not know the technique. The engineers say that the only way to solve this silt problem is to lower the dam.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“May I know, Sir, whether the Hon. Minister is aware that by lowering the dam by 80 feet, the storage capacity, to provide water particularly in the lean months of the year, will be greatly affected?”

* Printed as Appendix on page 515 infra.

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THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“The answer is given in the statement itself. The quantum of power that is generated will not be affected.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“My question has not been answered. By reducing the height, the storage capacity of the dam will be considerably affected. Is the Hon. Minister aware of this?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“But, Sir, what is the inference to be drawn from the question, I would like to know.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“I will answer, Sir. If the Hon. Minister is aware of what is happening in Pykara dam for want of sufficient water, he will understand it. When the storage capacity is reduced, sometimes the generation of power is affected. That is why a dam of a greater height is provided. I am asking the Hon. Minister to go into the question and see whether it is not possible to provide silt ventilators or sluices and whether the reduction of the height of the dam is not merely a ruse to reduce the capacity of the Machkund Hydro electricity scheme.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“The answer has been given in the statement itself, namely, that the quantum of power generated will not be affected.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Have the Government asked their engineers to find out alternative methods for preventing undue silting, and, if so, what are the results?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“There is no need to ask the engineer to investigate this question. When a difficulty presents itself, it will be examined by the engineer himself, and he will provide the necessary answer.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Was it the advice of a single engineer or was this discussed by a panel of engineers?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“Notice.”

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

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53.

MR. SPEAKER:—“Who is going to speak first?”

(Sri R. V. Swaminathan was seen standing in his place.)

MR. SPEAKER:—“Sri R. V. Swaminathan will speak.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on this budget as a victorious man of a victorious party under a victorious leader. Yesterday this House gave its verdict in favour of our party by 200 votes. By 200 votes we expressed our confidence in the Ministry. For the last four days, we have been listening to the various speeches made by members on the other side. We were sitting on this side exercising great self-restraint and

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listening to the malicious attacks and violent attacks made by Members opposite. I know you, Mr. Speaker, for the last six or seven years. You are very generous, and I know you will never tolerate any irrelevance and nonsensical utterances."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, the hon. Member is saying that you will not allow any nonsensical utterances. Is it in order for the hon. Member to say that nonsensical utterances were made in this House."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" On a point of order, Sir. May I know what is happening now, whether budget discussion has started or whether the hon. Member is asking for information or incidentally abusing us? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member come to the Budget."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Sir, on this budget discussion, I want to place certain facts before the House. The Hon. Chief Minister and the Government know what they should do and what my attitude to the budget is. Yesterday, it was stated by a member of the T.N.T. party . . . "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am sorry to interrupt, Sir. I am embarrassed and am unable to understand what is going on. Has the budget discussion started, and if so, the hon. Member should know that it is the custom and the convention to allow the opposite side to begin the discussion."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Nobody from the Opposition side rose in his seat, and therefore, I allowed the hon. Member Mr. Swaminathan to speak. If any Member from the Opposition side wants to speak, I have no objection."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" The Hon. the Finance Minister has stated that to meet the deficit, he proposes to bring in some taxation measures. One of them is a surcharge on land. I want the Government to consider whether the surcharge proposed to be levied on land is just. My point is that the exemption limit of Rs. 50 is too low. This will affect ryots who own four or five acres. This limit of Rs. 50 should be raised. So far as land reforms are concerned, the previous Government appointed a committee called the Subrahmanyam Committee, and their report is with the Government. The Minister for Revenue mentioned that the Government were considering land reform proposals. I do not know whether they are going to bring in a comprehensive legislation. This question has been before the country for a very long time. It must be settled once and for all. As regards agricultural production, we must adopt new methods of agriculture. For more production of food, we must use mechanized equipment. Hitherto farmers were getting subsidies for sinking wells. The Government now tell us that they are not getting any contribution from the Government of India towards well subsidies, and therefore, they have stopped the well subsidies. The well subsidy schemes have

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done very much to help the poor ryots. There are no irrigation facilities in many districts, especially in Ramanathapuram. The well subsidy schemes have helped people to sink wells and use well water for cultivation. Therefore, well subsidy schemes are very necessary, and I hope this Government will reconsider their decision, even though the Central Government have stopped their contribution. The Government were paying attention to land reforms in the zamindari areas. They were paying attention to tank repairs and minor irrigation schemes. Now they have stopped their tank repair schemes and minor irrigation works in those areas. Without repairing the tanks, what benefit will the ryots in zamindari areas get? It is quite true that on account of the abolition of zamindaris, the burden of heavy taxation has been greatly reduced, and rights over land have been given to the tenants. But, without proper irrigation facilities, how are the ryots to raise their crops? Therefore, I say that the tank repair schemes should not be stopped. The ryots, if they are to be helped, should be given all irrigation facilities.

" Coming to the Zamindari Abolition Act, Sir, I know that many zamindars and inamdars are trying to bypass this Act. They went to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court declared that the Act was quite legal. Now these zamindars and inamdars are trying to find loopholes in the Act, and they want to harass the ryots. The Government should, therefore, examine the Act again and if they find any loopholes, I hope, they will take suitable steps to rectify them.

" The Government also stated that inams would be abolished. ^{9 a.m.} But so far it has not been done. I would request the Government to consider the question of bringing an inam abolition legislation before this House.

" Sir, the Ramanathapuram district is a backward district and time and again we have been impressing upon the Government that they should come forward with new irrigation schemes for that area. We suggested the possibility of having a big irrigation scheme with the help of the Kallar which flows from the Western Ghats, adjoining the Periyar river. I understand the previous Government examined this scheme and found that the river belonged to the Travancore State which stood in the way. I want to request this Government to take up the matter and examine the feasibility of the scheme. It is a very important scheme and if it is executed, it will irrigate almost the whole of the Ramanathapuram district. It has also been investigated by a Special Development Officer appointed by the previous Government and he has submitted a report to the Government. Time and again, we have been impressing on the Government that Ramanathapuram district is a very backward district affected by famine as Rayalaseema. In fact, there is famine now in certain parts of the Ramanathapuram district. Now, I want to know what happened to the report submitted to the Government by the Development Officer who investigated the matter. I am not aware whether the previous Government considered that report, and I do not know whether the present

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Government are going to consider it and implement any of the suggestions made therein. The Development Officer has suggested in his report that the Kallar Scheme is a very big scheme and he has also made mention of many minor irrigation schemes. Government should consider them also and see how far they can help the people of the Ramanathapuram district.

“ So far as the backward communities are concerned, nothing has been stated in the budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister about what he is going to do for them. We pressed before the previous Government the claims of backward communities and as a result, they came forward with scholarships to backward class students. In the first year, that is, in 1949, they set apart Rs. 1 lakh for this purpose, in the next year it was somewhere between Rs. 2.5 lakhs and Rs. 5 lakhs, and last year it was Rs. 7.5 lakhs. Even that sum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs is not sufficient. The backward communities constitute a very big community. They have been neglected in this country for a long time and even now students belonging to these communities are not able to get scholarships from the Government. The Harijan Welfare Officer says that the sum of Rs. 7.5 lakhs is not sufficient even to meet the scholarships that have been given to the students previously. I want to place before the Government that the return of the T.N.T. party in the elections is not due to any political ideologies they represent but, as the leader of the T.N.T. party, Sri Ramaswami Padayachi, stated here the other day, it is because the interests of the backward communities were neglected by the Government. I request the Hon. the Chief Minister and other Hon. Ministers who are in charge of this matter to consider this question and come forward with ameliorative measures. If they do so, the T.N.T. party will disappear and merge in the Congress Party. (Interruption.) I do not think anything stands in the way of their joining the Congress Party. I want the Government to have a separate department for formulating ameliorative measures for the backward communities. In other States, there are separate Ministers to look after the interests of backward communities. Why not this Government also do the same thing here?

“ With regard to land reforms, this Government should give special consideration to the Subrahmanyam Committee Report. There are some good points in it and alternative suggestions also are made in that report on which hon. Members will offer their remarks. I think the Subrahmanyam Committee has considered whether land tax should be abolished and, in the alternative, it says agricultural income-tax should be imposed. Though it has not recommended it to this Government, I think this was considered by the Committee and I would like the Government to examine whether it is a feasible suggestion. I think in many parts of the world, there is no tax on land as such. The Government impose a tax on the basis of income. If a ryot has got income, he pays; if he has no income, he does not pay anything to the Government. In other fields, if a man has got an annual

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income below Rs. 3,000, he is not paying any tax to the Government. But an agriculturist, even if he owns one acre with an income of Rs. 50, is forced to pay a tax to the Government. Why should he pay? Is it a sin to be born as a farmer in this country? This is a matter which the Government should go into. The Government have come into power only recently and there is ample time to consider this point.

“ The Subrahmanyam Committee has also made its suggestions about the grant of fixity of tenure to the tiller of the soil. It is true, as was said, that in some parts of our State the landless workers are being evicted from their lands. This is a question which the Government should consider and they should not dismiss the suggestion simply because it came first from the Opposition Benches. I want the Government to enquire into the matter and, if there is any truth in the wholesale eviction of tenants, they should come forward with a new legislation to protect the tenants.

“ With regard to the problem of land, besides the abolition of the land tax, the Government should also find out a lasting solution. Even in England, the Government have got a scheme of taking over big estates on payment of compensation, dividing them into small economic holdings and distributing them to the landless poor for cultivation. I am not making any impossible suggestions by quoting what is happening in Russia. But I am making a feasible proposal. In England, the Government have acquired a thousand or two thousand acres on payment of compensation to the owners thereof, divided them into small holdings of 10 or 15 acres each, and distributed them among the landless poor asking them to pay rent and tax to the Government. In this way the Government are giving all facilities for the improvement of agriculture. Our Government here could also consider this question.

“ So far as the districts where there are no irrigation facilities are concerned, I would like the Government to exempt them from the payment of surcharge on land tax, if they cannot raise the exemption limit from Rs. 50. In places like Tanjore and Tiruchirapalli where there are irrigation facilities, the people pay a water cess and are able to get water and raise more crops than others. Therefore, they get double or treble income as compared with people in districts where there are no irrigation facilities. Because of this, they can afford to pay a tax to the Government. But in other places the people have to depend on rain water and many a time there is failure of monsoon. In such circumstances, how are the Government justified in asking them to pay a surcharge on land tax? In this connexion, the Government may also consider the suggestion whether they should levy the surcharge only on particular persons—who get double income or more compared to others. Where there is no income, because a person is paying a tax to the Government, he should not be asked to pay a surcharge. I would like to submit that already there is double taxation on lands. Whenever the District Boards want to raise funds, they think of the poor farmers. Similarly whenever we make suggestions to the Government for the provision of some

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amenity or other, they want to find some funds. No doubt they will have to impose some tax but they think of taxing the poor ryots only. Unfortunately the poor farmers do not know what to do. I would, therefore, request the Government not to tax these poor people. The Government may particularly consider the question of exempting people in areas like the Ramanathapuram district from the payment of this surcharge.

"Now, I want to say a few words about my own constituency, namely, Sivaganga. This is one of the backward constituencies in the Ramanathapuram district. Here there is a firka named Kaliarkovil. There is no road within a radius of 20 miles from there. There are no hospitals and the village is left even without drinking water facilities. These matters were represented to us by the people during the elections. The people said, 'Whatever malicious propaganda the Opposition Parties may carry on against the Government, we are not shaken. Still we have faith and belief in the Congress. We shall cast our votes in favour of the Congress. But please help us by requesting the Government to provide us good roads, schools and hospitals.' No doubt, under the Rural Welfare Scheme, the Government are trying to dig wells here and there. But that is not sufficient. I would like here to make a suggestion to the Government. They are now embarking on Community Projects. I hope that they will help the poor ryots. I would request the Government to extend this scheme to the Ramanathapuram district also. I really do not know how the Government forgot the Ramanathapuram district while they thought of community projects, in spite of the Development Officer's suggestion of a scheme for our district. If they are not going to extend this scheme to the Ramanathapuram district, I request the Government at least to extend the firka development scheme to the Kaliarkovil firka, as was stated by the Hon. the Chief Minister the other day. Before extending the firka development scheme to that firka, they can very well call for a report from the Collector to know how backward it is and how it has been neglected for years together.

"Sir, I place all these suggestions before the Hon. the Finance Minister and support the Budget that has been presented."

9-15
a.m.

* SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to offer certain specific suggestions with regard to the handloom industry and also other matters connected with my constituency. No doubt, the Government have recognized the acute distress facing the handloom weavers in this State. It was also pointed out that stocks of handloom cloth manufactured with high priced yarn have accumulated with weavers and Weavers Co-operative Societies in large quantities and they are unable to sell them at competitive rates in the open market where there is a glut of cheaper mill cloth. But the Government cannot disown their responsibility for this bad state of affairs. While the mills are utilizing cheaper yarn spun out of Indian cotton, handloom weavers are forced to utilize yarn spun out of foreign cotton at

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abnormally high rates. The Union Government as well as the State Government do not pay any heed to the repeated requests of the handloom weavers to reduce the price of yarn in proportion to the fall in the prices of cotton. The price of cotton has been falling since March 1952. But the Government of India curiously enough have increased the price of yarn twice during the past four weeks. On June 1st, they increased the price of yarn by 5 to 9 per cent and some three days back they again increased the price of yarn by 5 to 11 per cent. This is how the Government are helping the handloom industry, particularly, at this juncture. No doubt, the Madras Government have taken certain steps. They have formed a High Power Committee to go into this question and I happen to be one of the Members of this Committee. At first, they wanted the High Power Committee to go into the question of considering the ways and means to find a market for the accumulated stocks of the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies and also of the weavers outside the co-operative fold. But during the discussion, this suggestion was thrown out and the Committee was asked to suggest measures to help the handloom weavers who have been unemployed on account of the present accumulation of stocks. Then, the High Power Committee had to agree to the relief scheme prepared by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. This relief scheme is after all an eye-wash. Because, there is no provision in this scheme for the marketing of the accumulated stocks with the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies, with the State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society and with the weavers outside the co-operative fold. Also, no provision is made to secure adequate supply of yarn and to provide continuous full employment to the weavers working under the relief scheme.

"There is another thing. The handloom weavers are paid only a starving wage of six annas per knot. A weaver working on a loom is getting a very low wage. For instance, a man, his wife and at least two other people, who depend on the loom, are required to be content with the meagre earnings of Rs. 15 per month. The High Power Committee could have agreed to extend this temporary relief scheme to weavers in places where there are no co-operative societies. But the scheme, curiously enough, omitted this provision. I want that at least this temporary measure of relief should be extended to weavers in places where there are no co-operative societies and by granting interest-free loans towards share capital, they must be enabled to organize themselves into co-operative societies. When I raised the question as to what steps the Government have taken to adequately meet the financial requirements of the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies, the Hon. Minister, Sri Sanjeevayya said that there was the relief scheme approved by the High Power Committee. I am sorry there are many Weavers Co-operative Societies which are reluctant to work the relief scheme on account of the starvation wages that have been fixed. The Government must help these societies to secure adequate financial help. In fact, the Central

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Banks have been refusing to finance the Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies even according to the provisions of their by-laws. There are certain Central Banks, for instance, the Guntur Central Bank, the Kakinada Central Bank and some other Central Banks, that are refusing to grant cash credit to these Primary Weavers' Co-operative Societies on the ground that losses are likely to occur in the societies or on the ground that those banks have no adequate finances. In these circumstances, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies has been compelling them to invest their reserve fund and other funds in the Central Land Mortgage Bank in the form of debentures. This is really a very unsatisfactory and unfortunate state of affairs. While these co-operative societies are suffering for want of adequate finances, the Registrar is coming forward to compel them to invest their funds in the form of debentures in the Central Land Mortgage Bank.

"With regard to marketing, the Government can certainly do a lot to help these weavers. I do not know the actual figures of the value of cloth purchased by the State Government. But, the State Government can purchase a major portion of their textile requirements from the handloom market. But all on a sudden, the Inspector-General of Police or the Director of Fire Services Stations or the Conservator of Forests will come forward and say that the handloom products are not suitable for the uniform of the police department or for the uniform of some other departmental people. I may state that these specifications and these varieties were fixed in the past to suit the convenience of the Lancashire and Manchester Mills and not to suit the convenience of the handloom weavers in India. The present standards and specifications were fixed in olden days according to the suitability of the powerlooms and the textile mills. Therefore, I should mention here that the Government of Madras as well as the Union Government should revise the specifications of their various textile requirements to get them produced conveniently on handlooms. Then only they can create a permanent internal market for a considerable portion of the handloom goods. With regard to the marketing of the handloom goods in overseas markets, the Madras Government have got a greater responsibility. Because, it is in Madras that the exportable varieties are being produced which have got greater demand and reputation in overseas markets. Therefore, it is the primary duty of the Madras Government to send some trade delegations or some officers with expert knowledge of the handloom industry to foreign countries to extend the present marketing facilities and also to explore the possibilities of marketing handloom goods on a large scale in the overseas markets.

"Sir, very recently the Union Government permitted the export of yarn, particularly coarse and medium yarn spun out of Indian cotton, to foreign countries. We have been urging for a very long time that the handloom industry should be supplied with yarn spun out of Indian cotton. At the present time, the mills are, with the permission of the Government of India, exporting all

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the coarse and medium counts of yarn required by the handloom industry in large quantities to foreign countries, and the high-priced yarn alleged to have been spun with an admixture of foreign cotton, is being supplied to the handloom industry. The permission to export yarn will affect this State's handloom industry in another way. Countries like Burma, Ceylon, China, Malaya and Indonesia have been hitherto taking the handloom products of this country. Now, when they are permitted to import cheap yarn from our country, they will naturally stop importing handloom products.

"A word of caution is also necessary at this juncture. The State and Union Governments during recent years permitted the installation of powerlooms in the textile mills—both composite mills and weaving mills—without any corresponding increase in the number of spindles. Formerly, there were 100 spindles working per powerloom in a textile mill. But this number has fallen to 50 per loom. Therefore it is the primary duty of the Government to prohibit the installation of powerlooms in the weaving and composite mills. Steps must be taken to decentralize the spinning industry by encouraging weavers' co-operative societies to instal some small-scale spinning units to be run on a cottage industry basis. If necessary, the Government can appoint an expert committee to go into this question.

"There is a Textile Institute run by the Government. What has it been doing all these years? It has been producing weaving instructors who go and get employed in district board high schools. But it is not doing any research work and helping the handloom weavers to get new designs. These designs can be produced with the assistance of barrel and lattice dobies. Intricate designs at less cost can be produced easily with these implements. Again, the Institute is not imparting instruction in the art of dyeing. I suggest that some research stations may be located in all important weaving centres in the State and some looms installed therein. I want that dyeing and printing sections should be opened in the research stations and the weavers must be given training in the art of handloom weaving, in the preparation of designs, in the manufacture of designs and in the art of dyeing and printing.

"Then, Sir, the Government must consider the question of giving adequate protection to the handloom industry against the competition of the mills. There is always this disadvantage for the weavers. The mills spin their own yarn and thus yarn is available to them at the production cost. But the handloom weavers are required to pay some 25 or 35 per cent over and above the production price. There is, therefore, the natural competition. The Madras Handloom Committee has already recommended that all varieties of cloth of widths between 40 and 48 inches should be reserved for the handloom industry. I also suggest that the production of sarees should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. I hope Government will take steps in this direction.

"I would like to say a few words on the taxation proposals of the Government. I suggest that the surcharge proposed to be

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levied on passengers travelling by buses should be modified. There should be first of all no direct taxation on the passengers. There may be an indirect taxation on the passengers by requiring bus owners to pay taxes. The passengers are already paying heavy rates, particularly in areas, where there is no rail communication. The authorized rate is five pies per mile, whereas they actually pay eight pies per mile in certain places. The proposal should, therefore, be modified so as to avoid a further burden on the passenger.

"The Government want to levy a surcharge on land revenue. They want to levy it on a ryot paying a land revenue of over Rs. 50. This limit must be raised to Rs. 100. As regards the dry areas, we cannot expect that the dry lands will yield regular income. When raising the limit, the Government must consider the position of the ryots in dry areas. I would also suggest that the Government may levy heavy taxes on producers of commercial crops, particularly, of tobacco.

"I would next come to minor irrigation projects. These have to be attended to immediately. In my constituency, the work on the Romperu drainage scheme was started long ago and I do not know when it is likely to be completed. The Government should take immediate steps to complete the work. There are several thousands of acres of land both on the east and west of the Romperu drain. Now most of these lands are uncultivated. Several poor people are clamouring for these lands. Several landlords and some co-operative societies also want them. But there is no uniform policy. The Government must adopt a settled plan as to how to distribute this waste land covering about 30,000 acres. I suggest that the landless labourers should be organized into co-operative societies and the lands assigned to them. I also suggest that where lands have been given to political sufferers who were already landlords, they should be taken back and given to landless people.

"The Government have given certain concessions to teachers in the aided schools. I suggest that these concessions be extended to the other employees of the institutions also. Some of the employees—clerk and others—get less pay than the teachers themselves and therefore, the same concessions as are given to the teachers should be given to the other members of the staff.

"Sir, I find in this Budget showing an expenditure of nearly Rs. 64 crores, not even two lakhs have been set apart for the handloom industry. But I am very thankful to the Finance Minister who has devoted nearly one page of his Budget speech for the handloom industry. We are often assured by the Government, both Central and State, that they would safeguard the interests of the cottage industries, which are providing employment, either part-time or full-time, to a large section of the people. It is admitted by all that the handloom industry is one such industry which is capable of providing employment to millions of people in the country provided the Government are sincere in their attempt to give protection to the industry. While granting loans under the

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State Aid to Industries Act, the Government have been giving several lakhs and several crores of rupees to the large-scale mechanized industries, which are unable to provide employment even for a lakh of people. But this major cottage industry, also a national industry, has not received any financial help under the subsidiary rules made under the provisions of the Act. The Government have also fixed that Rs. 500 shall be the maximum that can be given to a cottage industrialist. The Government should reconsider the whole thing and see that the cottage industries also get adequate financial help from the Government under the State Aid to Industries Act.

"Coming to weavers' co-operative societies, the Government have allotted a lakh of rupees for the State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. About 250,000 handlooms are working in the primary societies and, according to the Registrar, each handloom is required to possess a financial accommodation of at least Rs. 200 to have continuous employment. But the Government have come forward with only one lakh of rupees. With this sum, I do not know how the Government are going to help the weavers' co-operatives. The Government, therefore, should consider the question of bringing into existence a Cottage Industries Corporation which will be of immense help to the cottage industries, in the matter of providing adequate finance. The Government are not helping the handloom weavers but are granting Rs. 3,000 to the agricultural co-operative credit societies and the loan and sale co-operative societies for the construction of village hails and godowns. I suggest that this help may be extended to the primary weavers' co-operative societies which are required to store handloom cloth and yarn. I also suggest that the supervision fee now levied on handloom weavers' co-operative societies should be removed. The Government should also exempt the primary weavers' societies from the payment of audit fees for this year at least, as the societies are likely to run into losses this year on account of the slump in the handloom cloth trade.

"Lastly, Sir, I come to sales tax. (While introducing the General Sales Tax Act in 1937, the Government exempted handloom cloth and yarn from its operation in order to help the handloom industry to fight the competition of the cheaper mill-made goods. In 1947, the Sales Tax Act was made to cover yarn and handloom cloth also. I suggest to the Government that the sales tax now levied on these two should be given up.)

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, my impression about the Budget is that it is most unimaginative, lacking initiative and everything else. It is not in consonance with the needs of a growing society. It seeks to impose fresh taxes on the rural population which mainly depends on agriculture. The crying need of the hour is how to increase the food production of the country. The budget proposals are intended to secure more money by imposing surcharge on lands, i.e., on the existing assessments. This will only put a stop to the desire of increasing production

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on the part of the agriculturists. In this connexion, I would like to suggest some methods by which it will be possible for the State to improve the finances. Before I go into that aspect of the question, I would like to place before the House one important fact and that is that there will be no warrant for the apprehension that there will be a deficit, if retrenchment is effected in certain spheres of Governmental activities.

9-45 " During the discussion of the Budget last time, the then
a.m. Finance Minister gave indications that there was a possibility of effecting some retrenchment in the police administration. Hon. Members are aware that the expenditure under this department has doubled during the last four or five years. This was necessitated, according to the statements of the Government, by the fact that there was the Communist menace. Now that the Communists have eschewed violence from their party politics, Government could cut down expenditure under this head to a considerable extent. In view of the revised policy of the Communists, Government need not apprehend danger from that party. According to budget figures a sum of Rs. 7½ crores has been set apart for this department. When the British Government was in charge of the administration of the country, the amount allotted to this department was only Rs. 4½ crores. This shows the enormous increase in the expenditure on police administration. Particularly when we have obtained our freedom and are enjoying it, and when the Communists have changed their policy, there is vast scope for retrenchment under the head 'Police Administration'.

" Another suggestion I would like to make for reduction of expenditure on administration is that Government should abolish or at least amend the policy adopted by them in regard to enforcement of Prohibition Laws. If prohibition is abolished, there will be a saving of the crores of rupees that are now spent for the maintenance of the prohibition enforcement staff. This is advocated by several Members of this House and it is admitted on all hands that prohibition is a failure, and it cannot be enforced as desired by the protagonists of this policy. (When there is no chance of its successful enforcement and of the achievement of the desired aim, is it not desirable to put an end to that policy especially when it is a great burden to the tax-payer in other spheres? My view is that if this policy of prohibition is given up, it will at least relieve us from the responsibility of maintaining the prohibition staff and save the Government from incurring a huge expenditure on this account. At least they can levy a licence fee on people who want to drink when it is evident that the policy of prohibition is a failure, and the evil cannot be eradicated. If a licence fee is levied on these addicted to drink, that would bring in a large income to the State. It has already been suggested in the Budget proposals to increase the licensing fees on foreign liquors. I would, therefore, like to suggest the imposition of a licence fee on all persons who are addicted to drink, which would fetch a large income to the

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State and would save a lot of unnecessary trouble to the tax-payers. In this way we can to a great extent minimise the deficit which is anticipated to be Rs. 359 lakhs.

" In regard to the proposal to increase the bus fares, I would request the Government to reconsider their proposal. It will hit the general public hard, particularly the rural folk. I would suggest here methods by which we could easily realize greater income from these buses. There are a number of bus routes throughout this State and if these are auctioned, I am sure there will be tremendous competition for them. Even in such small places as Anakapalle and Chodavaram, bus routes are sold for huge sums of Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 5,000. There are many other important routes in my own district and if these are auctioned, the deficit that is anticipated can very easily be made up and the hardship that would be caused to the passengers by the levy of surcharge on bus fares could be removed.

" Again, I feel, Sir, it would be inconvenient to enforce the proposal to increase the bus fare by a pie for every mile and collect the levy from the bus owners. They may evade the levy imposed on bus fares and thus we may not get the anticipated revenue from this levy. The hatred of the public against this levy alone will remain. To remove all these difficulties the best method seems to me to be to auction the bus routes. This would certainly fetch a large revenue to the State to cover the deficit.

" I have already submitted, Sir, that the incidence of taxation is already heavy on the poor agriculturist. Here I make a distinction between the urban and the rural population, for most of the amenities of civic life are enjoyed by the urban people. The rural people are denied these amenities. For instances, in the matter of sanitation, public health, education and in all spheres of human activity, we find a total neglect of the interest of the rural folk. Most of the revenue derived by the State is coming from the rural parts, and yet there is a total neglect of the welfare of the rural population though it is often said on the platform that steps would be taken to increase the prosperity of the rural folk. I submit it is high time that the attention of the Government is turned to this aspect, namely, that rural life should be bettered. There should be more schools in villages. It is admitted on all hands that there is any amount of illiteracy in the backward areas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam and the number of schools now existing is quite inadequate. I submit more attention should be paid to develop the literary faculties of the people in the backward areas. Additional grants must be provided for this in the Budget.

" So far as drinking water is concerned, I can say that in many taluks in these districts there is hardly any drinking water, and they are almost as dry as the taluks of Rayalaseema districts are. Greater provision should be made for the supply of drinking water in most of the taluks.

" The handloom weavers of my district are suffering. I have some interest in them, and I know that the weavers are unable

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to earn even Re. 0-8-0 per head per day at the present rate of supply of yarn and the wages given to them. On an average a weaver cannot earn more than Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 a month. The facilities provided for the industry in the district are very meagre. The co-operative societies do not receive regular supply of yarn necessary for the weavers and, as a result, there is unemployment and starvation among weavers. The plight of the societies also is miserable, for the price of yarn has increased, and there is no market for the high-priced cloth woven by them. Therefore, it is desirable that the stock now lying with the societies should be subsidized, and Government must find a way to dispose of the stocks and provide funds to make good the loss that might be incurred by the societies. In this connexion the previous speaker referred to the necessity to remove sales tax on handloom cloth. I submit it is absolutely necessary to remove sales tax on cloth woven by co-operative societies in order to give a fillip to the sale of cloth woven by them. This is very necessary in the interest of the rural population.

10
a.m.

" Then I would like to say a few words on irrigation in general. The Zamindari Abolition Act was passed in 1948 and actually the estates were taken over on the 7th September 1949, and ever since, I wish to bring to the notice of the Government, myself being a resident of a zamindari area, the Government have totally neglected even the minimum annual repairs which were formerly being taken up by the zamindars. The zamindars in anticipation of this legislation neglected repairs prior to 1948. The Government neglected the repairs after taking over those estates. Even silt clearance which is so essential for irrigation is neglected. On the other hand, so far as Visakhapatnam district is concerned, the rent reduction proceedings are going on. I know in most of the holdings, the rent ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70 per acre. Besides, the land-cess which was formerly borne both by the zamindar and the tenant, is now being paid entirely by the tenant after the abolition of the zamindaris and the reduction that was granted in the rents under the rent reduction proceedings is nullified with the result that now an acre of land is bearing an annual assessment of about Rs. 20. According to the budget proposals, the Government are going to impose a surcharge on the assessment which, I submit, under the present state of things is already very heavy in the zamindari areas. By the imposition of this surcharge, the burden will be heavier and the ryots will certainly suffer. Therefore, it is very necessary, particularly in the zamindari areas, that there should be no surcharge until all the irrigation works are at least completely repaired. Several representations have been made to the Government for not imposing the water-cess on the second crops as the ryots are not able to get all the irrigation facilities. But the revenue officers are collecting the water-cess. Therefore, I submit that the water-cess and the surcharge now proposed, are not justified especially in the zamindari areas where the irrigation works are not in good condition. I would request the Government not to levy the surcharge until all the irrigation works are repaired.

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" With regard to minor irrigation works, I find that practically no provision has been made for the improvement of minor irrigation works in the Visakhapatnam district. Our districts has no big project like the Mettur or the Krishna-Pennar. The only source of water is from the hill streams that flow across the district, and it should not be very difficult for the Government to dam the small rivers and conserve the water which is now flowing into the sea. If only the Government take up schemes for conserving all the water by constructing reservoirs wherever necessary, the district which is now deficit will become surplus as far as food is concerned, and it will be a great boon to the agricultural population. I, therefore, submit that sufficient provision should be made in the Budget for improving the irrigation facilities in my district where agriculture is the main occupation of the people.

" Again, Sir, the system of giving half grant is sought to be introduced as a sort of fillip to the ryots to take up minor irrigation works. In the present state of things when the agriculturists are so very poor, it is not a sufficient inducement for the ryots to contribute half the cost. Therefore the proposal in the Budget that those who are prepared to bear half the cost of the work will be given the other half is certainly a great hardship as their economic position is not sound enough to advance half the cost that is necessary for the improvement of the irrigation work. Therefore, Sir, so far as my district is concerned, the idea of half grant has to be dropped and the proportion of the Government grant should be increased.

" Then, Sir, my district supplies jaggery to more than half of the State and the price has fallen by Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 1-14-0 per maund with the result the agriculturists are tremendously affected and they are not able to realize even the cost of production. Some relief is urgently required and, therefore, the ryots had to approach the Government for fixing minimum fair price for jaggery. On the other hand the Government have fixed a ceiling price with the result that the trader and the merchant are benefited and not the ryot who produces the commodity. Therefore, in the interests of the ryots who produce this essential commodity, the Government should give some protection by way of fixing minimum fair price for jaggery. The sugarcane growers also are affected by the steep fall in the price of jaggery, in that the money-lenders and other banks are not giving the credit facilities to the tenants as before and they are now in the hands of unscrupulous creditors. Suits have been filed by the creditors against several tenants who took loans in the previous season. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that it is highly necessary to provide more grants to give loans to the ryots and save the jaggery industry from ruin. The present Land Mortgage Bank, Urban Co-operative Banks and Rural Credit Societies are not giving sufficient financial help to the ryots. As I said at the outset, there are no big irrigation projects in my district and the main occupation of the people is agriculture. Till now no attempt has been made to investigate the sub-soil water streams in my district. In South Arcot and other districts, several artesian

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wells have been dug and the agricultural population is immensely benefited by them. I would request the Government to investigate the availability of sub-soil water streams in Visakhapatnam district and dig artesian wells to supply more water for the agriculturists.

"In conclusion, I appeal to the Government to consider the opening of a Polytechnic Institute in Visakhapatnam for the benefit of the people in my district. I have already brought to the notice of the Government that there was an offer of a contribution of about Rs. 2.0 lakhs from the people of Anakapalle and that there should be no difficulty for the Government to open an Institute. I again appeal to the Government to consider our request. With these few words, Sir, I conclude."

10-15
க.ம.

* SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM :—“கனம் சிலவர் அவர்களே, இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை முதல் முதலில் பூரண சுயராஜ்யம் அடைந்த பிறகு கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்தார். அவர்களுடைய பாராட்டுகிறேன். மிகவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டுத்தான் இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை சரிக்கட்டி இரக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், ஒவ்வொரு அண்டிலும் கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் பிரச்சாரம் செய்யும் காலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு இன்னது செய்கிறோமென்றும், ஏதாவது புதியதாக வேலைகள் செய்வதாக இருந்தால் அதைச் செய்வோமென்றும் குறிப்பிட்டிருப்பார். இந்த அண்டில் கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் வாயில் ஹரிஜனங்கள் விஷயமாக ஒரு வார்த்தையும் வரவில்லை. அப்படியே நமது முசல்மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவுன்சிலில் நிதி விஷயமாக பேசினபோது கூட ஹரிஜனங்களைப் பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை கூட சொல்லவில்லை. அசலே, இந்த அரசாங்கம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்ன செய்யப் போகிறது என்பதைச் சொரியாமல் இருக்கிறது. 1937-ம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை 15-ல் என்னால் மூன்று கோடி ரூபாய் கேட்கப்பட்டு பிறகு பல முறையும் வற்புறுத்தப்பட்டு கனம் பிரகாசம் காலத்தில் ஒரு கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டு இயல்பாகச் செய்துவரும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் வேலைகளைத் தவிர சில சிறந்த வேலைகள் செய்ய திட்டம் போடப்பட்டது. அதன்பற்றி மாகாண ஹரிஜன அபிவிருத்திகமிட்டியில் ரிப்போர்ட்டு எழுதிக்கேட்கப்பட்டது. அன்றமே திட்டங்களை ஏற்படுத்தி இருக்கிறார்கள். அதையும் ஒரு புஸ்தக ரூபமாக அச்சுடக்கப்பட்டு வெளிவந்திருக்கிறது. ஆனால், இப்பொழுது அது எங்கே இருக்கிறது, எவ்வளவு பணம் மிச்சமிருக்கிறது என்று அந்த விஷயம் தெரிவிக்கவில்லை.

“மேலும் கனம் கூர்மையா அவர்கள் மந்திரியாக இருக்கபோது ஆந்திர ஜில்லாவில் ஒவ்வொரு ஜில்லாவிலும் 40-க்கு குறையாமல் ஹாஸ்டல் கள் வைத்துக்கொடுத்தார். தமிழ் நாட்டில் இரண்டொரு ஜில்லாக்களைத் தவிர எல்லா ஜில்லாக்களிலும் 3 அல்லது 4 ஹாஸ்டல்களே ஏற்படவில்லை. தென் ஆற்காட்டில் நான்கு ஹாஸ்டல்களும், பாஞ்சையிலும் நான்கு ஹாஸ்டல்களும் இருக்கின்றனவே தவிர மற்ற இடங்களில் அவ்வளவு ஹாஸ்டல்கள் இடையாது. இந்தக் குறைவை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதற்கு ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் கமிட்டி தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் மந்திரியும் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும்.

“இந்த நிலைமையில் சென்ற அண்டில் ஹாஸ்டல்கள் வைத்து நடத்தின வர்களுக்கு கிராண்டு கொடுக்கவில்லை. அதனால் அவர்கள் தத்தளித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். 30, 40 பிள்ளைகளுக்குமேல் பிள்ளைகளை ஹாஸ்டல்களில் வைத்து மூவாயிரம் நாலாயிரம் ரூபாய் பணம் செலவு செய்துவிட்டு வந்தால் கடைசியில் கிராண்டு கேட்டால் அது கிடைப்பதில்லை. இந்தக் குறைவையும் ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் கமிட்டியும் அமைச்சரும் கவனிக்கவேண்டுமென்று கோடுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சர்க்கார் கிராண்டு கொடுக்கும் விஷயத்தில் ஏதோ மாறுதல்கள் செய்ய உத்தேசித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று தெளிவிப்படுகிறேன். சர்க்கார் ஏற்கெனவே நடத்தி வந்த கொள்கையை மாற்றாமல் இருப்பது நலம். ஒரு வருஷம் நடத்தியவர்களுக்கு

4th July 1952]

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

அடுத்த ஆண்டு ஆரம்பத்தில் கிராண்டு கொடுப்பதும் அவசியமானால் அட்வான்ஸ் கொடுப்பதும் என்று இருக்கவேண்டும். ஆனால், புது ஹாஸ்டல்களுக்கு சிபார்சு செய்யவேண்டாம் என்று கலெக்டர்கள் தெரிவிக்கிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் இருந்தால் இந்த ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றம் கெட்டுப்போய் விடும். சர்க்கார் செய்யும் விஷயங்களில் ஏதேனும் மாறுதல்கள் இருந்தால் அவ்விதம் மாறுதல்கள் இல்லாமலிருப்பது நல்லது. அட்வான்ஸ் கொடுப்பதோடும் வருஷத்திற்கு 25 சத விக்கிதம் (increase) கொடுப்பது என்பதாகச் செய்து வந்தார்கள். அந்த முறையை மாற்றாமல் இருப்பது நல்லது. தமிழ் நாட்டில் நிறைய ஹாஸ்டல்கள் ஏற்படுத்தவும் குடியிருப்பு வசதிகளும் இன்னும் இதர வசதிகள் செய்யும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் பிழைக்கும் வழிகளை ஏற்படுத்தவும் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்ற இலாகா வேலை செய்ய வேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்கள் ச.யாக வோட்டுப்பாடவில்லை என்று சொல்லப்பட்டது. சர்க்கார் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு வோட்டுரிமை கொடுத்தும், ஹரிஜனங்கள் தன் காலில் நிற்கும் நிலைமை ஏற்படாமையால் வோட்டுரிமை விட்டதைத் தான் உண்டாக்கி இருக்கிறது. இதனால் எங்கும் அரசியல் கட்சிகளால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு துன்பங்கள் வந்துள்ளன. அவற்றை நிவர்த்திக்க சர்க்கார் தக்க முயற்சிகள் எடுக்கவில்லை. இவற்றையெல்லாம் சிதம் பரம் தாஸ்கா. காஸூரா, முதனை, கரடாம்புலியூர் முதலிய இடங்களில் காணலாம். இப்பொழுது ஹரிஜனங்களை வேலையில் வைத்தக்கொள்ளாமலும் வேலையில் வைத்துக்கொண்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குக் கூலி கொடுக்காமலும் அநேக தொந்தரவுகளை விளைவித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் பல விதமான ஹிம்சைகளுக்கு அவர்கள் ஆளாகிறார்கள். இதை நிவர்த்திக்க சர்க்கார் சிரத்தைக் கொண்டிருப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை.

“மேலும் காங்கிரஸ் அரசாங்கத்திலும் காங்கிரஸிற்கு வோட்டுப்போட வில்லை என ஹரிஜனங்களின்மேல் ஒரு உணர்ச்சி உண்டாகி இருக்கிறது. தற் கால முன்னேற்றமும் அதனால் தடைப்பட்டிருப்பதாக சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வோட்டுப்போடாததன் காரணம் படிப்பில்லாதவர்களும் தன காலில் நிற்க முடியாத அடிமைகளுக்கு வோட்டுரிமை கொடுத்ததும் தான் காரணம். அவர்கள் எடுப்பார் கைப்பள்ளிகளாக இருந்தார்கள். அவர்களிடம் காங்கிரஸ் செய்த நன்மைகளை எடுத்து பிரச்சாரம் செய்யாமையே தான் காரணம். மேலும் தியாதிகள் வீரமணியும் வாங்கும் பெயரால் ஹரிஜனங்களிடமிருந்த நிலங்களை பலாத்காரமாக பிடுங்கியதும், மிராசுதாரர்கள் கிரான்களை கம்ப்யூனிஷரு பேர் வைத்து அடித்தமையும் ஹரிஜனங்களின் வீடுகளைப் பிரித்து எறிந்ததுமேதான் காரணம். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வோட்டுப் போடவில்லையாதலால் அவர்களை மட்டந்தட்டவேண்டுமென்பது தவறு. அவர்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்துதான் திருப்பவேண்டும், பயமுறுத்துவதால் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சிக்குத்தான் பலம் குறையும். அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய நன்மைகளைச் செய்து பிரச்சாரம் செய்து பாதுகாப்பளித்து அவர்களுடைய ஆதரவைப்பெற வேண்டும்.

“சர்க்காருக்கு 1952-53-ம் ஆண்டு வருமானம் ரூ. 66,90,44,400 அது கொஞ்சம் குறைய 67 கோடிகள். இதில் ஐந்தில் ஒரு பாகம் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு பங்கு இருக்கிறது. அதாவது 13 கோடிகள் இருக்கின்றன. இவர்களை பாகத்தை தனியே பிரித்து செலவழித்து வந்தால் சில ஆண்டுகளில் இவர்களுடைய குறைகள் நிங்கி விடும். அதாவது 13 கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கி பிரிக்கப்படாவிட்டால் மூன்று கோடியேனும் ஒதுக்கி தீவிரமாக வேலைசெய்ய பிரார்த்திக்கிறேன். ஏனென்றால் ஹரிஜனங்கள்தான் சர்க்காருக்கு அதிக வருமானத்தைக் கொடுத்து வருகிறார்கள். எந்த வரி போட்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் வருகிறது. மோட்டார் வரி போட்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் வருகிறது. சர்க்காருக்கு இப்பொழுது வரும் 67 கோடி ரூபாயும் ஹரிஜனங்கள் மூலமாகத்தான் வருகிறது. அதில் அவர்களுக்கு என்று மூன்று கோடியாகவும் செலவழிக்கலாம். இப்பொழுது அவர்களுடைய குறைகளை நிவர்த்திக்க வேண்டுமென்று வேலை செய்துகொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அதற்காக இப்பொழுது 74 லட்சம் ரூபாய் செலவழிக்கப்படுவதாக தெரிகிறது. அவ்விதம் செலவழித்தால் ஒரு ஆளுக்கு ஒரு ரூபாய்கூட வராது. மேலும் 74 லட்சம் கொண்டு செய்யும் வேலையால் ஒரு பூர்த்தியும்

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

[4th July 1952]

இந்த யுகத்தின்மீதும் ஆகாது. அதனால் தீவிர வேலைசெய்ய முன்று கோடி ரூபாய் வருஷத்திற்கு செலவிட்டால் தீவிரமாக நடப்பெறும். விரைவில் முற்றுப்பெறும். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது ராமபாதசாருக்கு என்று 180 கோடி ரூபாய் செலவு முடிக்கப்போகிறார்கள். நான் சொல்லுவது 75 லட்சம் ஜனங்களை குடிமத்திற்கு 7 பேர் வீதமாக பிரித்தால் 15 லட்சம் குடிகளில் ஒரு குடிக்கு 5, 7 பேர்கள் இருப்பார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் மிராசுதாரர்களின் நிலங்களை விலைக்கு வாங்கி ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் இரண்டு ஏக்கர் நிலம் என்று கொடுத்தால், அதனால் எவ்வளவோ ஹரிஜனங்கள் செளகரியமடைவார்கள். அதனால் உணவு உற்பத்தி விரைவாக வரும். பிறகு இந்த ராமபாதசாரு வேண்டியதில்லை. அதற்கு அவ்வளவு ரூபாயும் செலவு செய்யவேண்டாம், கம்யூனிஸம் பரவாது. வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களின் பங்காகிய 13 கோடியில் ஆண்டிற்கு முன்று கோடி ரூபாய் ஒதுக்கினால் போதும்.

“தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு மனைக்கட்டுகள் கொடுக்கும் விஷயத்தில் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் ஆறு செண்டுகளுக்கு குறையாமல் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்கவேண்டும். மேட்டுப்பாளையம் நிலங்களை வாங்கிக்கொடுக்க வேண்டும். கொடுக்கும் நிலங்கள் நஞ்சையாக இருந்தால் அவற்றைத் துத்துக்கொடுக்கவேண்டும். சேரி நதிகளில் எந்தக் காரணத்தை முன்னிட்டும் கிராமத்தாருக்கு மனைக்கட்டுகள்ருக்கக்கூடாது. அது விஷயமாக ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது அவர்களுக்கு முன்று செண்டுகள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. அதில் அவன் வீடு கட்டிக்கொள்வானா, அல்லது மாடு கட்டிக்கொள்வானா, வைக்கோல் போர் போட்டுக்கொள்வானா? தோட்டம் வைத்துக்கொள்வானா? ஒன்றும் செய்துகொள்ள முடியாது. அவர்களுக்கு ஆறு செண்டுகளும் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அதற்கு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது இங்கே கார்ப்பொரேஷனில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு கடற்கரையில் வீடு கட்டிக்கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அது எவ்வளவு இருக்கிறது என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஒருவன் வசிப்பதற்கு அதில் இடம் இருக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். பரிதாபகரமான விஷயம். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு ஆறு செண்டுகளுக்கு குறையாமல் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்க வேண்டும். சேரிகளில் மனைக்கட்டுகளை கொடுப்பதால் பின்னாடி அவைகள் அடமானம் வைக்கப்பட்டு பிறகு அதைவிட்டு வெளியேறச் செய்து விடுகிறார்கள். மிராசுதாரர்கள் ஒருவருடைய மனைக்கட்டை மற்றொருவனுக்கு பாகப் பிரிவினையாக எழுதி வைத்துவிட்டு பிறகு விலைவாசத்து விற்றுவிற்போகிறார்கள். அதன் பிறகு ஹரிஜனங்களை அந்த நிலத்தைவிட்டு வெளியேற்றிவிடுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் செய்யாமலிருப்பதற்கு ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். வெளியேற மாட்டேன் என்றால், கட்டிவைத்து அடித்து விற்றதாக எழுதி வாங்கி விடுகிறார்கள். அல்லது வாடகைச் சீட்டு எழுதிவாங்கிக்கொண்டு தன்ன தென்கிறார்கள். மிராசுதாரர்களுக்குப் பாகப் பத்திரமும் வாடகைச் சீட்டுத் தவிர வேறு ரிக்கார்டு கிடையாது. சிதம்பரம் தாலுகா, காட்டுமன்றாக்குடி, பெட்டியூரில் இவ்விதம் எவ்வளவோ நடந்திருக்கின்றன. வெண்ணையூரில் நடந்திருக்கிறது. இன்னும் மாகாணத்தில் அநேகம் இடங்களில் நடந்து வருகிறது. இன்மேல் இவர்கள் நடக்காமலிருக்க ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். சேரியிலுள்ள மனைக்கட்டுகளை எக்காரணத்தை முன்னிட்டு எடுத்துக் கொள்ளக்கூடாது என்றும் ஒரு சட்டம் இயற்றவேண்டும். அது விஷயமாக ஏற்கெனவே ரெவின்யூ மந்திரியாக இருந்த ஸ்ரீ காளாவெங்கடராவ் அவரிடம் நான் சென்று, “ஜமீன்தாரிகளை ஒழிக்கின்றீர்களே அங்குள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஏதாவது வழியுண்டா?” என்று கேட்டேன். அதற்கு ஒரு ஸ்கீம் இருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார். ஹரிஜனங்கள் வசிக்கும் வீடுகளும், மனையும் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் சொந்தம், வேறு யாருக்கும் சொந்தமில்லை யென்பதாகத் திட்டம் வகுக்கப்போவதாகச் சொன்னார். ஆனால், அத்திட்டத்தை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்குள் அவர் மந்திரி பதவியிலிருந்து சென்றுவிட்டார். ஆகையால், ஹரிஜனங்கள் வசிக்கின்ற மனைக்கட்டுகள் அவர்களுக்குத்தான் சொந்தம் என்கிற முறையில் தீர்மானம் கொண்டுவரவேண்டும்.

“ஹரிஜனங்கள் பெரும்பாலும் விவசாயத் தொழில் செய்பவர்கள். இவர்களுக்கு சரியானபடி கூலி கொடுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. வாரமும் குத்தகையும் சரியாகக் கொடுக்கப்படுவதில்லை. விவசாய வருஷ முடிவான ஆனி மாதம்

[4th July 1952]

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

பிறந்ததும், வாரம், குத்தகை, சம்பளம் விஷயங்கள் தீர்க்கப்படுவதில்லை. சில இடங்களில், விவசாயிகள் பயிரிட்டு வந்த நிலங்களைப் பிடுங்கி வேறொரு வருஷக் கொடுத்துவிடுகிறார்கள். அதனால் அவர்கள் பிழைப்புக்கு வழியில்லாமல் சஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். வாரம், குத்தகை, கூலி விஷயமாக விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களின் குறைந்தபட்ச கூலி நிர்ணயச் சட்டமொன்று கொண்டுவரவேண்டும். கடந்த காங்கிரஸ் ஆட்சியின் போது நான் ஒரு மசோதா கொண்டுவந்தேன். அதனை மந்திரியாயிருந்த ஸ்ரீ மாதவ மேனன் ‘சர்க்கார் அம்மாதிரி ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள்’ என்று சொல்லி என்னை வாபஸ் வாங்கிக் காள்ளும்படிச் சொல்லி தடுத்துவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் இம்மாதிரி சட்டம் கொண்டுவர இன்னும் சமயம் வாய்க்கவில்லை.

“ஹரிஜனங்களின் கல்வி விஷயத்தில், பத்து ஆண்டுகளுள் இலவசக் கல்வி கல்லூரி வரை அளிக்கப்படுமென்ற ஒரு சலுகையை சர்க்கார் அளித்துள்ளார்கள். சர்க்காரின் கருணைக்காக நான் நன்றி பாராட்டுகிறேன். கல்வியியிலோ உயர்தரப் பாடசாலைகளிலோ பிள்ளைகள் சேருமுன் முதன் முதலில் முன்பணம் கட்டிவிடவேண்டுமென்று ஸ்தாபனக்காரர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஹாஸ்டலிலும் அம்மாதிரியே நிர்ப்பந்தப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். அதன் படி முன்பணம் கட்டிச் சேர்ந்துகொண்டால்தான், பிறகு சர்க்கார் உதவி பெறலாம். முன்பணம் கட்டமுடியாமல் பலர் ஹைஸ்கூல்களிலோ கல்லூரிகளிலோ சேரமுடியாமல் தவிக்கிறார்கள்.

“உதாரணமாக, சென்னையிலுள்ள எதிராஜ் கல்லூரியில் ஒரு பெண் சேர முயற்சி செய்தாள். கல்லூரிக்காரர்கள் முன்பணம் கேட்டார்கள். அந்தப் பெண்ணால் முன்பணம் கட்டமுடியவில்லை. அப்படித் தவித்துக் கொண்டிருந்த போது, கனம் சபாநாயகரிடம் வந்து முறையிட்டதன்பேரில் கனம் சபாநாயகர் இது விஷயத்தை கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் தெரிவித்தார். அவர் ஹரிஜன முன்னேற்றக் காரியாலயம் மூலமாக எதிராஜ் கல்லூரிக்குக் கடத்தம் எழுதியும், பணம் வந்தால்தான் சேர்ப்போம் என்று சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். ஆதலால், ஹரிஜன் மாணவ மாணவிகளை முதலிலேயே இலவசமாகச் சேர்க்க உத்தரவு போடவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கின்றேன்.

“சில மாணவர்கள் கஷ்டப்பட்டு சேர்ந்தும், அண்ணாமலைக் கல்லூரி மாணவர்களுக்கு வருஷ முடிவில் பணம் கிடைப்பது கஷ்டமாகிவிட்டது. கும்பகோணத்தில் ஒரு மாணவன் சர்க்கார் உதவியை நம்பி ஹாஸ்டலில் 10 மாதம் சேர்ந்து படித்த பிறகு, ஹாஸ்டல் சம்பளம் கிடைக்கவில்லை யென்று அந்தப் பையன் சென்னை வந்து என்னையும், கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களையும், மந்திரியையும், அரசாங்கக் காரியதரிசிகளையும், ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் டைரக்டரையும் கண்டும் வியர்த்ததாக திரும்பிப் போனான். ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் முதலிலேயே பணத்தைக் கட்டிவிட ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும்.

“சென்ற ஆண்டில் ஹாஸ்டல் நடத்திவைப்பதற்கு கிராண்டு கொடுக்கா விட்டால், அவர்கள் ஹாஸ்டல்களை நிறுத்திவிடுவார்கள். புதிதாக யாரும் ஹாஸ்டல்கள் வைக்கமாட்டார்கள். தனிப்பட்ட மாணவர்களுக்கு கிராண்டு கொடுப்பதோடு பல இடங்களில் சர்க்காரே ஹாஸ்டல் வைத்து நடத்தலாம். ஆகவே, சர்க்கார் இது விஷயமாகத் தாராளச் சலுகை காட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“சென்னையில் ஒரு பாடிசன் ஹாஸ்டல் நடந்து வந்தது. அந்த ஹாஸ்டலை ஒழிப்பதற்கு பலர் பலவிதமாகச் சூழ்ச்சி செய்தார்கள். ஹாஸ்டலுக்குப் பணம் போதவில்லை, தாராளமாகப் பணம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னார்கள். ஆனால் மாணவர்களுக்கு நேரே கொடுப்போமென்று ஒரு வருஷம் கொடுத்தார்கள். இரண்டாவது வருஷம் கொடுக்க ஹாஸ்டலை இல்லாமல் மூடப்பட்டுவிட்டது. பிள்ளைகள் நிறையப் படிக்கவேண்டுமென்று அபிப்பிராயப்படும இந்த சமயத்தில், இம் மாதிரி அவர்கள் ஆசையை அழிப்பதற்கு வழி செய்யக்கூடாது. ஹாஸ்டல்களை நடத்தத்தான் பார்க்கவேண்டுமே தவிர, அவைகளை ஒழிக்கப் பார்க்கக்கூடாது.

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

[4th July 1952]

“மது விலக்கு.—மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டத்தை எடுத்துவிட்டு, பழைய மதுவைக் கொண்டு வர வேண்டுமென்று சிலர் அபிப்பிராயப்படுகிறார்கள். அதை நான் பலமாக எதிர்க்கின்றேன். மதுவிலக்கை எந்தக் காரணத்தாலும் முன்னிட்டும் எடுத்துவிடக்கூடாது. உயிரைக்கொண்டு போகின்ற மதுவை திரும்பவும் கொண்டு வரக்கூடாது. கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்ச திரூகளென்றால், அதற்குப் போலீஸ்கள் தான் காரணம். போலீஸார் துணை இருக்கிறது என்ற தைரியத்தில் தான் அவர்கள் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக அன்னாடைய ஊரில் நந்தனார் கல்விக் கழகத்திற்குப் பக்கத்திலேயே கள்ளத்தனமாக கள் விற்பார்கள். போலீஸார் களைப் பதனியென்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு குடித்துப் போனார்கள். கடற்குக்கும் திடீர்த் திற்கும் மத்தியில் புனியம்பட்டு கிராமத்தில் வெள்ளிப்படையாக கள்ளச்சாராயக்கூட வைத்து நடத்துகிறார்கள். ஜாதி வரித்துக்களின் மிட்டலினால், அவர்கள் நடவடிக்கை ஒன்றும் எடுக்கவில்லை. டிபுடி சூப்பரண்டனா முதல் அதற்குத் துணையாக இருக்கிறார். சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் முதல் டிபுடி சூப்பரண்டனா வரை ஒருவருக்கொருவர் ‘ஸ்பை’ முதலியவைகளைச் செய்து கொண்டு இம்மாதிரி மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம் சரியாக அமல் நடக்கவிடாமல் தடங்கல்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, இந்தப் போலீஸ் டிபார்ட்மென்ட் மெண்டையே அறவே ஒழித்து திருத்தி அமைக்கவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். எந்த ஜில்லாவில் எந்த இடத்தில் சாராயம் காய்ச்சப் பட்டாலும், அந்த ஜில்லா போலீஸ் சூப்பரண்டன் தக்கபடி தண்டிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். அப்பொழுதுதான் மது விலக்குச் சட்டம் சரியாக நடக்கும்.”

“இது சம்பந்தமாக, இன்மெரு சம்பவத்தைக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றேன். சிதம்பரத்தில் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள், அங்கே சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் மாதம் ரூ. 50 வாங்கிக்கொண்டு அவர்களைப் பிடிப்பதில்லை. அந்த சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் மீது நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று மார்ச்சு பட்ஜெட்டில் கேட்டேன். சர்க்கார் காது கொடுத்துக் கேட்கவில்லை. இவ்வளவு தூரம் ஜாப் பிரதிநிதி களாகிய நாங்கள் சொல்வதை மந்திரிகள் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். கவனிக்காமல் விட்டுவிட்டால் நாங்கள் எவ்வளவு சொல்லியும் பிரயோஜனமில்லாமல் போய் விடுகிறது. ஸ்ரீமான் பிரகாசம் அவர்கள் பிரதமராயிருந்த காலத்தில் அங்கத் தினர்கள் ஏதாவது ‘குற்றங்குறைகளை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளு’ அதனை முபற்சிப்பார்கள். ஸ்ரீமன் ஓமந்தூர் ராமசாமி ரெட்டியார் அவர்களைப் போலவே எல்லோரையும் பார்த்தால், ‘பட்டாபயிலிருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர் களெல்லோரும் திருபெவர்கள் என்று சொல்லி, அவர்கள் சொல்வதை அதிகாரிகள் கேட்கக்கூடாது என்று சொல்லி, அவர்கள் சொல்வதை பொழுது எங்களைப் பற்றி கேள்வி முறையே கிடையாது. மக்களிடம் கஷ்டப் பட்டு லோட்டு வாங்கி சட்டசபைக்கு வந்திருக்கும் நாங்கள் மக்களுடைய குறைகளை எடுத்துச் சொன்னால், காது கொடுத்து கேட்காமல், செவிடன் கூதில் ஊதின சங்கு போல் ஆய்விடுகிறது. ஆகையால், நாளை சொல்வ தென்னவென்றால், மதுவிலக்குத் திட்டம் தீவிரமாக அமல் நடத்தப்பட வேண்டும். அதற்குத் தடங்கலாகப் போலீஸார் இருப்பார்களேயானால், அவர்களைக் கடுமையாகத் தண்டிக்கவேண்டும்.”

“இன்னும் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஒரு குறையிருக்கிறது. ஹரிஜன மத்தியை நியமிக்கும்போது மொத்தமுள்ள ஹரிஜன அங்கத்தினர்கள் 62 பேரில் யாரையாவது ஒருவரைக் கேட்டிருக்கலாம். இது ஜனநாயக அரசாங்கமாக இருப்பதால், எங்களில் யாருடைய அபிப்பிராயத்தையாவது கேட்டிருக்கலாம். 28 வருஷங்களாக சட்டசபையில் அங்கத்தினராக இருக்கும் சிழவன் நான். என்னையாவது ஒரு வார்த்தை கேட்டிருக்கலாம். அப்படியொன்றும் செய்யாமல் ஒரு தெலுங்கரை ஹரிஜன மந்திரியாகப் போட்டிருக்கிறார். ஆகையால், ஹரிஜன மக்களுக்கு வேண்டிய சிறிய காரியங்களுக்காக அவரிடம் போய் முறையிடக்கொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. நாங்கள் சொல்வது அவருக்கும் புரியவேண்டும். புரிந்துகொண்டு அதற்குண்டான நடவடிக்கை

[4th July 1952]

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam]

களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். அதைச் செய்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. கிராம அபிவிருத்தி மந்திரியும் ஒரு தெலுங்கர். இரண்டு பேர் களும் தெலுங்கர்களாக இருப்பதால் தமிழ்நாட்டில் உள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களின் குறைகளைத் தெரிந்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், தமிழ் மந்திரியாக ஒருவரை ஹரிஜன சேவைக்காகப் போடவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொண்டு இந்தப் பிரச்சங்கத்தை இத்துடன் நான் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I need not repeat the truism that the Budget is the mirror which reflects the policies and programmes of the Government. Surely that is the object of every Government. Sir, the Members of the House sitting on the side, even though they are composed of different political parties, have something in general with regard to the fundamentals of their objective. What is that objective?”

10-30
a.m.

“We want to establish a co-operative commonwealth and a casteless and classless society, where there is no room for exploitation, and inequalities are reduced to the minimum. I thought that in a Budget inspired by the great leader who represents in himself the ideologies and programmes of the party he leads, there will be something of a new orientation of our existing policy. I have to admit frankly that I was sorely disappointed in that respect.”

“Sir, it is well known that a country which wants to move in the direction of equality must bring in taxation proposals not merely as a fiscal measure but more as a powerful weapon which would reduce the inequalities of income and wealth. Sir, progressive taxation of incomes only would help us to clear some of the future inequalities. If you want to remove the disparity that is existing to-day amidst our people, it should be by means of taxation directed towards that end. It has been suggested that our expenses being too heavy, we must have recourse to taxation. Progressive taxation of incomes from agricultural holdings, estate duty and death duty are some effective measures of establishing a society based on social justice.”

“No doubt, some of the measures can be taken only by the Central Government. But we find that important fields are open to the Provincial Government also. In the proposals for taxation the surcharge proposed to be levied on agricultural revenues is sought to be made out as a substitute for agricultural income-tax. I for one will not be on the side of people who clamour for development schemes but at the same time oppose any proposal for taxation, which is equitable. But I may say that this ‘Revenue Surcharge Bill’ is a poor substitute for a tax on agricultural income. I can say I am not opposed to the measure on principle. But I may just mention before this House how, in its application, it will bring disaster to my district. Sir, it may not be possible for many members of this House who are unacquainted with the land system prevailing in Malabar, to understand why I am objecting to this Bill. It may take me some time to explain to them that intricate system. But I resist that temptation now and reserve it to the time when that Bill is discussed. However, I would request the Hon. Minister coming from Malabar to note my points

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even though he may not be having that portfolio, and give satisfactory explanation inasmuch as he is acquainted with the system and he may not need any explanation from me.

"Sir, if we have a land tenure system based on the model of ryotwari system in which, between the ultimate owner and the cultivator there are not many intermediaries, or to put it otherwise, if the peasants are the proprietors, the problem may not be difficult. But in Malabar a peculiar system is in existence. We have a number of intermediaries between the owner and the peasant. The highest proprietor is called the Janmi or the registered holder of the land. Immediately below him is the Kanamdār while next to him are the Verumpattamdars. Sir, the burden of payment of the revenue, which is legally recoverable from the landlord, is shifted, on account of the practice or custom by whatever term you may call it, to the Kanamdār; that is the existing practice. He also pays what is called the 'Michavaram' which bears a very small proportion to the actual rental yield of the land. The Verumpattamdār is the person who actually cultivates. He is not liable to pay the revenue or any such thing. But he must pay the rent to his immediate landlord which is necessarily much higher than the Michavaram. Sir, I beg to submit on this occasion that a great agitation is going on in Malabar that the rent which the cultivator is liable to pay is rack-rent and that it should be immediately reduced. Therefore it is of fundamental importance that the cultivator should not be asked to pay any more tax or additional burden. I am not laying before this House any imaginary propositions but am only putting forth facts as they exist in Malabar.

"Suppose there is a Janmi paying a hundred rupees assessment. If the Janmi is the one who is in actual possession of land, the yield or the rental value of the land may be two thousand to three thousand rupees, and if there are no intermediaries or Kanamdars in between, he may pay, of course, some dues. Take, for instance, another Janmi who also pays an equal assessment of a hundred rupees. But he has demised the land to the Kanamdār and the 'Michavaram' he obtains may be only between a hundred and two hundred rupees. Now if this Bill is applied to Malabar as it exists, the tax would be disproportionate. Whereas the Janmi getting an income of two thousand to three thousand rupees is lightly taxed, the Janmi getting only a few hundred rupees is heavily taxed.

"For instance, take the case of a Janmi paying a hundred rupees assessment. He is exempted from fifty and he has to pay on rupees fifty. Take the case of a land which bears an assessment to the extent of hundred rupees and which is demised to two or three Kanamdars each paying less than rupees fifty. If up to rupees fifty the exemption is given, the Janmi would be asked to shoulder the entire burden. So far as the Janmi is concerned he will somehow try to reimburse his tax portion by enhancing the rental dues from the Kanamdars. The landlord who has to pay Rs. 100 is liable to pay the tax. Under the contract with him, the

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kanom tenant is liable to pay any surcharge. So, if the law as it stands to-day is to be enforced, the Kanamdār who has to pay only Rs. 25 will have to pay the revenue and will have to pay the surcharge. The janmi will see to it that the surcharge which he has to pay is reimbursed to him. Bigger janmis such as the Zamorin and others who have to pay lakhs and lakhs and who are registered pattadars have got under them kanam demises whose assessment may be Rs. 50, Rs. 100 or more. If they were independent pattadars and peasant proprietors, they would be only liable to pay according to the graded system shown in the Bill. But the janmis are liable to pay a higher rate, and they would naturally ask their kanamdars to pay at the higher rate. So, there is that difficulty.

"Coming to the verumpattamdār, I think, they are not liable to pay under the custom, contract or even law, any revenue; but if you look at the definition of 'registered pattadār' in the Bill, you will find that a man in possession shall be deemed to be a registered holder irrespective of the fact that the patta is registered in his name jointly or otherwise. Therefore, the definition, as it stands to-day, will surely include these verumpattamdars who are not at all liable to pay revenue. As I said in the first instance, they are already overburdened with the rack-rent which they are liable to pay. Therefore, while considering this measure, I request you to find out how it will affect the people in its operation. The peculiar land tenure system obtaining in Malabar with a number of intermediaries should be taken into consideration and suitable amendments to the Bill must be made, so that the incidence of the tax may be just and equitable.

"Sir, as I said, this is not the first time that we in Malabar suffer, because our problems have not been properly understood by the people at the top. We do not, of course, find fault with them. After all, Malabar is only one of the 26 districts of this State, we admit that. But fortunately or unfortunately, our problems are peculiar. I, therefore, request that the same old indifference of two hundred years with respect to our district should not continue.

"In this connexion, I should like to bring to the notice of the House the fact as to how the Ministry which sanctioned bonus to producers with the best of intentions actually ruined the tenants in my part of the country, because it was not provided that it was to be paid to the tenant. As it was simply said 'producer' the tenant got the bonus, but the landlord claimed it, as it was based on the rent or paddy of which he was the owner. The result was that there were many suits in which the poor tenants were asked to shell down the bonus amount with incidental costs too. This, I submit, is due to the fact that the peculiar problems of Malabar are not appreciated.

"In dealing with the problem of finding out more money for the State, it is pointed out to the Government by certain critics that Prohibition should be scrapped. I for one stand for Prohibition. There may, no doubt, be difficulties in the working of

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Prohibition and the results may not be now quite successful as we expected. However, all people believe that it has done immense good to the poor people of the country. Now, who are the people that want Prohibition to be scrapped? Generally they are people who are not addicted to drink, and it is they who want the drinkers to be taxed for this convenience, or luxury as they put it. But who are the people that will have to pay this tax? It is the poor people that will have to pay. Moreover, morally it is unjustifiable. Therefore, Sir, I hope and trust that this Government will not follow the advice of adopting this easy means of finding out money for our development schemes.

"Coming now to the expenditure side, it is probably for no fault of theirs, that the Government have not been able to make any reduction in the expenditure. It has been estimated by the National Income Committee that of the revenues collected by our States and by the Centre, 97 per cent is being spent on administration. We have not been able to reduce our administrative expenses. That is because we are yet unable to have a redistribution or redirection of our State expenditure. It is not pleasing to us to look into the Budget and find that His Excellency the Governor costs us Rs. 7,03,000 while the Hon. Ministers who are fifteen in number, and who shoulder all the burden of administration of the State day in and day out, cost us only Rs. 5,49,400. Sir, it has often been asked why we are not able to enthuse the people and why we do not get their co-operation. If we preach to them plain living and high thinking but if at every opportunity we appear before them in the opposite role, how is it possible that the people can become enthused? I am sure Gandhiji, if he were alive to-day, would not compliment either our Union President or our Governors of States, on the extravagant expenditure involved in those offices. Suppose one of the Ministers sitting on the opposite side is raised to the *gadi* of Governorship; what excuse can he have for changing his habits and indulging in luxury like the Moghul Emperors of the middle ages? I find a large sum of Rs. 64,000 for maintenance of gardens and another sum for 'sumptuary allowances'—I think all that would suit a Moghul Emperor with a very large family. I, therefore, suggest that if is necessary, especially when we want money for development schemes, and when we are taxed to the utmost limit, that all this expenditure should be reduced to the minimum. After all, without meaning disparagement to anybody, I submit this post in the democratic set up does not require men of very extraordinary ability and intelligence. The Governor acts according to the advice of the Ministers. It was Gandhiji who said that the maximum income of an individual should not be more than seventeen times that of the lowest, and that I think is the ideology of the Congress also. When we find such great disparities existing in the country, how can we expect to carry the confidence of the people and how can we expect the people to be enthusiastic? This is what struck me even at the beginning.

"Then again, as a layman, I thought in a country like ours where 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture, primary

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importance would be given to the Agricultural Department. We are to-day spending about Rs. 250 crores on import of foodstuffs and that is the case in a year which was originally fixed as the target year for self-sufficiency! How can this food problem be tackled if the Agricultural Department is not given sufficient money to meet their needs? There are nearly four crores of agricultural labourers. Statistics would show that there has not been much increase in production of late, either in acreage or in quantity. How can it be otherwise, when we know that an agricultural demonstrator sitting in the centre of a taluk has a large area to look after? What can he do to the thousands of villagers and cultivators who need seed, manure, implements, etc? It has been the experience of most of us that if a person wants seed for the coming year, he has to apply for it even now, and by the time it is given to him, it becomes useless. I say it is because there is only one demonstrator for a very large area and he cannot help the people much.

"While on this problem of food and agriculture, let me say 11 that we can never hope to become self-sufficient or that agriculture a m. will improve unless drastic agricultural reforms are introduced. No doubt, the policy of decontrol has been announced by this Government and it has given some relief to the cultivator and the producer. Sir, I am for decontrol and people of my type would promise full support to the Government and see that their policy of decontrol succeeds. But that is not all. As I said, the peculiar land system prevailing in our district has to be drastically changed. In fact, we have been agitating; we have submitted memoranda and it is our earnest hope that our representation would be considered at the best possible opportunity. Sir, the tenants should be made to feel that they are the owners of the produce; of course, they may be asked to pay their legitimate dues. They should not be evicted arbitrarily according to the wishes of the landlord. Therefore, Sir, unless we are able to give that sense of security to the tiller, any amount of decontrol of Grow More Food Schemes, *takkavi* loans, digging of wells or even the major projects like the Tungabhadra or the Malampuzha, will not solve the problem. I say that in a country like ours agriculture must have top priority, if we want progress.

"Then, Sir, from the layman's point of view, next to agriculture comes cattle, and it has to be improved. It is said that India possesses 177 million head of cattle, which is claimed to be one-fourth of the bovine population of the world. In order to improve this 177 million head of cattle, they have provided only a very paltry amount in the Budget. I can only say that the amount provided is so low that it belies all our professions of improvement of cattle and agriculture.

"Next in importance in a layman's Budget would come the cottage industries, because they are very closely associated with agriculture. As I said, 4 crores of people depend on agriculture, and they have got only partial employment. If we are to make any attempt to remove the unemployment and under-employment

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prevailing in the villages and rural parts, it can only be done through the improvement of cottage industries and smaller industries. I remember, Sir, though it is known to all of us, that attempts to give incentive to the cottage industries even led to the downfall of some governments of the State, but I am sure, that the Leader we have to-day, if he only believes that the cottage industries have to be improved, will do it, because he will not yield to the wire-pullings of people from the back and from the members of his own party. Therefore, Sir, according to me cottage industry budget ought to come third. I do not wish to take up all the items *seriatim* and give my suggestions or my opinion on them. But, these three things, namely, our agricultural population, our cattle and our cottage industries, must be the main planks in our economic order, which alone will take India to increased production, to increased wealth, to increased prosperity and to a more equitable distribution of her resources.

" Sir I will conclude my speech with a request to this Government to consider the claims of our district in the various activities and the developments which the Government propose hereafter. Sir, we know that we, South Indians, have suffered heavily compared with the rest in the development of the industrial resources of our country. Let it not be said that Malabar alone suffered. True it is that we are only one of the 26 districts in the State. But, we have one-twelfth of the population of this State. While I make this suggestion, I should not be understood as saying that the Government, in every year, in every department in which they undertake any scheme, should distribute the amounts or grants according to population. That is far from what I mean. I only mean this that we must follow a policy of decentralization and self-sufficiency, as far as possible. While I request the Government to pay due consideration to the claims of our district, I only mean to say that in their long-range policy of development, a system of regional equilibrium may be aimed at. Sir, here, I wish to quote a few statistics to show how our district has been treated. Of course, I do not put it by way of criticism, but the facts will explain. I will give figures only in terms of lakhs. Up to 1950, the total amount under Capital Works on Irrigation—Productive and unproductive—was Rs. 3,024 lakhs, but out of this only Rs. 18 lakhs was spent on Malabar. On Electricity, up to 1950, the total amount spent was Rs. 2,358 lakhs, out of which only Rs. 55 lakhs was spent on Malabar. Adding to this capital expenditure from revenue and other sources, the total capital expenditure incurred by the State up to the end of 1950 would come to Rs. 9,129 lakhs. I have here a table of the amounts spent under various heads during 1949-50, which I do not want to trouble the House with. But, I wish just to refer only to some of the items in the 1952-53 Budget proposals. A provision of about Rs. 9 crores has been made under Capital Works on Irrigation. Of course, there is provision so far as Malabar is concerned and that is the Malampuzha project and we are thankful to the Government for making provision for it. We know the

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history as to how the Malampuzha project has come into existence. Probably, it may not be wrong to suggest that the project was taken up in spite of this Government. We have now the fact that it has been slowed down for the reason that the grant from the Central Government has been stopped. However, I am sure this will not be stopped, because to-day we find in the newspapers that the Central Government have given a grant of one crore of rupees specifically for this purpose. But, what I mean to say is that while out of the revenues and other amounts obtained, crores and crores were spent in other parts of the country, it is unfortunate that our district was never thought of. The same is the case in regard to electricity for which a provision of Rs. 8.59 lakhs has been made but the grant is Rs. 8 crores. I speak subject to correction and I wish the figures were wrong. I would like a larger amount being set apart for my district.

" Sir, I quoted only figures relating to two of the important items, but if we analyse the amounts set apart for various heads, namely, the Industries Department, Civil Works, and so on, the proportion we get is considerably small. But, that is natural because, if we once effect improvements and developments in particular areas, the expenditure on those regions should necessarily continue to increase. If we are going to launch on a long-range policy—leave alone what has been done in the past—I hope favourable consideration and also better consideration will be given to my district, so that the anomaly that exists to-day may not be there after some years.

" Then, Sir, with regard to irrigation projects, we are met with the argument that we have got plenty of rains. True. But if Nature gives us plenty of rains, we thank Nature for it. We cannot thank the Government which failed to help us in conserving the rain water and utilizing it for the irrigation works of our district. Here, Sir, one fact has to be remembered. For about four months in the year we get heavy rains and for the next eight months there is no rain. Even in respect of the rains we get during the four months, the whole water is carried away to the western seas. That is our problem and we cannot like Kumbhakarna eat for six months and then sleep for another six months. Rainwater must be there for purposes of cultivation during all the months of the year. Therefore, Sir, the argument that we have got rains for four months and then summer for eight months, does not carry conviction.

" While we are on the subject of the Malampuzha project, we understand that there is another scheme called the Kanhirapuzha scheme which is under investigation, and which is supposed to be a more profitable and better scheme than the Malampuzha. We would place before the Government that we are not at all very particular about any scheme, but we are particular that the methods employed for irrigation in other parts of the State should be followed in Malabar also in the same manner. There too, the peculiar problems have to be studied, and I think the projects suited to the genius of the district may be adopted by this Government.

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Sir, from a review of all these things, what I find is that the Government have no particular policy behind this budget, unless it is a policy of maintaining the *status quo*. I say that in a changing world to maintain a policy of *status quo* is but an euphemism for reaction. We have fought for the freedom of our country, and we sacrificed everything for our Independence not because we wanted a substitute Government in place of foreign Government, but we wanted a better life, a better ideal and a better form of society. Our patience has been tried and we all know that our people are impatient, that though we do not reach the goal, we should at least make a beginning on the road to our goal. Sir, when I think of the high expectations that have been raised in the minds of the people to-day and the sacrifices which they have suffered before, I believe that budget will give them no consolation. Sometimes we find in front of the Government House and other buildings a few buckets with sand with the word 'Fire' written on them. What are they intended for? They are intended to be used in case the house or building catches fire. With regard to the expectations raised in the minds of the people, I can only say, this budget can as much quench the fire in the minds of the masses as a few buckets of sand can quench a conflagration."

11-15 SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER:—"கனம் மாநாயகர் அவர்களே! 2-ம் தேதி அன்று நடந்த அசெம்பிளி கூட்டத்தன்று நமது நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ விநாயகம் அவர்கள் துரோகம் செய்த மாணிக்கவேலர் உள்ள மந்திரி சபைக்கா ஆதரவு அளிப்பது என்று பேசியதாக, அவர் ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலர் அவர்களைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் பேசாமலிருக்கும்போது தப்பாகப் பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அம்மாதிரி ஒருவர் மேல் துஷ்பெதையை உண்டு பண்ணவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகப் பொய் பிரசாரம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சட்டசபைக் கூட்டத்தில் பேசாமல் இருந்தும் பேசியதாக எழுதுவது ரொம்பவும் தவறான காரியமாகும். அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டதைச் சுட்டித்து யாராவது எங்கள் ஜில்லா ஹாஸிலிருந்து இவர்களுக்கு புகார் செய்திருக்கிறார்களா? எங்கள் ஜில்லா ஹாஸிலின் வேண்டுகோளின்படிதான் அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக் கொண்டாரே தவிர எந்த மக்களிடமிருந்து வேட்டுப்பெற்று தேர்தெடுக்கப்பட்டு வந்தாரோ அவர்களுடைய விருப்பத்திற்கு விரோதமாக, அவர்களுக்கு துரோகமாக அவர் ஒன்றும் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக் கொள்ளவில்லை. அப்படியிருந்தும் கூட இம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகள் அவரைப் பற்றி அவதூறுகப் பேசுவது ரொம்பவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க செய்கையாகும்."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"I rise on a point of personal explanation, Mr. Speaker. I have not made that statement and I am not responsible if a publisher gives publicity to that kind of statement."

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER:—"இது போன்று மீண்டும் அம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுதக் கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக நம் மாகாணத்தில் விவசாயிகள் ரொம்பவும் ஏழ்மையான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு மாடு வாங்க வேண்டுமென்றால் சர்க்காரால் ஏற்கெனவே கடனாகத் தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இப்போது மாடுகள் விலையெல்லாம் உயர்ந்திருப்பதால் அதை அதிகப்படியாக கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நம் மாகாணமெங்கும் நிறைய நிலங்கள் ஒதுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. அவைகளுக்குப் பஞ்சம தரிக என்று பெயர். அந்த நிலங்களை உழுவதற்கு வேண்டிய பொருளாதார நிலைமையில் இல்லாமல் அவர்கள்

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மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு நமது அரசாங்கம் கூடுமான வரையில் போனஸாகவாவது டணம் கொடுத்து அந்த நிலங்களை உடனே பயிரிடுமாடி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நான் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபையை மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் பலபகுதிகளில் மலை ஜனங்கள் வசிக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களில் நூற்றுக்கு 90% கல்வி வசதி இன்றி அறியாமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் கூடுமான வரையில் அங்கே பல கல்விச்சாலைகளை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும். அதோடு அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளே கிடையாது. வைத்திய வசதியில்லாமல் ஏராளமான பேர்கள் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். பிரசவத்தில் மாதத்திரம் மாதத்திற்கு 100 பேர்களுக்குக் குறையாமல் வைத்திய வசதியின்றி இறந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கெல்லாம் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளையும், பிரசவ விடுதிகளையும் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகளாக அந்த ஜில்லாவிலே கிணறுகள் இப்போது வெட்டப்பட்டுவருகின்றன. அதற்குப் பதிலாக, ரோடு வசதி கொஞ்சம் இல்லாத அந்தப் பிரதேசத்தில் ரோடுகளை போடுவதை பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலையாக கைக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக இப்போது அங்கே சர்க்காருக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்த காடுகளில் மாடுகளையும், ஆடுகளையும் மேயவிட வேண்டுமென்றால் பணம் கட்டி காட்டு இலாகாவிடமிருந்து பாஸ் வாங்கிக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். அம்மாதிரி மேயவிடுவதற்கு மாடுகளுக்கு மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடுகளுக்கு ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 இணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் பஞ்சாயத்துகளுக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகளும் அங்கே இருக்கின்றன. அந்தக் காடுகளிலோ மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 8 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி செய்வதற்கு பஞ்சாயத்து காட்டுச் சட்டமிடுக்கிறது. அதை உடனே திருத்தி சர்க்கார் காட்டைப் போலவே அதற்கும் மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 அணு வீதமும் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் மந்திரி சபையை கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதோடு பஞ்சாயத்துக் காடுகளிலும் மொத்தம் 10 மாடுகளுக்குத் தான் பாஸ் கொடுக்கப்படும் என்பதாகவும் இருக்கிறது. அதையும் மாற்றி விவசாயிகளுக்கு உள்ள எல்லா மாடுகளுக்கும், ஆடுகளுக்கும் பாஸ் வழங்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக திருவண்ணாமலையில் குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியே கிடையாது. அதனால் ஜனங்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு குடிதண்ணீர் வசதி உடனடியாக செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்ற விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி நான் முன் தடவையே பேசியிருக்கிறேன். நமது முதல் மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களும் முன்பு ஒரு தடவை பாதாளலிங்க குகையைத் திறந்தவைப்பதற்காக அங்கே வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அங்கேயுள்ள ஜனங்கள் குடிதண்ணீருக்குப் படும் கஷ்டம் நன்கு தெரியும். அதனால் சாத்தூர் அணைக்கட்டிட உடனடியாகக் கட்டி கால்வாய்கள் மூலமாக அங்கேயுள்ள தண்ணீர் கஷ்டத்தை உடனடியாகப் போக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"இப்போது கிராமத்தில் குழந்தைகளைப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால், அதாவது குறிப்பாக ஹைஸ்கூல்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால் 20 மைல்களாவது போக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இதனால் ரொம்ப மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி தவிக்கிறார்கள். குறைந்தது 5 மைல், 10 மைலுக்குள்ளாகவாவது ஒரு ஹைஸ்கூல் இருக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக பல ஹைஸ்கூல்களை கிராமப்புறங்களில் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டும்."

"இவைகளில் எல்லாம் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபை கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாருடைய மந்திரி சபை நீடுழி வாழ வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும், பிரார்த்தித்துக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய சிறுநரையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup] [4th July 1952]

Sir, from a review of all these things, what I find is that the Government have no particular policy behind this budget, unless it is a policy of maintaining the *status quo*. I say that in a changing world to maintain a policy of *status quo* is but an euphemism for reaction. We have fought for the freedom of our country, and we sacrificed everything for our Independence not because we wanted a substitute Government in place of foreign Government, but we wanted a better life, a better ideal and a better form of society. Our patience has been tried and we all know that our people are impatient, that though we do not reach the goal, we should at least make a beginning on the road to our goal. Sir, when I think of the high expectations that have been raised in the minds of the people to-day and the sacrifices which they have suffered before, I believe that budget will give them no consolation. Sometimes we find in front of the Government House and other buildings a few buckets with sand with the word 'Fire' written on them. What are they intended for? They are intended to be used in case the house or building catches fire. With regard to the expectations raised in the minds of the people, I can only say, this budget can as much quench the fire in the minds of the masses as a few buckets of sand can quench a conflagration."

11-15 SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—"கனம் மாநாயகர் அவர்களே! 2-ம் தேதி அன்று நடந்த அசெம்பிளி கூட்டத்தன்று நமது நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ விநாயகம் அவர்கள் துரோகம் செய்த மாணிக்கவேலர் உள்ள மந்திரி சபைக்கா ஆதரவு அளிப்பது என்று பேசியதாக, அவர் ஸ்ரீ மாணிக்கவேலர் அவர்களைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் பேசாமலிருக்கும்போது தப்பாகப் பிரசுரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அம்மாதிரி ஒருவர் மேல் துஷ்பெய்தை உண்டு பண்ணவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகப் பொய் பிரசாரம் செய்யக்கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சட்டசபைக் கூட்டத்தில் பேசாமல் இருந்தும் பேசியதாக எழுதுவது ரொம்பவும் தவறான காரியமாகும். அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டதைக் கண்டித்து யாராவது எங்கள் ஜில்லா ஹாஸிலிருந்து இவர்களுக்கு புகார் செய்திருக்கிறார்களா? எங்கள் ஜில்லா ஹாஸிலின் வேண்டுகோளின்படிதான் அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக் கொண்டாரே தவிர எந்த மக்களிடமிருந்து வேட்டுப்பெற்று தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டு வந்தாரோ அவர்களுடைய விருப்பத்திற்கு விரோதமாக, அவர்களுக்கு துரோகமாக அவர் ஒன்றும் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக் கொள்ளவில்லை. அப்படியிருந்தும் கூட இம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகள் அவரைப் பற்றி அவதூறுகப் பேசுவது ரொம்பவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க செய்கையாகும்."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—"I rise on a point of personal explanation, Mr. Speaker. I have not made that statement and I am not responsible if a publisher gives publicity to that kind of statement."

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—"இது போன்று மீண்டும் அம்மாதிரி பத்திரிகைகளில் எழுதக் கூடாதென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அடுத்தபடியாக நம் மாகாணத்தில் விவசாயிகள் ரொம்பவும் ஏழ்மையான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு மாடு வாங்க வேண்டுமென்றால் சர்க்காரால் ஏற்கெனவே கடனாகத் தொகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறது. இப்போது மாடுகள் விலையெல்லாம் உயர்ந்திருப்பதால் அதை அதிகப்படியாக கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு நம் மாகாணமெங்கும் நிறைய நிலங்கள் ஒதுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. அவைகளுக்குப் பஞ்சம தீசு என்று பெயர். அந்த நிலங்களை உழுவதற்கு வேண்டிய பொருளாதார நிலைமையில் இல்லாமல் அவர்கள்

[4th July 1952] [Sri N. C. Ramaswami Kander]

மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு நமது அரசாங்கம் கூடுமான வரையில் போனஸாகவாவது டணம் கொடுத்து அந்த நிலங்களை உடனே பயிரிடுமாடி செய்யவேண்டுமென்று நான் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபையை மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் பலபகுதிகளில் மலை ஜனங்கள் வசிக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களில் நூற்றுக்கு 90% கல்வி வசதி இன்றி அறியாமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் கூடுமான வரையில் அங்கே பல கல்விச்சாலைகளை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும். அதோடு அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளை கிடையாது. வைத்திய வசதியில்லாமல் ஏராளமான பேர்கள் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். பிரசவத்தில் மாதத்திரம் மாதத்திற்கு 100 பேர்களுக்குக் குறையாமல் வைத்திய வசதியின்றி இறந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அங்கெல்லாம் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளையும், பிரசவ விடுதிகளையும் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகளாக அந்த ஜில்லாவிலே கிணறுகள் இப்போது வெட்டப்பட்டுவருகின்றன. அதற்குப் பதிலாக, ரோடு வசதி கொஞ்சம் இல்லாத அந்தப் பிரதேசத்தில் ரோடுகளை போடுவதை பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலையாக கைக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக இப்போது அங்கே சர்க்காருக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. அந்த காடுகளில் மாடுகளையும், ஆடுகளையும் மேயவிட வேண்டுமென்றால் பணம் கட்டி காட்டு இலாகாவிடமிருந்து பாஸ் வாங்கிக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். அம்மாதிரி மேயவிடுவதற்கு மாடுகளுக்கு மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடுகளுக்கு ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 இணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் பஞ்சாயத்துகளுக்குச் சொந்தமான காடுகளும் அங்கே இருக்கின்றன. அந்தக் காடுகளிலோ மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 8 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும் வசூலிக்கிறார்கள். இம்மாதிரி செய்வதற்கு பஞ்சாயத்து காட்டுச் சட்டமிடுகிறது. அதை உடனே திருத்தி சர்க்கார் காட்டைப் போலவே அதற்கும் மாடு ஒன்றுக்கு 4 அணு வீதமும், ஆடு ஒன்றுக்கு 2 அணு வீதமும் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் மந்திரி சபையை கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதோடு பஞ்சாயத்துக் காடுகளிலும் மொத்தம் 10 மாடுகளுக்குத் தான் பாஸ் கொடுக்கப்படும் என்பதாகவும் இருக்கிறது. அதையும் மாற்றி விவசாயிகளுக்கு உள்ள எல்லா மாடுகளுக்கும், ஆடுகளுக்கும் பாஸ் வழங்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக திருவண்ணாமலையில் குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியே கிடையாது. அதனால் ஜனங்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு குடிதண்ணீர் வசதி உடனடியாக செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்ற விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி நான் முன் தடவையே பேசியிருக்கிறேன். நமது முதல் மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களும் முன்பு ஒரு தடவை பாதாளலிங்க குகையைத் திறந்தவைப்பதற்காக அங்கே வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அங்கேயுள்ள ஜனங்கள் குடிதண்ணீருக்குப் படும் கஷ்டம் நன்கு தெரியும். அதனால் சாத்தூர் அணைக்கட்டிட உடனடியாகக் கட்டி கால்வாய்கள் மூலமாக அங்கேயுள்ள தண்ணீர் கஷ்டத்தை உடனடியாகப் போக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் மிகவும் வணக்கத்துடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"இப்போது கிராமத்தில் குழந்தைகளைப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால், அதாவது குறிப்பாக ஹைஸ்கூல்களுக்கு அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்றால் 20 மைல்களாவது போக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. இதனால் ரொம்ப மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி தவிக்கிறார்கள். குறைந்தது 5 மைல், 10 மைலுக்குள்ளாகவாவது ஒரு ஹைஸ்கூல் இருக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக பல ஹைஸ்கூல்களை கிராமப்புறங்களில் ஏற்படுத்தவேண்டும்."

"இவைகளில் எல்லாம் கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் அவர்களுடைய மந்திரி சபை கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகக் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு, கனம் ஸ்ரீ ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியாருடைய மந்திரி சபை நீடுழி வாழ வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் பிரார்த்தித்துக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய சிறுநரையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

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MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member who has just sat down has raised a point, though he has not raised it as a point of breach of privilege. Perhaps Editors in our land are not aware that the publication of certain things is treated as a breach of privilege. For instance, publication of false or perverted accounts of proceedings, and gross and wilful misrepresentation of particular Members' speeches constitute a breach of privilege. After this country attained freedom, the privileges applicable to the House of Commons apply to this House also. I am not taking any action as the hon. Member has not raised it as a question of breach of privilege. I am, however, giving this information to the Editors for their future guidance."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" It may be made clear, Sir, that the hon. Member to whom the statement is attributed also supports the objection because he says that he did not make that statement. Therefore, there is absolutely no room for doubt. I hope the representatives of that particular paper here in the press gallery will take note of this warning."

* SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the proposals made in this budget. Immediately after I say this, perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister will say that it is opposition for opposition's sake. It is not like that. The proposals in the budget are opposed because they do not satisfy the minimum programme which had been laid down by the United Democratic Front. Because the budget does not satisfy the minimum programme of the United Democratic Front, I am bound to oppose it."

" Before going into the details of the budget, I wish to say certain things. We are generally accused of collecting grievances, bundling them up and presenting them in this House. I may draw the attention of the Hon. Chief Minister to the speech of Sri R. V. Swaminathan, an hon. Member of this House belonging to the Congress Party. Even though the members of the Congress Party did not speak for four days, the moment they opened their lips they could not but reflect and express the discontent outside. Because there are real grievances of the people and they have got to be ventilated. It is over a grievance-ridden State that our great Rajaji, the Hon. Chief Minister, is ruling. Because there are grievances prevailing, we are bound to ventilate all of them here."

" So far as this budget is concerned, it does not materially help the backward areas. I will give an instance. The expenditure on Electricity during the last six years is nearly Rs. 29 crores. The amount spent for the backward region—I mean the Andhra area—during the period is only Rs. 8½ crores. I find that a cut of 41 per cent has been effected in the provision made for Electricity in the interim budget. The cut of as much as nearly 40 per cent for a backward area like Rayalaseema where famine and pestilence have been prevailing for a long time is very drastic. The people there cannot be satisfied with the simple fact that

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four Rayalaseema people have been chosen as Ministers. They will be satisfied only with the real amelioration of their conditions. Certain ameliorative measures have got to be taken there. Provision for them is lacking in this budget. Backward areas are not going to be uplifted by the proposals made in this budget. That is why unfortunately we have to oppose this budget."

" There are proposals for levying certain new taxes. Whenever we oppose any taxation, we are told that no Government can carry on without levying taxes, and we are asked why we oppose taxation without suggesting other sources of revenue for the Government. It is true that no Government can carry on without taxation. Our request to the Hon. Chief Minister is to tax the rich and relieve the burden of taxation on the poor who are already heavily taxed."

" I know, Sir, the way in which the Ministry has been functioning. It does not permit our Hon. Chief Minister to part company with the rich and relieve the poor of taxation measures. This is not wholly acceptable to the Hon. Chief Minister. We have got certain proposals in this behalf. There are the coffee plantations and tea plantations. These are the lowest taxed in our State, even according to the Subramanyam Committee report. What taxation proposals have there been to tax these plantations? No proposals at all. We think that taxing the plantations is one source of revenue to the Government. We believe that, if people who can afford to pay taxes can be taxed, there will certainly be enough resources to carry on our administration. The rich are not being taxed. It is stated that there is a proposal to levy a betterment tax. What is this levy? It is a tax upon those people who are sought to be relieved of age-long famine and pestilence. They have already suffered for many years. The moment the Government bring forward certain projects for execution, they also bring in measures for taxation. How do they propose to relieve the burden of the poor agriculturists? They are not going to be relieved of the tax burden. For supply of water, water-tax is already there. This water-tax itself is more than what people can pay. Why should they be taxed now extravagantly? This betterment tax proposal is a very damaging proposal, and it does not help the backward areas where people are already suffering."

" Then, Sir, I come to the tax on bus passengers. This is a proposal which will tax the poor who are already groaning under poverty. This proposal should be opposed. It is not only I, who happen to be a Communist, but many from that side also have stated that this is not a good proposal. It will only be worsening the position of the already suffering people. Certain newspapers who generally support the policies of this Government have written editorials commenting against this proposal. So, Sir, we are bound to oppose this tax. Whatever proposals there are, they are all for taxing the poor people and not the rich who can afford to pay. That is why we are forced to oppose this budget and the proposals contained therein. When we say that there is so much

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of wastage, it is said that that is all necessary, and that there should be this pomp and splendour for the Governor. Rs. 10 lakhs are sought to be spent under various heads for the maintenance of the pomp and splendour of the Governor. Nobody can accept this statement. We are bound to oppose this expenditure. Our State cannot afford to maintain all this costly paraphernalia. There is terrible wastage of public funds, and this wastage must be stopped. Our public funds are wasted in many other ways also. I bring to the notice of this House that Hon. Ministers themselves are utilizing the public funds for their party propaganda. It is no doubt a serious charge. I was myself a witness to all this expenditure. I shall bring to the notice of this House what took place recently. Recently in Kakinada, elections took place. What happened there? Just one week before the elections, four Ministers (not one or two) found their way to Kakinada from Madras. Why did they rush up there? Had they gone there as Congress leaders, I would have no objection. Did they go in that capacity? No. They went there as Ministers drawing travelling allowance from the State. What did they do there? They went on doing propaganda for the candidate whom they were supporting. All this trouble of going to Kakinada they took in order to promise to the people this and that, and to ask them to vote for the candidate whom they supported. The people understood what was going on. That is why, they did not recognize and they did not support the candidate whom these Ministers supported. The Minister for Harijan Uplift was there and he was promising to the people proper housing and so many things. The Minister for Education also was there. The Ministers for Rural Welfare and Revenue were also there. The Hon. the Minister for Revenue (Mr. Manickavelu Naicker) found his way to Kakinada in order to see that certain Agnikula Kshatriyas were called in, in the name of Vanniyakula Kshatriya Sangam in Tamilnad, and asked to vote for the candidate supported by the Congress. This Minister went there with the purpose of telling those elders, in the name of Agnikula Kshatriyas, to support the candidate whom the Congress supported. I ask these Hon. Gentlemen straightway to answer one question. Did they not use the State buses for their propaganda? Did they not use the Prohibition vans for their party purpose? The people there are eye-witnesses to all that I say. In this way public funds are being wasted for party purposes. If an ordinary servant of this Government does such a thing, he is immediately charged or accused of bribery or corruption. But what happens to the people at the head of the administration when they do these things? Nothing. That is why we are not inspired by this budget, and we are not going to support this budget. We oppose the budget. When it is stated that there is so much waste of money on Police, it is argued that crimes have increased and people have become criminals. I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister, 'who is responsible for all this crime?' If people are becoming increasingly criminal, are they to be accused of crime or is the arch criminal somewhere else to be accused of crime? Who is the creator of all these

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crimes? I do not have any quarrel with God—the Almighty God. I am not quarrelling with Him. But the creator of all these crimes is the State, which does not appease the hunger of the people. The Hon. the Chief Minister said 'it is stated that there are so many unemployed people. If we retrench, then it is said that so many are thrown out of employment. They gather together, and hunger marches and other demonstrations are brought about. How are we to get along? You say there is waste of public money on unnecessary services, but at the same time you complain against retrenchment.' Sir, we are accused of this contradiction. But I say that it is the responsibility of the Government to see that all the people are supplied with their minimum requirements, namely, food and cloth. Unless these two things are given, humanity cannot survive. When these two things are absent, what is the use of the Government saying that they are here to protect the State and the people? People are dying of starvation. What is the use of our keeping Police stations? It is said that the present Police is not sufficient, crimes are on the increase, and, therefore, we must have more Police. My own opinion is that whatever might be the number of Policemen (even if all the Congressmen are made Policemen), still the problem cannot be solved, and crimes cannot be put an end to. Why do I say this? There are certain fundamental issues to be tackled, and unless these issues are tackled, there will be no good. The foremost issue I talk of is the abolition of landlordism. Unless landlordism is removed, no good will come to the people. It is not a novel idea which a Communist like me brings forward. It is a thing which is being adopted by Sheikh Abdullah, the follower of the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Why should we not adopt the same reforms in our State also? According to the Congress Working Committee, this proposal is being seriously considered, and they want to bring in land reforms. I am not one who believes that the Congress Working Committee will implement this proposal. According to press reports, the Congress Working Committee proposes to fix a maximum limit to an individual's holding, say, 50 acres or 100 acres. That is the limit they propose to prescribe. I ask the Hon. the Chief Minister and his colleagues whether there is any such proposal in this budget. There is no trace of it. That is why we are bound to oppose this budget. Unless the fundamental issues are tackled, there is no good saying that crimes are increasing, and therefore more Police are required. The Police cannot put an end to poverty. The Police cannot put an end to crimes. The arch criminal, if I may be permitted to say so, is the Government which is not discharging its duties, which is not giving food to the hungry people, and which is making people vagabonds. The Government make the people go about pick-pocketing. I ask our Chief Minister to consider these things, and carry out certain fundamental reforms in our State. He has stated that even if he accepted all the policies of the Opposition, the Opposition would rather change their policies than support him. I assure the Chief Minister, Sir, that he need not have any such doubt. On the other hand, as my

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11-45 a.m. hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram has stated many of the people who are backing him now from the Treasury Benches will be opposing him and probably our Chief Minister will not be the Chief Minister then and will be sitting on the Opposition Benches instead on the Treasury Benches. All these fundamental issues have got to be tackled. For instance, I take the handloom industry. The Hon. the Chief Minister made certain sweet speeches about that industry. He wanted to satisfy the people concerned with sweet words. But what is happening in practice? The handloom weavers are starving. While the Hon. the Chief Minister was going on appealing to the people to buy more handloom cloth than mill cloth, what was happening in the Centre? There it was the Congress Party that proposed and brought into effect an increase in the prices of yarn. So, whatever the left hand of the Congress Party is promising, the right hand is taking away. That is why I say the same old policy is being continued. However much we plead, it is said that it is a concern of the Central Government. But can the Central Government carry into effect all these damaging proposals, if we all unitedly fight against them? No, they will not dare to do it. But it is not to be and the problem of the handloom weavers remains unsolved.

"Sir, I have personally gone to many of the handloom co-operative societies and found many of the difficulties experienced by them. They were not satisfied with the sweet words of the Hon. the Chief Minister. I asked them plainly whether they were satisfied with them. The reply was in the negative. I said, 'The Chief Minister has appealed to people to buy more handloom cloth than mill cloth. Why are you not satisfied?' The truth is this. In practice, stocks are piling up in all the co-operative societies. In the last six months, the prices have come down. Six months back, the price of a pair of dhoties was Rs. 14 and to-day it is Rs. 7. In spite of this drastic cut in prices, people are not coming forward to buy them because they have lost their purchasing power. Therefore, there is no use appealing to people to buy more handloom cloth without redressing their grievances by effecting certain fundamental changes to ameliorate their condition and thereby increasing their purchasing capacity. A handloom weaver who was paid Rs. 1-4-0 six months back is now paid ten annas and one can easily understand the starvation level in which he is living. So, however much the Hon. the Chief Minister has promised them, it is not brought into practice and the conditions of the handloom weavers have not improved.

"Sir, it is said that the policy of Prohibition is working well. No doubt the poor people should be relieved of the burden of tax. But certain realities and objectives have got to be taken into consideration. By mere wishful thinking, we cannot effect a thing. I can give my own experience of how the Prohibition policy is working in my constituency. There is a police station in my native village and it is a temporary one. As the Hon. the Minister for Prohibition has already said, in Guntur the Police are entrusted with the work of enforcing Prohibition. There are 12 villages in

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that circle which pay to the Police Rs. 300 each per month. It is a fact so well-known that anybody will be ready to give that information. These Rs. 300 are paid not by all the villagers but by certain people who are carrying on the manufacture of illicit liquor. So, illicit liquor is being sold there and Prohibition is not enforced there in practice. If Prohibition is enforced there properly, there is none who will welcome it more than myself. Unfortunately, we have lost some sixteen or seventeen crores of rupees which were available to us formerly from this source. Are the people at least relieved of this burden? No, they are not. Bribery is there. If some people are caught drunken, they are immediately taken to the Police station, some money is received from them and they are let off. So, the drinking habit is not gone. We can realize it by an objective study of the realities. It is not necessary for a Communist Member or a Member of the United Democratic Front alone to point this out. Even many of the hon. Members sitting on the other side will certainly give this information to the Hon. the Chief Minister and his Colleagues. The explanation offered is that we are bound to spend more on police. But what is the nature of the crime committed? The crime is that a man is found drunk. Such a man is taken to task but if some bribe is offered, he is let off. Thus the poor people are paying more in the shape of bribes. The Government should realize this.

"In our district of Guntur, there are 10 temporary police stations. On all the temporary police stations nearly Rs. 3 lakhs, I estimate, are being spent every year. But what is the use of these police stations? People are prone, and especially the Hon. the Chief Minister is prone, to believe that if the police are removed, the Communists will be free to create chaos. It is not so, Sir. You can go and enquire anywhere in these areas where there are temporary police stations and you will find that the people are suffering a lot because of these police stations. It is said that crimes are on the increase. Why? Previously in the matter of household quarrels, the practice was for a village elder to come, adjust matters and bring about a compromise between the quarrelling parties. But what is happening now after the advent of these police stations? Even in matters of household quarrel, the police people are interfering. I can give concrete examples of this. In my own village and in the neighbouring villages, many a time the police interfered unnecessarily in household quarrels. Suppose two people fight about some cattle-feeding tub. Immediately the husband and wife are called to the police station and unless they give the police something, they are not let off.

"As regards the question of criminal tribes, the Congress Party was canvassing for the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act. But even to-day the criminal tribes are suffering as they were suffering before under the British rule. In my own village there are some 200 families belonging to the criminal tribes. In the last six months some four of them who have been living there for a good many years were arrested four times and kept in custody for 15 or 20 days every time, because some theft had taken place some

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20 or 40 miles away. But on no occasion they could find any concrete evidence to charge them. That is why I say the Congress Party has been pursuing the same old policy and the people have not been relieved of their miseries.

"Now, I come to the housing problem which happens to be the most acute problem in the rural parts. Any Government which is serious about the matter can tackle easily, in my opinion, this problem. If we go to the rural parts, we will receive complaints about the housing problem from the agricultural labourers. They have been suffering for a long time for want of some house sites. Sometimes they write to the Government that there is a site in some place and appeal to them to acquire that site and allow them to build their huts there. The Government then make an enquiry. The landlord objects to its acquisition. Simply because the landlord objects, it is likely that sometimes poor, middle and rich peasants also object, and the Government then give up the idea instead of paying them some compensation and acquiring the site. Thus the problem remains there and the Government do not make any serious attempt to solve it. So, we cannot support the proposals contained in the Budget."

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* SRI C. KUNHIRAMA KURUP:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, ഈ സംഭാവന മുഖേനയെന്ന് ബഡ്ജറ്റിന്റെ സമ്പന്നമായ ഒരു നിരൂപണം ചെയ്യുമ്പോൾ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഒരു ഭാഗത്തുള്ള സാമ്പത്തിക സാമൂഹ്യവും സാധാരണ സമ്പന്നമായ ഒരു അവലോകനം ചെയ്യുന്നത് അസ്ഥാനത്തിലാകുകയില്ലെന്ന് ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഒരു രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഏതൊരു പ്രധാനപ്പെട്ട ഇനമായ മനുഷ്യന്റെ ദൈനംദിന ജീവിതത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് ഒരു പുതുക്കിയ സീക്കരണ രൂപം നൽകുക എന്ന അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽവേണം നാം ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി പറ്റാ യോചിക്കുവാൻ. ഈ കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇന്ന് ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖേന വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നാട്ടുകാരുടെ പൊതുവെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെ സ്പർശിക്കുന്നില്ല എന്ന് വ്യക്തമാക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ഏറ്റവും ദുഷ്കരമായ പ്രശ്നത്തിന്റെയും പുരോഗതി നിലകൊള്ളുന്ന ഒരു പുത്തൻ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയുടെ രൂപീകരണത്തിലാണെന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി യാതൊരു സംശയവുമില്ല. ഈ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയെ സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഉത്തരവാദിത്വം ഏറ്റെടുക്കേണ്ട ഭരണാധികാരി അദ്ദേഹം എന്തിനായി സാധാരണക്കാരനെ ബാധിക്കാത്ത സംഗതികൾ ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നതിൽ ആർക്കുപിടുന്നതു അസ്ഥാനത്തു അകകയ്യില്ലെന്ന് എനിക്ക് തോന്നുന്നു. ഈ പരിചയ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി ചിന്തിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇതു മുതൽ ചില വ്യക്തികളുടെ തല്പര്യങ്ങൾ ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്ന് പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ മുതൽ ചില വ്യക്തികളിൽനിന്നു വ്യത്യസ്തമായ ഒരു നിലപാട് കൈവരുത്തുവാൻ ഉരക്കുന്ന ഒരു സാമൂഹ്യ സീക്കരണ പദ്ധതി കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയുടെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിലാണ് ഈ ഭരണാധികാരി നിലകൊള്ളേണ്ടിയിരുന്നത്, പക്ഷെ, അതല്ല അവരുടെ നിലപാട്. കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലഘട്ടങ്ങളെ മെല്ലാംതന്നെയാണ് ഈ നിലവിടെ സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയുടെ മാനദണ്ഡം വരുത്തുവാൻ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ ചെയ്ത ഏറ്റവും വമ്പിച്ച അഭ്യർത്ഥനയായിരുന്നു വിഭക്തികരണം എന്നത്. വിഭക്തികരണം എന്നാൽ സാമൂഹ്യവും സാമ്പത്തികവും രാഷ്ട്രീയകരവുമായി എല്ലാവിധ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെയും ഒരു വേദം ബാധിക്കുന്ന ഒരു തത്വസംഹിതയാണ്.

"അതുകൊണ്ട് സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം എത്രയും ദൃഢാന്തരം ഈ നിയമം മുഖേനയെന്ന് വെച്ചാൽ സാധിക്കും. എന്റെ നാട്ടിൽതന്നെ നടന്ന അക്രമങ്ങളുടെയും അനിരീക്ഷ്യങ്ങളുടെയും ഒരു നിങ്ങളെ ചരിത്രം ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറയുമ്പോൾ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഉൾപ്പെടെ ചില സംഭവങ്ങൾ മാത്രമാണ് ഇവിടെ എടുത്തുകാണിക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത്. കറുപ്പുനാട് രാജ്യത്തിൽ എടുത്തുകാണിക്കുന്ന കലപാതകത്തെ പറ്റി എല്ലാ രാഷ്ട്രീയ

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കക്ഷികളും കൗൺസിലർ യോജിച്ച് ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽപ്പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ കലപാതകം ഉണ്ടായത്—നാട്ടുകാർ വിവരിക്കുന്നതു ശരിയാണെങ്കിൽ—13 മണിക്കൂർ പച്ചപകലായിരുന്നു. എല്ലാ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കക്ഷികളും ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെട്ടു തീർത്തു ഈ കാര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷിക്കുവാൻ ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ വിവരം കൊടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടാകാം. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള വിവരങ്ങൾ കേൾക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇല്ല. മലബാർ മന്ത്രി ശ്രീമാൻ കട്ടിപ്പള്ളി നായർ കട്ടിപ്പള്ളി പട്ടണത്തിൽ ഇത്രയും ഭയങ്കരമായ ഒരു കലപാതകത്തെപ്പറ്റി അന്വേഷണത്തിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട് ഇതേപോലെ അതിനെ ഒരു സാധാരണ കലപാതകമായിത്തീർത്തു ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം വ്യസനസമരം പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. നാട്ടിലെ എല്ലാവിധ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളും ഒരു പോലെയ്ക്കിരിക്കണമെങ്കിൽ, സാമ്പത്തികവും സാമൂഹ്യവുമായിട്ടുള്ള നല്ലവർഗ്ഗം തന്നെ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. അതിനായി വിഭക്തികരണത്തിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ഈ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ സമീപിക്കണമെന്നാണ് ഞാൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നത്. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ കാലത്തോളം ഈ യോഗത്തിന്റെ സമയം കയ്യെടുക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റിന്റെ അച്ചുതന്നെ അച്ചു എന്നുള്ളതിനെ സംശയമില്ല. നാട്ടിന്റെ അഭ്യർത്ഥന വികാസകരം എന്തെല്ലാമാണ് എന്ന് ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. Decontrol എന്ന സംബന്ധിച്ച് ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനെ സാധാരണ ചെയ്യണം എന്നുള്ളതിനെ സംശയമില്ല. എന്താൽ ഭക്ഷണത്തിന്റെ കാര്യത്തിൽ അപര്യാപ്തമായ എന്റെ ജില്ലയെപ്പറ്റി ഇവിടെനിന്നു സാധാരണക്കാരോ ഈ ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റോ വളരെ ഗൗരവമേറിയതാണെന്നു പറയാതെ നില്ക്കുകയില്ല. Decontrol വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നതോ എന്നും അത് എന്തൊരു പ്രാധാന്യമുള്ള കൂടിയാണ് വിജയിക്കുവാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്നും പറ്റാലോചിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. Decontrol വിജയിക്കുക, ഞാൻ പരിപൂർണ്ണമായി വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. അത് സാമ്പത്തികത്തിന്റെ ഭക്ഷണകാര്യത്തിൽ ഉള്ള സ്വയംസഹായത്തിൽ ആണെന്നാണ്. ഭക്ഷണകാര്യത്തിൽ സ്വയംസഹായം വേണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഉല്പാദനം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതെന്നു പറയേണ്ടതില്ലല്ലോ. മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള സ്വയംസഹായം നാട്ടുകാർക്കില്ല. കൃഷിക്കാരന് കൃഷിഭൂമികളിൽ സ്വയംസഹായം വേണ്ടില്ല. കൃഷി ഇല്ലാത്ത സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ കൃഷിചെയ്യുവാൻ വകവെച്ചു കൊടുക്കുവാൻ ഉള്ള ഒരു നിയമ ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശമില്ല. കൃഷിക്കാർ കൃഷി ചെയ്യുവാൻ പ്രോത്സാഹനം നൽകുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പദ്ധതിയും ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ഉദ്ദേശമില്ല. എത്രയും ഏകീകൃതമായ ഇന്നും തരിശായി കിടക്കുന്നു. അതിൽ കൃഷി ചെയ്യുകയാണു ഗവർണ്മെന്റ് പരിശ്രമിക്കുന്നില്ല. കൂടാതെ കൃഷിചെയ്യുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽതന്നെ അതിനെ പ്രോത്സാഹനം കൊടുക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു പരിപാടി ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനു ഇല്ലാത്തതും. കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു അവർ കൃഷിചെയ്യുന്ന സ്ഥലത്തിന്റെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥം നിർമ്മിച്ചിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഈ പദ്ധതി സമീപിതയിൽ സ്വയംസഹായം കൊടുക്കുന്നതോ എന്നാണ് ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുകയുള്ളത്. ഇതിലൂടെ വിനിയന്ത്രണം യഥാർത്ഥമായി വിജയിക്കാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. കഴിഞ്ഞ കൊല്ലത്തിൽ മലബാറിനെ ബാധിച്ചിരുന്ന ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായ ഒരു നിയമമാണല്ലോ മലബാർ കടിയായ ഭരണനിയമം. ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം മലബാറിൽ അങ്ങനെയൊരു എല്ലാ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കക്ഷികളും ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. ഈ നിയമം കടിയായ ഭരണനിയമം, കടിയായ ഭരണനിയമം ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ നിർവ്വഹിക്കുവാൻ പറ്റുപുറല്ല എന്നും, കടിയായ സ്ഥിരവകാശം കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഈ കടിയായ നിയമം യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ കടിയായ ഭരണനിയമം ചെയ്യുക എന്ന് പലപ്പോൾ ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ അഭിപ്രായനായ പ്രശ്നത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഈ ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നിലപാട് എന്താണെന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഇതുപോലെ തന്നെ പറഞ്ഞു കൂട്ടില്ല. കടിയായ നിയമത്തിൽ മറ്റൊരു ഒരു നിയമം പോകുന്നതോ എന്നുള്ള കാര്യത്തിൽ വല്ല സാധാരണക്കാരും മലബാർ മന്ത്രി മലബാർ പട്ടണസംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ ചെയ്ത പ്രശ്നങ്ങളിൽ ഉണ്ടോ എന്നു ചോദിച്ചാൽ ഇല്ലെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല മലബാറുകാർ ഈ നിയമം കൊണ്ടുണ്ടാകുന്ന കാര്യങ്ങളെ യാതൊന്നുംതന്നെ വിവരിക്കുകയില്ല. ഈ വക കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഉത്തരവാദിത്തമുള്ളവർ ഉത്തരം പറഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ നാട്ടുകാർ നിരാശപ്പെടും. ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം ഇത് നാട്ടുകാരുടെ പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നില്ലെന്ന് വളരെ പരമമാണ്. ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ എന്താണ് ഒരു പ്രത്യേകതയുള്ളത്. നിയമവും സാധാരണവും പാലിക്കുവാനെന്നവകാശപ്പെടുന്ന പോലീസ് ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റിനെ വകയ്ക്കേണ്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നല്ലാതെ, അത് വർദ്ധിപ്പിച്ച് എന്നല്ലാതെ, ഇതിൽ വ്യവസായികസമീകരണ പദ്ധതികൾ ഉരക്കുന്ന

[Sri C. Kunhirama Kurup] [4th July 1952]

യാതൊന്നും ഇത് ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നില്ല. ഈ നിലയിൽ നിലവിലുള്ള സാമൂഹ്യവ്യവസ്ഥയിൽ ഒരു മാറ്റം വരുത്തുവാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഗവണ്മെന്റുള്ളൂ. നിലവിലുള്ളത് എന്നു പറയുമ്പോൾ അതു ഒന്നൊക്കെയില്ലെന്നു എന്നിരിക്കാം. നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ അവ ഏറ്റെടുക്കുന്നതിലുള്ള ആവശ്യമായും ശരി അത് നിർവ്വഹിക്കണമെന്നും ഒരു പുതിയ സാമൂഹ്യപദ്ധതികൾക്കുതക്ക കഴിയില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു മാറ്റം വരുത്തണമെന്നുള്ള നടപടി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് എടുക്കണം. കാര്യങ്ങൾ ആൻ പറയുന്നു ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഒരു യാഥാസ്ഥിതിക ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്ന്, ഒരു മുതലാളിത്വ ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്ന്. സാധാരണക്കാരന്റെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി നിലകൊള്ളുന്നു എന്നു അവകാശപ്പെടുന്ന ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് സാധാരണക്കാരനെ നന്നാക്കുവാൻ ഉള്ള ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റല്ല. ഇന്നു ഈ സഭയുടെ മുഖാമുഖം വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളൂ. കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലത്തുള്ള ബഡ്ജറ്റിന്റെ ഒരു തുടർച്ചയാണ് ഇത് എന്നല്ലാതെ പുതുതായ ഒരു ബഡ്ജറ്റ് എന്ന നിലയിൽ ഇതിനെ വീക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിലുള്ള കാർഷികരെയും സമ്പന്നരെയും വായകയാണെങ്കിൽ Electricity യെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു എന്റെ സേനാനിയാണ് ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുഖാമുഖം. മലബാർ ഇതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വളരെ പിന്നിലാണെന്ന്. Irrigation നെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു കേരളം നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികളുടെ അഭാവത്തിൽ വളരെ നഷ്ടങ്ങൾ നേരിടുകയുണ്ടാകുന്നു. ആയിരം ഏക്കറിലും ഉറപ്പിക ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടു നട്ടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തേണ്ട ചെറിയ ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികൾ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ വകയിരുത്തിയിട്ടില്ല. വികേന്ദ്രീകരണത്തിൽ പിശാചുസമുദ്രം യിരുന്നെങ്കിൽ ചെറിയ ചെറിയ ഹരിതകൾ പദ്ധതികൾ നട്ടിൽ വരുത്തുമായിരുന്നു; പുതിയ ആസ്തികൾ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളാൻ ഉണ്ടാക്കുമായിരുന്നു; സ്ത്രീകൾ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളാൻ വകയിരുത്തിയിരുന്നു; നാട്ടുകാർ ഉതകുന്ന സാമ്പത്തിക സഹായം പദ്ധതികൾ അതിൽ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളിക്കുമായിരുന്നു. ഉന്നം ഉൾക്കൊള്ളാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞു; കൃഷിക്ക് പദ്ധതികൾ പദ്ധതികൾക്കുണ്ട്. മൊത്തത്തിൽ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് നാട്ടുകാരെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന പ്രശ്നങ്ങളെ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന നാട്ടുകാരുടെ ബഡ്ജറ്റല്ല, ഒരു മുതലാളിത്വ ബഡ്ജറ്റാണെന്നു പറയുവാൻ ആൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു."

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI:—" Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Budget generally. Rajaji must have found . . . "

MR. SPEAKER:—" It is better if the hon. Member says ' Mr. Rajagopalachari ' or ' the Chief Minister ' instead of saying ' Rajaji ' . "

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p.m.

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI:—" The Hon. the Chief Minister must have found that he had to deal not only with difficult politics but also difficult finances in this State placed as we are to-day. I know very often the main charge for the present state of affairs has been laid at the door of the Prohibition policy of the Government, and it is said that if that policy had not been there, our finances would have been very much better. I must say that the financial position of the other States that have not followed this policy has not been any better. I wish to make it very clear that there is no reason for this sort of complaint against Prohibition, whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Prohibition policy. So far as this State is concerned, whatever money it may have lost on account of Prohibition, has been made up by other ways and by imposing other taxes. From the viewpoint of general revenues, therefore, there has not been much loss so far as this State is concerned. As a matter of fact, if we carefully go through the Budget, we find that we have been placed in a very bad condition. I say this, because we have to face facts. We are resolved

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to see that these difficulties which are facing us at the present time are tackled in the best manner possible. The expenditure is increasing, but at the same time, the demand for more and more schemes is forthcoming not only from this side of the House, but from the other side also. Because, we have promised so many things to our electorate we feel that it is necessary that all these things must be done forthwith, irrespective of the practical difficulties of the Government. While one can appreciate our anxiety, at the same time, we should be very much concerned with the fact that what is most important is that the State must be solvent. Only when the State is solvent, it can try to solve the difficulties, try to help every part of the country and try to meet the demands of the people as far as practicable. We find one significant sentence in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Minister for Finance. He says, ' Under the agreement with the Bank, the maximum overdraft that we are eligible for at one time, is only Rs. 80 lakhs, but there were occasions in the last two years when the overdraft amounted to several times that figure.' It is not merely a question of overdrawing. It is a question of the Banker being very good to us, and the Banker has been very lenient to us. But I think that it is certainly not a matter of pride to us that we have been reduced to this sort of financial position. Of course, after this Government took charge, I have noticed several things which are well on the way to prevent a crisis of this nature. I am only pointing out the difficulties. It is really necessary to point out that if so many things have to be done, there must be some taxes. If we follow the policies and programmes laid down by the Members of the Opposition, I am sure that it will not be possible to carry out those programmes without having at least ten times the present taxes. If they think that as an alternative to these taxes, they can go into the open market and raise loans, I am afraid that they will be making a very great mistake. The lender in the open market wants to be assured that the Government that is in power is stable and to know whether the Government wants the money for any productive purpose and whether that Government has got confidence to discharge its functions. Now, the Hon. the Chief Minister had very rightly pointed out that he was seeking the vote of confidence as he had to go to the open market to borrow money and so it was necessary to impress on the investing world that there would be a stable Government. We are not the only borrowers in the country. Every other State will be doing the same thing. We also find that many States have presented a deficit Budget. Even the Central Government which has a very ambitious programme—the five-year plan and all that—must have sufficient funds. It is very difficult to understand how exactly we are going to raise all the money if we have to carry out all these programmes.

" We have to repay about two crores of rupees to the open market this year, and the Hon. the Finance Minister has said that he is likely to go to the open market for raising a loan. That is the position to-day and I do not know what exactly the position is likely

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to be in the future. Anyway, it is not a very happy state of affairs that we have been called upon to draw from the Revenue Reserve Fund. It is said that this fund was intended to meet the needs of the lean years. I do not think that the present may be said to be lean period. The lean period is yet to come and we may have to be prepared for it. Anyway, in the light of all these, it is necessary that some amount of taxation has to be borne. While I would like to lay emphasis on the revenue side, I would like to lay greater emphasis on expenditure side as well. Naturally, one knows that expenditure has to be incurred. In domestic economy, we restrict our expenditure according to our income, but under the principle of public finance, the Government determine their expenditure and then try to raise money to cover it. But I think it is very good to remember the maxim, 'cut the coat according to the cloth' while managing public finance. No doubt the ideal of a Welfare State is there and it is a very ambitious ideal indeed. But, if the body is big and the cloth is small, we cannot cover the entire body and some part or other will expose itself. That is why I said that the maxim should be remembered by those who handle public finance. Therefore, it is as much the concern of the Opposition as of all of us on this side to see that our finances are put on a sound footing. I repeat once again that it is not Prohibition that is responsible for the loss of revenue. What is called for at the present time is effective control over the expenditure that the State has to incur. I lay great stress on this point, because oftentimes we hear complaints from all quarters that but for this Prohibition, everything would have been all right. Whenever grievances are brought to notice, it is pointed out that but for this Prohibition they could have been solved. To-day, the entire teaching profession is looking at this Rs. 18½ crores and says that but for this Prohibition policy of the Government, they can get all their allowances. Similarly, the Non-Gazetted Officers feel that but for this, all their grievances could have been satisfactorily solved. Again, such of us as want bridges and roads and other amenities provided feel that but for this, we could have got all that we wanted. In this manner if all of us are to make a demand on that Rs. 18½ crores, I am sure none of our demands will be satisfied, and we will continue to be in the same state in which we are. Even in the communist country of Russia they did not want to have a vested interest in liquor sales. I say that even the Russian Government has not used this particular form of taxation. The Government have got many methods of taxation, and one of them is collection of excise duties on liquor. If the Government give up that revenue and introduce some other tax to cover any loss that may occur consequent on the giving up of that revenue, there is nothing fundamentally wrong about it. This does not mean that I say that Prohibition has been a grand success. I am not one of those who believe that it has been a success. Whatever may be the objective, the whole thing is going to be judged by the results. A lot of money, nearly a crore annually, is being spent on its enforcement. Can it not be saved by dispensing with

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the Prohibition staff and leaving it to the police to enforce the law? Why should there be all kinds of irritating and irksome restrictions on the honest citizens? This makes him sympathise with the drunkard and public co-operation is increasingly weaned away. People oppose Prohibition on different grounds. I wish to bring to the notice of hon. Members that unfortunately for this State, Prohibition and sales tax have started together. There are many who seriously think that if Prohibition goes, sales tax will also go. But I must warn that as things stand at present, if Prohibition has to go, sales tax will definitely continue. If anybody is thinking that sales tax also will go along with the giving up of Prohibition, I wish to dispel that sort of idea from his mind. Placed as we are, it is not possible to get on without this tax. But this does not mean that sales tax on everything is justified though it would be very difficult to exempt foodstuffs and other essential articles from sales-tax immediately. Of course, it cannot be denied that the incidence of taxation has been very heavy, and especially the poor people have suffered badly. We have to remember the fundamental principle of all taxation measures. It is necessary that steps must be taken to give relief to these poor people. The measure of taxation prevalent in our State has to be very carefully revised. By effecting certain economies and by bringing down expenditure, we should try to give such relief as is possible to all these people who are hard hit by the heavy incidence of taxation.

From the point of view of expenditure, we find that the amount for nation-building activities has gone up to Rs. 40 crores from Rs. 10 crores. Well, we shall be very happy if the benefits on account of this also had increased correspondingly. It is better if we analyse each figure and try to see whether there has been any appreciable return for what we are spending. We want every rupee spent by the Government to go the longest way. No doubt we are spending about Rs. 11 crores on Education. It is the largest single item of expenditure. We have about 38,500 elementary schools and 1,250 secondary schools. The position is this. Only one out of every five who pass out of the elementary school has the chance to enter a high school. After spending large sums of money on primary education, if there are no facilities for higher education, correspondingly all these children will lapse into illiteracy again. If the present system is to continue, I do not think we will be in a position to achieve much in the direction of the spread of literacy. It is absolutely necessary that there should be a real reorientation in our ideal of education. We have drawn up several plans. But the plans will be purposeful and successful, only when they are carried out and not when they are shelved. There is the Sargeant Scheme on Education. There are other schemes. There is the report of the University Commission presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan. The National Planning Commission has said that the present system of education was meant for training clerks for the Government offices and even there, it has failed and is not producing efficient clerks. I say this because unless education is made free from all restrictions, we cannot hope to

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achieve anything concrete. Why should we have costly buildings? Let them prescribe a standard and if a boy gets through an examination conducted by the authorities, then give him a certificate as they do for the London Matric or Senior Cambridge. We need not compel a boy to go to school. We shall see whether he possesses the standard of knowledge that we have prescribed. If we do this, a greater number of people can be, and will be, educated, and many of them will come up in life. Why should we not do some such thing? Why insist on an endowment of Rs. 30,000 for the purpose, and put up costly buildings? We must have correct ideals. My point is that the money that we spend must go for a good cause and must be used for a proper purpose. If we go on spending more and more money on education without corresponding progress in the field of literacy, of what earthly use can such a programme be? The Government are spending something like eleven crores of rupees. But it does not mean that only that much is being spent on education. I am sure that more than Rs. 20 crores are received by way of school fees from the students. Often, the management makes up any deficit. Sir, this is a very serious problem that is facing us. We cannot have a type of education that will be detrimental to public life. I do not know for how long we have to spend money like this on education without any appreciable results. However, a time will come when more and more money will have to be diverted to other and more important activities like public health and hospitals, and we may not be able to spend the same amount on Education then as we are spending now.

12-30
p.m.

" I will next come to the Public Works Department. As far as the Public Works Department is concerned, I must frankly say that what the Chief Minister said is to a very large extent correct. It is Enemy No. 2, as he himself put it. We have seen that we cannot confine ourselves to the estimates that are prepared and the works are not promptly executed. We see that the works that are sanctioned are not executed in time and that we are called upon to incur an increased expenditure. We are called upon to revise the Budget estimates. Let us look at the way in which we have handled the minor irrigation projects. What was our object in sanctioning these schemes? The object was to effect economies in our expenditure by stopping imports of foodgrains from abroad and by growing them in our own country. If these schemes are slowed down, what will be the result? I say that work should not be slowed down but should be expedited and completed, so that our food can be grown here itself and our food problem solved permanently. I must point out that a new outlook is necessary so far as these things are concerned.

" I have got to say something about my home district. Very often in this House I have heard something being asked for Andhradesa, something being asked for Tamilnad and so on. But poor Karnatak, because we are quiet, should not be understood as having no demands at all. Well, we can appreciate the position as it is and we do not want to make demands. That does

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not mean, we do not have demands at all to make. As a matter of fact, the State has been spending money everywhere and in spite of that, grievances are on the increase. Wherever big projects are undertaken we find lot of complaints against the Government that money is not spent properly. Some kind of grievance is always there. South Kanara has returned nine Congress candidates out of ten and Bellary has sent four out of five as all those who stood as Independents have joined the party. That does not mean we have no grievances. We have plenty of them. What I wish to point out is that we are conscious of our strength. We are conscious of our strength to press our case and get the grievances redressed. I do not want to repeat the demands of South Kanara over and over again. We know when the linguistic provinces are formed we will have our province and work it well.

" Then, Sir, we have one of the poorest means of communication in our district. I am particularly addressing the Hon. the Minister for Public Works. Our main difficulty is communication. We have a railway of only 60 miles for the whole district. At every fourth or sixth or seventh mile, we have got a river to cross—river with water on all the 365 days in the year unlike in the case of rivers in other parts of the State where, however, there are causeways which might be useful in the absence of bridges. We have been put to a lot of difficulty and the whole economic development of the district has been hampered because of these poor means of communication. The problem has not been solved. Very often it has been pointed out that we have been spending lot of money over bridges. But in South Kanara only one or two have been taken up. If the Government take into consideration all the money that they have spent in other districts all these years and try to give a fraction thereof to South Kanara for a period of two or three years, a few bridges could be built and our means of communication improved. I think that would solve our problem. We are told that there is equitable distribution of expenditure, that is, on the population basis. It is not our fault that we do not have a big population as compared with other districts. We do not want to be treated on that basis. We are asking for a bridge over a river with water and not over a river with no water like Palar. We want to see that the money you spend is spent well. We do not want to have concrete roads. We are patriotic enough to wait for luxuries. We want our simple requirements to be met. We have plenty of rainfall and, as a friend from Malabar said, much of the rain-water drains into the sea. We want facilities for the supply of electricity in our district. For a long time we have been expecting supply of electricity from Jog. Even though we had sacrificed some five villages of our district so that Jog could be developed, yet the agreement has not been entered into between the Government of Madras and the Government of Mysore. Whatever the reasons for the delay, it should not take any more time. If we had the advantage of an earlier supply of electricity, we would have improved our industrial wealth and gone ahead with agricultural development in the district. We

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would have solved many of our problems. Why should the Government be so earnest about the Megadathu project alone? I may point out that there are seven rivers—big rivers in South Kanara—which flow from a height of 2,000 feet and which are capable of producing electricity on a large scale. They offer good scope for starting hydro-electric schemes. We have a river—Varahi—which is capable of giving 40,000 kilowatts as much as Megadathu promises. Why does not the Government investigate it?

"These are some of the problems that I wanted to place before the House. I know the limitations of time and, therefore, I do not wish to go into more details. I generally commend to all the Members of the House that these Budget proposals, as things stand, are quite sound and have to be supported."

* Sri S. T. ADITYAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want first to tell the House that the Budget as now presented to us is completely unsatisfactory. Not only has there been a leakage of the proposals before the presentation of the Budget to us but the whole thing seems to me to be leaky. The proposal is to tax the people of this State again to the extent of three crores of rupees. It has been explained to us that under the National Plan, it is necessary to raise five crores of rupees every year, four crores by means of taxation and one crore by economizing expenditure. May I ask the hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite what is the extent to which they have been able to economize this year? What efforts they have made. I ask, in order to save one crore of rupees by reducing expenditure? On the contrary, the Ministers are asking for greater and greater sacrifices on the part of the people. The people cannot bear any more the increasing burden and I am afraid the breaking point will be reached sooner than we expect."

"Coming to the measures of taxation one by one, let me take up first the surcharge on land tax. I want to draw the attention of this honourable House to the fact that the proposals are not new ones but were before the former Ministry. These were made by the Subramanyam Committee of which the Hon. the Finance Minister also was a member, if I remember aright. Its recommendations, as far as I remember, are that all people who pay below Rs. 150 should be exempted from any surcharge, people who pay between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250 should pay a surcharge of 1½ annas in the rupee, people who pay from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500, three annas per rupee, people who pay from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, four annas per rupee, those who pay between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,500, six annas per rupee and those who pay above Rs. 2,500, eight annas per rupee. That was the sliding scale suggested by the Committee. At present what is the rate of tax suggested? Those who pay Rs. 50 and below are sought to be exempted and those who pay above Rs. 1,000 are expected to be surcharged a rupee per rupee. It begins with four annas first instead of 1½ annas suggested by the Committee. Who are these people who are required to be surcharged? People who own three acres of land,

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wet land. The tax per acre of wet land is about Rs. 19 in Tirunelveli district. So peoples who own only an extent of three acres of land have now to pay this surcharge."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"If it is three acres it falls well within the limit of exemption."

* Sri S. T. ADITYAN :—"But if he owns one cent more he is surcharged. It applies not only to individuals but to members of a joint family also. Suppose there is a joint family consisting of three brothers and the family owns three acres or a little more of land. Each brother might be owning only an acre in actual practice and he will be required to pay the surcharge. Therefore, this exemption is really illusory and not real. It is no exemption at all."

"I shall rapidly run over the other taxes. Firstly, the taxes on road traffic. There are two taxes sought to be levied here. You will remember, Sir, when Gandhiji preached decontrol and made the Provincial Governments agree to it, they tried to work it but found that the greatest bottleneck was transport. They were unable to find enough number of wagons to transport grains from one place to another. When the matter was reported to Gandhiji, he suggested a very simple solution. He said that the bottleneck could be got over only if we allowed buses and lorries to carry a little load of grains. He said, 'liberalize lorry traffic; why do you restrict the supply of petrol; liberalize petrol rationing and passenger traffic, and everything will be all right.' He made pointed reference to the lorry and bus service plying between Delhi and another place, whose income was about Rs. 10,000 per year or so. Sir, if we improve bus traffic by promoting free competition, our problems will be easily solved. Instead of that, what do we find now? Further restrictions are sought to be placed on road traffic. One of them is the Petrol Tax, i.e., sales-tax on petrol. Sir, a Central Committee, called the Motor Vehicles Taxation Enquiry Committee presided over by Mr. Dalal, went into the question of taxation of road traffic in 1950. It has said in paragraph 32 (i) of its report that on the total investment of railways, the Union Government receives a certain amount by carrying one ton a mile. Let us take that as the unit."

"Let us now consider the revenue derived by the State Government and the Central Government by way of taxation on road transport. The Committee has come to the conclusion that the road transport pays about double the amount of revenue derived from rail transport. Sir, there was another Central Committee, the Road-Rail Relations Committee of 1943. It went into the question of the economics of road traffic. It took into account the amount of money invested by the State and the Central Government on roads and railways, and worked out the amount received by them by way of taxation on road traffic. They came to the conclusion that if the Government levied 25 per cent of the tax that they are now levying on road transport, it would have given

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them a sufficient return on the capital invested by both the Governments. Therefore we received four times the interest that we would otherwise receive on our investments. That is the present outturn on our investment on roads. Add to it the present increase in the tax on road transport, viz., increase of one pie in the fare per mile. Add to it the taxation on motor spirit (instead of four annas it is six annas now). For these reasons, I submit the taxation on road transport has already reached the limit.

"May I submit one more thing in this connection? Supposing that all these taxes are reasonable, may I not ask the Government to pay more attention to road development? Is the revenue derived from this source devoted entirely to road development and maintenance? Then there might be some justification for this taxation. As it is there is no relation between the sum derived as revenue from roads and the amount spent on road development and maintenance. The roads in this State are in a pitiable condition. It is true that the road mileage in this State is a little more than most other States. But the condition of the roads of this State is not comparable to those in some of the neighbouring States. I recommend to the Government that the condition of the roads must be improved so that the food decontrol process could be worked more efficiently.

"Sir, I want to say a word or two on the General Sales Tax. In Bengal, sales-tax is levied only at one point. Here we have a multi-point sales-tax. Every time you buy you pay sales-tax. So, goods do not change hands easily and trade is hampered."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Is it Bengal or Bombay?"

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—"Bengal, Sir. I do not know about Bombay. There is another thing which we on this side have always pressed on the Government. We have been condemning the levy of sales-tax on food. Even according to the spirit of the Constitution this tax seems to be bad. You may call it general sales-tax or give it any name; it is a tax on food all the same. It increases the price of food as tax is collected every time food articles change hands. Therefore this tax on food should be removed immediately.

"Regarding the policy of Prohibition, the United Democratic Front is not committed either way. My own view in the matter is that it cannot prove an immediate success. That man is sorely mistaken who thinks that Prohibition could be made a success by punishing some people. These habitual addicts have got a way of getting their drink. They will steal, go to Pondicherry or illicitly manufacture arrack. It is not possible to prevent them from getting their drink. You can possibly succeed if you can prevent their children from becoming addicts to drink. The true yardstick to measure your success is the extent to which the younger generation is prevented from becoming addicts. Therefore the question we pose before the Government is, 'on the facts

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that are now available are we sure that the younger generation are not becoming addicts to drink? I have gone into the facts myself, and my finding is that the younger generation are not taking to toddy, or arrack but they are taking to a new kind of drink, the so-called culinary essences. Millions and millions of rupees worth of these essences are being sold in every district. Have the Government investigated this fact? Have they satisfied themselves that these essences are used only in the kitchen? I say they are not used in the kitchen; they are used by young men going about the streets with a cigarette in their hands, and perhaps a bottle of the essence in their pockets. If the Government are not able to prevent this, the policy of Prohibition is not going to be a success. Fortunately for us we have got more than half the population of this State, or even of the whole of India, who do not drink. I refer to women, the guardians of Prohibition. They want to see that their children do not drink. But if the Government allow the children to take to this essence, what would become of their Prohibition policy? That is why we have not committed ourselves either way. We are watching the situation carefully. If this state of affairs should continue, then we will have no hesitation in pronouncing that Prohibition has become a failure."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I would remind hon. Members that on Fridays it is the practice to adjourn at 1 o'clock."

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—"Then, Sir, the Hon. Finance Minister in submitting his budget proposals had something to say about the State trading schemes."

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISAMI GOUNDER :—"The hon. Member said 50 per cent of the population of women were guardians. Is it on the total population or is it on the population of women?"

* SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—"I might have corrected myself then itself. I might have said a little more than 50 per cent of the entire population because women are a little more than 50 per cent of the population in some places. I wanted to say that they were the bulwark of Prohibition.

"Regarding State trading schemes, the Hon. the Finance Minister seemed to be a little apologetic. It seemed almost a confession that the State trading as carried on in this State was not a profitable proposition but a failure. If I remember aright, the Hon. Minister who took over the bus transport in Madras expected some revenue would come to the coffers of the State Government. It began slowly to be mentioned, now and then, that the bus transport was yielding a profit. Then it began to dwindle. Then it was converted into a question of providing amenities to passengers and not a question of profit. I do not know to what extent they have come down now. But they have now a definite policy that this question of nationalization of bus transport will not be

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extended to other districts. I want to impress upon the Government that this nationalization of bus transport is working at a loss. It would have been far more profitable if the Government had invested the money on some other industry which others would not be able to run. Are there not many such industries which are absolutely essential to the State but which private enterprise cannot start and run? I can give a number of them. For instance is it not possible to start a factory which will produce photographic cameras and chemicals? Is it not possible to produce them here? We can start cement factories and produce enough cement to meet the requirements of the people. We can even export to other countries, such as Malaya which obtains its supplies of cement from Japan. We have sufficient quantities of lime stone in our country which are now used for road metal. Have not the Hon. Ministers sitting on the Treasury Benches enough imagination to think that they can invest their money more usefully on the lignite deposits? Only a little more imagination and careful study are necessary. Co-ordinated effort is necessary to think about these things and to invest the money in such a way that it would bring profit to the State. As it is, the whole thing is managed in a way that brings only loss to the State."

MR. SPEAKER:—"How many minutes more does the hon. Member want?"

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"I would like to have ten more minutes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"If the House is willing I would allow the hon. Member to speak for ten more minutes."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"Personally I would like to speak tomorrow."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Saturday, 5th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

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APPENDIX.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 35 asked by Sri T. Viswanatham at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on 4th July 1952, page 464 supra.]

The Machkund Hydro-Electric Project will consist of a main storage dam, a diversion dam, 17 miles below the main dam, to divert water let out from the main storage into an open channel, preliminary to entering the penstock pipes, and the penstock pipes and the generating plant. The diversion dam was to be constructed first to divert the water of the river and to utilize it to generate power, pending the construction of the main storage dam as the second stage. It was found that the river was bringing down heavy silt which would reduce the useful capacity of the diversion dam. In order to prevent undue silting at the generating dam, it is proposed to build that dam to lower height than originally intended, especially in the middle, through which a part of the river water carrying the silt could be passed out. When the main dam has been built, the silting problem at the diversion dam would ease. The ultimate height of the diversion dam will be decided upon after a detailed study, now in progress, of the question of silt deposition at the diversion dam. The quantum of power proposed to be generated will not be affected.

Although the main storage dam was to be the second stage of the Project, in view of the development of load in the areas to be ultimately supplied from the Project, the construction of the main dam has also now been taken up, instead of leaving it to a later stage.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 5th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Reduction in the dearness allowance for nurses.

* 36 Q.—SRI S. RAMALINGAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state—

(a) whether the dearness allowance for nurses was reduced recently; and

(b) if so, the reasons therefor?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“(a) The answer is in the negative.

“(b) Does not arise.”

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—“Were any allowances allowed to the nurses, other than dearness allowance, reduced recently?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Was the dearness allowance in any way reduced?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“The dearness allowance was enhanced with effect from 1st January 1948 for all Government servants. The nurses were also drawing a ration allowance of Rs. 20 per mensem. This ration allowance was increased to Rs. 30 per mensem and according to the rules laid down, those who draw ration allowance cannot draw the enhanced rates of dearness allowance. So, Sir, the enhanced rates of dearness allowance were not allowed with effect from 12th July 1949 as the ration allowance was increased from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per mensem. The total emoluments, however, did not suffer in any way. In fact they get Rs. 2 extra.”

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—“Will the Government consider enhancing their dearness allowance also in future?”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“Sir, the nurses are already getting many other concessions, like rent-free quarters, free supply of electricity, dhobi allowance, uniform allowance, etc.”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“ May I know the amount of dhobi allowance given? I understand it is Rs. 2 per mensem, but the nurses are obliged to spend on this account Rs. 8 to Rs. 10. And so, will the Hon. Minister consider the desirability of increasing the dhobi allowance? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ I think the dhobi allowance is Rs. 2 per mensem.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ Was the ration allowance given before the increase in prices, say in 1939 also? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The ration allowance was being given; but it was enhanced because the prices had gone up.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—“ May I know, Sir, in view of the fact that the dhobi charges they are paying come to Rs. 8 per mensem, whether the Government will consider the question of enhancing the dhobi allowance to Rs. 8 per mensem? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ I have no information about the dhobi charges which the nurses have to incur, Sir.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ In view of the fact that prices of rations have increased by nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ times since 1939, will the Government increase the ration allowance also at least by 50 per cent? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The ration allowance was increased because prices went up.”

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—“ In view of the fact that the ration allowance and other allowances were given to meet personal expenditure, will the Government consider the desirability of increasing the dearness allowance as it is meant for the family? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“ Sir, all these are questions of policy in finance and I understand the Opposition is preparing for financial sabotage. We are trying our best to put a barrage against this.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“ May I know, Sir, whether any question relating to the emoluments and amenities to Government employees means ‘ financial sabotage ’ and will the Hon. the Chief Minister give this House the benefit of his definition of ‘ financial sabotage ’? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“ I shall give it, Sir, on a proper occasion, but not at question time.”

Elections to Municipal Councils, District Boards and Panchayats.

* 37 Q.—SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state—

(a) when the elections to Municipal Councils, District Boards and Panchayat Boards are scheduled to take place on the basis of adult suffrage;

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(b) whether there is any change in the time schedule fixed by the previous Ministry; and

(c) if so, the reasons for the same?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ (a) *Municipal Councils.*—The Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards who is the Election Authority has been asked to conduct elections to all Municipal Councils so that the new councillors may come into office on 1st November 1952.

District Boards.—The question of elections to District Boards is still under consideration.

Panchayats.—Preparations are being made to hold elections to existing panchayats as soon as possible. These elections will be held in groups in each district one by one.

“(b) & (c) No time schedule was fixed by the previous Ministry for elections to Municipal Councils, District Boards and Panchayats.”

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—“ In the matter of elections to municipalities, the Corporation of Madras has made some representations to the Government and may I know whether they have considered them? ”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the elections to District Boards and Panchayats will be completed before the end of this year? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ It is under the consideration of the Government. Only elections to Panchayat Boards are to be completed this year.”

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the Government are aware that 25 out of 80 seats in the Madras Corporation are based . . . ? ”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon. Member should not read his question.”

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the Government are aware that in the elections to the Madras City Corporation Council, election to 25 out of 80 seats is based on communal representation and representation of Chambers of Commerce, in direct contravention of the basic principles of the Constitution of India? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ We are considering the question of elections to Municipal Councils and Panchayats only. The life of the present Madras City Corporation Council extends only up to 1st November 1952 and so the elections have to be conducted.”

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SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—“ In view of the fact that elections to District Boards are postponed, is there any proposal to appoint Special Officers for the District Boards till the elections are held? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“The question is under consideration.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ In view of the information of the Hon. Minister that elections to District Boards are far off, is the Minister aware that Pudukkottai has had no representation on the Tiruchirappalli District Board even though 3½ years have elapsed since merger, and that the people are being subjected to taxation without representation? May I also know whether some representatives of Pudukkottai will be nominated to the District Board? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—"In case the elections to District Boards are postponed, the question of nominating some people to the present District Board will be considered."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—“ If Special Officers are to be appointed to the District Boards, may I know, Sir, whether they will be officials or non-officials? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ It is still under consideration, Sir.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Sir, in view of the fact that most of the District Board Presidents were defeated in the general elections, will the Hon. Minister consider the necessity of immediately holding elections to the District Boards also instead of deferring them?"

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—"Sir, the elections to District Boards also will be ordered; but not now."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH:—“పంచాయతీ చట్టంలో సూచించబడిన డైరెక్టు ఎలక్షన్ పద్ధతిని ముర్పురేనే ఉద్దేశ్యంతో పంచాయతీ ఎన్నికలను ప్రభుత్వంవారు postpone చేయాలని ఆదేశించున్నా గ నే విషయం నిజమేనా ?”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“చట్టం మార్చే సంగతి అలా వసలా ఉంది. ఎన్నికల నియం మేమి చేయవలసింది ఇప్పుడు తెలుసు”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Are the Government aware that delimitation of constituencies in all these municipalities have been done without reference to population and therefore will they consider the question of delimiting the constituencies on the basis of population before holding elections?"

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—"Delimitation of wards was done in consultation with the municipalities concerned and also on representations from the public and their representatives."

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SRI A. GOVINDASAMY NAYAGAR:—" May I know, Sir, whether the number of members will be increased as there is increase in the number of voters? "

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“According to the increase in population, the number of wards also is increased.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Does the Hon. Minister know, Sir, that when consultations were made with the municipalities, there were certain vested interests and that the delimitation of constituencies has now to be done with reference to the Representation of the People Act?"

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“The suggestions and representations from the municipalities are properly examined by the Government before delimitation is done.”

Protection of forests in Udayarpalayam estate.

* 38 Q.—**SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN:** Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) the dates when the forests which were under the control of the zamindars in Udayarpalayam taluk were taken over by the Government on the abolition of the zamins;

(b) whether it is a fact that a portion of the forest area has been converted into cultivable waste; and

(c) what steps have the Government taken to prevent the forests from depletion?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—“(a) The Udayarpalayam estate was taken over under the Abolition Act on 3rd January 1951. The forests in the estate were also taken over with it on the same date.

" (b) No such report has reached the Government.

“(c) The Government have sanctioned the employment of certain staff for the protection of these forests.”

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—“ May I know, Sir, after the forests are taken over by the Government, whether the peasants there are enjoying the same rights as they used to enjoy under the zamindars ? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—“Probably they may be enjoying better rights.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ Has any representation been made to the Government about the wrongful utilization of the forests which have been taken over by the Government from the recently acquired estates? ”

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think the hon. Member may put a separate question."

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SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"My question was not properly answered. The Hon. Minister was pleased to say that the peasants in the estates might be enjoying better rights. I want a definite answer, Sir, whether the peasants are enjoying better rights than what they were previously accustomed to have?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"I have no definite information to give, Sir. But from the time the estates have been taken over by Government the presumption should be that the peasants are enjoying better rights."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—"May I know whether the forests are under the control of the Forest Officers or the Forest Panchayats?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"I think they are under the control of the Forest Department."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I want to know whether the ryots are enjoying the same grazing facilities for their cattle which they had prior to the taking over of the zamindari estates by the Government."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Grazing is one of the amenities which are included in the forest facilities given to the ryots."

SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN:—"Have the Government received any complaints that the forests are being depleted?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"No such complaint has been received."

SRI P. VENKATESWARLU:—"The Hon. Minister has told us that the ryots are enjoying grazing facilities. Will the Hon. Minister give a definite assurance that at least hereafter the peasants will be given all those facilities which they were enjoying before?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"I shall certainly look into any specific case which the hon. Member may be pleased to bring to my notice."

SRI M. JAGANNATHAN:—"May I know, Sir, whether it is the policy of the Government after the abolition of the zamins, to take over the forests in every Zamindari estate, wherever such forests are in existence, and to convert them into arable lands?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Just as 'man' includes 'woman,' estates include forests."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—"Is it not a fact that the District Forest Officer has submitted a report that the forests included in the estates taken over are very bad?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"I want notice, Sir."

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Government Hospital, Tanjore.

* 39 Q.—SRI S. RAMALINGAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state—

(a) whether the patients in the Government Hospital, Tanjore, are lying down on the floor for want of beds; and

(b) if so, what steps the Government propose to take to increase the number of beds?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—" (a) Like many other medical institutions in the State, the Raja Mirasdar District Headquarters Hospital, Tanjore, is also overcrowded. The sanctioned bed-strength of the hospital is 500 while the daily average attendance of in-patients is 800. Chronic and other patients who are not very ill, are accommodated on mats on the floor instead of being sent away without treatment for want of beds.

" (b) The question of increasing the bed-strength of the hospital is under consideration. Further, the construction of a maternity ward of 36 beds is nearing completion and it will, to some extent, relieve the existing congestion."

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—"Are the Government constructing the maternity ward?"

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—"The Rotary Club is constructing the ward."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"Is the same position existing in any other hospital and if so, what do the Government propose to do to remedy it?"

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—"Hospitals are nowadays overcrowded. Every year the bed strength of a few hospitals is being increased and additional staff employed."

SRI A. RAMASWAMY THEVAR:—"May I know the reasons for postponing the construction of the extension to the Gandhi Memorial Headquarters Hospital, Tiruchirappalli, and when the Government propose to continue the construction in view of the growing population?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Will the Government consider the suggestion to make cheap constructions for convalescent patients in order to relieve congestion in hospitals?"

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—"It is under consideration, Sir."

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* This portion has been expunged by the direction of the House
—vide page 528 infra

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The Pullambadi Irrigation Scheme.

* 40 Q.—SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether the plans and estimates are ready for the scheme called “The Pullambadi Irrigation Scheme” in Tiruchirappalli district;

(b) what is the area which can be brought under cultivation under this scheme; and

(c) the approximate cost of the scheme?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“(a) Yes.

“(b) 22,000 acres.

“(c) Rs. 84.26 lakhs.”

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—“May I know when the Government propose to take up the execution of the scheme?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I may inform the hon. Member that the scheme is not likely to be taken up for execution because the Chief Engineer has not recommended it for more reasons than one.”

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—“May I know whether the Minister is aware that much costlier schemes have been taken up for execution by the Government?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“Every scheme is properly scrutinized before a decision is arrived at regarding its execution.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“May I know the reasons which the Chief Engineer has advanced for not taking up this scheme for execution?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“This scheme involves the excavation of a canal about 54 miles in length, and for about 26 miles there are absolutely no proper facilities for digging the canal due to the thick layer of the earth. The Chief Engineer has said that the cost involved in the excavation of the canal would not be commensurate with the profit accruing out of the scheme.”

SRI M. PALANIYANDI:—“குறைந்த செலவில் குறைந்த விஸ் திரைமுள்ள நிலங்களை யாவது சாகுபடி செய்வதற்கு வேறு திட்டம் ஏதாவது இருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்கிறேன்.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“There is another scheme under investigation. The scheme has not yet been finalized. The estimates and plans will be ready by about the 1st August 1952.”

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY:—“May I know the amount that has been spent till now on this scheme?”

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THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“The scheme was investigated in the year 1948. Nothing more has been done.”

SRI A. RAMASWAMY THEVAR:—“May I know, Sir, whether plans and estimates are ready for the scheme known as the ‘Kattalai High Level Channel Extension Scheme’ in the Tiruchirappalli district, and if so, when the scheme would be commenced?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“We are now dealing with the Pullambadi Scheme. The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

SRI A. RAMASWAMY THEVAR:—“Myself being a new Member I would like to know the rules and regulations governing the procedure to be adopted during question time.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“It has already been circulated to hon. Members.”

SRI A. RAMASWAMY THEVAR:—“If that is so, I may be excused, Sir.”

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—“Are the Government aware that the people of the locality came forward to help the Government to execute the scheme by giving loans when the Hon. Minister Sri Roche Victoria visited that place last?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I have no information to give the hon. Member.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“In view of the fact that the Government have stated that about 22,000 acres of land could be irrigated under this scheme, may I know whether it is the question of cost that is standing in the way of its execution? As a matter of fact several schemes costing more but irrigating less acreage have been taken up for execution.”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I do not really understand what the hon. Member means by saying whether it is the cost that counts most. As a matter of fact before implementing a scheme not only the cost but several other factors also are taken into consideration.”

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM:—“Are the Government aware that in spite of the fact that the scheme was investigated as early as 1905 and fond hopes were given to the people, it was considered last only in 1948? Now the Government have come forward saying that it is not feasible to take it up for execution. Will the Government reconsider their decision in view of the fact that the people of that area are ready to give loans for the execution of the scheme?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“Fond hopes have been entertained not only with regard to this scheme but with regard to many more schemes. In view of what the hon. Member has just now said, the question will be reconsidered.”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" May I know what is the cost of the scheme per acre? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" The whole scheme is to cost about Rs. 84.26 lakhs and it is expected to irrigate about 22,000 acres. The hon. Member can make his own mathematical calculations. I may also add that when the cost of the scheme is worked out, the extent of the poramboke lands that will be brought under irrigation is also being gone into. The return of the scheme was estimated to be only 1 per cent."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—" The Hon. Minister has stated that when a scheme is taken up several factors are taken into account. May I know whether the defect of the Government in the elections is also taken into consideration in this connexion? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" We have not yet come to that stage, Sir."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—" In view of the fact that Tiruchirappalli is a deficit district, does not the Hon. Minister think that any scheme bringing additional lands under cultivation will increase food production? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" Not only in Tiruchirappalli but everywhere we consider additional lands for cultivation very useful. But the question of finance stands in the way."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—" But the people are prepared to finance the scheme."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—" When the Government consider this scheme which is to cost about Rs. 84.26 lakhs for irrigating only 22,000 acres, will they consider also the Upper Pennar Project which is to irrigate more acreage but cost less and which was already brought to the notice of Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddi when he visited Anantapur while he was a Minister? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member may put a separate question."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—" The Hon. Minister has asked us to have our own calculations regarding the cost per acre. Are we to apply the G.C.M. or the L.C.M. method? " (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" The hon. Member can apply any method which he thinks correct."

9 a.m. SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" Sir, with reference to the cost of the scheme may I ask the Hon. Minister whether, during the Advisers' regime, this scheme was estimated to cost only Rs. 36 lakhs, why he now says that the cost is Rs. 82 lakhs and asks me to work out the cost per acre on that basis, and whether any further additions have been made to the plans and estimates since they were originally prepared during the Advisers' regime? "

[5th July 1952]

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" I have no information on that point; but I take the information from the hon. Member."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" Sir, the Hon. Ministers generally deny whatever we say and then add that they have no information. Will it be possible for you, Sir, and may I request you, to advise the Hon. Ministers to get information before they deny what we say here? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" How is the Speaker concerned with the method of answering questions? "

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" You are here to guide us, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—" The Speaker has nothing to do with the method of answering questions."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—" You have also got the privilege of guiding both the Members and the Ministers."

Headquarters of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Villupuram.

* 41 Q.—SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER: Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state whether any representation was received from the Bar Association, Tindivanam, for shifting of the 'Sub-Divisional Magistrate Court', Villupuram to Tindivanam and if so, the action taken thereon?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—" Yes. Government have examined the matter and do not consider any change is called for in the headquarters of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Villupuram."

SRI V. B. NAGARAJAN:—" Will the Government state whether they have received any representation from the Bar Association at Villupuram in regard to this matter? "

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—" No representation has been received by the Government from the Bar Association, Villupuram."

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER:—" May I know the recommendations made by the Commission in this behalf? "

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—" The Commission also advised the Government not to make any change in the present position."

SRI K. ARANGANATHAN:—" May I know whether there is any proposal to shift the Sub-Divisional Magistrate's Court at Gingee? "

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—" A separate question may be put on that."

[5th July 1952]

Lower Sagileru Project.

* 42 Q.—SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that only the excavation part of the Lower Sagileru Project has been sanctioned and not the entire scheme including the construction of a dam across the river Sagileru; and

(b) if so, for what reasons?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“(a) & (b) The Government sanctioned the execution of the earth work of the canal portion of the Lower Sagileru Project only, with a view to provide employment for the agriculturists and labourers affected by adverse seasonal conditions in Badvel taluk of Cuddapah district. The full project was not sanctioned as it required reinvestigation in several respects.”

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI:—“Sir, what is the good of excavating a canal without sanctioning the construction of a dam across the river?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“I have already stated the reasons for sanctioning the execution of the earth work of the canal portion. The scheme has not been sanctioned as an irrigation project to be taken up.”

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI:—“Are the Government aware that when His Excellency toured the Cuddapah district, he promised that the entire scheme would be taken up in order to solve the famine problem of the Cuddapah district?”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—“It is true that His Excellency toured the Cuddapah district and representations were made to him then that this project should be taken up. I may also tell the hon. Member that His Excellency wrote to the Planning Commission also for getting this included in the Basic Supplementary Plan.”

Representations regarding distribution of yarn in the State.

* 43 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether any representations made by the Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers' Congress and by certain members of the Madras Legislative Assembly in their memorandum, dated 8th May 1952, to the Chief Minister have been received by the Government requesting them to see that the total output of yarn in the country should be distributed in strict proportion to the estimated requirements of the various consumers of yarn including the composite and the weaving mills; and

(b) if so, the action taken thereon by the Government?

[5th July 1952]

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“(a) Yes.

“(b) The matter is under examination.”

SRI S. RAMALINGAM:—“May I know what are the other suggestions made by the Members of the Madras Legislature in their memorandum?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“The other suggestions made by the Members are that reservation of certain types of cloth should be made for handlooms so that those types of cloth may not be made by the mills, that the Union and State Governments might purchase handloom cloth for their requirements, that all handloom weavers should be brought into the co-operative fold during a period of five to ten years and that handloom cloth and yarn should be exempted from sales tax. These are some of the other points raised in the memorandum which, as I said, are being examined.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—“Is it not a fact that the weavers are still not being supplied with a sufficient quantity of yarn and that one reason for their privations is that a sufficient quantity of yarn is not supplied to them?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“I should like to have a separate question on this subject from the hon. Member, and I shall answer it.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH:—“May I know what the decisions of the Government are on the suggestions contained in the memorandum?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“As I told the hon. Member, the Government are examining every one of those valuable suggestions and final conclusions have not yet been arrived at. As soon as they are ready, I will be able to inform the House.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—“Is it not a fact that the handloom weavers are not supplied the suitable counts of yarn but only different counts? If so, what action have the Government taken to rectify the defect?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“Hon. Members are aware that it is not within the purview of the State Government to decide what counts should be made in regard to certain varieties of cotton or what varieties should be given to composite mills and what varieties to individual weavers. It is not a matter entirely under the control of the State Government. We are trying our very best to see that the defects pointed out by the hon. Member are remedied.”

SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM:—“May I know what is the total output of yarn in our State?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“Notice, Sir.”

[5th July 1952]

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

II.—EXPUNCTION OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS FROM THE OFFICIAL REPORT.

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Sir, in the course of the questions put this morning, a statement was made about honorary medical officers, which was unwarranted and unworthy. I move that that part of the proceedings, whoever said it, may be expunged from the record."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I take it that the House has no objection to expunge the statement" referred to. The question is that the objectionable statement made regarding honorary medical officers be expunged from the record."

The motion was carried.

III.—ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE HON. SPEAKER.

(1) ELECTION TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce to the House that the following candidates were nominated for election to the House Committee:—

- (1) Sri Bojja Appalaswamy,
- (2) „ S. Ramalingam,
- (3) „ N. C. Ramaswamy Kandar,
- (4) „ S. S. Kolkebil,
- (5) „ P. B. K. Rajachidambaram,
- (6) „ K. Gajapathi Reddiar,
- (7) „ N. Paramasivam,
- (8) „ H. Ramalinga Reddy,
- (9) „ A. Ramaswamy Thevar,
- (10) „ A. M. Sambandam,
- (11) „ A. M. Ratnasamy,
- (12) „ S. Venkatrama Ayyar.

"Sri Bojja Appalaswamy has since withdrawn his candidature.

"As the number of remaining candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., eleven, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the House Committee.

"In addition to the above, under Rule 157 of the Madras Assembly Rules, I nominate the following two members to be members of the said Committee:—

- (1) Sri A. S. Sahajananda,
- (2) Srimathi Thamma Kotamma Reddi."

*Vide page 521 supra.

[5th July 1952]

(2) ELECTION TO THE COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce to the House that the following candidates were nominated for the election of fifteen members to the Committee of Privileges:—

- (1) Sri S. Vemayya,
- (2) „ M. Narayana Kurup,
- (3) „ S. C. C. Anthony Pillai,
- (4) „ N. Gopala Menon,
- (5) „ S. Panchaksharam,
- (6) „ K. V. Vema Reddy,
- (7) „ Chinnathambi Thevar,
- (8) „ S. Ramaswamy Naidu,
- (9) „ P. Selvaraj,
- (10) „ P. T. Rajan,
- (11) Janab Kunhi Mohamed Shafee.
- (12) Sri T. Viswanatham,
- (13) „ P. Ramamurthi,
- (14) „ T. Nagi Reddi,
- (15) „ N. V. L. Narasimha Rao,
- (16) „ P. Rangasamy Reddiar.

"Sri S. Vemayya has since withdrawn his candidature."

"As the number of remaining candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., fifteen, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the Committee of Privileges."

(3) ELECTION TO THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce to the House that the following candidates were nominated for the election of fourteen members to the Public Accounts Committee:—

- (1) Sri G. Latchanna,
- (2) „ L. C. Pais,
- (3) Srimathi Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran,
- (4) Sri R. V. Swaminathan,
- (5) „ A. Balarama Reddi,
- (6) „ V. K. Ramasamy Mudaliar,
- (7) „ P. Gopalakrishna Reddy,
- (8) „ P. V. R. Gajapathy Raju,
- (9) „ V. V. Ramaswami,
- (10) „ D. Dasarathan,
- (11) „ K. O. Gopalan Unni,
- (12) „ T. Viswanatham,
- (13) „ K. R. Viswanathan,
- (14) „ P. Venkateswarlu,

[Mr. Speaker]

[5th July 1952]

"As the number of candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., fourteen, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the Committee of Public Accounts."

(4) ELECTION TO THE SENATE OF THE ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce to the House that the following candidates were nominated for the election of three members to the Senate of the Annamalai University:—

- (1) Sri D. Dasarathan,
- (2) ,, V. Krishnaswamy Padayachi,
- (3) Janab K. M. Seethi,
- (4) Sri S. P. Thangavelu.

"Sri D. Dasarathan has since withdrawn his candidature.

"As the number of remaining candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., three, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the Senate of the Annamalai University."

IV.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET
FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Sri S. T. Adityan who was speaking when the House rose yesterday, will now continue his speech."

9.15 a.m. * SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday before the House rose I was telling the hon. Members of this House that fresh taxation is unnecessary. Secondly, in regard to surcharge on land revenue, I said that it begins at a low level and that it is too steep also. As to the petrol tax, I said that bus traffic is now being taxed and that the tax may affect the bus and lorry traffic also, and incidentally affect the distribution of food. In these circumstances, I said that at least there should be a guarantee that a definite proportion of taxation on road traffic would be utilised for road development. Then, Sir, I pleaded for a liberalisation of lorry traffic. As to Prohibition, I said that the yardstick with which its success should be measured is not whether the old addicts are still drinking but whether we are creating a new generation of addicts. I mentioned that according to information on this side, as new kinds of essences have come into existence and are corrupting the young men a new type of drink addicts has been created. I have only to add that in certain places, addicts have gone to such an extent that every cottage is almost a distillery. I am told that even women have begun to drink in such places. I said yesterday that we depend upon the women of this State as the bulwark of Prohibition and if the women-folk also are taking to drink, then certainly it is a very serious matter. I said the U.D.F. is not committed to any decision on this matter, because it has to be investigated and found if the facts alleged are correct; if correct, then Prohibition is a failure.

[5th July 1952]

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

"Then, Sir, in regard to State Trading, I was suggesting that the bus traffic industry which was taken over by the Madras Government is a failure. On financial principles, I was suggesting that there are other industries for which private funds are not available, which may be usefully taken over by the Government. I was challenged to give new suggestions and I made a few suggestions. Although the manufacture of photographic materials is a larger question—cement was another—I should have included among my suggestions, the making of raw films for the film industry also, because the film industry of this State is second only to the film industry of Bombay which is second again in the whole world.

"I requested you, Sir, to give me a few minutes for drawing the attention of this honourable House to the grievances in regard to my district. I wish the Hon. the Revenue Minister were here but I am sure the information would be passed on to him. First and foremost is the palmyra tax. I submit that this palmyra tax is a double taxation. It is peculiar to the Tirunelveli district and to those portions of the Ramanathapuram district which formed originally a part of the Tirunelveli district. In addition to the land itself, the tree on the land is also being taxed. Whereas in all the other districts only the trees which stand on Government poramboke are taxed, in this particular district unfortunately, not only the land on which the trees stand is taxed, but the trees also are taxed. The tax is levied on each and every palmyra tree in certain cases up to an extent of one anna per tree. That happens in certain places. This particular tree tax is often much more than the tax on the land itself. The palmyra tax in the Tirunelveli district is an anomaly and an anachronism. And when we make representations to the Government, the only answer we get is that this tree tax has been in existence from time immemorial, even from the time of the Naick Rajas. I submit that it is a tax which does not suit the case. Not only that, Sir, the jaggery industry is now in a very bad state and this palmyra tax is really a tax on the jaggery industry of the southernmost district of the State. Therefore, Sir, it is high time the tax is removed altogether.

"There is another thing which I want to submit to the House on behalf of my district and it is in regard to the sweet toddy rules. These rules have been framed with a view to suit conditions where the major industry was the intoxicating toddy industry but not the sweet juice industry. The same difficulty arose in Travancore also which is adjoining the Tirunelveli district. There also the Prohibition Act is exactly similar to the Prohibition Act of this State and the rules there are also similar to those in force in this State. There, it was found from experience that the sweet toddy rules imposed a hardship on the existing sweet juice industry and therefore they were pleased to exempt the southernmost taluks of the Travancore State from these rules. We of the Tirunelveli district have been praying to this Government more than once that the same concessions should be extended to our district.

[Mr. Speaker]

[5th July 1952]

"As the number of candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, viz., fourteen, I hereby declare them to have been duly elected to the Committee of Public Accounts."

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FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

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[6th July 1952]

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

"Then, Sir, in regard to State Trading, I was suggesting that the bus traffic industry which was taken over by the Madras Government is a failure. On financial principles, I was suggesting that there are other industries for which private funds are not available, which may be usefully taken over by the Government. I was challenged to give new suggestions and I made a few suggestions. Although the manufacture of photographic materials is a larger question—cement was another—I should have included among my suggestions, the making of raw films for the film industry also, because the film industry of this State is second only to the film industry of Bombay which is second again in the whole world.

"I requested you, Sir, to give me a few minutes for drawing the attention of this honourable House to the grievances in regard to my district. I wish the Hon. the Revenue Minister were here but I am sure the information would be passed on to him. First and foremost is the palmyra tax. I submit that this palmyra tax is a double taxation. It is peculiar to the Tirunelveli district and to those portions of the Ramanathapuram district which formed originally a part of the Tirunelveli district. In addition to the land itself, the tree on the land is also being taxed. Whereas in all the other districts only the trees which stand on Government poramboke are taxed, in this particular district unfortunately, not only the land on which the trees stand is taxed, but the trees also are taxed. The tax is levied on each and every palmyra tree in certain cases up to an extent of one anna per tree. That happens in certain places. This particular tree tax is often much more than the tax on the land itself. The palmyra tax in the Tirunelveli district is an anomaly and an anachronism. And when we make representations to the Government, the only answer we get is that this tree tax has been in existence from time immemorial, even from the time of the Naick Rajas. I submit that it is a tax which does not suit the case. Not only that, Sir, the jaggery industry is now in a very bad state and this palmyra tax is really a tax on the jaggery industry of the southernmost district of the State. Therefore, Sir, it is high time the tax is removed altogether.

"There is another thing which I want to submit to the House on behalf of my district and it is in regard to the sweet toddy rules. These rules have been framed with a view to suit conditions where the major industry was the intoxicating toddy industry but not the sweet juice industry. The same difficulty arose in Travancore also which is adjoining the Tirunelveli district. There also the Prohibition Act is exactly similar to the Prohibition Act of this State and the rules there are also similar to those in force in this State. There, it was found from experience that the sweet toddy rules imposed a hardship on the existing sweet juice industry and therefore they were pleased to exempt the southernmost taluks of the Travancore State from these rules. We of the Tirunelveli district have been praying to this Government more than once that the same concessions should be extended to our district.

[Sri S. T. Adityan] [5th July 1952]

"Again, Sir, so far as the Tirunelveli district is concerned, it is made compulsory that every person should become a member of a co-operative society before he gets a licence. Sir, that is impossible. I have shown to the Government in a certain memorandum that if they begin to enforce the sweet toddy rules in the district it will become necessary for every man, woman, and child in some of the villages to take out licences. On the other hand, it would be better to insist that those who do not come under the sweet toddy rules must take out licences. The position is such that this question of licence is reduced to a farce in the district. Therefore, Sir, even as in the case of the Travancore State, the Tirunelveli district also should be exempted from the sweet toddy rules. That is the second suggestion I wish to make in respect of my district.

"The third suggestion I would like to make is that the Government should be pleased to examine the possibility of utilising the surplus waters of Travancore for the adjoining Tirunelveli district. This problem has been before the Government more than once, but they have not yet come to a definite conclusion on this subject. Recently, the Travancore Government have taken up the Perunchanai Irrigation Scheme. I am told that the surplus water that is available is in such a large volume that if this Government would only enter into negotiation with the adjoining Travancore State, it may be possible to irrigate the Nanguneri taluk of the Tirunelveli district and convert most of the lands there into nanja lands.

"Another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government is, we understand that go-slow orders have been given by this Government in respect of certain schemes which are under construction in Tirunelveli district. One of them, we understand, is the Manimuthar Project. In this connection I would particularly draw the attention of the Government to one fact, namely, that under the Srivaikuntam Anicut Scheme, the Government are under an obligation to supply water for both the crops. It is a double crop compounded area. That took place long ago, about 60 or 70 years ago and even at that time the Government gave a solemn undertaking that because they collected double crop compounded tax, they would supply water for both the crops. But, what actually happens is, the Government are able to supply water only for one crop, and the other crop is almost a failure under the Srivaikuntam Anicut Scheme. If people take the matter to court, the lawyers would certainly advise that they would succeed, but they have not taken the matter to court. But, that does not mean that the Government should be slow in fulfilling their obligation. If the Manimuthar Scheme is carried out, it would bring water for both the crops in that area. We also understand that there is another scheme which has also been slowed down, and is in danger of being discontinued. That is the rural electrification scheme of Srivaikuntam and Tiruchendur taluks. We also understand that the third scheme which is in operation in the Tiruchendur taluk, namely, the drinking water supply scheme for Kayalpatnam and Attur, is in danger of being

5th July 1952] [Sri S. T. Adityan]

discontinued for the present. Sir, these are schemes which are absolutely necessary and the Government are under a moral obligation to execute them and it would be extremely ruinous either to slow down or to discontinue these important schemes.

"With these words, Sir, I request the Government either to cut down these taxation proposals, or at least drop altogether some of them. After all, there is nothing wrong in working on a deficit Budget, because the deficit is only going to be for a temporary period. The deficit is only due to famine conditions. That need not frighten us. It is therefore not necessary for this purpose to impose fresh taxation. For these reasons, I consider that the Budget is unsatisfactory and should be opposed."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yesterday, very few hon. Members came forward to speak. But today I have received lists of speakers from almost all the parties. As a large number of members want to take part in the debate, I fix a time-limit of 20 minutes for each Member."

* DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAYUDU:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the Budget proposals placed before this House by the Hon. the Finance Minister. In doing this, I am glad I am able to congratulate the Members of this House on the Vote of Confidence they have recorded in the Chief Minister and his Council of Ministers. Of course, it may look a very ordinary matter when people read about the result in the newspapers, but when they carefully analyse the present position in the State, they will realise that the Members of the Legislative Assembly have done the right thing at the right time in recording the Vote of Confidence in the Ministry, and thus having averted a very bad political deadlock. I am, to some extent responsible, for bringing back Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as the Leader of the Congress Party and the Chief Minister. In fact, when he was hesitating to come in, I offered the resignation of my seat in the Assembly to make room for him to seek election, but he declined to stand for election and he has come in by some other way. Anyhow, considering the present position in the country is a whole and in this State in particular, it is right that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has accepted the leadership of the Government. My Friend, Swami Sahajananda, was saying yesterday that Mr. Rajagopalachari and his Government have not done much for the Depressed Classes, I mean the Harijans. He also levelled the charge against the Chief Minister that he did not consult Swami Sahajananda as to who should be the Harijan Minister of the Cabinet. His complaint was, or is, that a non-Tamilian has been made a Minister to be in charge of the welfare of the Harijans. Last year, we had a Minister of that community who was a Tamilian, Mr. Parameswaran. The Andhras also could have felt the same difficulty in explaining their grievances to a non-Telugu-knowing Minister. It is not possible for the leader of the Government to consult every Member of the Legislature in making the selection of Ministers."

[5th July 1952]

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"On a point of information, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is not yielding."

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"On a point of order, Sir. How are all these things relevant?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is because yesterday Swami Sahajananda spoke about it."

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"Yesterday, the Speaker was pleased to ask Mr. R. V. Swaminathan not to talk about other things, but refer only to the merits and demerits of the Budget."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Perhaps the hon. Member has not been following the speech of Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu. He was saying that Swami Sahajananda remarked yesterday that the Hon. the Chief Minister had not consulted Swami Sahajananda in selecting the Ministers, and that he (Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu) thought that the Hon. Chief Minister must have his own way of selecting the Ministers."

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"I have no objection personally to what has been said by Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu, but at this rate, every Member may begin to voice his own feelings."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member, Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu is only speaking on the Budget. He may continue."

9 30
a.m. * DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAYUDU:—"I particularly refer to this matter because the whole House and every Minister irrespective of the community to which he belongs are interested in the welfare of Harijans. I assure Swami Sahajananda that the interests of the Depressed Classes are safe in the hands of this Government and this Assembly. He may remember the great services that have been rendered to the community particularly by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and the late Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai. About thirty-five years ago, when the Swamiji came to Salem, there was a common dinner in which half a dozen of us took part. Immediately there was a great sensation in the town and someone went even to the extent of calling Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, a 'chandala' for having dined with a Depressed Class man. Speaking on behalf of the people both from the North and the South, I can say that there is not a single Hindu who is opposed to the interests of Harijans. Every one realizes that it is his duty to stand by the Harijans. Therefore no doubt need be in the mind of any Harijan that his community is being ignored. Many Caste Hindus did not vote for the Congress and some Depressed Class people also, led rightly or wrongly, did not vote for the Congress in the last general election. Not a single Member of the Congress Party will ever nurture a grievance against the Harijan Community on this ground. Swami Sahajananda himself is a champion of the cause of, and has rendered very great service to, the Depressed Classes. I know the trouble he has undergone. He had to move about the town of Chidambaram with a revolver and

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had to be guarded by some people from being assaulted. He had made great sacrifices. I do not want that a gentleman of his type should have any grievance against Caste Hindus or the Congress Government.

"As I was listening to the speeches made on the Confidence Motion and the Budget, my mind went back to an incident which occurred about forty-five years ago.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a lot of noise emanating from the room on my left."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall see that the noise abates."

* DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAYUDU:—"About seven of us met in the presence of the late Mr. V. O. Chidambaram Pillai to take a pledge to wreck the British Government in this country. I was one of them. I took out my blood and signed the pledge in the presence of that great patriot. All of them are dead except me and another person who has become a sanyasi and is living in a jungle. Some of my friends may remember that he is Nilakanta Brahmachari. We were very young men at that time. I was only twenty years of age. We formed a very fine picture of a free and independent India. With the happenings after the attainment of freedom and the feelings expressed by the people both in this House and outside against the Congress, Congress leadership and the Congress administration, I felt very much depressed. We made common cause to fight for the freedom of this country. Most of the Congressmen who made great sacrifices never imagined that our country would attain freedom within our own life-time. It is by mere fluke of the international situation that Swaraj came to us earlier than we expected. It is true that we were not prepared for the freedom. Mahatma Gandhi often used to write and say that Swaraj was in sight but that the people were not ready for it. Somehow or other, by the Grace of God or by the efforts of our own people, we secured freedom. Immediately after the attainment of freedom, so many causes disturbed the normal functioning of the administrative machinery. Most of our people who are opposed to the Congress blame the Congress and the Congress administration for all the ills from which we are suffering. Why are we in the grip of a famine? Why is there deterioration in administration? During the war, the British Government concentrated more on the successful prosecution of the war than on the efficient running of the administration. The result is that the administration began to deteriorate. Corruption set in. Every officer was asked to collect money for the Ward Fund and he took a lion's share of the collections for himself. Thus the process of deterioration began in the last phase of the British administration. Then, there were great troubles on account of the partition of this country. A crore and a half people came from Pakistan to this part of India. The Central and State Governments had to find food and shelter for those people and look after their welfare. Even now one can see people dwelling on the pavements of the streets in Delhi, Cawnpore and other places. Influx of refugees

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is the main cause for the disturbed condition in the country. Not only that. As a result of partition, a good portion of fine agricultural land went over to Pakistan. In Pakistan each man has got two men's food, whereas in India two men have got one man's food. Therefore we are in the grip of a famine. Then, there were natural catastrophies. There were earthquakes and floods in Assam, heavy rains in Bihar, famine in Bengal and drought in South India. All these contributed to the famine with which we are now faced. Our Government have done what all they could to meet this unexpected trouble.

"Another serious matter was the maintenance of law and order. It was a very serious problem. When there is a change of Government, naturally there is a kind of feeling that the old Government has gone and a new Government is coming, and anti-social elements come to the top. We had troubles similar to those that prevailed in 1857 when the Britishers finally suppressed the first War of Independence and took possession of this country. Burning of houses, arson, loot, murder, kidnapping and similar atrocities prevailed in the country. It took 25 years for the British Government to restore law and order in India after 1857. Immediately after the dawn of Swaraj, we have been struggling to maintain law and order for the past five years. It should be said to the credit of the Congress Government that they have been able to a very great extent to prevent further catastrophies. Their first concern was the maintenance of law and order. They have done what all they could to find food for the people. To some extent, we ourselves did not properly co-operate with the Government. Immediately after the decontrol of food, we see that rice is selling cheaper everywhere. Lorryloads of foodgrains are moving from place to place. This shows that our people have been hoarding grains for selling at a higher price. This was mainly responsible for the failure of control in this country. Anyhow, the Government had the courage to remove food control. We cannot say now what its effect will be; we have to wait and see. But we must be prepared for any emergency.

"I ask my friends not to think that the Congress Government were thoroughly inefficient and that they were responsible for all our ills. Administration has really deteriorated to some extent. Some of us have seen from inside the prison and outside how efficiently the British were carrying on the administration. They were administering with that efficiency and ability which we now find in the Hon. Speaker in conducting the proceedings of this House. There is now deterioration for various reasons. Some of our officials, who were very loyal to the British, have shown a tendency of a different kind towards the Congress administration. Communism has cropped up. Everybody is demanding a higher salary and more concessions. Even the wives of Government servants have organized themselves and are demanding more concessions for their husbands. Such a thing could not have been heard of during the British administration. No doubt, Government servants have legitimate grievances. Their salary is very low. The gazetted and

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non-gazetted State Government servants ought to be paid the Government of India scales of pay so that their grievances may be removed once for all. The Hon. the Finance Minister may ask wherefrom he is to find the necessary funds. That is not a concern of the Government servants. If the Government cannot afford to pay adequate salaries for want of funds, the best course is to retrench the staff as much as possible. Whenever a new law is passed, additional staff is appointed to enforce that law. The number of Government servants is increasing. Go to any place. There are the Factory Inspectors, Sales tax Inspectors, Prohibition Officers and so on. The moment we suggest retrenchment which involves the ousting of some present staff, there will be discontent in the country and interested parties are ready to mobilise their grievances and put them up against the Government. The Government should apply the axe with a firm determination, with an iron hand. The administration has got to be improved to the level of what it was during the British administration. Another cause of deterioration is that Collectors are burdened with too much of work. There is too much of paper administration. When I was an young man, the Collectors had very wide powers. At the time of jamabandi, the Collector would go to a village, gather the villagers, hear their grievances and pass orders for removing the legitimate grievances then and there. In the present set-up, if one wants to get a gun licence, the application has to pass through the Village Munsif, Revenue Inspector, Deputy Tahsildar and Tahsildar to the Deputy Collector. Finally he has to pay at least four annas to the despatching clerk to get the licence. The whole administration has been made very complicated. More powers must be given to District Officers. They must be efficient men and they must be paid a higher salary, for on them mainly depends the efficiency of administration. A District Superintendent of Police, with the enormous power that he wields, is paid a salary of only Rs. 600. The salary is not commensurate with the position he holds. A District Medical Officer was paid between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000 during the time of the British Government. Now he is given only Rs. 600. After the exit of the I.C.S. men, efficiency has really gone down. I have known almost all the I.C.S. Collectors. I can count on my fingers' ends the number of really efficient I.A.S. men. There are about 10 or 12 of them. The training given to I.A.S. personnel is not adequate for the responsibility that they are called upon to undertake. The best persons must be selected and made to undergo a rigorous training as was done during the days of the British Government.

"Direct recruitment must be deferred for some time. Police and other officers, who have put in five years' service in a higher post have been reverted to their original post for want of vacancies. Because of direct recruitment of fresh hands, these officers are being reverted. As a result, there is discontent among public servants in all departments which may suddenly be exploited by opponents, and that may cause great danger to us. Therefore I say that greater attention should be paid to the administrative side.

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"Sir, in supporting the Budget, I suggest to the Government that the proposals for new taxes must be carefully weighed and modified to see that the burden of tax is reduced as much as possible. I wish the Government all success."

9-45
a.m.

* SRI A. NEELADRI RAO REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on some points in the Budget for 1952-53. At the outset I would say that the taxation proposals contained in the Budget would greatly hit the ryot population. We know that our country is short of food. If our ryots are discontented, it will only affect food production. The Budget proposal is to levy a surcharge on holdings paying a revenue of more than Rs. 50. Ryots paying a revenue between Rs. 50 and Rs. 150 are not even middle class ryots. I say that surcharges should not be levied. But if the Government desire to levy a surcharge, I would suggest that the minimum limit should be raised to Rs. 150 and ryots paying Rs. 150 and less should be exempted from this surcharge. There is another point I wish to make. After all, this surcharge according to the Budget estimate will give us only Rs. 75 lakhs, which is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the total Budget. When we can forego Rs. 17½ crores on account of Prohibition, which is 28 per cent of the Budget, can we not forego this $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in the interests of the ryot population? We can very well manage this paltry sum of Rs. 75 lakhs by any other means than by levying the surcharge on the poor ryots. Therefore, I would not accept the levy of surcharge on the poor and middle class ryots. I suggest that a select committee consisting of Members from all parties should consider this question of surcharge."

"The second proposal in the Budget is to levy a betterment tax. We cannot say that betterment tax should not be levied. But when betterment tax is sought to be levied, consideration should be given to districts and areas which are undeveloped and economically backward. For instance, in districts where there have been no irrigation facilities already, this betterment tax should not be levied. In this connection I would say that Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Rayalaseema districts are undeveloped districts, and these districts should not be made to pay betterment tax. I come from Srikakulam, a backward district. I would give the suggestions relating to my constituency. There are no major schemes worth mentioning in our district. The Machkund Project was contemplated by the past Government. It was a step-motherly treatment that was given to Srikakulam district for the last several years. I hope the present Government will pay special attention to the backward districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam. In the Srikakulam district, there are four rivers, namely, Vamsadara, Mahendra, Nagavulli and Bahuda. For the last 30 years there has been an agitation for the Vamsadhara Scheme, but nothing has been done. I would ask the Government now at least to put this Vamsadhara Scheme in the Five-year Plan. The bank of the Bahuda river was washed away as long ago as 25 or 30 years back. The people are agitating for the reconstruction of the bank. Survey and estimates were completed, and yet the Government

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have not done anything. I do not know the reason for postponing this work. The people are suffering and they are not able to raise the crops. This is a recurring loss to the people. The Government have not yet reconstructed that bank, but they are collecting taxes from the people."

"Regarding irrigation, I would lay more stress on paying attention to irrigation tanks. The Government are thinking of projects, big and small. But I would suggest to Government to attend to minor irrigation tanks, and give preference to them. They should be given preferential treatment. Funds for minor irrigation work should be allotted not only for my district but to the State as a whole. The people of Ichapuram, Sompeta and Srikakulam taluks have been thinking of starting a no-tax campaign. This was brought to the notice of the Collector. It was also brought to the notice of the Minister for Agriculture during his recent camp there. I hope sufficient funds will be allotted for the improvement of Sompeta and Ichapuram taluks."

"Many representations were made regarding the opening of middle schools and dispensaries in these two taluks. But I see nothing about them in the Budget. I would request Government to see that at least in these two taluks, educational and medical facilities are given to the people. Dispensaries should be opened in these localities."

"The Government are contemplating community development projects under the Firka Development Scheme. I would request Government to start some projects in Srikakulam district. I emphatically say that that area is very backward in several respects. Half the Andhra population of the district was taken away by the Orissa Province. Our Andhra friends or the Government at Madras were looking on leaving the poor Andhras to suffer in Oriya country. They are still suffering. So, I request that this area should have a special consideration and concession."

"Then, Sir, regarding lands, there is trouble between landlords and sub-tenants. Big landlords are troubling their sub-tenants, so much so, these sub-tenants are giving trouble to the poor ryots. The landlords are taking away lands from their sub-tenants who have been enjoying the lands for the last half a century and more. I would request Government to see that something is done to give protection to them."

"I would like to say now something about village officers. Previously the village officers were required to collect land-cess and send reports of crimes, if any. Now multifarious items of work they have to do. Many departments have come into existence, and the village officers have now to do more work. They have now become full-time Government servants like any other Government servant. So, I would request the Government to see whether their salaries can be increased, and their children also given free education just like those of any other non-gazetted employee of this Government. Sir, I was a non-gazetted officer for 20 years and a gazetted officer for 10 years. I know the life of a non-gazetted

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officer on a salary of Rs. 200 and below and the life of a gazetted officer on a salary of Rs. 500 and below. Their lives are lives of great suffering, because their economic condition is so bad that they cannot maintain their equilibrium. These two classes should have special treatment. The so-called dearness allowance paid to them is very little. I hope the Government would consider the position of the non-gazetted officers on Rs. 200 and less and the position of the gazetted officers on Rs. 500 and less and give them relief.

"As a forest man, I shall now speak about the hill tribes. Their remuneration should be increased. There was a Development Officer in Visakhapatnam district, and a programme of schemes was chalked out. But nothing was actually worked out in practice. The first thing to do is to abolish the muttadar system. The muttadar system is so bad, and to save the population of the Agency area this muttadar system should immediately be abolished. Otherwise there is no salvation for the poor hill tribes. The head of the mutta of a certain number of villages takes illegal mamools from the aborigines. He takes illegal payments from these people. One will see all these things if one goes to the interior parts. As a forest man, I have seen most people in these areas, and I say that unless this muttadar system is abolished, there is no salvation for these aborigines."

10
a.m. SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR:—"Sir, is it a fact that before the hon. Member Sri Neeladri Rao Reddi became a Member of this House, he was a non-gazetted officer?"

* SRI A. NEELADRI RAO REDDI:—"Sir, I would say I was a non-gazetted officer for twenty years and gazetted officer for ten years afterwards. I am now drawing a pension. (Laughter.)

"Regarding the hill tribes, in a village in Parvatipur taluk many complaints were sent to the Collector of Srikakulam and the Sub-Collector of Parvatipur. But no replies have been received either from the Collector or from the Sub-Collector."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Reporters are not in a position to take down his speech. So, let the hon. Member speak a little bit slowly."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Sir, may I suggest to you to adopt the photo electric cell system in connection with the amplifiers? If we adopt it, we can eliminate the buttons attached to the microphones and as soon as we rise, the voice will fall on the mike. May I request the Hon. Speaker to get into touch with the engineers to discuss this matter?"

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI:—"Sir, for taking down the proceedings of the House, it will be more profitable to employ the tape recorder which could be plugged right to the amplifying system and it will report correctly the proceedings of the House without so much labour for all these poor gentlemen and is also very cheap."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"The suggestions will be considered. Let the hon. Member Sri Neeladri Rao Reddi continue his speech."

* SRI A. NEELADRI RAO REDDI:—"Sir, it appears the monopoly contractors of Kurupam for the collection of minor forest produce levy unnecessary taxes on the aborigines. I would request the Government to take action against them. Those taxes are illegal. Those people have no right to tax the aborigines. They have only to collect the minor forest produce from the Harijans and take it away for sale and that too according to the rates prescribed by the District Forest Officer concerned. They cannot take more than what the District Forest Officer prescribes for the particular locality. Therefore, the unnecessary teasing by the contractors should be avoided.

"I hear there are certain complaints regarding Seedara by one Tadagi of Kurupam. These people are said to have been taken into custody for possessing a country gun."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member's time is up. Now the hon. Member Sri D. Seetharamiah will speak."

* SRI D. SEETHARAMIAH:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have perused the Budget proposals carefully and when I look at the problems of the people and the Budget proposals, I find the latter is surely full of injustice especially to the backward areas. Before coming to the question of the backward areas, I want to deal with the famine conditions that are prevailing to-day in the Rayalaseema districts, especially in the Chittoor district and to some extent in the Cuddapah district also. My hon. Colleague here will also deal with the famine conditions in Cuddapah district. Therefore, it is sufficient for me to deal with the Chittoor district. The famine conditions there are such that almost all the eight lakhs of acres have been kept dry and almost all the crops have failed. It was a very meagre crop that was raised in the last fasli. But in spite of these, the Government are not earnest about solving the problem of famine in the Chittoor district. They have neglected the interests of the people very badly. Sir, I want to represent that matter to the Government.

"Sir, the peasants as well as other people have been affected by this famine. Especially in the western taluks of the Chittoor district the people have been severely hit by the famine, by the failure of crops, by scarcity of water and by unemployment. The middle classes and the handloom weavers have also been affected. The fate of the beedi worker is still worse. When we consider all these sections of the people, we will see that almost every one is thrown out of his normal avocation. Sir, I have to impress on the Government the severity of the famine that is raging to-day. Let me say that 40,000 people applied for subsistence loans recently from Vavalpad and Madanapalle taluks alone, not to speak of other taluks. I am informed that about two lakhs of people have applied for subsistence loans in the whole of Chittoor district, but how many have been sanctioned loans? Out of these, only a very

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insignificant number of people have been sanctioned loans. Six hundred applications for loans have been sanctioned in both Madanapalle and Vayalpad taluks, the worst affected areas. This will show how this Congress Government are dealing with the problem of famine now.

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

"Sir, regarding the migrations that have taken place, let me tell you that every village has got its own tales of migration. The people find no work and the Government are not interested in starting famine relief works of any kind, either tank repairs, minor irrigation projects or construction of roads. There were of course road formation works. But they were very few and while there were thousands of people awaiting employment, the Government could afford jobs for only hundreds. In Nimmanapalli a road formation work was sanctioned. There I found some 200 people working, but with empty stomachs. I asked them what the reason was and why they were working with empty stomachs. The reply was that the contractor was not paying them regularly. Therefore, they said they were starving since two days. The contractors replied to me that the Government had not sanctioned their bills though a month had passed. In this way the problem has been tackled with slovenliness. Therefore, the people find that there is no way out except to migrate to other places."

SRI A. RAMASAMI THEVAR:—"Sir, I see the hon. Gentleman Sri S. T. Adityan reading a review. Is it allowed in this House when the debate is going on?"

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"Sir, my submission is that in Parliament it is not usual to allow reading of newspapers, but if it is a useful informatory book especially in relation to the Budget and economics, it is allowed."

SRI A. RAMASAMI THEVAR:—"Sir, I want to know if it is in order."

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Sri Adityan has already replied to the point raised."

* SRI D. SEETHARAMIAH:—"As I said, the contractors are not being paid regularly and, therefore, the wage-earners are not paid regularly. Even though a few people are employed, they are not done justice. Now even these works have been stopped and there is no way out for the people. Sir, all the famine relief works have been completely stopped since the visits of the Governor of this State and the Hon. the Chief Minister to those places. Their one argument is that there are some trees on the roadside which are green. They are deep-rooted trees which are able to stand the drought conditions. They are the evidence for them to stop all famine relief works. They also say that rains have come and, therefore, there is no need to continue these works or to provide any famine relief for these people. That is why they

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have discontinued all these relief works. The people are left to die. That is the position to which the Congress Government are driving the people. This is most despicable. I should say.

"Over and above all these, Sir, epidemics have broken out. People have no employment and they are going to the forests and taking wild leaves like Kundelu Kommulu which cannot be eaten even by the cattle. That is the kind of diet the people are forced to resort to. Even if they go and pluck wild leaves from the forest, they will be charged by the Forest Department. In spite of this, they are living on wild leaves like Balusu Aku and Gedari Aku. Kundelu Kommulu is very bad from the point of view of health. It will only subside hunger by bloating the stomach. That is why the people have been resorting to this kind of diet for the past several months. The result is the outbreak of all sorts of diseases. The most prevalent disease to-day is cholera. Not only that. We have small-pox. These diseases are prevalent in Puthur, Chittoor, Madanapalle and Vayalpad taluks. Only a few days back I received a letter from a doctor working in one of the medical squads sent by the Madras Students' Organization and sponsored by the Mayor of Madras to the effect that people are suffering a lot on account of starvation in the Rayachoti and Vayalpad taluks and that many of them are affected by cholera. At present, there is no medicine or personnel available in these places to adequately tackle this problem of prevention and cure of these diseases. Representations were made to no less a person than the Mayor of Madras about these, when he visited those places. Such representations to the authorities have had no effect. This is how the Government are helping the poor people of these famine-stricken areas. Again, the people who are working in these medical squads are experiencing great difficulties. The Government must consider the service that these people render in the famine-stricken areas of Rayalaseema as part of their attendance in regular Medical Colleges or other institutions to which they may belong. I want the Government to consider their request and treat their service in the famine stricken areas as part of their service under Government. Then only, the doctors who are serving as house surgeons in the several medical institutions and hospitals in Madras City will be able to come to the rescue of the people of the famine-stricken areas. They must be given special facilities. Only a few days back, with the permission of the Mayor, they have bought gluco-saline for the treatment of cholera. I wish to urge that the Government must provide greater medical facilities for the treatment of diseases like cholera. My opinion is that the Government do not look to the curative side and they are neglecting it very much. I find that they are at present looking to the preventive side only. Even in that they are doing only very little. Recently, the Government have provided a mobile van for the Assistant District Health Officer to enable him to use it for the treatment of urgent cases in certain areas which are affected to a great extent. But, I am sorry to say that this is not being used for that purpose. The officer is

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using it to take his family to the Tirumalai Hills for having a *dharsan* of Sri Venkateswara. It is to this kind of use that this van is being put. It is really regrettable that such a van placed at the disposal of a medical officer is being used for a purpose other than that which it is intended for.

“Coming to the next point, I wish to tell the Government that they must provide these medical squads with adequate sulpha drugs and gluco-saline for transfusion to cholera patients. Let me tell them that at present even small-pox vaccine has to be bought by these squads. The Government have not provided these squads with these medicines. The District Health Officer, Chittoor, in my very presence took Rs. 11 from the Medical Squad at Nadimcherla for getting vaccine from the King Institute. This is most regrettable indeed. It is the job of the Government to look after the preventive side of small-pox cases. The Government are not doing anything in the matter and they are not allowing others too to do something. My request to the Government is that they should set apart lot of medicines like gluco-saline, sulpha drugs and other vaccines for these medical squads so that they can tackle these diseases from both the preventive and curative sides. They must provide adequate vans so that these squads can go to the places which are very much affected by these diseases in the districts of Chittoor and Cuddapah. The Government may say that they have started a number of relief schemes, like the gruel centres. The gruel centres which have been started and which are continuing to-day are nothing but a farce. These are at present run by the landlords of the locality who are utilising these centres for their own benefit and private purposes. Therefore, what we find in these gruel centres is nothing but a very watery substance which does not have any food value. Even according to the statement of the District Health Officer which he made in my very presence, the gruel supplied in those centres contained only 50 calories. The exact quantity that is given by the Government is not reaching the people, as much of it is being stolen away by those who run these gruel centres. That is why we have suggested several times to the District Collector that these centres should be entrusted to the volunteers and workers of various public organizations, wherever they come forward to take them up, so that these centres can be run efficiently. For instance, in certain places, these centres are being run by such organizations. The District Officers are very much pleased with the running of such centres. Several feeding centres are run by the Andhra Provincial United Relief Committee, which contains several parties like the Communist Party, Praja Party, some Socialists and other Independents, and several other mass organizations like the Kisan Sabha, Trade Unions, Students' Federation, etc. They have collected some funds and have sent some money to these medical squads. They have also collected some grains. They have done all these with the idea of starting 20 to 40 feeding centres in Rayalaseema. They have already started about 25 centres and they have been functioning.

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Six centres are functioning in Anantapur district, about eight in Chittoor district and about eight in Cuddapah district and the rest in Kurnool district. This United Relief Committee has started these feeding centres long ago and the Mayor of Madras who visited one of these feeding centres has remarked that our centres are being run more efficiently. These centres give *sankati* which means rice and ragi powder boiled together and made into a solid lump. Several people have said that the conditions in Chittoor district and in Rayalaseema are pretty bad. It is not we, Communists alone, who say this. Dr. Venkappa, President of the Madras Medical Council and Dr. Tirumurthi, President of the All-India Medical Council have visited these areas and have found for themselves the miserable conditions obtaining in those places. Lots of people flocked together and approached those gentlemen and demanded that they should be given work. They asked these visitors to represent to the Government, on their behalf, and get them adequate work. The Government have allotted only Rs. 48,000 in the Budget, but they may say that they have allotted net Rs. 50 lakhs from the Famine Relief Fund. They may say that they expect to get Rs. 17 crores from the Government of India. In my opinion even this amount allotted by the Government for relief work in these areas represents only a very paltry sum. They must allot larger sums for this purpose so that proper relief may be afforded to all the famine-stricken areas, including Rayalaseema, in this State.

“Coming to irrigation works, I feel that the Government have not given proper attention to the investigation of many of these works. There are about 3,000 tanks in Chittoor district, which have been neglected in the past, and which are at present in a very bad state of repair and damage. If these are given proper attention and if supply channels are provided for these tanks, I think the famine conditions can be relieved to some extent. Let me tell the Government that they must immediately take up the question of sanctioning these irrigation works. There are a number of minor projects awaiting investigation, like the Bahuda river project which has been put in the five-year plan of the Congress Government. No investigation has taken place till now. Let me request the Government that they should take up these works and projects immediately for investigation.

“Electricity should be supplied to places like Madanapalle.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member Sri V. K. Palaniswami Gounder will now speak.”

SRI V. K. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir இந்த பட்ஜெட்டானது ரொம்பவும் தைரியமாகவும் திறமையாகவும் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தைரியமாக தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னால் கவர்ன்மென்ட்டின் ஆட்சியானது மிகவும் நெருக்கடியாய் இருந்தும் கூட இவர்கள் இப்பொழுது இந்த வரி திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த சர்க்காருக்கு உதவியாக தங்கள் கட்சியில் அங்கத்தினர்கள் குறைவாக இருந்தும் கூட இந்த வரி திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு

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using it to take his family to the Tirumalai Hills for having a *dharsan* of Sri Venkateswara. It is to this kind of use that this van is being put. It is really regrettable that such a van placed at the disposal of a medical officer is being used for a purpose other than that which it is intended for.

“Coming to the next point, I wish to tell the Government that they must provide these medical squads with adequate sulpha drugs and gluco-saline for transfusion to cholera patients. Let me tell them that at present even small-pox vaccine has to be bought by these squads. The Government have not provided these squads with these medicines. The District Health Officer, Chittoor, in my very presence took Rs. 11 from the Medical Squad at Nadimcherla for getting vaccine from the King Institute. This is most regrettable indeed. It is the job of the Government to look after the preventive side of small-pox cases. The Government are not doing anything in the matter and they are not allowing others too to do something. My request to the Government is that they should set apart lot of medicines like gluco-saline, sulpha drugs and other vaccines for these medical squads so that they can tackle these diseases from both the preventive and curative sides. They must provide adequate vans so that these squads can go to the places which are very much affected by these diseases in the districts of Chittoor and Cuddapah. The Government may say that they have started a number of relief schemes, like the gruel centres. The gruel centres which have been started and which are continuing to-day are nothing but a farce. These are at present run by the landlords of the locality who are utilising these centres for their own benefit and private purposes. Therefore, what we find in these gruel centres is nothing but a very watery substance which does not have any food value. Even according to the statement of the District Health Officer which he made in my very presence, the gruel supplied in those centres contained only 50 calories. The exact quantity that is given by the Government is not reaching the people, as much of it is being stolen away by those who run these gruel centres. That is why we have suggested several times to the District Collector that these centres should be entrusted to the volunteers and workers of various public organizations, wherever they come forward to take them up, so that these centres can be run efficiently. For instance, in certain places, these centres are being run by such organizations. The District Officers are very much pleased with the running of such centres. Several feeding centres are run by the Andhra Provincial United Relief Committee, which contains several parties like the Communist Party, Praja Party, some Socialists and other Independents, and several other mass organizations like the Kisan Sabha, Trade Unions, Students' Federation, etc. They have collected some funds and have sent some money to these medical squads. They have also collected some grains. They have done all these with the idea of starting 20 to 40 feeding centres in Rayalaseema. They have already started about 25 centres and they have been functioning.

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Six centres are functioning in Anantapur district, about eight in Chittoor district and about eight in Cuddapah district and the rest in Kurnool district. This United Relief Committee has started these feeding centres long ago and the Mayor of Madras who visited one of these feeding centres has remarked that our centres are being run more efficiently. These centres give *sankati* which means rice and ragi powder boiled together and made into a solid lump. Several people have said that the conditions in Chittoor district and in Rayalaseema are pretty bad. It is not we, Communists alone, who say this. Dr. Venkappa, President of the Madras Medical Council and Dr. Tirumurthi, President of the All-India Medical Council have visited these areas and have found for themselves the miserable conditions obtaining in those places. Lots of people flocked together and approached those gentlemen and demanded that they should be given work. They asked these visitors to represent to the Government, on their behalf, and get them adequate work. The Government have allotted only Rs. 48,000 in the Budget, but they may say that they have allotted net Rs. 50 lakhs from the Famine Relief Fund. They may say that they expect to get Rs. 17 crores from the Government of India. In my opinion even this amount allotted by the Government for relief work in these areas represents only a very paltry sum. They must allot larger sums for this purpose so that proper relief may be afforded to all the famine-stricken areas, including Rayalaseema, in this State.

“Coming to irrigation works, I feel that the Government have not given proper attention to the investigation of many of these works. There are about 3,000 tanks in Chittoor district, which have been neglected in the past, and which are at present in a very bad state of repair and damage. If these are given proper attention and if supply channels are provided for these tanks, I think the famine conditions can be relieved to some extent. Let me tell the Government that they must immediately take up the question of sanctioning these irrigation works. There are a number of minor projects awaiting investigation, like the Bahuda river project which has been put in the five-year plan of the Congress Government. No investigation has taken place till now. Let me request the Government that they should take up these works and projects immediately for investigation.

“Electricity should be supplied to places like Madanapalle.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member Sri V. K. Palaniswami Gounder will now speak.”

SRI V. K. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir இந்த பட்ஜெட்டானது ரொம்பவும் தைரியமாகவும் திறமையாகவும் தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தைரியமாக தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னால் கவர்ன்மென்ட்டின் ஆட்சியானது மிகவும் நெருக்கடியாய் இருந்தும் கூட இவர்கள் இப்பொழுது இந்த வரி திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த சர்க்காருக்கு உதவியாக தங்கள் கட்சியில் அங்கத்தினர்கள் குறைவாக இருந்தும் கூட இந்த வரி திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு

[Sri V. K. Palaniswami Gounder] [5th July 1952]

வந்தது தைர்யமாணது என்று சொல்வேன். வர் திட்டங்களைக்கொண்டு வருவதற்கு தனி தைர்யம் வேண்டும். மிகவும் தைர்யத்தோடுதான் இந்த திட்டங்களைக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். திறமையாய் இந்த திட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதற்கு நிதி மந்திரியை நான் மிகவும் பாராட்டுகிறேன்.

“இங்கு இப்பொழுது இரண்டு மூன்று வரிகள் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அதில் லாண்டு ரிவினியூ சர்சார்ஜ் ஒன்று. ‘இந்த லாண்டு ரிவினியூ சர்சார்ஜ் வேண்டியதில்லை. உதற்கு பதிலாக விவசாய இன்கம் டாக்ஸ் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கலாம்,’ என்று எதிர்க்கட்சியில் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. வியாபாரிகள் நன்றாகக் கணக்கு எழுந்த தெரிந்தும், நன்றாகக் கணக்கு வைத்துக்கொள்ள தெரிந்தவர்களாக இருந்தும் கணக்கு வைத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை அவர்களே மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். இந்த வருமான வரியை விவசாயிகளுக்குக் கொண்டுபோய் வைப்பது கூடாது. விவசாயிகள் வருமான கணக்கு வைப்பதாக இருந்தால் அது முடியாது. ஸார், எல்லோருக்கும் தெரியும் இந்த விற்பனை வரி கணக்கில் எப்படி கணக்கு எழுதுகிறார்கள் என்பது. உதாரணமாய் ஒரு காப்பிக் கடைமில் போய் காப்பி வியாபாரிகள் இவ்வளவு பால் வாங்குகிறார்கள் இவ்வளவு பாலுக்கு இவ்வளவு காப்பி யாகும் அதற்கு வரியைக் கொடுப்பது சொல்வதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். இதற்குக் கடைக்காரர்கள் கணக்குவைக்கத் தெரிந்தவர்கள், அவர்களாலேயே வைத்துக்கொள்ள முடியும். ஆனாலும் அவர்களால் கணக்கு வைத்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அதைப்போலவே விவசாயிகளும் கணக்கு வைத்துக்கொள்ள முடியாமல் கஷ்டப்படுவார்கள். அதற்காகத்தான் இந்த லாண்டு ரிவினியூ சர்சார்ஜ் போட்டிருக்கிறது. அதை பாராட்டவேண்டி இருக்கிறது. இதில் ஒன்று மாதிரியைச் சர்க்காருக்கு சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். இப்பொழுது 4, 5 வருஷங்களாக ராஜதானியில் மழை இல்லை. மழை இல்லாததால் புஞ்சை பூமி வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறவர்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். இந்த மழை இல்லாத காலத்தில் இந்த புஞ்சை பூமிக்கு வரி போடலாமா என்பதை கொஞ்சம் சர்க்கார் யோசனைபண்ணி பார்க்கவேண்டும் என்று அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

‘மறுபடியும் இந்த பஸ் பிரயாணிகளுக்கு வரி இருக்கிறது. பஸ் பிரயாணிகளுக்கு வரி போடுவது இந்த சிடிக்கு மாதிரியும் விலக்கு வைத்துக் கொள்ளலாம் என்று சர்க்கார் நினைக்கிறார்கள். இது எவ்வளவு தூரம் சரி என்பதைச் சர்க்கார் யோசனை செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். கிராமத்தில் இருப்பவர்கள் அவதூறாகச் சொல்லுவார்கள். இப்பொழுது தான் நாம் எலெக்ட்ரிக்ஸுக்குப் போய்விட்டு வந்தோம். வித்யாபம் இல்லாமல் இருந்தால் நன்றாக இருக்கும். பெரிய சிடியில் இருக்கிறவர்களுக்கு மாதிரியும் இந்த வரி இல்லை எங்களுக்கு மாதிரியும் இந்த வரி என்ன என்று சொல்வார்கள். இதைச் சர்க்கார் கவனிக்கவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

10-30
உ.ம. “தவிர கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் ராயலசீமை பிரயாணம் செய்து விட்டு கடைசியாக திரும்பியபோது அவர் சொன்ன வார்த்தை என்னதோபகத்தில் அடிக்கடி வந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதை அவர் மனதால் உணர்ந்து சொன்னார். கிராமத்தில் சுற்றிப்பாத்து விட்டு திரும்பியபோது சொன்னார், பெரிய சிடியில் சிமெண்டு ரோடு, ரஸ்தா, பெரிய கட்டடங்கள், பெரிய காலேஜ்கள் இவைகள் எல்லாம் பார்க்கிறபோது இந்த ராயலசீமையில் இந்த பத்து வருஷங்களில் ஆனங்கள் போய்க்கொண்டிருக்கிற நிலைமையைப் பார்க்கும்போது இப்படியா மாறி இருக்கவேண்டும் என்று சொன்னார். இது யோசிக்க வேண்டிய விஷயம். அவர் மனதால் உணர்ந்துதான் சொன்னார். கிராமங்களில் பஸ்ஸுக்குப் போக வேண்டியதாக இருந்தால் 5 அல்லது 10 மைல் நடந்த பிறகு தான் பஸ்ஸைக்காண்கிறோம். அவர்களுக்கு வரி விதிக்கிறதா அல்லது இந்த சிட்டியில் இந்த வரிக்கு விலக்குக் கொடுக்கலாமா என்று கொஞ்சம் யோசனை பண்ணிச் சர்க்கார் பார்க்கவேண்டும் என்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

5th July 1952] [Sri V. K. Palaniswami Gounder]

“மிஸ்டர் ஸ்பீக்கர் ஸார், எங்கள் கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் குத்தகைக் காரர்களெல்லாம் வெளியே நூத்தப்படுகிறார்கள் என்று கனம் ராமமுர்த்தி அவர்கள் சொன்னார். கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லா பொறுத்த மட்டில் அவர் கொஞ்சம் தெரிந்து கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் விவசாயம் இருப்பது தனி முறை. டெல்டா பிரதேசத்தில் விவசாயம் இருப்பது போல் அங்கே இல்லை. கோயமுத்தூரில் 300 அடி, 400 அடி கிணறுகள் தேண்டி அதிலிருந்து தண்ணீர் இறைத்து விவசாயம் செய்கிறார்கள். அங்கே மற்றொரு முறையும் இருக்கிறது. இந்த ஜில்லாவில் 100-க்கு 99 பேர்கள் பூமி வைத்துக்கொண்டிருப்பவர்கள். அவர்களே விவசாயம் செய்கிறார்கள். பூமி வைத்திருப்பவர்கள் 100 ஏக்கர் பூமி வைத்திருந்தால் ஒரு பத்து அல்லது ஐந்து ஏக்கர் நிலத்தைதான் குத்தகைக்கு விடுவார்கள். அங்கே சொந்த விவசாயம் பண்ணுவது ஒரு தனி முறையாக இருக்கிறது. அங்கே சொந்த விவசாயத்தில் இருப்பவர்கள் மற்ற டெல்டா பூமியில் இருப்பதைப்போல் அல்ல. டெல்டாவில் கிராமம் கிராமமாக குத்தகைக்குவிட்டு விவசாயம் செய்கிறார்கள், பூமி சொந்தக் காரர்கள் குத்தகையை வாங்கி அனுபவிக்கிறார்கள், கோயம்புத்தூரில் அது வழக்கம் அல்ல. கோயமுத்தூர் கவுண்டர்களும் நாயக்கர்களும் எவ்வளவு பூமி வைத்திருந்தாலும் சொந்த சாகுபடியையே அவர்கள் செய்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய பெண்களும் அங்கே போய் வேலை பார்க்கிறார்கள். இந்த முறையில் தான் அங்கே விவசாயம் செய்கிறார்கள். குத்தகைக்கு விரும்பும் பூமி ரொம்பவும் குறைவுதான். இந்த நிலச் சீர்திருத்தச் சட்டம் வந்த பிறகு நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆயிரக்கணக்கான குத்தகைக்காரர்கள் வேலை இல்லாமல் விரட்டப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்வது தெரியாமல் சொல்வது தான் இப்பொழுதும் அவர்கள் வேலையில்லாமலிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்வது மிகவும் தப்பு. அப்படி இல்லை, அப்படிச் சொல்பவர்கள் இதை தெரிந்து கொள்ளவில்லை என்று தான் நினைக்கிறேன்.

“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்தச் சபை முன்பு சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தில் பல விஷயங்கள் காணப்படுகின்றன. லோக்கல் பாடிகள் சம்பந்தமாக இரண்டொரு வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். 1920-ம் ஆண்டில் Local Bodies Act நிறைவேற்றப்பட்டது. அந்தச் சட்டத்திலே சொல்லியிருக்கும்படியான விதிகளெல்லாம் மிகவும் பொருத்தமானவை. அந்தச் சட்டத்தின் விதிகளெல்லாம் நன்றாக அமைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. அந்தச் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கிற சில செக்ஷன்களிலே கவர்ன்மெண்டுக்கு அதிகாரம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அந்த லோக்கல் பாடிகளின் மேல் அதிகாரத்தை நடத்த ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபனங்களுக்கு கொடுத்திருந்த அதிகாரங்களையெல்லாம் ஒவ்வொன்றும் இந்தச் சட்டத்தின் மூலம் குறைத்துக்கொண்டுவந்து, இப்பொழுது தனிப்பட்ட டிபார்ட்மெண்டு மாதிரி அது நடந்துவருகிறது. ஜில்லா போர்டில் ஏதாவது ஒரு காரியத்தைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றாலும், அதிகாரிகளுடைய அனுமதி வாங்கித்தான் செய்யவேண்டியிருக்கிறதே தவிர, சுபேக்சயாக ஒரு காரியத்தையும் செய்யமுடியாத நிலையில் ஜில்லா போர்டு ஆக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அந்தந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகளைக் கேட்பதோடு நிற்கவில்லை. அந்தந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகள் எதைச் சொல்லுகிறார்களோ அதன்படியே நடத்த வேண்டுமென்று இருக்கிறது. அதுதான் சர்க்காரின் சட்டம்.

“1947-ம் ஆண்டில் Highways Department தனி டிபார்ட்மெண்டாக ஆக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதற்கு முன்பு இந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் இல்லை. 1947-ம் ஆண்டு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளெல்லாம் இல்லை. அந்நகர நடத்தப்பட வேண்டிய தேர்தலை நடத்தாமல், ஜில்லா கலெக்டருடைய அதிகாரத்தில் இருந்தது. அந்தக் காலத்தில் இந்தச் சட்டம் உண்டாக்கப்பட்டது. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் நிர்வாகத்தில் அநேக மைல்கள் ரஸ்தாக்கள் இருக்கின்றன. கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் 2,500 மைல்கள் ரஸ்தாக்கள் இருக்கின்றன; 900 ஆரம்பப்பாடசாலைகள் இருக்கின்றன; மற்றும் சந்தைகளும், ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளும் இருக்கின்றன; அவைகளுக்கு வேண்டிய கட்டடங்களும் இருக்கின்றன. ஏற்கனவே உள்ளவைகளைப் பராமரிப்பதற்காகவும், புதிதாக ரஸ்தா போடுவதற்கும், புதிதாகக் கட்டிடங்கள் கட்டுவதற்கும், இவைகளை யெல்லாம் செய்வதற்குத் தனியாக இன்ஜினீயர் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு கிடையாது.

[Sri V. K. Palaniswami Gounder] [5th July 1952]

ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு தான் செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டும் 'ஹைவேஸ்' டிபார்ட்மெண்டு ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கான வேலைகளெல்லாம் மிகவும் மோசமான நிலையில் வந்துவிட்டது. பராமரிப்பு சரியாயில்லை. வேறு ஒரு டிபார்ட்மெண்டைக்கேட்டு காரியங்கள் நடத்தவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் கீழ் இந்த ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு ஜில்லா ததால் பல காரியங்களுக்கு குந்தகம் ஏற்பட்டது என்பதை ஜில்லா போர்டில் சம்பந்தப்பட்டவன் என்ற ஹோதாவில் சொல்லுகின்றேன்.

"சில ரோடுகளை ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழ் இருந்து ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டுக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த ரோடுகளை இப்பொழுது பார்த்தால் மிகவும் மோசமாக இருக்கின்றனவென்பதை பொது ஜனங்கள் உணருகிறார்கள். ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழ் இருந்தபோது அந்த ரோடுகள் இவ்வளவு மோசமாக இருக்கவில்லை. ஏற்கனவே அந்த ரோடுகள் எந்த நிலையில் இருந்தன. இப்பொழுது எப்படியிருக்கின்றன என்பது பொது ஜனங்களுக்குத் தெரியும்.

"ஜில்லா போர்டைப் பொறுத்தமட்டிலும், ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழ் இருக்கிற ரோடுகளைச் சரியாக வைக்கமுடியவில்லை. ஏனென்றால், ஜில்லா போர்டு ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டுக்குப் பணத்தைக் கொடுப்பதோடு, ஜில்லா போர்டின் வேலை முடிந்ததுவிடுகிறது. ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அந்த ரோடுகளைப் பராமரிக்கவேண்டியது. அப்படிச் செய்வதில்லை. இதனால் ரோடுகளெல்லாம் மோசமாய்ப் போய்விட்டது என்பதைப் பொது ஜனங்கள் உணருகிறார்கள். இதைத் தவிர்க்கவேண்டியது அவசியம் என்பதை அரசாங்கத்தாரின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகின்றேன்.

"இன்னும் பல காரியங்களை ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் செய்யவேண்டியது அவசியமாயிருக்கிறது. ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு அதிகப் பொறுப்பு கொடுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அந்தப் பொறுப்புகள் மாத்திரம் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இருக்கிறதே தவிர, அதை நிர்வகிக்கத்தக்க செலுகரியங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இல்லை. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்குக் கீழே நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆரம்பப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், அந்தப் பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை மேற்பார்வை பார்ப்பதற்கு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளிடத்தில் ஆட்கள் கிடையாது. மேற்பார்வை பார்ப்பவர்கள் Education டிபார்ட்மெண்டார். Education டிபார்ட்மெண்டார் அப்பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குச் சென்று போலீஸ் வேலை செய்கிறார்கள். 'அதிலே தப்பு, அது சரியாய் இல்லை. இது சரியாயில்லை' என்றெல்லாம் எழுதிவிட்டு அந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகள் செலுகிறார்களே தவிர, சரிபார்க்கும் வேலை அவர்களுக்கு இல்லை. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் கீழ் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு, அவைகளைப் போய்ப் பார்ப்பதற்கு ஆளில்லாமலிருந்தால், ஜில்லா போர்டினுடைய வேலைகள் எப்படி நடக்கும்? பொறுப்பு மாத்திரம் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அந்தப் பொறுப்புகளை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்குப் போதிய ஆட்களோ செலுகரியங்களோ கிடையாது. இந்த மாதிரியான ஒரு நிலையில் ஜில்லா போர்டு இருப்பதால், ஜனங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டைக் கண்டிக்கிறார்கள். பல தடவைகள் ஜில்லா போர்டிலும் Chamber of District Boards இலும் கேட்டும் ஒருவித விமோசனமும் ஏற்படவில்லை.

"பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழே இருக்கிறது. 1937-38-ல் பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் சட்டம் ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு, ஜில்லா போர்டு பணம் கொடுக்கிறதே யொழிய, வேறு எந்தக் காரியமும் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு உருப்படியாக செய்யவில்லை. ஜில்லா ஹெல்த் ஆபீசர் ஜில்லாவிலுடைய பணவருவாயைக் கவனிக்காமலே அதைச் செலவுகள் செய்யலாம். உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை நியமிக்கலாம். உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை மாற்றலாம். அந்த உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை உண்டாக்கலாம். இது பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கிறது. இதனால் எல்லாம் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகம் ரொம்ப பாதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இம் மாதிரி பல விஷயங்களை ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் சொல்லிற்று, இதை Chamber of District Boards மூலமாகச் சென்று கவனமெண்டுக்கு நாங்கள்

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சொன்னோம். அதற்காக ஒரு கமிட்டி போட்டு விசாரணை நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. விசாரணை முடிந்தபிறகு அதற்கு ஆவன செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"தவிர, எங்கள் தொகுதியில் இப்பொழுது உணவுப் பஞ்சம் ரொம்ப நெருக்கடியாயிருக்கிறது. இந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணம் பிரிந்துபோவதென்பது நிச்சயம். சீக்கிரம் பிரியாவிட்டாலும் கொஞ்ச நாள் பிறகாவது அது பிரிந்து போவது நிச்சயம் என்பதில் எனக்குச் சந்தேகமில்லை. அப்படிப் பிரியும் போது தமிழ்நாட்டுக்கு உணவுப் பஞ்சம் அதிகமாகுமென்பதில் கொஞ்சங்கூட டூப்ஸேனை இல்லை. ஆந்திர நாட்டிலிருந்து தானியம் இப்பொழுது வருவது போல் பிரிந்தபின் வராது. அதற்காகத் தமிழ்நாட்டிலே அதே நிர்ப்பாசனத் திட்டங்களை உடனடியாகக் கொண்டுவருவது அவசியம். செய்ய வேண்டியது அவசியமென்று சொன்னால், இப்பொழுதே ஆரம்பிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. அதனால் ஆந்திரர்களும் மற்றவர்களும், 'தமிழ் நாட்டில் முதலில் செலவு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறேன்' என்று நினைக்கவேண்டாம். நான் சொல்வதென்னவென்றால், பல திட்டங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அதைப் பரிசீலனை செய்து வைக்கலாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். பரிசீலனையாவது செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறேனே தவிர, உடனே திட்டங்களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை.

"காவிரி நதியை அதிகம் பிரயோஜனப்படுத்தியாய்விட்டது. இன்னும் 10-45 சில ஆறுகள் இருக்கின்றன. பொள்ளாச்சி தாலுகாவில் பரம்பக்குளம் 10-45 என்ற ஆறு, 200 அங்குல மழை பெய்யக்கூடிய இடத்திலே ஆரம்பித்து சமுத்திரத்தில் வீணாகக் கலக்கிறது. அந்தத் தண்ணீரை உபயோகப் படுத்தினால் உணவுப் பஞ்சத்தை ஓரளவு போக்கமுடியும்"

* SRI N. VENKATAYYA:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in speaking about the Budget proposals that have been placed before the House, I should like to refer to the famine conditions in Rayalaseema that have already been referred to by the Hon. the Finance Minister in his speech. The relief measures that have been outlined in the speech are only measures for preventing man from death by starvation. But the Government, both the past as well as the present Government, have not taken any measures to eradicate famine from the area altogether.

"In discussing these measures, I should like to point out that one section of the population, namely, the landless poor, mostly Harijans and the Harijan converts have not been given any help whatsoever. I speak of them particularly, because from my personal experience in my constituency, I have seen that it is this section of the community that has been hit hard most. They have not been given any loans because they have no lands to mortgage. They have not been provided with gruel centres because they are said to be able-bodied. They are not provided with employment because the Government have no work to give them. The Government's statements and figures given in connexion with the relief measures showing that they provided work to every able-bodied person are very fantastic and incorrect. So, I say that all these famine relief measures have not helped this section of the people and I would like to warn the Government that they should rectify this mistake at least in future. These people have got greater hunger for land than they have for food or for drink. There are vast tracts of Banja lands, cultivable lands lying waste, which

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ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு தான் செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டும் 'ஹைவேஸ்' டிபார்ட்மெண்டு ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்கான வேலைகளெல்லாம் மிகவும் மோசமான நிலையில் வந்துவிட்டது. பராமரிப்பு சரியாயில்லை. வேறு ஒரு டிபார்ட்மெண்டைக்கேட்டு காரியங்கள் நடத்தவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் கீழ் இந்த ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு ஜில்லா ததால் பல காரியங்களுக்கு குந்தகம் ஏற்பட்டது என்பதை ஜில்லா போர்டில் சம்பந்தப்பட்டவன் என்ற ஹோதாவில் சொல்லுகின்றேன்.

"சில ரோடுகளை ஜில்லா போர்டுடன்மிருந்து ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டுக்குக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த ரோடுகளை இப்பொழுது பார்த்தால் மிகவும் மோசமாக இருக்கின்றனவென்பதை பொது ஜனங்கள் உணருகிறார்கள். ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழ் இருந்தபோது அந்த ரோடுகள் இவ்வளவு மோசமாக இருக்கவில்லை. ஏற்கனவே அந்த ரோடுகள் எந்த நிலையில் இருந்தன. இப்பொழுது எப்படியிருக்கின்றன என்பது பொது ஜனங்களுக்குத் தெரியும்.

"ஜில்லா போர்டைப் பொறுத்தமட்டிலும், ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழ் இருக்கிற ரோடுகளைச் சரியாக வைக்கமுடியவில்லை. ஏனென்றால், ஜில்லா போர்டு ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டுக்குப் பணத்தைக் கொடுப்பதோடு, ஜில்லா போர்டின் வேலை முடிந்ததுவிடுகிறது. ஹைவேஸ் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அந்த ரோடுகளைப் பராமரிக்கவேண்டியது. அப்படிச் செய்வதில்லை. இதனால் ரோடுகளெல்லாம் மோசமாய்ப் போய்விட்டது என்பதைப் பொது ஜனங்கள் உணருகிறார்கள். இதைத் தவிர்க்கவேண்டியது அவசியம் என்பதை அரசாங்கத்தாரின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன்.

"இன்னும் பல காரியங்களை ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் செய்யவேண்டியது அவசியமாயிருக்கிறது. ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு அதிகப் பொறுப்பு கொடுக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அந்தப் பொறுப்புகள் மாதிரிம் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இருக்கிறதே தவிர, அதை நிர்வகிக்கத்தக்க செல்கரியங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இல்லை. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளுக்குக் கீழே நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆரம்பப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், அந்தப் பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை மேற்பார்வை பார்ப்பதற்கு ஜில்லா போர்டுகளிடத்தில் ஆட்கள் கிடையாது. மேற்பார்வை பார்ப்பவர்கள் Education டிபார்ட்மெண்டார். Education டிபார்ட்மெண்டார் அப்பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குச் சென்று போலீஸ் வேலை செய்கிறார்கள். 'அதிலே தப்பு, அது சரியாய் இல்லை. இது சரியாயில்லை' என்றெல்லாம் எழுதிவிட்டு அந்த டிபார்ட்மெண்டு அதிகாரிகள் செல்கிறார்களே தவிர, சரிபார்க்கும் வேலை அவர்களுக்கு இல்லை. ஜில்லா போர்டுகளின் கீழ் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு, அவைகளைப் போய்ப் பார்ப்பதற்கு ஆளில்லாமலிருந்தால், ஜில்லா போர்டினுடைய வேலைகள் எப்படி நடக்கும்? பொறுப்பு மாதிரிம் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு இருக்கிறது. ஆனால், அந்தப் பொறுப்புகளை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்குப் போதிய ஆட்களோ செல்கரியங்களோ கிடையாது. இந்த மாதிரியான ஒரு நிலையில் ஜில்லா போர்டு இருப்பதால், ஜனங்கள் ஜில்லா போர்டைக் கண்டிக்கிறார்கள். பல தடவைகள் ஜில்லா போர்டிலும் Chamber of District Boards இலும் கேட்டும் ஒருவித விமோசனமும் ஏற்படவில்லை.

"பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் ஜில்லா போர்டின் கீழே இருக்கிறது. 1937-38-ல் பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் சட்டம் ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு, ஜில்லா போர்டு பணம் கொடுக்கிறதே யொழிய, வேறு எந்தக் காரியமும் ஜில்லா போர்டுக்கு உருப்படியாக செய்யவில்லை. ஜில்லா ஹெல்த் ஆபீசர் ஜில்லாவிலுடைய பணவருவாயைக் கவனிக்காமலே அநேக செலவுகள் செய்யலாம். உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை நியமிக்கலாம். உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை மாற்றலாம். அந்த உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை உண்டாக்கலாம். இது பள்ளிக் ஹெல்த் சட்டத்தில் இருக்கிறது. இதனால் எல்லாம் ஜில்லா போர்டு நிர்வாகம் ரொம்ப பாதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இம் மாதிரி பல விஷயங்களை ஜில்லா போர்டுகள் சொல்லிற்று, இதை Chamber of District Boards மூலமாகச் சென்று கவனமெண்டுக்கு நாங்கள்

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சொன்னோம். அதற்காக ஒரு கமிட்டி போட்டு விசாரணை நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. விசாரணை முடிந்தபிறகு அதற்கு ஆவன செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

"தவிர, எங்கள் தொகுதியில் இப்பொழுது உணவுப் பஞ்சம் ரொம்ப நெருக்கடியாயிருக்கிறது. இந்த ஆந்திர மாகாணம் பிரிந்துபோவதென்பது நிச்சயம். சீக்கிரம் பிரியாவிட்டாலும் கொஞ்ச நாள் பிறகாவது அது பிரிந்து போவது நிச்சயம் என்பதில் எனக்குச் சந்தேகமில்லை. அப்படிப் பிரியும் போது தமிழ்நாட்டுக்கு உணவுப் பஞ்சம் அதிகமாகுமென்பதில் கொஞ்சங்கூட டூப்ஸேனை இல்லை. ஆந்திர நாட்டிலிருந்து தானியம் இப்பொழுது வருவது போல் பிரிந்தபின் வராது. அதற்காகத் தமிழ்நாட்டிலே அநேக நீர்ப் பாசனத் திட்டங்களை உடனடியாகக் கொண்டுவருவது அவசியம். செய்ய வேண்டியது அவசியமென்று சொன்னால், இப்பொழுதே ஆரம்பிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. அதனால் ஆந்திரர்களும் மற்றவர்களும், 'தமிழ் நாட்டில் முதலில் செலவு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறேன்' என்று நினைக்கவேண்டாம். நான் சொல்வதென்னவென்றால், பல திட்டங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. அதைப் பரிசீலனை செய்து வைக்கலாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். பரிசீலனையாவது செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்கிறேனே தவிர, உடனே திட்டங்களை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லவில்லை.

"காவிரி நதியை அதிகம் பிரயோஜனப்படுத்தியாய்விட்டது. இன்னும் 10-45 சில ஆறுகள் இருக்கின்றன. பொள்ளாச்சி தாலுகாவில் பரம்பக்குளம் ௨.௩. என்ற ஆறு, 200 அங்குல மழை பெய்யக்கூடிய இடத்திலே ஆரம்பித்து சமுத்திரத்தில் வீணாகக் கலக்கிறது. அந்தத் தண்ணீரை உபயோகப் படுத்தினால் உணவுப் பஞ்சத்தை ஓரளவு போக்கமுடியும்"

* SRI N. VENKATAYYA:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in speaking about the Budget proposals that have been placed before the House, I should like to refer to the famine conditions in Rayalaseema that have already been referred to by the Hon. the Finance Minister in his speech. The relief measures that have been outlined in the speech are only measures for preventing man from death by starvation. But the Government, both the past as well as the present Government, have not taken any measures to eradicate famine from the area altogether.

"In discussing these measures, I should like to point out that one section of the population, namely, the landless poor, mostly Harijans and the Harijan converts have not been given any help whatsoever. I speak of them particularly, because from my personal experience in my constituency, I have seen that it is this section of the community that has been hit hard most. They have not been given any loans because they have no lands to mortgage. They have not been provided with gruel centres because they are said to be able-bodied. They are not provided with employment because the Government have no work to give them. The Government's statements and figures given in connexion with the relief measures showing that they provided work to every able-bodied person are very fantastic and incorrect. So, I say that all these famine relief measures have not helped this section of the people and I would like to warn the Government that they should rectify this mistake at least in future. These people have got greater hunger for land than they have for food or for drink. There are vast tracts of Banja lands, cultivable lands lying waste, which

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yield nothing. If the Government take steps to distribute all these lands to these people it will relieve their distress to a great extent not only as a famine relief measure but permanently.

"Sir, the Hon. the Minister for Finance told us in his speech that until December the Government were not very much aware of the famine conditions in Rayalaseema. I do not know why and how they were not aware of the conditions in Rayalaseema. There is the Government machinery in the districts; there are so many departments of the Government, the Revenue, the Agricultural and the Co-operative departments. There are the Development and the Police Departments. They have got the crop reports and the rainfall reports. They have got the technical reports of experts. With all these, I do not know why they were not aware of famine conditions in Rayalaseema earlier. Why I am pointing out all these here is, I feel the Government have failed in their duty in Rayalaseema to prevent famine. If they do not take care even now then it may be the cause of further catastrophies in future. Rayalaseema, this unfortunate tract in this State, has been subjected to famine, even according to the Government reports, as many as 27 times from the year 1800 up till now. This approximately means that there has been famine somewhere or other in this tract always. What are the measures which the Government have taken to eradicate famine from this area? They have been speaking of a Rayalaseema Development Board and 'measures for the development of Rayalaseema' and all that. What is it that has actually happened? What are the concrete steps that the Government are going to take to prevent famines in future? Are there any proposals in the present Budget to take measures in this direction? When I say measures must be taken, I mean they must be for all the dry tracts in the State—Rayalaseema and some of the dry areas in Guntur, Nellore and some of the southern districts. People in these areas are predominantly dependant on agriculture more than in any other part of the country. While the population there is more dependant on agriculture than on any other occupation, it will be right if we take steps to help them in bringing waste lands under cultivation. It is but necessary that agriculture should be improved in those areas. There is much talk about the major and minor irrigation works undertaken in these areas. Even supposing that all the irrigation works—minor and major—have been executed in this area, the extent of lands that will be brought under cultivation as a result will only be about 25 per cent of the total extent of lands now under cultivation. It is a matter of doubt, therefore, whether this measure of relief will completely solve the food problem of these tracts. Again, the possibility of execution of all these projects is a very, very remote one and I do not know how the Government are going to tackle this problem. Even if the Tungabhadra and the Sangameswaram projects that are in this area are completed, they will irrigate only 25 per cent of the cultivable waste lands that are available. Therefore, I say that irrigation works—major and minor—are not a matter of certainty. Then, what shall we do? We must take up

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the question of exploring the industrial possibilities of these tracts. These areas offer so many possibilities of industrialisation. We can have ever so many industries. For example, we can have mining industry, paints and varnishes, sugar, oils and textiles. But what is it that the Government have done to industrialise these areas? What are the proposals before them? It is true some years ago the Government granted licences to private individuals or private firms to start industries in these areas. Is it real relief? What is the material result of these projects? Nothing, because the country is so poor that it cannot run these without substantial aid from the Government. Private capital is so shy that it cannot come out. So also, it is not possible for the Government to rely upon private individuals and firms to start the industries. The only solution is that they can themselves start the industries and run them. Just like the Government of Mysore which has taken the initiative in starting industries, and after running them for some time, handed them over to private people, the Government of Madras should start industries themselves. Instead of doing this, the Government have done the greatest injustice to these tracts, and their professions of sympathy and their measures of relief are merely on paper and are not likely to help the people in the immediate future.

"Coming to cottage industries, which are abundant in these tracts and which have been worked by people from ancient times, I must say that the Government are not paying any attention to their development. When I say this, I have particularly in mind the slate industry of Markapur. Here is an industry which the people have discovered themselves and worked. What is it that the Government have done for this industry? How is it that they have not paid any attention to it? Sir, in this connexion, I would like to point out one thing. The worst feature of the slate industry is that 90 per cent of the materials quarried from the hills is wasted and only 10 per cent is utilized for manufacturing slates. This colossal waste can be avoided by conducting some research or by means of mechanisation. I say that the State Government or the Central Government must help the industry in this regard because, if the waste is avoided then slates can be got at prices far below the present ones—almost for nothing. We can also meet the demands from overseas more satisfactorily. It would be good if the Government encouraged this industry, at least by supplying electricity and by making more wagons available for transport. It must be noted with regard to the slate industry, that the demand for slates is only seasonal. Only in a certain period in the year there is demand. But when there is demand, there is the restriction on transport, and railway wagons never become available for meeting the demands. There is thus promise of expansion but nothing is done, with the result that employment is denied to many people for no reason. If the Government pay attention to this industry and work it on a rational basis, I am sure it will be a national asset.

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"Next, I come to the slab industry in the Cuddapah district. If the Government had taken care to use slabs where they could be used, for example, on the railway platforms or footpaths where cement is often used, the industry could employ 25,000 men instead of 5,000 as at present. They could have saved a lot of cement that was required by the public and for other public utility projects. There are other industries too in these tracts that can be developed as cottage industries.

"There are fine areas, forest areas, in our place which can be used for grazing purposes. If the Government can start a dairy farm or an agricultural farm that would be really achieving something. When there are so many places where we can grow poultry and start dairy farms, if the Ministry of Agriculture puts up some schemes in this connexion and if it can supply one glass of milk to every person and one egg to every person, then I say it would be doing something worthwhile. Therefore, this is an area that has not been cared for and looked after in the proper perspective. What has so far been done is only preparation of paper schemes which cannot be worked in any way.

"Coming to the taxation proposals, I may say that the surcharge on bus fares is not at all desirable. It hits the poor man wherever he is and for whatever purpose he travels. Instead of resorting to a surcharge on bus fares, why not the Government auction the bus routes which in all probability may get them more revenue? This is a point which I want the Government to consider.

"Then, there is the surcharge on land revenue. The Government say in the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill:

'The scale is graduated to range from 4 annas to 16 annas on the rupee of the existing assessment according to the size of the individual holding. It is deemed that this will be in accordance with the principles of agricultural income-tax.'

11 a.m. If I understand the Income-tax Act aright, I think it exempts certain levels of income, whereas in this Bill, there is no exemption whatever in respect of this surcharge on land revenue even on smaller incomes. Though it is called surcharge based upon the principles of income-tax, I submit, it is not at all in accordance with the principles of income-tax. What we really want is a progressive agricultural income-tax which implies allowing a certain minimum wage for agricultural labourers and a fair remunerative price for the agriculturist's produce. Only on that basis can the Government levy a tax. But the principles on which the surcharge is based are, in my opinion, not at all correct. I am afraid if the Bill is not amended we cannot support the Bill at all.

"Now coming to the betterment levy, various projects have given varying degrees of benefits to the land. I want to ask, if it is only irrigation projects that have increased the value of the land. What about the other projects such as water-supply in

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municipalities, electric power supply in municipalities and such other things? Do they not increase the value of the land? Why is it that the agriculturist alone is taken as the target for this measure? Coming to actual figures, if by an irrigation project the additional income that the ryot gets is Rs. 80, the value of the land is supposed to have risen by Rs. 2,400, out of which he has to pay Rs. 1,200 in 20 equal instalments. That means he has to pay Rs. 60 for an acre of land every year. On top of this he has to pay land revenue and surcharge, and if by any chance there is a minor irrigation project the ryot has to share half the cost. That is the state of affairs that this tax would bring the agriculturist to I do not know how this is justifiable. In zamindari areas when the ryot was asked to pay Rs. 40 as land rent everybody was against it. Now the Government are asking the ryot to pay Rs. 60 an acre for twenty years. Therefore I say these Bills would hit hard the agriculturists and the rural population. But the trend in expenditure shows that the money derived from the rural population is going to the urban population. When we look into the statements of expenditure, we see that more electricity schemes are provided for places where there is already electricity available. Do not the agriculturists in rural areas require electricity? Do they not require this for their agriculture and cottage industries? Have the Government provided electricity schemes for rural areas? I am not greedy or jealous. I do not want to say that we should not provide facilities to the urban people. But what I say is, we are more in need of electricity than the urban folk.

"Take education. The grants are made on the basis of units that are already existing. Take for instance a district having 100 high schools and another having 10 schools. While making grants these differences come in though the revenues come from the rural population. I therefore submit that the Budget is more in favour of the urban population than the rural population and I expect Government would remedy the defects so that the poor people, the agriculturists and the agricultural labourers, might be benefited."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the Hon. the Finance Minister's speech in paragraph 8, it is stated that we are to consider not merely the extremely deplorable condition of the Budget of this year, but also the financial position from 1951-52, which means the actual phenomena that began from 1951-52. It took two full years for us to wake up to the situation and then to find remedial measures. That is the position. Well the story is not merely that. From the time of the post-war economic crisis beginning from 1935, I think in our own country our economy has been undergoing a very deep crisis. The one peculiarity of the Government has been, what was purely and essentially an economic phenomenon, what was really a social phenomenon, was called a communist phenomenon for the police to deal with. When the ills were essentially economic, when the problems were purely economic problems, it was said that they

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were problems for the police and not for the statesmen, because on the other side previously there were bankrupt politicians, whose statesmanship was conspicuous by its absence. The previous statements on Budgets by Mr. Gopala Reddi never failed to mention that the police force has been increased and that he was trying to keep them at vantage positions and at strategic points to hit the Communists, to do this and to do that. Against whom was he waging a war? Against the poor people, against people who were asking for bread, agitating for food. And this was called communist menace. All these were considered to be problems for the police and not for the statesmen. This is somewhat strange. The Hon. the Chief Minister is no stranger. In 1930 he led a big march from Tiruchirappalli to Vedaranyam. Then he said that the poor people were suffering from the salt tax. After all I think it was an insignificant question at that time, but still he did take it up because it was a grievance and it became great on account of his taking up that problem. Whether he adopted the G.C.M. method or the L.C.M. method or the H.C.F. method or any other method, still he built up a big movement and became great and ultimately the Governor-General of this country. That was the process by which he became great. Now when the same thing, a change ordained by history, by the course of events, a thing that is actually inevitable—there is no choice in the matter because if you are hungry you must say you are hungry—takes place and you say the same thing, of course Mr. Gopala Reddi and others say that this is a communist menace and the police budget should be increased. What was previously six lakhs of rupees becomes Rs. 72 lakhs for this special Armed Police. That was the way they drew up their budgets. How is it that now the Hon. the Finance Minister comes before us and says that the position is really bad? It is an accumulation from the year 1945 to this day of economic ills. This has become such a great phenomenon and gained such a volume and intensity that to-day it will have to be recognized. There is no escaping the position. There is famine, there is unemployment and these compel attention. It is this worsening of the economic situation that compels attention, that forces the Hon. the Finance Minister to recognize the realities of the situation. These cannot be dismissed as bundling up of grievances and hurled against the Communists. Well, if the Communists, as the Hon. the Chief Minister said, bundled up grievances and hurled them against the Ministry, it is for him to bundle the phenomenon and hurl it on the people and ask them to put up with these burdens. That is what they are doing. There is no difference in our positions. They look at it from one angle and we look at it from the other. In fact we took up the challenge of adult franchise and got votes from adults; we did not go merely to the rich men as in the past to ask for their votes; we went to the tillers, the landless labourers in the cheris and asked them for their votes. They told us a number of their grievances. They are not our own creation. If it was our own creation, I am asking in all seriousness whether the Hon. the Chief Minister created grievances about the salt tax.

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Has he forgotten history? That tax was a trifling thing during the British regime compared to the economic burden that is falling on the small men now. This fact should compel the Hon. the Finance Minister to leave off the hypocrisy of attributing the economic ills to the Communist menace. This is the reality and he has to recognize it. The reality has been pressing itself for attention. In fact, these are incorporated in the Government reports, but they come into the forefront only in 1952-53. Are there not reports made by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu? There was a fashionable kind of economic theory propagated, that because of rise in prices the agricultural economy would go up and therefore there was nothing to worry about. That was the propaganda. The Government officers evolve economic theories, just as they were cooking up theories to support 1 s. 6 d. ratio as against 1 s. 4 d. We know many of the Government officers are economists, like Bryane and Darling. They had an economic policy of their own. They have been saying that the agricultural industry was getting prosperous on account of the rise in prices. But Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu actually showed that the position of the small holders of land was very bad. A man who had five acres or even up to ten acres was getting only steeped in debt as a result of the war. That is what he said. Later on, a number of other phenomena came to light. I should like to know whether Hon. Ministers actually study the reports of our economists. I have gathered my information mainly from the blue books of the Government. I have not gathered them from Moscow. Let us consider some figures furnished in such reports. Take the Registration department figures. The number of sales effected during the years 1946-47 to 1950-51 are: 1946-47—7,94,245; 1947-48—7,17,969; 1948-49—7,28,219; 1949-50—7,81,113 and 1950-51—8,59,387. The figures in respect of documents presented for registration of mortgages are: 1946-47—3,99,745; 1947-48—3,64,200; 1948-49—3,71,228; 1949-50—3,34,681; 1950-51—3,93,909. The position will be made more clear if one looks at the amounts also. The amounts for those years were 19, 22, 23, 26 and 29 crores of rupees, respectively. This is the amount of indebtedness for which people have mortgaged their lands. The actual position to-day is that no money-lender is willing to advance loans on mortgages. Supposing there is a house valued at Rs. 4,000. What the money-lender says is this: 'If I take a mortgage, I will have to go to the Court of law to recover the amount and there you will say so many things. Therefore first of all sell me the property for the loan you want.' That is the position to-day. Therefore, a house worth Rs. 4,000 is taken on a sale deed worth Rs. 200 or Rs. 300. Just see the depreciation in the value of the property. People come and tell us that the values of landed property and house property have increased terribly. The values of landed property and house property have increased for the rich man. For the poor man, if he has to pawn it, if he has to mortgage it, he has to sell it for a song. Therefore, the position is

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extremely distressing. This is also reflected in the figures furnished in the land revenue statistics that you find published every year. The percentage of distraint or attachment notice given for the fasli years from 1356 to 1359 are 7;4, 9;45, 28;52 and 53;10 respectively. From 7;4 per cent, it has gone up to 53;10 per cent. The figures for distraint or attachment notices have also gone up. These are figures from the latest reports which show that our economy is going to rack and ruin. Our Friend, the Hon. the Finance Minister, wakes up now because the veritable 'Kamadenu', the sales tax of which Mr. Gopala Reddi waxed so eloquent, is getting hard hit. And I am sure the Hon. Sri Subramaniam is going to come again with a revised Budget because he has estimated high and there is going to be an appreciable fall in sales tax receipts. It is not so much the wholesalers that are actually paying sales tax, but it is mainly the small man who is paying sales tax. That is the reality we find to-day. The prices have gone down and the volume of sales also has gone down. The offtake of fair price shops is getting reduced because of the great reduction in purchasing power of the people. That is the most distressing phenomenon to-day. What does it indicate? It only shows that unless rice is given gratis the people are not prepared to buy. Even the press has said that. The people do not have the wherewithal to take it for price. The number of beggars and paupers is increasing in this land and it is for these people that the Government have to frame a Budget. They have already presented a Budget, and how are they going to deal with the situation? Of course, for a very long time it paid them and it paid some of the Police officers to get their cousins and sons-in-law recruited to the Police force, as they used to scare the Finance Minister by saying that there was a Communist menace. The real menace was poverty. In fact, it is the increasing poverty, unemployment and fall in production also. From the year 1945 onwards, what is happening is that most of the agricultural labourers are occupying the *banjar* land against all rules. They simply occupy it because necessity dictates that if they are to live at all, they must occupy the *banjar* land and cultivate it. Oh God, it takes a good lot of labour to take up the fallow virgin soil and cultivate it. They are doing it. But the landlords come down and say, 'If you get a piece of land, you won't come for *vetti* (free) labour', and then they complain to the revenue officers. If an agricultural labourer owns half an acre, he will raise some crops on it and will not work on another man's lands. Naturally, the landlords feel that the agricultural labourers should have no land at all because they know that if the labourers own a plot of land they will not go for labour for a song or for *kanji*. The karnams and other revenue officials levy penalty and the result is, if we see the land revenue statistics, that from fasli 1350 to 1359, the enhanced assessment rose from Rs. 2,14,749 to Rs. 6,66,783. Most atrocious and strongest of things are being done. The position to-day is, the poor man is made to pay the penalty because he has to be forced into slavery. I have seen in some districts the penalty is Rs. 58 per acre of land.

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That is the way the Government are trying to solve the big economic problem that confronts us, not merely from to-day but from 1945-46 with a good lot of compound interest. This is just another way by which they are actually solving the problem by making taxes less fiscal and more punitive. In Nellore district the mica trade has dwindled down because of lack of exports. Persons in mica splitting depots are rendered unemployed. Also there was previously export of salt from Krishnapatnam to Kathiawar, Hyderabad and the Ceded districts. It is now the monopoly of Gujarathi merchants with the result that Krishnapatnam salt has absolutely no market now. There were many *bandiwals* in Krishnapatnam who used to convey salt to various railway stations. To-day they are all unemployed. So also, many of the handloom weavers are unemployed. Most of the handloom cloth that is manufactured in Nellore district is exported, I am told, to Singapore and Pakistan. That export trade has now dried up, with the result that the handloom weavers are now unemployed. Many such unemployed persons go to the forest to gather firewood and they are promptly charged under the Forest Act. They are made to answer the charge before a Court of law. Therefore, Sir, unemployment in this country is becoming a crime. If you see the various reports, you will find that whereas the average fine per person in 1945-46 was Rs. 5-0-2, it was Rs. 12-1-6 in 1949-50, and whereas the amount of fine per case was Rs. 7-7-7 in 1945-46, it was Rs. 10-1-0 in 1949-50. There, Sir, the Government are making the small man bear the entire burden, and the Hon. Sri Subramaniam also says 'You will have to bear this burden'. That is the way in which the Government are administering our State.

"Then, Sir, the Government hospitals were formerly giving medicine free of cost. In my younger days, the Government hospitals were very considerate. There were not a large number of private practitioners at that time and the District Headquarters Hospital and other Government hospitals were earning a big name. If anybody asked 'Who is a good doctor?', the immediate answer was 'the District Medical Officer or the Assistant District Medical Officer.' But what is happening to-day. By the system of charging for medicines, you are creating an unwritten law that there can be no medical relief for the man of small means. It is correct to say that there is no medicine for the small man. What happens is, when the private medical practitioners come into the medical service as honorary surgeons, they take away the patients, who actually go to the hospitals, as their clients. The administration is becoming a business."

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

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—"Sir, I want five minutes more."

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"No. the time-limit has been fixed by the Speaker."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—"In many modern constitutions, e.g., in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, Poland and

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Czechoslovakia, the right to health is put down in the constitutions as a fundamental right just as the right to freedom of speech, and the right to freedom of association are put down in our Constitution as fundamental rights. What is the position here? We do not have that right here. When the British were here, and even at the time of the Justice Party, they were to some extent conceded. (At this stage, Mr. Speaker occupied the chair.) But now the unwritten law is there that, unless one is rich, one cannot have medicine. This is the way in which the Government are trying to solve the economic problem. As the time at my disposal is limited, I now conclude and will take up these in detail at the time of the discussion on Demands."

* SRI K. V. VEMA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Budget presented by the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance. It is no doubt a deficit Budget in consonance with the present financial position of the State. It is indeed a deficit Budget in which the expenditure is mounting up and the revenues are contracting. That is the position for the last two years. There are several schemes to be taken up. It is indeed very difficult for the Government to make up the big deficit in the Budget on the one hand and on the other to take up schemes already under contemplation.

"In regard to proposals for fresh taxation, I observed from the speeches made to-day on the floor of this House, that most of the Members have opposed the proposals for fresh taxation. It is no doubt the reflection of the popular mind to-day that the people are opposed to fresh taxation. Human nature is changing. The people are not to be burdened with heavy taxation. At the same time, the Government cannot be administered and the schemes cannot be taken up without fresh taxation. So far as the taxation proposals are concerned, four fresh taxes are proposed by the Government. The first is a surcharge on land revenue exceeding Rs. 50. I would suggest that this limit may be increased to Rs. 100. In regard to the surcharge on bus fares at the rate of one pie per mile, as my hon. Friend Mr. N. Venkatayya said, the K.L.P. is opposed to this taxation as it affects the poor people. Regarding the increase in sales tax on motor spirit, it is indeed a tax which has to be levied and I would even suggest that it may be increased from Re. 0-4-0 to Re. 0-8-0 per gallon as it only affects those who own cars and buses. The levy of betterment tax also is good, but it has to be cautiously implemented, because in Rayalaseema which is such a backward area, it will hit the people hard. It will be really a repetition if I now refer to the famine conditions in Rayalaseema. My hon. Friend from Madanapalle constituency also spoke about the famine conditions in Chittoor district and it is my duty also to refer to the famine conditions in my district of Anantapur. This type of famine was never witnessed in the history of Rayalaseema. As a matter of fact, several cattle perished and several thousands of people were subjected to starvation. In this connexion, I must congratulate

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the present Government, which assumed office only two months ago, on their having given quick and timely relief to the people. And I am sure my friends from Anantapur will appreciate this point.

"With regard to the relief works in Anantapur district, I must again say that several lakhs of rupees have been spent by way of opening gruel centres, special repairs to the existing roads to a length of 200 miles, etc. No doubt, some of my friends referred to the applications for takkavi and subsistence loans, which were delayed in their disposal. But the fault is on both sides. So many people, whether they were having property in lands or not, applied for takkavi loans and there was a heavy rush of applications. I do admit that many applications are pending disposal. But the fault is on both sides. That should not be forgotten. 11-30 p.m.

"I must also congratulate His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa on his having undertaken the tour of Rayalaseema and acquainting himself with the famine conditions of Anantapur district. The visit of the Central Food Minister, Mr. Munshi, had been fruitful. It made the Central Government contribute a greater portion of their revenue for the relief of the distressed. The recent rains, in spite of the relief measures undertaken by the Government, have not improved the position. Flocks of sheep have perished due to the change of weather. The Government should increase the fertility of Rayalaseema by undertaking more irrigation projects. This is the only way to bring in prosperity amongst the people. As a matter of fact, I wish to bring to the notice of the Government, that 50 per cent of cultivable land in Rayalaseema has not yet been brought under the plough. Major projects should be undertaken. Of course, I am glad that the Tungabhadra Project is on the verge of completion. Besides this, we have also got other major projects called to Kumudarathi and Upper Pennar projects. These also remain to be completed. For the Upper Pennar Project which was commenced as long ago as 1949, the Budget provides only Rs. 15 lakhs. This means, it will take a long time to complete that project. As far as the initial expenditure goes, only a small amount of Rs. 3 lakhs has been allotted to this project. This is not sufficient. Besides, there are several projects that remain to be investigated yet.

"Minor irrigation projects, which cost less and which can be completed soon, should be immediately undertaken. The present Budget provides only 60 lakhs of rupees for minor irrigation projects for the entire State. This is too inadequate.

"Regarding Rayalaseema, minor irrigation projects alone can solve the famine problem. The projects could be quickly executed. So far as the tank restoration scheme is concerned, this should be undertaken on a large scale. Taking the present Budget, we find that this scheme is to be implemented only in a few centres. Out of sixty schemes to be undertaken in the whole of the State, only six schemes are going to be undertaken in Rayalaseema. I am not criticizing the Government. As has been already

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observed by some hon. Members, Rayalaseema is most backward and as such more irrigation projects should be undertaken in our parts. If the irrigation facilities of Anantapur district are to be improved, they should be supplemented by the power of electricity. The Budget provides for only Rs. 40 lakhs for Rayalaseema so far as hydro-electric schemes go, whereas they have provided for a capital outlay of Rs. 8 crores for the whole of the State. I request the Government to pay special attention to this factor and increase their allotment to Rayalaseema so far as hydro-electric schemes are concerned.

"Mr. Speaker, I want to invite the attention of the House to our policy towards Prohibition. I am not going to philosophize. It has been argued by some that the scheme has benefited only a few. Nowadays, Prohibition has become a controversial subject. I do not say that Prohibition should be scrapped. I am only pleading that it should be well implemented. I am not going to criticize this Government because it has assumed power only two and a half months ago. I can remark on this occasion that when a legislation is brought forward it is good to elicit public opinion first. Inasmuch as there is a hue and cry that Prohibition should be scrapped, it is better a committee is appointed to go into the question. I leave it at that.

"Coming to Education, we find that the Budget provides only 11½ crores of rupees under this head. It is a known fact that elementary education ought to receive the foremost consideration in any scheme of education. So far as we in India are concerned, it is most vital that elementary education should be made compulsory all round in our country, so that illiteracy could be eradicated. If our country could be called a democratic country, it is absolutely essential that our unsophisticated masses are made literate, so that they may not be misled by the slogans of selfish parties. I also request that the grants to local bodies for spreading elementary education should be made more liberally.

"As far as the medical side is concerned, I need not go on stressing its importance. It is really very essential that in rural areas at least one hospital should be established in each firka or taluk. As a matter of fact, I could even suggest opening up mobile dispensaries to cater to the needs of the villagers then and there on the spot. Our rural folk are subjected to several forms of diseases, and as such it is of fundamental importance that their health should be preserved. I know, as President of a District Board, the difficulty of getting qualified doctors to undertake this work. As far as the indigenous system of medicine is concerned, I should congratulate the Government on having given up the L.I.M. course and substituted a shorter course in its place. This will, to some extent, relieve the dearth of qualified doctors in our State. So far as the maternity and child welfare centres are concerned, the Government have provided in the Budget for the opening up of 39 centres in the State. But it is certainly not sufficient to meet our growing needs. At least one centre should

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be opened in each firka. Coming to the allotment for drainage works in connexion with public health schemes, I find the allotment is very meagre. The sanitary conditions so far as my district particularly is concerned are really very bad. It is, therefore, very essential that they should be improved and Government should allot more funds for the same. As a matter of fact, when the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration, Mr. Sankara Reddi, toured Kadiri taluk in Anantapur district, I impressed on him the urgent necessity for improving the very bad sanitary conditions in that taluk.

"Coming to Agriculture, I need not dilate upon its importance. Eighty-five per cent of our population are depending on agriculture as their main industry. As such, it is of vital importance that the agriculturists should be given every kind of relief possible. I must say that the provision for the same in the Budget is not very much. The tractor cultivation scheme should be extended to every taluk. Each taluk should be supplied with three or four tractors and the charges levied for their use should be reduced. When I talk of agriculture, I should touch upon the food problem and the irrigation facilities that are provided for increasing our food supply. This food problem has been very acute and has been agitating our minds during the last several years. Of course, the failure of monsoon was responsible to some extent for our deficit. With the growing increase in our population, I need not stress the urgency of increasing our rice output. While talking about the increase in our population, I am not advocating any artificial method of birth-control. So far as Rayalaseema is concerned, Government should see to it that we are no longer made to suffer for want of food. Rayalaseema's fertility should be increased by opening up major irrigation projects.

"I should like to congratulate Sri C. Rajagopalachariar on the bold step he has taken in removing the vexatious controls. The removal of controls, that glad news, was received by the masses with joy. I have toured several of the villages situated in my district and adjoining places. I have found that the people have welcomed decontrol. Now that all restrictions have been removed, I hope and sincerely trust that the merchants would co-operate with the Government and make decontrol a success.

"Rayalaseema is rich in mineral resources. As my friend Mr. Venkatappa has just now observed, it is very essential that our mineral resources should be fully exploited. Some people from North India have come to our parts and established small companies, to explore our mineral resources. Gold is found in remote parts of Anantapur district. I sincerely hope that the Government would do everything in their power to exploit the mineral resources of Rayalaseema.

"I should like to congratulate the Central and Provincial Governments on the starting of Community Development Projects.

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It is a step in the right direction and is intended to help the agriculturists to increase their production. Even though several useful schemes were suggested to the Government, I find that all of them have not been included in this Budget. I should like to request the Government on this occasion to consider the salient suggestions made by the Rayalaseema Development Board to increase our irrigation resources.

11-45 a.m. "I want to make a reference to the Highways department; my friend Mr. Palaniswami Gounder also in his speech made a reference to the Highways department. As everybody knows, the roads are in a very deplorable condition, and in spite of the various representations made by the Chamber of District Boards and by the people, the previous Government could not do anything to remedy the defects."

*SRI B. LAKSHMINARASA RAJU:—“అధ్యక్షా, ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వమువారు తయారుచేసినటువంటి బడ్జెట్టులో చాలా ప్రజావసరమైనటువంటి విషయముల గురించి మార్పులు చేయవలసియున్నవి. ముఖ్యముగా, మా పశ్చిమ గోదావరి జిల్లాకు సంబంధించినంతవరకు, అక్కడ చేయవలసినటువంటి ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు, డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీములు చాలా ఉన్నవి. తివాహరకు, ఈ సంవత్సరము పశ్చిమ గోదావరి జిల్లాలో రెండవ వంటకు చాలా శక్తము వచ్చినది. ఈ శక్తము రావడానికి కారణము వంటకు కావలసినంత నీరు లేక పోవడమే, అనగా గోదావరిలో ఉన్నటువంటి నీరును చాలి నంత నిలువచేయ లేక పోవడమే. ఇందువల్లనే వంటకు చాలా శక్తమవుతున్నాయని అనుభవము కలిగినటువంటిది. శబ్ద్యు. డి. ఆఫీసర్లుగూడా ఒప్పుకొన్నారు. ఎందుచేతనంటే ముట్ట మొదట ఆ డెల్టాలో వేలకొలది ఎకరాల భూమి రెండవ వంటకు అనుకూలంగా ఉండున్నప్పటికీ కూడా, అవసరము వచ్చినప్పుడు నీళ్లు లేక చాలా లక్షల కొలది బస్తాం భాగ్యము వంట శక్తము అగుచున్నది. ఈ సంవత్సరము, అందులో ప్రత్యేకముగా కొంతమంది అధికారములో ఉన్నటువంటివారు ఈ విషయములో కలుగజేసుకొని అవసరమైనదానికంటే ఎక్కువగా భూములకు నీరు ఇస్తామని వాగ్దానముచేసి, చివరకు ఇవ్వలేక పోవడంవల్ల వేలకొలది ఎకరాల భూమి పాడైపోయినది. దీనికి కారణము గోదావరి అనకట్టక్రింద ఎక్కువ రెవెన్యూ నీరు నిలువచేయలేక పోవడమే. కనుక, ఈ వేలకొలది ఎకరాల భూమిని కాపాడి రైతులను ప్రోత్సహించవలసినట్లు, వెంటనే గోదావరి అనకట్ట క్రింద ఇంకా ఎక్కువ రెవెన్యూ నీరు నిలువచేయవలసినటువంటి అవసరమున్నదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా, ఈ జిల్లాలో మురుగు కాల్వలకు ఎక్కువ డబ్బు శాంక్షన్ చేయవలసిన అవసరము కూడా ఉన్నది. అలాంటి లోపమువల్లనే ఈ జిల్లాలో సుమారు 2, 3 సంవత్సరాల నుంచి బి కొద్దిపాటి వర్షము వచ్చినప్పటికీ ఆ భూములన్ని ముండ్రితో నిండిపోయి చాలా వంట శక్తమైపోయింది. ఈ విధంగా ఆ జిల్లాలో చాలా సారవంతమైన భూములు మురుగు కాల్వల సౌకర్యము లేక పోవడంవల్ల చాలా వంట పాడై రైతులు ఎక్కువగా నష్టపడినందున ప్రభుత్వము వారికి తక్కువ ఆదాయముగూడా ఇచ్చి రక్షించవలసినవిన్నది. కనుక రైతులకు ఈలాంటి కష్ట సమస్యలు రాకుండా వెంటనే ఆ మురుగు కాల్వలలోని నీరు సక్రమముగా సరియైనటువంటి మార్గం ద్వారా సముద్రములోనికి పోయేటట్లు కాల్వలు త్రవ్వించవలసియున్నది. లేకపోయిన, వేలకొలది ఎకరాల భూమి నష్టమైపోతూ, రైతులు ఉత్సాహాన్ని కోల్పోయి చివరకు ఆ భూములను విడిచిపోయేటటువంటి పరిస్థితి వస్తుంది. ఉదాహరణకు, సర్పాపురం తాలూకాలో వేలకొలది ఎకరాలభంజరు భూములు వంటకు అను

5th July 1952] [Sri B. Lakshminarasu Raju]

కూలంగా ఉన్నటువంటిది మురుగు నీరు పోవడానికి మార్గం లేక వంటకు పనికిరాకుండా పోతున్నది. ఆ భూములను చాగు చేయాలంటే అనేక కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి మరమ్మత్తు చేయవలసివచ్చేది, లేక వాటికై పాడెట్టులు కట్టవలసివచ్చేది. వాటిని కొన్ని వేల రూపాయలతోనే మరమ్మత్తు చేయవచ్చును. ఇంతవట్టుకు చేసినటువంటి అక్కడ వంటకు వంటే పరిస్థితులున్నవి. కాబట్టి ఈ మురుగు కాల్వలనుకూడా చాగుచేయడం చాలా అవసరము. సర్పాపురము తాలూకాలో సముద్రపు పీఠున సుమారు 70 గ్రామాలు మంచినీళ్లు వసతి కూడా లేకుండా ఉన్నవి. వాటికి కావలసిన కాలువలు త్రవ్వ మంచినీళ్లు సృష్టించేయడానికి స్కీములు వేయడము తప్ప క్రియా రూపములో ఇంతవరకు ఏమీ జరుగలేదు. ఆ గ్రామములకు సరియైనటువంటి రోడ్లుకూడా లేవు. అక్కడవున్నటువంటి మత్స్య పారిశ్రామికములకు తగిన సౌకర్యములు లేక చాలా అవస్థలు కడుతున్నారు. ఈ మధ్యన వార్షిక అనేక రకరకాల పన్నులు విధించారు. అందులో కొన్ని కుటుంబాలు ఆ పన్నులను చెల్లించలేక, అక్కడనుండి వెళ్లిపోవలసినటువంటి పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడినవి. కొన్ని ప్రాంతాలలో ఈ గ్రామ మత్స్య పారిశ్రామికములు ఉపయోగించునటువంటి చిన్న చిన్న మార్పులు గలెలు మొదలైనటువంటి వాటిమీదకూడా వేసిన పన్నులు భరించలేక వారు చాలా ఇబ్బంది పడుతున్నారు. అటువంటి పన్నులన్ని తొలగించి వారికి కొంత ఘామిని ఇచ్చినట్లైతే వాటిని సాగుచేసుకొని బ్రతుకుతారు. ప్రస్తుతం ఆ భూములను బీద ప్రజానీకానికి ఇవ్వకుండా, పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములకు ఇస్తూవున్నందువల్ల బీద ప్రజానీకము అనేక ఇబ్బందులకు గురి అగుచున్నది.

“తరువాత ఆర్కాట్ విషయము ఆలోచిద్దాము. మా ప్రాంతాల్లో చాలామంది ఈ వృత్తికి సంబంధించినటువంటివారు. ఈ వృత్తికి కలిగినటువంటివారు దీనిని నివేదించి నష్టపోయింది కృత్రిమ సాధాయిని తయారు చేస్తూ ప్రజానీకముయొక్క ఆరోగ్యమును గూడా పాడుచేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విషయము ప్రభుత్వానికి కూడా స్పష్టంగా తెలుసును. కాని ఆ ప్రభుత్వము ఈ నేరాలను చూచి చూడనట్లు, లేక చేతగాక వదలివేస్తున్నట్లు అందరికీ తెలిసినదే. కనుక, అలాంటివారికి ఆ వృత్తిని కల్పించక అవసరంగా ప్రభుత్వం 18 కోట్ల రూపాయల ఆదాయాన్ని కోల్పోవడాడని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇప్పుడు బడ్జెట్టులో అనేక రకాల కొత్త పన్నులు సామాన్య ప్రజానీకము మీద వేసినారు. ఉదాహరణకు, సర్వచార్జీ పన్ను ఉన్నది ఇదే సుమారు 50 రూపాయలకైనా చెల్లించేటటువంటి వేద రైతుల మీద అనగా డెల్టా నిరియాలలో సుమారు 5, 6 ఎకరాల భూమిగల వేద రైతుల మీద పడుతున్నాయి. అక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి పరిస్థితులనుబట్టి చూస్తే ఇది న్యాయముకాదని స్పష్టంగా తెలుస్తుంది. అయిన, ఆరు ఎకరాల కలిగినటువంటి ఆసామి నెలకు వంద రూపాయలు ఆదాయము గూడా లేకుండా ఉంటాడు. అటువంటివారిమీద ఈ సర్వచార్జీ పన్ను వేయడం చాలా అన్యాయము. కనుక పన్నులు పెద్ద భూస్వాములమీద అనగా సుమారు వంద రూపాయలు అంతకువైన పన్నులు చెల్లించేటటువంటివారిపైన వేయడం న్యాయంగా ఉండుందిగాని ఈ వీద రైతులమీద వేయడాడని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“బెటర్మెంటు ట్యాక్సు అనేది మరొక అన్యాయమైన పన్నుగా యున్నది. భూములపై ఈ పన్ను విధించవలసినటువంటి సమయం ఇది కాదు. భూములకు, వాటికి కావలసినటువంటి నీటి సదుపాయాలు చేసిన తరువాత, ఆ నీటి సౌకర్యములనుబట్టి ఆయా పరిస్థితులనుబట్టి అప్పుడు ఎకరానికి 25 లేక 30 రూపాయలు వెయ్యడం ధర్మము. ఇప్పుడు ఆ భూములను సాగులోకి తీసుకురావడానికి వెయ్యి, 15 వందలు ఖర్చు

5th July 1952] [Sri P. G. Karuthiruman]

இங்கும் சர்க்கார் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இந்த முறையில் விவசாயம் சிறந்த முறையில் நடந்தால் தான் உணவுக்கும், உடைக்கும் கஷ்டமில்லாமல் மக்கள் வாழலாம். அதற்காகப் பல திட்டங்களும் இங்கே இருக்கின்றன. குறிப்பாக விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டிய உண்மையான உத்தரவாதம் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் காணப்படுகிறதா என்பதே இப்போது பிரச்சனை. அந்த முறையில் நோக்கும் காலத்தில் விவசாய இலாகா அடிப்படையில் நான்கு கோடி ரூபாய்கள் இருந்தாலும் கூட, அதற்கு ஆதரவான, அதாவது நீர் பாசன வசதிகளுக்காக எட்டு கோடி ரூபாயும், மின்சார வசதிக்காக எட்டு கோடி ரூபாயும், பாக்கியிருக்கும்படியான கால்நடை இலாக்காவுக்களுக்கான தொகை எல்லாம் சேர்த்துத்தான் இதில் மதிப்பிடவேண்டுமென்பது என்னுடைய அடிப்படையான கருத்து. ஆகவே அந்த முறையில் எடுத்துக் கொண்டால் ஒப்பற்ற முறையில் விவசாயத்திற்கு உதவக்கூடிய வகையில் முடியும் தருணத்திலிருக்கும் கீழ் பவானி அணைக்கட்டு திட்டம் நிறைவேற்றப்படும் நிலையிலிருக்கும் தொகுதியிலிருந்து நான் வந்திருக்கிறேன் என்று என்று பெருமையோடு சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அந்த கீழ் பவானி அணைக்கட்டு முடியும் தருணத்திலிருக்கிறது என்ற காரணத்தாலும், அது சமூக அபிவிருத்தி திட்டங்களோடு இணைக்கப்பட்டிருப்பதைக் கண்டும் எங்கள் தொகுதி மக்கள் மிகவும் சந்தோஷத்துடன் உங்கள் காரியங்களை வரவேற்றிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை நான் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதோடு விவசாயத்திற்கு மிகவும் உதவி செய்யக்கூடியவகையில் மின்சார உதவியையும், அதற்கு வேண்டிய விவசாயத்திற்கு அடிப்படையான எரு உரங்களையும் நீங்கள் காலாகாலத்தில் சபீன செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சரியான சமயங்களில் அவைகளைச் செய்து கொடுத்தால்தான் விவசாயம் நல்ல முறையில் செய்ய வசதியாக இருக்கும்.

“மற்றபடி இப்போது என்ன சொல்லப்படுகிறதென்றால் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் பயிர் செய்பவர்கள் நிலச்சவாந்தார்களால் அவர்கள் உழுது பயிர் செலவு செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கும் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்படுகிறார் என்று பொல்லுகிறார்கள். சர்க்காரின் நிலச்சீர்திருத்தங்களுக்கு எதிராக இவைகள் இருக்கிறதென்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அது மிகவும் உண்மையல்ல. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவைப் பொறுத்த வரையில் விவசாயிகளைப் பல ரகங்களாகப் பிரிக்கலாம். அதாவது (1) தங்களுடைய நிலம் எங்கேயிருக்கிறதென்று கூட தெரியாமல் வேறு வேலையிலே வெளியூரில் இருக்கக்கூடிய நிலக்காரர்கள் ஒரு ரகம். (2) தங்களுடைய நிலங்களில் ஒரு பகுதியை சொந்த சாகுபடியிலும் மற்றதை குத்தகைக்கும் விட்டுவிட்டு இருப்பவர்கள் ஒரு சாரார். (3) சொந்த சாகுபடியையே நம்பியிருக்கக்கூடிய சொந்த நிலங்கள் உள்ள விவசாயிகள் ஒரு சாரார். (4) இன்னொரு பகுதி சொந்த சாகுபடியும் செய்துகொண்டு குத்தகைக்கும் நிலத்தை வாங்கிவைத்துக்கொண்டு பாடுபடுபவர்கள். (5) நிலம் சொந்தமாக கொஞ்சம்கூட இல்லாடலேயே எல்லா நிலங்களையும் குத்தகைக்கு எடுத்துக்கொண்டு பாடுபட்டு உழைப்பவர்கள் ஒரு சாரார். (6) கடைசியில் குத்தகைக்கோ, சொந்தமாகவோ நிலத்தை தாலே உழுது பயிரிடாமல், மற்றவர்களின் நிலத்தில் அன்றாட கூலிக்காக உழைக்கும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளிகள் ஒரு சாரார். இப்படியாக இருக்கக்கூடிய 6 பிரிவுள்ள விவசாயத் தொழிலாளிகளிடையே இப்போது பொதுவாகப் போடப்படும் சர்சார்ஜ் யாவை அதிகமாக பாதிக்கிறது என்பதை நாம் கவனித்துப் பார்க்கவேண்டும். இப்போது போட உத்தேசித்திருக்கும் நில வரியினால் நான் சொந்த முறையில் அதிகம் பாதிக்கப்படுவதாக இருந்தாலும்கூட இந்த சர்சார்ஜ் கொள்கையை நான் வரவேற்க வேண்டிய நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறேன். இது யாவை வெகுவாகப் பாதிக்கிறதென்றால் நான் மேலேகுறிப்பிட்ட 6 பகுதி விவசாயிகளில் இரண்டே இரண்டு பகுதியினரை மாத்திரம்தான் அதிகமாக பாதிக்கிறது. பாக்கியுள்ள 4 பகுதி விவசாய மக்களை இது பாதிக்கவேயில்லை. குத்தகைக்கு சாகுபடி செய்கிறவர்களையோ, சொந்தமான சொந்த நிலத்தை சாகுபடி செய்துகொண்டு பாக்கியை குத்தகைக்கு வைத்துக்கொண்டு உழைப்பவர்களையோ, நிலமில்லாத விவசாயத் தொழிலாளிகளையோ, சொந்தமான சாகுபடி மாத்திரம் செய்துகொண்டிருப்பவர்களையோ இது வெகுவாகப் பாதிக்காது. ஆனால் நிலமே இன்னதென்று தெரியாது நிறைய நிலத்தை வாங்கிப் போட்டுவிட்டு

* SRI P. G. KARUTHIRUMAN :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இப்போது நமது சர்க்காரால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும்படியான இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை சர்க்காருடைய கட்சி அங்கத்தினர் என்ற முறையில் நான் ஆதரிக்க முன் வரவில்லை. ஆனால் இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் கண்டுள்ள விஷயங்களில் காணப்படும் நேர்மை, திறமை, தகுதி ஆகியவை களைக் கொண்டுள்ள நான் இதை மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கக் கடமைப் பட்டிருக்கிறேன். அதாவது இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தில் இந்த சர்க்கார் கையாண்டிருக்கும் முறை பொது ஜனங்களுடைய நன்மையைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டதாகவே, பெரும்பான்மையான தேசமக்களின் நலனைப் பொதுப் பணயமாகக் கொண்டதாகவே காணப்படுகின்றன. இந்த சட்டசபை அங்கத் தினராக இருவதற்கு முன்னால் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருந்த விவசாயத் தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டு வந்திருக்கும் குடும்பத்தில் பிறந்து, பிறகு கல்லூரியில் படித்துப் பட்டம் பெற்று அதே பரம்பரை விவசாயத்தை நல்ல முறையில், நவீன முறையில் அதிகமான உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கும் முறையில் விவசாயத் தொழிலில் லேயு ஈடுபட்டு இன்றுவரை விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். ஆதலால் அந்த அனுபவத்தைக்கொண்டு நான் இப்போது இங்கே பேச முன் வந்திருக்கிறேன். விவசாயத்தில் ஈடுபட்டு குறைந்த நிலத்தில் அதிகமாக உற்பத்தி செய்யக்கூடிய நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டு விட்டால் நம் நாட்டினுடைய கஷ்டங்கள் எல்லாம் நீங்கிவிடும். எல்லா நாட்டிலும் சர்க்கார் ஏற்படுவதற்கு முக்கியமான காரணம், அந்த நாட்டு மக்கள் எல்லோருக்கும் உணவு, உடை, இருப்பிடம் இம்மூன்றையும் கொடுப்பதற்காகத்தான். இந்த மூன்றுக்கும் உத்தரவாதம் அளிப்பதற்காகவேதான்

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இருப்பவர்களை இது அதிகமாக பாதிக்கும். அதனாலும் பரவாயில்லை. அவர்கள் இந்த விவசாயத்தையே நம்பியிருப்பதில்லை. அதைப்பற்றி நாம் கவலைப்படவேண்டியதில்லை.

“எங்கள் தொகுதியில் தேர்தல் பிரசாரம் நடந்து கொண்டிருந்த காலத்தில் எதிர்க்கட்சியினர்கள் என்ன பிரசாரம் செய்தார்கள் என்றால், ‘என்னை தேர்ந்தெடுத்து நீங்கள் அலுப்பினர்களேயானால் நாங்கள் எல்லோரும் எல்லா வரியையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்வோம். மதுவிலக்கை ரத்து செய்து விடுவோம்,’ என்று. நாங்கள் அப்போது அவர்களுக்கு எதிராகப் பிரசாரம் செய்தது என்னவென்றால், பூமிக்கு உரம் போடாமல் நாங்கள் விவசாயம் செய்து அதிக உற்பத்தியைச் செய்துவிடுவோம் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டுயாவது முன் வருவார்களேயானால் நாங்கள் எந்த வரியையும் வாங்காமல் இந்த அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்துவதற்கு உபதிரவாதம் அளிக்கிறோம், என்று அன்றை சொல்லி வந்தோம். விவசாயிகளுக்குத் தெரியும் உரம் இல்லாமல் அதிக உற்பத்தியைச் செய்யமுடியாது என்று. அதைப் போலவே வரி இல்லாமல் சர்க்கரை நடத்து முடியாது என்பதும் அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஆகையால் இப்போது கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் திட்டங்களை உண்மை விவசாயிகள் எல்லோருமே வரவேற்பார்கள். விவசாயியாக இல்லாத ஒருவன் நான் அதை எதிர்ப்பான். போடும் வரி நியாயமானது தானா என்பதை ஆராய்ந்து நியாயமான வரிகளை எந்த உண்மை விவசாயியும் கொடுக்கமாட்டேன் என்று ஒரு நாளும் சொல்லமாட்டான் என்பது என்று தூழ்மையான அபிப்பிராயம்.

“இப்போது இந்த சர்க்கார் 50 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல்தான் வசூலிக்கப் படுகிறது. அது மிகவும் நியாயம். சோ, சோழம், பாண்டிச்சேரி காலத்திலேயே விளைபக்கடிநாளைப்பத்தில் 4-ல் ஒரு பங்கு அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வரியாக அவர்கள் எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நமது அரசாங்கம் வேண்டுமென்றே வருமான வரி போட்டால் எல்லோரும் பாதிக்கப்படுவார்கள் என்று நினைத்து இப்பொழுது பொது மக்களுக்கு சிரமம் இல்லாமல் லாபம் அதிகமுள்ள ஒரு பகுதியினருக்கே இப்போது வரி விதிக்கப்படுகிறது. அனைவருக்கும் அல்ல. சுதந்திர இந்தியாவில் செய்யவேண்டிய காரியங்கள் பல இருப்பதால், போடப்பட்ட திட்டங்களை யெல்லாம் நிறைவேற்றவேண்டியிருப்பதால் புதிய புதிய திட்டங்களை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டியிருப்பதின் காரணமாக இந்த வரி போடவேண்டியது அவசியம்தான் என்பதை ஒப்புக்கொண்டு இதை எல்லோரும் வரவேற்று மனப்பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக விவசாய உற்பத்தியைப்பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை. உண்மையில் விவசாயத்தில் தேரிடையாக ஈடுபட்டு, உண்மையில் குறைந்த நிலத்தில் அதிகமான உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே எண்ணத்தோடு நிலத்தில் எல்லோரும் பாடுபட்டால் உணவு உற்பத்தி அதிகரித்து, அதனால் உணவுப் பிரச்சனையை நிர்ந்தரமாக தீர்க்க முடியுமே தவிர வெறும் வாய் அளவிலே மேட்டையில் காரசாமாக பிரசங்கம் செய்து விடுவதாலோ, அல்லது சட்டசபைக்குள்ளே வந்து எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் கூச்சல் போட்டுக் கொண்டிருப்பது லோ ஒரு நாளும் சாதிக்க முடியாது.

“பத்து வருங்களுக்கு முன்பே என் கல்லூரிப் படிப்பை விட்டு, விவசாயத்திலே ஈடுபட்டு எண்ணூடைய சொந்த முயற்சியால் அதிகமான உற்பத்தியை குறைந்த நிலத்திலே செய்து காட்டியிருக்கிறேன். அதைத் தான் நான் இப்போது உங்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன். இதற்கு வேண்டிய எல்லா சாதனங்களையும் இப்போது இருக்கும்படியான நமது சர்க்கார், நமது சுதந்திர சர்க்கார் செய்யப்பெற்று நான் எதிர்பார்க்கிறேன்.

“விவசாயத்தில் அதிக உணவு உற்பத்திப்பெருக்குக்கு இது வரையில் செய்து வந்த காரியங்கள் சரியாக செய்யப்பட்டவில்லை. அதிக உணவு உற்பத்தி என்றால் அது இரண்டு விதப்படும். அசாவது ஏற்கனவே விவசாயத்தில் இருக்கும் விவசாயிகளை அதிகப்படுத்துவதும், ஏற்கனவே விவசாயத்தில் இருக்கும் பூமியில் இன்னும் அதிகப்படியான உணவை விவசாயத்தினால் அதிகப் படுத்துவதும், மற்றொன்று

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காலாகாலத்தில் விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டிய சரியான உரங்களை அதற்குப் போட்டு விவசாயத்தை சரியான முறையில் செய்வது. இந்த இரண்டு வகைகளையும் அனுசரித்து வந்தால் அதிக உணவு உற்பத்தியை செய்யலாம். உதாரணமாக எந்த பூமிக்கும் முக்கியமான உரமானது எலும்புத்தூள். இந்த முக்கியமான உரம் இப்பொழுது பத்தாயிரம் டன் கணக்கில் வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதியாகிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அவ்விதம் அவைகள் ஏற்றுமதியாகி அவை இந்நாட்டிற்கு வேறு வகைகளில் வருகின்றன. இதைப்பற்றி மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு எழுதி இதைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தி விவசாயத்திற்கு இந்த எலும்புத்தூள் உரம் அவசியமென்று சொல்லி அதை மக்களுக்கு விற்போடுக்கப்படும்படியாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். சுமார் 200 ராத்தல் எலும்புத்தூள் உரத்தை நஞ்சை பூமிக்குப் போட்டால் 500 ராத்தல் தான்யம் நமக்கு அதிகமாக கிடைக்கிறது. நல்ல சத்தும் நமக்கு அதிகமாகக் கிடைக்கிறது. அத்துடன் விடமின் ‘பி’ சத்தும் சுண்ணாம்பும் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்வது இல்லாமல் நியூட்ரிஷன் வால்யூ கூட அதிகமாக ஏற்படுகிறது. அத்துடன் இப்பொழுது தானியங்களை இயந்திரத்தில் குத்துவதால் நூறுக்கு 60 சத விசைதான் சத்து கிடைக்கிறது. அதையே நாம் கைகுத்தல் அரிசியாக உபயோகித்தால் நூற்றுக்கு 72 சத விசைதான் சத்துள்ள அரிசி கிடைக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது மில்கனில் குத்துவதால் ஏற்படும் 10 சத விசைக்குறைபாடுகளும் நீங்கலும். இந்த விஷயத்தையும் பிரசாரம் செய்து உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்குவதற்கும் ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். இந்த முறையை நாம் அனுசரித்தால் ஒரு வருஷத்திலேயே இந்த உணவு தட்டை சரிக்கட்டி விடலாம் என்பதை உறுதியுடனும் நம்பிக்கையுடனும் இந்த சட்ட சபையில் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள நான் முன்வந்திருக்கிறேன்.

“இப்பொழுது விவசாயம் என்ற முறையில் விவசாயிகளுக்கு தனிப்பட்ட முறையில் பாசன வசதியும் இந்த சர்க்காரால் செய்யக் கூடிய எவ்வளவோ நீர்ப்பாசன திட்டங்களுக்கும் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. எவ்வளவோ பின்சார வசதிகளும் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. உணவு உற்பத்திற்கு விவசாயத் தொழில் முக்கியமானது. அதற்கு சர்க்கார் பிரதானம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“விவசாயத்திற்கு இன்னுமொரு முக்கியமான சாதனம் கால் நடைகள். இந்தக் கால் நடைகளால் நாம் இரண்டு வகைகளில் பிரயோசனம் அடைகிறோம். இந்த கிராம மாடுகளையும் கால் நடைகளையும் நாம் மறக்க முடியாது. இந்த உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு அவைகள்தான் முக்கிய காரணமாக இருக்கின்றன. கிராமங்களிலுள்ள பசு மாடுகள் நமக்கு பால் கொடுப்பதைத் தவிர அதனால் கிடைக்கும் மற்ற செளகரியங்களை மறந்து விடுகிறோம். கிராமங்களில் இப்பொழுது கால் நடைகள் மிகவும் சீர்திருந்து கிடக்கின்றன. அவைகள் இன்னும் அதிக சீர்தரமான நிலைமையில் இருக்கின்றன என்றுகூட சொல்லலாம். கிராமங்களில் பண்ணைகளை ஏற்படுத்தி பால் அதிகம் உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்கு மிகவும் சிறந்த மிகவும் நல்லதான நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். நம்மிடமிருந்து பாகிஸ்தான் பிரிந்து போனதால் நமக்கு நல்ல பால் கொடுக்கும்படியான சிந்து, கிர்தாபாக்ஸ், சாகிவால் மாடுகள் போய்விட்டன. இப்பொழுது நமக்குத் தேவையான பாலே விருத்தி செய்வதற்கு நம் தேசத்தில் நல்ல மாடு இனங்கள் இல்லை. நம்முடைய பெரியோர்கள் மாட்டை கடவுளாக பாவித்து விஸ்வாசமாக பூஜை செய்து கடவுள் என்று காப்பாற்றி வந்தார்கள். கடவுள் இல்லை என்று சொல்லக் கூடாது. கடவுள் என்றால் என்ன? நமக்கு உணவு கொடுத்தாலும் இன்னும் நமக்கு வேண்டியதைக் கொடுத்தாலும் தான் கடவுள் என்று பெயர். அதைப் போலவே மாடுகள் நமக்கு உணவு சத்துள்ள பால் கொடுக்கிறது. உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு வேண்டிய உரம் கொடுக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அதை நாம் கடவுள் என்று பூஜிக்க வேண்டும். ஆகையினால் தான் நாம் அதை காமதேனு என்றும் பூஜித்து வருகிறோம். மாடுகளை பூஜித்து வந்தால் உண்மை விவசாயத்தை அறியக்கூடிய விஷயமாகும். ஆகவே கிராமங்களில் நாம் ஆடு மாடுகளை எவ்வளவு அதிகமாக பராமரிக்கிறோமோ அதைப் போலவே அவைகளும் நமக்கு அதிகமான பால் கொடுக்கும்.

[Sri P. G. Karuthiruman] [5th July 1952]

இருப்பவர்களை இது அதிகமாக பாதிக்கும். அதனாலும் பரவாயில்லை. அவர்கள் இந்த விவசாயத்தையே நம்பியிருப்பதில்லை. அதைப்பற்றி நாம் கவலைப்படவேண்டியதில்லை.

“எங்கள் தொகுதியில் தேர்தல் பிரசாரம் நடந்து கொண்டிருந்த காலத்தில் எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் என்ன பிரசாரம் செய்தார்கள் என்றால், ‘என்னை தேர்ந்தெடுத்து நீங்கள் அலுப்பினீர்களேயானால் நாங்கள் எல்லோரும் எல்லா வரியையும் எடுத்துவிடுவோம். மதுவிலக்கை ரத்து செய்து விடுவோம்,’ என்று. நாங்கள் அப்போது அவர்களுக்கு எதிராகப் பிரசாரம் செய்தது என்னவென்றால், பூமிக்கு உரம் போடாமல் நாங்கள் விவசாயம் செய்து அதிக உற்பத்தியைச் செய்துவிடுவோம் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டுயாவது முன் வருவார்களேயானால் நாங்கள் எந்த வரியையும் வாங்காமல் இந்த அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்துவதற்கு உபதிரவாதம் அளிக்கிறோம், என்று அன்றை சொல்லி எந்தேரம் விவசாயிகளுக்குத் தெரியும் உரம் இல்லாமல் அதிக உற்பத்தியைச் செய்யமுடியாது என்று. அதைப் போலவே வரி இல்லாமல் சர்க்காரை நடத்து முடியாது என்பதற்கு அவர்களுக்குத் தெரியும். ஆகையால் இப்போது கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் திட்டங்களை உண்மை விவசாயிகள் எல்லோருமே வாழவேற்பார்கள். விவசாயியாக இல்லாத ஒருவன் நான் அதை எதிர்ப்பான். போடும் வரி நியாயமானது தான் என்பதை ஆராய்ந்து நியாயமான வரிகளை எந்த உண்மை விவசாயியும் கொடுக்கமாட்டேன் என்று ஒரு நாளும் சொல்லமாட்டான் என்பது என்று தாழ்மையான அபிப்பிராயம்.

“இப்போது இந்த சர்க்கார் 50 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல்தான் வசூலிக்கப் படுகிறது. அது மிகவும் நியாயம். சோ, சோழம், பாண்டிச்சேரி காலத்தில் இவ்வளவுக்குமான தானியத்தில் 4-ல் ஒரு பங்கு அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வரியாக அவர்கள் எடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நமது அரசாங்கம் வேண்டுமென்றே வருமான வரி போட்டால் எல்லோரும் பாதிக்கப்படுவார்கள் என்று நினைத்து இப்பொழுது பொது மக்களுக்கு சிரமம் இல்லாமல் லாபம் அதிகமுள்ள ஒரு பகுதியினருக்கே இப்போது வரி விதிக்கப்படுகிறது. அனைவருக்கும் அல்ல. சுதந்திர இந்தியாவில் செய்யவேண்டிய காரியங்கள் பல இருப்பதால், போடப்பட்ட திட்டங்களை யெல்லாம் நிறைவேற்றவேண்டியிருப்பதால் புதிய புதிய திட்டங்களை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டியிருப்பதின் காரணமாக இந்த வரி போடவேண்டியது அவசியம்தான் என்பதை ஒப்புக்கொண்டு இதை எல்லோரும் வாழ்வுற்று மனப்படியாக ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக விவசாய உற்பத்தியைப்பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை. உண்மையில் விவசாயத்தில் தேரிடையாக ஈடுபட்டு, உண்மையில் குறைந்த நிலத்தில் அதிகமான உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே எண்ணத்தோடு நிலத்தில் எல்லோரும் பாடுபட்டால் உணவு உற்பத்தி அதிகரித்து, அதனால் உணவுப் பிரச்சனையை நிரந்தரமாக தீர்க்க முடியுமே தவிர வேறும் வாய் அளவிலே மேலையில் காரசாரமாக பிரச்சனம் செய்து விடுவதாலோ, அல்லது சட்டசபைக்குள்ளே வந்து எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் கூச்சல் போட்டுக் கொண்டிருப்பதாலோ ஒரு நாளும் சாதிக்க முடியாது.

“பத்து வருடங்களுக்கு முன்பே என் கல்லூரிய் படிப்பை விட்டு, விவசாயத்திலே ஈடுபட்டு என்னுடைய சொந்த முயற்சியால் அதிகமான உற்பத்தியை குறைந்த நிலத்திலே செய்து காட்டியிருக்கிறேன். அதைத் தான் நான் இப்போது உங்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன். இதற்கு வேண்டிய எல்லா சாதனங்களையும் இப்போது இருக்கும்படியான நமது சர்க்கார், நமது சுதந்திர சர்க்கார் செய்யப்பெற்று நான் எதிர்பார்ப்புகிறேன்.

“விவசாயத்தில் அதிக உணவு உற்பத்திபெருக்குக்கு இது வரையில் செய்து வந்த காரியங்கள் சரியாக செய்யப்பட்டனவே. அதிக உணவு உற்பத்தி என்றால் அது இரண்டு விதப்படும். அசாவது ஏற்கனவே விவசாயத்தில் இருக்கும் விவசாயத்தை அதிகப்படுத்துவதும், ஏற்கனவே விவசாயத்தில் இருக்கும் பூமியில் இன்னும் அதிகப்படியான உணவை விவசாயத்தினால் அதிகப் படுத்துவதும், மற்றொன்று

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காலாகாலத்தில் விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டிய சரியான உரங்களை அதற்குப் போட்டு விவசாயத்தை சரியான முறையில் செய்வது. இந்த இரண்டு வகைகளையும் அனுசரித்து வந்தால் அதிக உணவு உற்பத்தியை செய்யலாம். உதாரணமாக எந்த பூமிக்கும் முக்கியமான உரமானது எலும்புத்தாள். இந்த முக்கியமான உரம் இப்பொழுது பத்தாயிரம் டன் கணக்கில் வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஏற்றுமதியாகிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறது. அவ்விதம் அவைகள் ஏற்றுமதியாகி அவை இந்நாட்டிற்கு வேறு வகைகளில் வருகின்றன. இதைப்பற்றி மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு எழுதி இதைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தி விவசாயத்திற்கு இந்த எலும்புத்தாள் உரம் அவசியமென்று சொல்லி அதை மக்களுக்கு விநியோகிக்கப்படும்படியாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். சுமார் 200 ராத்தல் எலும்புத்தாள் உரத்தை நஞ்சை பூமிக்குப் போட்டால் 500 ராத்தல் தான்யம் நமக்கு அதிகமாக கிடைக்கிறது. நல்ல சத்தும் நமக்கு அதிகமாகக் கிடைக்கிறது. அத்துடன் விடின் ‘பி’ சத்தும் சுண்ணாம்பும் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது என்று சொல்வது இல்லாமல் நியூப்ரிஷன் வால்யூ கூட அதிகமாக ஏற்படுகிறது. அத்துடன் இப்பொழுது தானியங்களை இயந்திரத்தில் குத்துவதால் நூறுக்கு 60 சத விசிறம் தான் சத்து கிடைக்கிறது. அதையே நாம் கைகுத்தல் அரிசியாக உபயோகித்தால் நூற்றுக்கு 72 சத விசிறம் சத்துள்ள அரிசி கிடைக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது மில்கனில் குத்துவதால் ஏற்படும் 10 சத விசிறகுறைபாடுகளும் நீங்கிவிடும். இந்த விஷயத்தையும் பிரசாரம் செய்து உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்குவதற்கும் ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். இந்த முறையை நாம் அனுசரித்தால் ஒரு வருஷத்திலேயே இந்த உணவு தட்டை சரிக்கட்டி விடலாம் என்பதை உறுதியுடனும் நம்பிக்கையுடனும் இந்த சட்ட சபையில் சொல்லிக்கொள்ள நான் முன்வந்திருக்கிறேன்.

“இப்பொழுது விவசாயம் என்ற முறையில் விவசாயிகளுக்கு தனிப்பட்ட முறையில் பாசன வசதியும் இந்த சர்க்காரால் செய்யக் கூடிய எவ்வளவோ நீர்ப்பாசன திட்டங்களும் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. எவ்வளவோ பின்சார வசதிகளும் செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. உணவு உற்பத்திற்கு விவசாயத் தொழில் முக்கியமானது. அதற்கு சர்க்கார் பிரதானம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“விவசாயத்திற்கு இன்னுமொரு முக்கியமான சாதனம் கால் நடைகள். இந்தக் கால் நடைகளால் நாம் இரண்டு வகைகளில் பிரயோசனம் அடைகிறோம். இந்த கிராம மாடுகளையும் கால் நடைகளையும் நாம் மறக்க முடியாது. இந்த உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு அவைகள்தான் முக்கிய காரணமாக இருக்கின்றன. கிராமங்களிலுள்ள பசு மாடுகள் நமக்கு பால் கொடுப்பதைத் தவிர அதனால் கிடைக்கும் மற்ற செளகரியங்களை மறந்து விடுகிறோம். கிராமங்களில் இப்பொழுது கால் நடைகள் மிகவும் சீரழிந்து கிடக்கின்றன. அவைகள் இன்னும் அதிக கீழ்தரமான நிலையில் இருக்கின்றன என்றுகூட சொல்லலாம். கிராமங்களில் பண்ணைகளை ஏற்படுத்தி பால் அதிகம் உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்கு மிகவும் சிறந்த மிகவும் நல்லதான நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். நம்மிடமிருந்து பாகிஸ்தான் பிரிந்து போனதால் நமக்கு நல்ல பால் கொடுக்கும்படியான சிந்து, கிர்தாபாக்ஸ், சாகிவால் மாடுகள் போய்விட்டன. இப்பொழுது நமக்குத் தேவையான பாலே விருத்தி செய்வதற்கு நம் தேசத்தில் நல்ல மாடு இனங்கள் இல்லை. நம்முடைய பெரியோர்கள் மாட்டை கடவுளாக பாவித்து விஸ்வாசமாக பூஜை செய்து கடவுள் என்று காப்பாற்றி வந்தார்கள். கடவுள் இல்லை என்று சொல்லக் கூடாது. கடவுள் என்றால் என்ன? நமக்கு உணவு கொடுத்தாலும் இன்னும் நமக்கு வேண்டியதைக் கொடுத்தாலும் தான் கடவுள் என்று பெயர். அதைப் போலவே மாடுகள் நமக்கு உணவு சத்துள்ள பால் கொடுக்கிறது உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு வேண்டிய உரம் கொடுக்கிறது. ஆகையால் அதை நாம் கடவுள் என்று புஜிக்க வேண்டும். ஆகையினால் தான் நாம் அதை காமதேனு என்றும் புஜித்து வருகிறோம். மாடுகளை புஜித்து வந்தால் உண்மை விவசாயத்தை அறியக்கூடிய விஷயமாகும். ஆகவே கிராமங்களில் நாம் ஆடு மாடுகளை எவ்வளவு அதிகமாக பராமரிக்கிறோமோ அதைப் போலவே அவைகளும் நமக்கு அதிகமான பால் கொடுக்கும்.

[Sri P. G. Karuthiruman] [5th July 1952]

“ நம் தேசத்தின் கல்வியை நாம் மிகவும் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். கல்விக்கு பத்துக் கோடி ரூபாய் செலவு செய்தாலும்கூட நம் தேசத்திற்கு அடிப் படையான இந்த விவசாய தொழிலை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு இந்தக் கல்வி பிரயோசனப் படுகிறது என்பது கவனிக்க வேண்டிய விஷயம். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் கல்வி சர்க்கார் காரியாலயங்களில் உத்தியோகம் பார்ப்பதற்கும் விண்ணப்பங்கள் போடுவதற்கும் எழுதுவதற்கும் தான் பிரயோஜனப் படுகின்றன. விவசாய முறையை அனுஷ்டிக்கக் கூடிய கல்வியை அமைக்க வேண்டும். நட்புடில் நூறுக்கு எண்பதுக்குமேல் இருக்கும் விவசாயப் பிள்ளைகள் விவசாய மக்கள் விவசாயத்தை சிறந்த முறையில், நவீன முறையில் கற்றுக்கொள்வதற்கு வேண்டிய ஒரு கல்வி வசதியை அளிக்கப்பட வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால்தான் தேசத்தில் விவசாயம் சிறந்து விவசாயிகள் சிறந்த முறையில் விவசாயத்தை நடத்துவதற்கு பயன்படும் என்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். என்னுடைய தொகுதியிலுள்ள பிரிக்காக்கள் கொண்டது. அங்கே பல இடங்களில் பல ரகங்கள் உள்ள ஜனங்கள் இருக்கின்றார்கள். சில பிரிக்காக்களை கவனிப்பார் இல்லை. மலை பிரிக்காவாது தான வாடியில் பத்தாயிரம் வாக்காளர்கள் இருந்தாலும் ரோடு வசதி கிடையாது, தண்ணீர் வசதி கிடையாது, சுகாதார வசதி கிடையாது. இப்பொழுது வரப் போகும் லோயர் பவானி திட்டத்தால் ஒரு பகுதி மக்கள் பயன் பெறுகிறார்கள். மற்றும் நம்பியூர், புஞ்சை புனியமபட்டி, சேலூர், வாணிப்புத்தூர் பிரிக்காக்கள் முதலிய இடங்களில் மிகவும் அத்யாவசியமானது மின்சார வசதி. அந்த இடங்களுக்கு மின்சார வசதி செய்துகொடுத்து குடிசைத் தொழில் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டு இந்த விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டிய உரம், பம்பு வசதிகள் செய்துகொடுத்தால் ரொம்பவும் செளகரியமாக இருக்கும். இப்பொழுது கம்ப்யூனிட்டி, புராஜக்ட் சமூக அபிவிருத்தி திட்டங்களை அந்தத் தொகுதியிலுள்ள எடுத்ததைப்பற்றி சர்க்காருக்கு என் நன்றியைச் செலுத்துகிறேன். திட்டங்களை எடுத்து, சிறந்த முறையில், நவீன முறையில் எடுத்து வெற்றிகரமாக நடத்தினால் நமது தேசத்தில் இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் படியான நெருக்கடி நிலை உடனே தீர்ந்து விடும்.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக விவசாய சீர்திருத்தம் வருவதற்கு முன்னால் பணக்கார ஒரு பகுதியினர் குத்தகைக்காரர்களையும் விவசாயிகளையும் வெளியேற்றி விடுகிறார்கள் என்று சொன்னார்கள். அப்படி இல்லை. அவ்விதம் நடக்கிறது என்று திடமாக கூற முடியாது. பல காரணத்தால் விவசாயிகள் வெளியே போயிருக்கலாம். அவர்களுக்கு தொந்தரவுகள் கொடுக்கும் படியான நிலைப்பையில் அவர்களை வெளியேற்றவில்லை. கிராமத்தில் இருந்து கிராமத்தில் பழகி இருக்கும்படியான மிராசதார்கள் ஜனங்களுடைய நல்லெண்ணத்தையும் அன்பையும் பெறவேண்டும். மனக்கசப்பு ஏற்பட்டால் கிராமத்தில் யாரும் வாழ முடியாது. ஆகவே, இப்பொழுது மிகவும் அத்யாவசியமான இந்த விவசாயத்திற்கு மிகவும் முக்கியமான பிரதானம் கொடுத்து மிகவும் சிறந்த திட்டங்களை புகுத்தி அதை நேர்மையான முறையில், தகுந்தான முறையில், சிறந்த முறையில் தயாரித்த நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களுக்கும் சர்க்காருக்கும் என்னுடைய மனப்பூர்வமான நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்வதுடன்

‘ வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது மன்னவன்
கோலதூ உங்கோடா தெனின்.’

12-15 p.m. என்று நாயனார் சொல்லியது போல் அதிகாரத்தை வைத்துக்கொண்டு மன்னவன் கோல் திறமையான அரசாங்கம் நடந்தால் ராஜ்யத்தைக் காப்பாற்ற முடியும். ஆகவே சர்க்காரை நியாயமான முறையிலும் திறமையான முறையிலும் வெற்றிகரமாக நடத்துவார்கள் என்று எதிர்பார்த்து என்னுடைய சிற்றூரையை இத்தடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on this occasion to speak on the Budget presented by the Hon. the Finance Minister. The presentation of the Budget was preceded by a speech from the Finance Minister and that speech has been printed and circulated to the Members of the House. If one cares

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to look into the speech, one will find that it begins with a sad note to the effect that at the time the Budget was framed, certain things were not thought of, but that unexpected subsequent events made it necessary for the Finance Minister to present a Budget with a deficit of Rs. 3½ crores. It also says that the Budget was originally framed for the first four months, but that later on it was revised and it has now been brought before the House. It says there is likely to be a deficit to the extent of Rs. 3½ crores. The Finance Minister gives in his speech the various reasons for his presenting this deficit Budget, the most important of them being adverse seasonal conditions, slump in trade and industry, the Rayalaseema famine, etc. The Finance Minister has also made some proposals for fresh taxation to cover this deficit, viz., a surcharge on land revenue, a surcharge on bus fares and an increase in the sales tax on petrol.

“ Taking the surcharge on land revenue first, it is stated that ryots paying Rs. 50 as land revenue should pay a certain surcharge, and for those who pay more there will be a sliding scale. I may submit to the House that even the Land Revenue Reforms Committee that was set up by the previous Government some time back recommended that the exemption limit should be fixed at Rs. 150. I do not know why this Government cannot implement that recommendation and why they have fixed the limit at Rs. 50 at random. As we all know, at the time of the last elections, we were promising to the people that no fresh taxation would be suggested by any of the parties, whether the Congress Party or any other party, and nobody ever suggested that fresh taxation would be introduced in the Assembly. Unfortunately, however, we are now faced even at the very outset, with these taxation proposals suggested by the Finance Minister. He has no doubt his own reasons for his proposals; but are we to approve his proposals *in toto*, or are we to approve it to a certain extent, or are we to disapprove it totally? That is the question before the House at present. I for one am of opinion that all these taxes will ultimately have to be borne only by the poor people, the labourers, in some form or other. When the sales tax was first introduced, it was said that it was a tax intended to be borne only by the merchants; but in practice and by subsequent events, we all know that the tax is not really paid by the merchants, but paid by the poor consumers, the poor classes. Similarly, it is now said that this tax on land is only in the case of those who pay more than Rs. 50 as revenue, but my humble submission is that ultimately this tax will have to be paid only by the labourers, the poor peasants. In regard to the bus fare also, it cannot be a tax on the bus-owners, it is a tax on the bus-travelling public. Again, the petrol tax also will have to be ultimately borne by the poor labourers in one form or another. Therefore, the House will have to seriously think before accepting these proposals. When the Finance Minister first thought of making these taxation proposals,

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I am sure he would have thought of alternative remedies for covering the deficit. I submit he need not have worried about covering the deficit, because in West Bengal, they have left uncovered a deficit of Rs. 5½ crores without resorting to any new taxation. We could certainly do the same thing here, because after all, the deficit is a temporary one. If we have normal seasonal conditions, I am quite sure in the course of a year or two, the deficit will automatically be wiped out. We need not therefore unnecessarily launch on the imposition of new taxes as proposed by the Finance Minister. He says: 'If you do not accede to these new taxes, we will either have to give up our major projects, or we will have to retrench on some of the items which need special attention and which are intended for the benefit of the public.' This looks like being between the devil and the deep sea,—whoever be the devil and whoever be the deep sea. I am certain that if only the Finance Minister makes up his mind, he will be able to give us an alternative proposal. I submit that an alternative proposal would be to scrape the prohibition policy which is not at all wanted by the people. No doubt it is morally good, but it is not wanted by the people. By this prohibition policy the Government are losing to the extent of Rs. 17 to Rs. 20 crores every year. This policy which is not wanted by the people is the main factor in keeping our State in a perpetual state of bankruptcy. As I said, if only he makes up his mind in consultation with the Chief Minister, to scrape that policy we can wipe away all deficits for some years to come, and we can also put by something in the reserve which I understand has now been greatly depleted. I, therefore, appeal that instead of imposing fresh taxation, the Hon. the Finance Minister may scrape the Prohibition Act and thus save a lot of money for the State.

“Taking the first of these proposals, viz., a surcharge on land revenue, the very definition of the word ‘pattadar’ is likely to involve us in a lot of legal difficulties. The definition should be amended. I may submit to the House that there are cases where even though the family is divided, the patta continues in the name of the eldest member or the manager of the family; and in such cases, how will you find out who is liable to pay and who is in possession of the property? So, all these things will have to be decided by a court of law. Again, as I said, the exemption limit is fixed at Rs. 50. One hon. Member told the House that this surcharge will hit only a very few people, but I am not quite sure of the accuracy of that statement. Conditions differ in different districts. In our district of South Arcot for instance, and also in North Arcot, which you all know are groundnut areas, we have to depend on rain. A man may have 100 or 200 acres of land with no outturn at all unless the seasonal conditions are all right. At the same time, there are some districts like Tanjore for instance, where you have plenty of wet lands which do not entirely depend on seasonal conditions but depend on irrigation sources which are perennial. Perhaps it is such areas that can pay the proposed additional tax. So far as we who have to depend mainly on seasonal conditions are concerned, we

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may not be able to bear this additional taxation. Already we are overtaxed and there is no denial of it. The Chief Minister has stated that even in the case of a donkey, it can bear burden only up to a limit and if you put more burden on it, it will collapse. I submit we are already overtaxed; therefore, there is no use saying that only a few people will be hit. These taxes will somehow or other and in some way or other hit the poor people. Take for instance the bus-fare. The Government say that they will receive an income of Rs. 2 crores per year by increasing the rate from six to seven pies. I do not know how the Government have arrived at Rs. 2 crores as the probable income. The collection of this tax will involve a lot of difficulties. We all know how the bus-owners collect the fares from the travelling public; there is no limit to their doing it; there is no control over them and there is no possibility of checking the bus-fares they levy from the passengers. You may say it is 7 pies per mile, but they may collect 9 pies, and you cannot get proper accounts from them. How can you check them? We all know that in the case of the sales tax and income-tax, every merchant keeps four or five different accounts, one for himself, one for the sales tax officer, a third for the Income-tax department, a fourth for the company, etc. When even big people and big companies do such things, I do not know how the Government can think of collecting this additional tax from the bus owners who are not under the control of the Government or any other agency. Even if the Government appoint some people for collecting this revenue, I am not quite sure they will get the revenue that they anticipate.

“In regard to these taxation proposals, it is ultimately the poor man, the labourer, the passenger who pays the tax. (A-Hindia) even in regard to the petrol tax, the petrol is sold to the consumer—the bus-owner—and he charges the passenger for the petrol tax. It has to pay to the Government. Therefore, even the petrol tax is ultimately paid by the labourer. Therefore, all these taxation proposals hit only the poor. I think the Hon. Minister will take my alternative suggestion of scrapping Prohibition, and drop all these taxation proposals.

“Coming, Sir, to the Budget proper, I find there are the National Plan, Community Projects and all that. Under the National Plan I find a number of projects have been mentioned. For instance, the Tungabhadra Project, the Malampuzha Project, the Bhavani project and other projects. But, all these projects are of absolutely no use to us people living from Madras up to Madurai, because these districts are not covered by any of these projects. And the one project that is said to benefit South Arcot, namely the Krishna-Pennar project, is not at all mentioned anywhere in the Budget. I do not know whether it has been shelved. I heard some hon. Members and others making mention of it sometime ago, but I do not know whether it has been shelved. Not even one project which is intended to benefit the South Arcot district is mentioned in this Budget. Therefore, I submit to the Government, to make a special note of it and see that the Krishna-Pennar Project

[Sri V. Gopala Gounder

is also taken up, so that the South Arcot, Chingleput and other districts may have the benefit of irrigation schemes; otherwise we cannot think of any major project for irrigation. People in South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput are poor people and they have only small holdings, and the only mode of irrigation for them is through minor irrigation sources. But, I find there is absolutely no concession or extra provision made for the improvement of even these minor irrigation schemes. Even under the Grow More Food schemes it was said minor irrigation projects would be very useful to the poor ryots who are absolutely depending upon seasonal conditions. But, I find no mention made in the Budget regarding this or even any extra provision for it.

“ Then, Sir, all of us know that owing to drought conditions during the last five years, every man, the rich and the poor, from the capitalist down to the agriculturist, has been hit hard and there is no denial of that fact. I may also say that in the matter of living conditions, the poor man is more hit than the capitalists or the rich people. In spite of all these things, what a labourer, or an agriculturist or a poor man wants is education to his children. I find that the allotment under education is very poor and I therefore request the Government to think of allotting some more amount for education.

" So far as the Non-gazetted Officers are concerned, I wish to put in one word. The concession shown to them is not at all adequate, because it can only benefit very few of them. To some of the backward classes, it may not be useful at all, because the backward class people in service are already getting that concession under the Grant-in-Aid Code. Therefore, Sir, simply saying that a concession is given to the N.G.Os. is not enough. Some more provision should be made to meet their demand at least half-way, if the Government could not satisfy their demands to the extent they want.

“ With regard to Harijan Uplift, I find the Budget provides 74 lakhs of rupees. This is not at all sufficient, because under the Harijan Welfare Scheme I find provision made for scholarships to backward classes and other things. Therefore, I say the provision made is insufficient and the Government may be pleased to allot some more amount under the Harijan Welfare Scheme.

"With these words, I resume my seat."

* SRI M. PENTAN NAIDU:—“అధ్యక్ష, నేను కొంచెం ను, అడవుల
లోను నిండితూండే మున్య (పాంకపు) అమెరికాన ప్రజల తరఫున వచ్చి ప్రసంగిస్తున్నాను. మా
ప్రజలు కానా అనాగరిక స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. వారికి భద్రత, పానీయ సౌకర్యాలు లేవు.
జిల్లీ వికరీత పరిస్థితులలో పడిపోయి వాదనలు చేస్తున్న అమెరికా ప్రజల ప్రసంగిని
కాబట్టి నామూడా ఈ శాసనసభలో ప్రసంగించుటకు భయముగా మున్నది.

“ మా జాతల ప్రజలను బాధించుచున్న సమస్యలు ఎన్నో ఉన్నవి. చదువు, సంస్కృతి లేని ప్రజలు అగుటచేత, ఇతర స్త్రీపుష్కాంత ప్రజలచేత అనేక విధాలుగా మోసపుచ్చబడుచున్నారని తెలుపుటకు చాలా విచారముగా ఉన్నది. ప్రభుత్వం

5th July 1952]

[Sri M. Pentan Naidu]

వారు వారికి విమిచేయబడుచున్నది గ్రహించలేని స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. ఈ కొండ కోయ ప్రజలు ముఖ్యంగా మిట్టాదారీ, జమీందారీ విధానాలను రద్దుచేయనిదే కొద్దిగానైనా సుఖపడెదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విధానాలవలన అమాయకులైన కోయవారిని మిట్టాదారులు బాధించుచున్నారు. కష్టపడి పండించుకున్న సంటిలనుంచి, ఇతర వస్తువులనుంచి చాలాభాగాం మిట్టాదారులు లాగుకొనుచున్నారు. అమాయక కొండకోయ ప్రజలు తమ కష్టానికి తగిన ప్రతిఫలం పొందాలంటే మిట్టాదారుల వంటి మధ్యవర్తులను గొలిగించివేయాలని గవర్నమెంటు వారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ అంతేకాకుండా కంట్రాక్టు కుడా అమాయకులు, చదువురానివారు అయిన మస్కపు ప్రాంతవాసులను అనేకవిధాల మోసపుచ్చుచున్నారు. ఇప్పటివల్ల ఏరుకోనే వారిని ఇతరమైన అడవులలోని వస్తువులను ప్రోగుచేసుకొనే మా ప్రజలను ఈ కంట్రాక్టురులు చాలాచాధలు పెట్టుతున్నారు. కొండకోయ ప్రజలు నాగరికులైన వర్తకుల కంట్రాక్టురుల మాటలకు భయపడి తాము అర్జించినదానిలో చాలాభాగము ఇచ్చివేయడంవలన అనేక రోజులు తిండిలేక పస్తులు పడుకుంటున్నారీ. కాబట్టి కంట్రాక్టురులను తొలగించి మా ప్రజలు వారు అర్జించుకొన్న దానిని నిరాటంకంగా అనుభవించే అవకాశం కలుగజేయవలసిందని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ విషయమై తగు శ్రద్ధతీసుకొనవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా, ఈ కొండకోయ ప్రజలకు సరి అయిన అకారవదాధాలు లభ్యమగుటలేదని, వారికి లెనలిండి, కట్టుగుడ్డ సరికాలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అందుచేత మంచిసరుకులు ఆ ప్రాంతాలలో సరైన చేయించవలసినదని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. చదువులేని కారణంచేత ఆ ప్రజలు చాలా అనాగరికులుగాను, పిరికివాడిగాను తయారవుతున్నారు. కాబట్టి ఆ ప్రాంతాలలో పాఠశాలలు ఏర్పాటుగా ఏర్పాటు చేయించవలసినదని, బాలురకు ఉచితవిద్య, భోజన వసతులను కల్పించవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ మా విజ్ఞప్తి ప్రాంతాలలోని రైతులకు ఋణములను ఇచ్చే నిమిత్తము కొంత డబ్బు కేటాయించినట్లు తెలిసినది. అందుకు మా కృతజ్ఞత. తెలియజేయుచున్నాను. కాని ఈ ఋణములను కూడా మా గ్రామములలోని పెద్దరైతులకే ఇచ్చుచున్నారు. కాని, పేదవారికి ఇచ్చుటలేదు. ఇందుకుగాను ఏర్పాటుచేయఁ దగిన ఆఫీసు వారిని కూడా భాగ్యవంతులకే ఋణములు సిఫారసు చేస్తున్నారు. కాబట్టి ఇతరులందఱను ఋణములు చిన్న రైతులకు ఇచ్చునట్లు చూడవలసినదని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను.

“రాక్షసులు జమీందారీలు రద్దుచేయబడి శిస్తులు తగ్గించబడినవి అందరు ప్రజలకు తెలుసును. కాని మా విజిల్స్ ప్రాంతాలలో దీనిని గురించి ప్రజలకు తెలియదు. బలవంతులైన జమీందారులు ప్రజలను బెదిరించి వారివద్దనుంచి సొమ్ము శిస్తులు వసూలు చేస్తున్నారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇటువంటి అన్యాయాలు జరుగకుండా చేయవలసిన ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా జమీందారులు, ఉద్యోగులు, ఇతర అధికారులు కొండజాతి ప్రజలపైన చాలా జబ్బర్దీచేస్తున్నారు. విదేశీ కొండకోడిని పట్టుకున్నావని, మరే విధంగానైనా వారిని బెడలించి డబ్బు గుంజుతున్నారు. అమాయకులైన కొండీయ ప్రజలను నాగరక ప్రజలనుకొనేవారి ఆక్రమణనుంచి రక్షించవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను. కొండమీద వారికి తల్లాన ఘాతుకులు యివ్వవలసినది నామనవి. మాకు జమీందారీహాని. తునయపురంలో నుయ్యి కి, మంగా తవ్వించవలెను.”

* SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—“ கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே ! இப்போது நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொண்டு வந்துள்ள பட்ஜெட்டை நான் ஆதரித்துப் பேசினாலும், அதில் ஆதரித்துப் பாராட்ட வேண்டிய விஷயத்தைப்

[Sri K. T. Kosalram] [5th July 1952]

பாராட்டுவதோடு அதில் காணப்படும் குறைகளையும் எடுத்துச் சொல்ல பிரியப் படுகிறேன். சென்ற மந்திரி சபையை விட இந்த மந்திரி சபை துணிவான காரியங்கள் சில செய்திருப்பதை பாராட்டுவதோடு, அந்த மந்திரி சபை செய்த பல நல்ல காரியங்களில் இந்த மந்திரி சபை இன்னும் பின்னாகும் போய் இருப்பதையும் சுட்டிக் காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன்.

“சென்ற மந்திரி சபையிலிருந்து நாங்கள் எல்லோரும் இரண்டு வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாக உலாவு கண்டேரேயில் எடுத்து விட்டு என்னென்று எவ்வளவோ முறை சொல்லியும், அதை எடுப்பதற்கு அந்த சர்க்கார் நடுங்கிற்று. ஆனால் நமது ஸ்ரீ ராஜகேபாலாச்சாரியாரின் சர்க்கார் அதை உணிகரமாக எடுத்தது பற்றி நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷப்படுகிறேன். மக்கள் எல்லோரும் இதை வரவேற்றார்கள். பாராட்டுகிறார்கள் என்பதை நான் சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆனால் மற்றொன்று. நீர்ப்பாசனமென்பது இந்த நாட்டில் மிகப் பழக்கியமானது என்பதை அந்த சர்க்காரும், இந்த சர்க்காரும், அல்லது எந்த சர்க்கார் வந்தாலும் அந்த சர்க்காரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. ஆனால் இப்போது பட்ஜெட்டில் கண்டுள்ள தொகைகளைப் பார்த்தால் இவர்கள் ஏன் இதில் சென்ற அரசாங்கம் காட்டிய சிரத்தை கூட காட்டாமல் பின்னுக்குப் போய்விட்டார்கள் என்பதுதான் எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. சென்ற இடைக்கால பட்ஜெட்டில் போட்டிருந்த தொகைகளை எல்லாம் விட இப்போது இந்த அரசாங்கம், நீர்ப்பாசனம், மின்சாரம், ஆகிய எல்லாவற்றிலும் குறைத்திருக்கிறதென்பதை நான் சுட்டிக் காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். ஆனால் ஒன்று இவர்களுக்குச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். அப்படி உணவு கண்டிரால் நீக்கத்திற்கு மத்திய சர்க்காருடன் சண்டை போட்டு காரியத்தை ஜெயமாக்கிக் கொண்டோமோ அதைப் பேரவையே அவர்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்திற்கு காடுக்கேவெண்டிய கடன் தொகையில் கொஞ்சம் அதிகமாக சண்டை போட்டார்களேயானால் வெற்றியை நிச்சயம் காண முடியும் என்பதை நான் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களுக்குக் குறிப்பாகச் சொல்லுகிறேன். இன்றுமத்திய அரசாங்கம் கோடி கோடி கணக்கான ரூபாய்களைக் கொட்டி மற்ற மாகாணங்களில் பெரிய பெரிய நீர் தேக்கங்களை நேரடியாகச் செய்துவருகிறது. தாமோதர்வாலி போன்ற பெரிய பிராஜெக்ட்களையெல்லாம் நேரடியாகக் கொடிக் கணக்கான ரூபாய்கள் செலவு செய்து கட்டிக்கொண்டு வரும்போது சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் ஏதாவது செய்கிறார்கள் என்றால் இல்லவேயில்லை. அதை யாரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. சென்னை அரசாங்கமும் இதை மறுக்க முடியாது. அப்படி இருக்கும்போது மாகாண அரசாங்கம் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தினிடம் சண்டை போட்டு தங்களுக்கு கிடைக்க வேண்டிய நியாயமான லோனையாவது வாங்கியிருக்கிறார்களா என்பதுதான் இன்றைய பிரச்சனை. வாங்கக்கூடிய கடனை வாங்கியிருந்தால் இன்று நீர்ப்பாசனம், மின்சாரம் போன்றவைகளுக்கு அதிகக் குறைவாகப் பணம் ஒதுக்கியிருக்க மாட்டார்கள். மத்திய அரசாங்கம் இப்போது என்ன செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறது என்பதை நீங்கள் பார்த்தீர்களேயானால் நன்கு தெரியும். பத்திரிகைகளில் வரும் அறிக்கைகளிலிருந்து யாவும் தெரியும். உணவுப் பெருக்குத் திட்டத்திற்கு எவ்வளவோ யாதாஸ்துகள் எல்லாம் கமிட்டிகள் நியமித்து சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டதுடன் நிற்கிறது. ஆனால் இந்த அரசாங்கத்தில் 4 வருஷங்களாக லோயர் பவானித் திட்டம் நடைபெற்று வருகிறது. இந்த வருஷம் முடியப்போகிறது. எத்தனையோ ஆயிரக் கணக்கான ஏக்கர் நிலங்களை சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டு வரலாமென்று எதிர்பார்க்கப்படுகிறது, அப்படிப்பட்ட அந்த லோயர் பவானித் திட்டத்திற்கு 2 லட்சக்கூடிய இன்ஜினியர்களை நியமித்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் தாமோதர் வாலி திட்டத்திற்கு 5,000, 10,000 என்று பணம் கொடுத்து அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்து நிபுணர்களை வரவழைத்து வைத்துக்கொண்டு வேலை செய்கிறார்கள். பெரிய பெரிய திட்டங்களுக்கு கோடிக் கணக்கில், மத்திய சர்க்கார் செலவழித்து இதர ராஜ்யங்களில் அமல் நடத்தப்பட்டு வருகிறது. ஆனால் நம் ராஜ்யத்திலோ சொற்ப செலவில் பெரிய பெரிய திட்டங்களையே பூர்த்தி செய்கிறோம். அப்படியிருக்கும்போது என் தைரியமாக மத்திய அரசாங்கத்துடன் போராடி உங்களுக்குத் தேவையான 20 கோடி ரூபாயை வாங்கியிருக்கக் கூடாது என்று நான் நிதி அமைச்சர் ஸ்ரீ சுப்பிரமணியத்தைக் கேட்கிறேன். உங்களுக்கு 15 கோடி ரூபாய்கள் கொடுத்தார்கள். ஆனால் இன்னும் ஒரு

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5 கோடி ரூபாயை நீங்கள் அதிகமாகக் கேட்டு ஏன் வற்புறுத்தி வாங்கியிருக்கக்கூடாது? அப்படி வாங்கியிருப்பீர்களேயானால் இன்று பெரிய சிறிய திட்டங்களை நிறைவேற்றுவதில் ஏன் அபிப்பிராய பேதம் வரப்போகிறது. இப்போது நீங்கள் போட உத்தேசித்திருக்கும் சர்சார்ஜ் வரிகளுக்கே அவசிய மில்லாமல் போயிருக்குமே? சர்சார்ஜ் வரி போடுவதை நான் ஆகேஷ்பிக்க வில்லை. வரி போடத்தான் வேண்டும். ஆனால் சர்சார்ஜ் போடுவதால் மாதிரம் மக்களுக்கு விவசாயத்தில் ஊக்கம் உண்டாகும்படி உணர்ச்சியை உண்டு பண்ணிவிட முடியாது. உழைக்கிறவர்களுக்கு ஊக்கம் உண்டாகும்படி என்ன பந்தோபஸ்து கொடுத்திருக்கிறீர்கள்? பெரும் நிலச் சுவாஸ்தாருக்கு வரி போடக்கூடாது என்பதற்காக நான் இதைச் சொல்ல வரவில்லை.

“நீங்கள் மத்திய அரசாங்கத்தினிடம் சண்டை போட்டு இன்னும் 12-45 5 கோடி ரூபாய் வாங்கியிருந்தால் இன்று இந்த நிலைமை வந்திருக்குமா P.m. என்று சிந்திக்க வேண்டும். உதாரணமாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். திருநெல்வேலி ஜில்லாவில் மணிமுத்தாறு அணைகட்டு ஒன்று கட்டப்படுகிறது. ‘இந்த அணைக்கட்டை கட்ட ஆரம்பியுங்கள். நாங்கள் எங்கள் ஜில்லா மக்களிடமிருந்தும் ஒரு கோடி ரூபாய் கடன் வாங்கித் தருகிறேன்,’ என்று சொன்னேன். சொன்னபடியே ஒரு கோடி அல்ல. ஒரு கோடியே 28 லக்ஷ ரூபாய்கள் பொதுமக்களிடமிருந்து வாங்கி இந்த சர்க்காருக்குத் கொடுத்தோம் இந்த வருஷத்தில் அந்த அணைக்கட்டை வேலை நடத்துவதற்காக இடைக்கால பட்ஜெட்டில் மணிமுத்தாறு திட்டத்திற்காக 50 லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்கள் ஒதுக்கியிருந்தது. ஆனால் அந்த அரசாங்கமே தேவலை. இந்த அரசாங்கம் இப்போது என்ன செய்து விட்டது. 50 லக்ஷம் ரூபாயை திரென்று 20 லக்ஷமாகக் குறைத்து விட்டார்கள். அதனால் என்ன? 4,000, 5,000 மக்கள் வேலைக் செய்து கொண்டிருந்த இடத்தில் இப்போது 3,500 பேர்கள் தான் வேலை செய்யக்கூடிய நிலைக்கு வந்து விட்டது. அணை கட்டுவதற்காக வாங்கியிருந்த நிலத்தை எல்லாம் இந்த வருடம் பயிர் செய்வதற்கு இவர்களிடமே கொடுத்து விடுங்கள் என்று சர்க்காரிலிருந்து உத்திரவு வந்துவிட்டது. அணைக்கட்டு கட்டியாகிவிடும் என்று எண்ணிக்கொண்டிருந்த பொது மக்கள் இப்பொழுது ஏமாந்துபோய் விட்டார்கள். நான் இப்போது என்ன சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால், தயவு செய்து பொது மக்கள் ஏமாத்தாதீர்கள். மக்கள் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள் ஒரு கோடியே 28 லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்கள். நீங்கள் ஒன்றும் உங்களுக்கு ஒரு கஜானாவிலிருந்து இனாமாகக் கொடுக்கவில்லை. கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரி யார் அவர்களையே நேரில் கண்டு இந்த மணிமுத்தாறு திட்டத்திற்காக ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பணத்தை குறைத்து விடாதீர்கள் என்று சொன்னேன். அப்படிச் செய்வதில்லையென்று அவர் வாக்குறுதி அளித்திருந்தாலும் கூட இன்று பார்த்தோனேன், அது 40 லக்ஷமாகக் குறைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதாவது அதிலிருந்து இன்னும் 10 லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்களைக் குறைத்து விட்டீர்கள். கனம் ராஜகோபாலாச்சாரியார் சொன்னபடி முதலில் குறைக்கப்பட்ட 20 லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்களையும் அவர் திருப்பிக் கொடுத்து விடுவார் என்று எண்ணினேன். ஆனால் அதில் 10 லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்களைத்தான் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார். அந்த மணிமுத்தாறு திட்ட ஆரம்ப விழாவன்று பேசிய ஸ்ரீ பக்த வத்சலம் அவர்கள் இன்னும் மூன்று ஆண்டுகளில் இந்தத் திட்டத்தைப் பூர்த்தி செய்து கொடுக்கிறேன் என்றார், அதன்படி நடந்து விடுமென்று எதிர்பார்த்தேன். ஆனால் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டைப் பார்க்கிறபோது மிகவும் ஏமாந்து விட்டேன். அப்படிச் செய்யக்கூடாது. அதற்குள்ள தொகையைப் போட்டு எப்படியாவது இந்தத் திட்டத்தை உடனடியாக பூர்த்தி செய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். நீங்கள் பல காரியங்களைச் செய்திருக்கிறீர்கள். அதை நான் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஆனால் நீர்ப்பாசனச் சம்பந்தமாக நீங்கள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளும் முயற்சி போதாது. அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கைகளையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“நல்பரிசி. சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் நேற்று பட்ஜெட்டை சமர்ப்பித்தபோது சொன்னார்கள், பெரிய Land Reforms பண்ணுகிறேன் என்று. அதை மிக விரைவாகவும், அதை இந்தப் பகுதி மட்டும் அல்ல, எந்தப் பகுதியும்

[Sri K. T. Kosalam] [5th July 1952]

அதை வரவேற்காமல் இருக்கமுடியாது. நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் வேண்டும் என்று தான் தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு Vested interest உள்ளவர்கள் தான் வேண்டாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் மந்திரி அவர்கள் சொன்னதை நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். அந்த முறையில் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப் போகிறோம் என்பதைச் சொல்ல வேண்டும். சீர்திருத்தம் கொண்டு வரப்போகிறோம் என்று சொன்னவுடனேயே ஏழை தொழிலாளர்களையும் பாட்டாளி மக்களையும் நிலத்தைவிட்டு அப்புறப்படுத்தி விடுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் அவர்கள் கஷ்டப்படுதல்படுகிறார்கள். சர்க்கார் நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப்போகிறேன் என்று சொன்ன மாத்திரத்தில் நமக்கும் அரசாங்கத்திற்கும் கெட்ட பெயர் உண்டாகும் நிலைமையில் வருகிறது. ஆகையால் செய்வதை உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். மெனையில் இப்பொழுது வீட்டு வாடகை கண்டரோல் இருக்கிறது. வீட்டு நொத்தக் காரனிடமிருந்து வாடகைக்காரனுக்குச் சர்க்கார் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்கிறார்கள். வீட்டுக்காரனுக்கும் வீட்டில் உரிமை இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் வாடகைக்கு விடப் பிறகு வாடகைக்கு இருக்கிறவனுக்குத்தான் அந்த வீட்டில் உரிமை அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. வீட்டுக்காரன் தனக்கு வீடு வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டாலும் அவனுக்குக் கிடைப்பது இல்லை. வாடகைக்காரனுக்குத்தான் ஜாஸ்தி உரிமை ஏற்படுகிறது. அந்த முனையில் இந்த நிலை சீர்திருத்தத்தையும் செய்யவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டி உடனடியாக ரூ. 5 சட்டம் செய்யவேண்டும். அவ்விதம் சட்டம் கொண்டுவர சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப் போகிறோம் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு வந்தால் அப்பால் தொழிலாளி தான் கஷ்டப்படுகிறான். வெறும் புரளியாக இருக்கக்கூடியது என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். கனம் மந்திரி மனிக்காவல் நாயக்கைக் கேட்ட நற்குப் பதில் சொன்னார். சுபாமணியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை அமல் நடத்த உத்தேசித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறோம் என்று. ஏற்கெனவே ஆறு மாதங்களாக முன் அரசாங்கத்தில் தாங்கிக்கொண்டிருந்தது, சரி இவர்கள் வந்து விட்டார்கள், ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் வந்து விட்டார்கள் நிச்சயமாக மக்களுக்கு நன்மை கிடைத்து விடும் என்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தோம். சுபாமணியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை தேர்தலில் படித்துக் காண்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். தேர்தலில் இதைச் சொல்லி வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தோம் அதனால் உடனே இதை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று ராஜாஜியினிடம் சொன்னோம். இன்னும் ஒரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொண்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. ஆனால் சர்சார்ஜுக்குக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஷேக்ரிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டுக்கு தேர்விற்பதமாகக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். கமிட்டியின் ரிப்போர்ட்டை உண்மையாக நடவடிக்கைக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்றிருந்தால் உத்தேசமாக ஒரு சட்டமாகக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும். ஷேக்ரிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டில் ரூ. 150 சர்சார்ஜ் போடப்படுகிறது. இப்பொழுது ரூ. 50-லிருந்து சர்சார்ஜ் என்று இருக்கிறது. அதற்குப் இதற்கும் சம்பந்தம் இல்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. உண்மையில் நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று எண்ணம் இருந்தால் சுபாமணியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை உடனடியாக அமுல் நடத்தவேண்டும். தேர்தலில் அந்த கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவருவேம் என்று சொல்லி அந்ததான் தான் காங்கிரஸ் இந்த அளவிற்காவது ஜெயிக்க முடிந்தது. பணக்காரர்கள் இந்த வேலையைக் கெடுக்க வருவார்கள். அதற்குள் இந்த சுபாமணியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை உடனடியாக நிறைவேற்ற வேண்டும்.

“மற்றொன்றையும் எதிர்பார்த்தேன். முன் மந்திரி சபை ஜமீன் மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வந்து நிறைவேற்றியிருக்கிறது. நாட்டில் ஜமீன்தார்கள் விட அக்கிரமம் செய்யக்கூடிய இனம்தார்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களையும் போகச் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று சொன்னோம். சென்ற மந்திரி சபை 1936-ம் ஆண்டு இனம்தார்களை ஒதுக்கி வைத்தார்கள். கனம் வைத்தியனாதுய்யர் அவர்கள் காரசாரமாக பேசி exemption வாங்கினார்கள். பிறகு அதையும் சேர்க்க உடனடியாக சட்டம் செய்கிறோம் என்று மூன்று வருஷமாக வாக்குறுதி கொடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதிகாரிகளையும் நியமித்துவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் இன்னும் சட்டம் வரவில்லை. ஆனால் 1936-ம் ஆண்டு இனம் ரயத்துக்கள் ரூ. 20 தீர்வை கட்டுகிறார்கள். மற்றவர்கள் ரயத்துவாரி நிலத்திற்கு ரூ. 5 கட்டுகிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் நடந்துகொண்டிருந்தால் நாட்டில் புரட்சிதான் ஏற்படும். ஒருவன் ரூ. 20 கொடுத்துக் கொண்

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டம் இன்னொருவன் ரூ. 5 கொடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கக்கூடிய வத்யாசம் இருக்கக்கூடாது. ஆகவே, 1936-ம் ஆண்டு இனம்தார்களை ஒழிப்பதற்கு உடனடியாக சட்டம் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று நண்பர் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களையும் ராஜாஜி அவர்களையும் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“நான் சமீபத்தில் முதுகனத்தூர் தாலுகாவிற்குப் போக வேண்டிய அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டது. கனம் சி. சுபாமணியம் அவர்கள் அருப்புக்கோட்டை பகுதியை ஒரு பிற்போக்கான இடம் என்று தவறுதலாக சொல்லி விட்டதாக சொன்னார்கள். கிராமம் கிராமமாகச் சென்று பல இடங்களைப் பார்த்தேன். அங்கே தேர்தல் காலத்தில் சென்று பார்த்தேன். அங்கிருக்கும் அரசியல்வாதிகள் மனிதர்களையும் வாக்காளர்களையும் தங்களுடைய சுயநலத்திற்காக உபயோகப்படுத்திவைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அங்கு செய்யும் திருவிளையாடல்களை அரசாங்கம் கவனிக்க தவறி விட்டது என்பதை அவர்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன். அந்த கிராமத்திற்கு ரோடு வசதி இல்லை. அந்த கிராமங்களில் பள்ளிக் கூடம் கூட கிடையாது. அங்கிருக்கும் மனிதர்களை மிருகங்களைப்போல சில அரசியல்வாதிகள் நடத்துகிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையை உண்டு பண்ணியார் என்ன செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சற்று ஆராய வேண்டும். நாட்டில் என்ன நடக்கிறது? அரசியல்வாதிகள் என்ன பண்ணுகிறார்கள் என்பதை கவனிக்க வேண்டும். அந்த ஊரில் ஒரு சப்-மஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஒரு சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஒரு மூஸ்லீம் கிராம முன்சீப் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஆனால் போலீஸ் போவதற்கு முன்னால் என்ன சம்பவம் யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று தெரிந்துகொள்ளவே முடியவில்லை. அது மட்டுமல்ல. கொலை செய்தவனே ஒரு பஞ்சாயத்தாராக வந்து உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டு பஞ்சாயத்து சொல்லுகிறான். அதற்கு ரிகார்ட் கூட ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது ஒரு கேஸ் சம்பந்தமாக. இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது அந்தப் பகுதி. போக்குவரத்து வசதியற்றிருக்கிறது. இதை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டு ஜாதியின் பெயரால் மக்களை ஏமாற்றி வருகிறார்கள். தங்களுடைய சுயநலத்திற்காக அரசியல்வாதிகள் திருவிளையாடல்கள் நடத்தி வருகிறார்கள். போலீஸ் யாதாஸ்தில் இருக்கிறது. ஒரு மனிதன் மேடையில் பேசுகிறான். அன்று தேர்தலில் காங்கிரஸிற்கு வோட்டுப்போட்டவர்களை காதை அறுத்தோம். கதிரை அறுத்தோம். இந்த முறை காங்கிரசுக்கு ஓட்டுப் போட்டால் தலையை அறுப்பேன் என்று பயபறுத்தி வோட்டுகளைப் பெற்றார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் அங்கு இருக்கும்போது இந்த நிர்வாகம் வேண்டுமா? இதற்குக் காரணம் யார்? அறிவிருந்து நான் ஜெயித்து விட்டேன், நான் பெரிய மானார்க்கி, நான்தான் சர்வாதிகாரி என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறார். அந்த மக்களுக்கும் இந்த அரசாங்கத்திற்குப் நேரடியான தொடர்பு இல்லை. அதிகாரிகள் இங்கு எங்கு வருவார்கள், வந்தால் ஓட்டி விடலாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அது மாத்திரமல்ல. அரசியல்வாதி பேசுகிறார் சுபாஸ் பாபு இருக்கிறார் என்று. பிற்போக்கான பகுதியிலும், மக்களுக்கு கல்வி அறிவு இல்லாத இடத்திலும் ரோடு வசதி இல்லாத இடத்திலும் பேசுகிறார்கள். மக்களை ஏமாற்றிப் பேசுகிறார். சுபாஸ் போஸ் இன்னும் உயிருடன் இருக்கிறார் என்றும் தன்னை சர்க்கார் ஏதாவது செய்தால் நேதாஜி ஜவஹர்லால் மீது குண்டைப் போடுவார் என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார். இதை மட்டும் அவர் சொல்லவில்லை. ஒரு D.S.P. முன்னால் சொல்லுகிறார். ‘ஏ. விசுவநாத நாயரே, சஞ்சிவி பிள்ளையே என்னை கைது செய்வதற்கு உங்களுக்கு முடியுமா?’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார். இந்த அரசாங்கம் இதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறதே. அது மட்டுமல்ல; D.S.P.-யை பார்த்து ‘நீங்கள் ஏதாவது செய்தால் எங்கள் படைகளை எவி விடுவேன்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இந்த சர்க்காருக்கு மேல் அங்கு ஒரு சர்வாதிகார சர்க்கார் இருக்கிறது என்று அங்கிருக்கும் மக்கள் நம்புகிறார்கள். சென்ற தேர்தலில் போலிஸ் ஏஜண்டாக இருந்த தங்கசாமி பிள்ளையை கத்தியால் குத்தி விட்டார்கள். முதுகனத்தூரில் இவ்விதம் பிரமாதமாகப் பேசிப் பேசி மக்களை ஏமாற்றி வருகிறார்கள். இதற்குக் காரணம் யார்? இங்கு அரசாங்கம் இருக்கிறது. உடனடியாக இதற்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். இதுவரை எடுத்துக் கொள்ள தவறிவிட்டார்கள். ஆகவே

[Sri K. T. Kosalam] [5th July 1952]

அதை வரவேற்காமல் இருக்கமுடியாது. நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் வேண்டும் என்று தான் தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஒரு Vested interest உள்ளவர்கள் தான் வேண்டாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் மந்திரி அவர்கள் சொன்னதை நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். எந்த முறையில் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப் போகிறோம் என்பதைச் சொல்ல வேண்டும். சீர்திருத்தம் கொண்டு வரப்போகிறோம் என்று சொன்னவுடனேயே ஏழை தொழிலாளர்களையும் பாட்டாளி மக்களையும் நிலத்தைவிட்டு அப்புறப்படுத்தி விடுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம் அவர்கள் கஷ்டப்படுதல் படுகிறார்கள். சர்க்கார் நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப்போகிறேன் என்று சொன்ன மாத்திரத்தில் நமக்கும் அரசாங்கத்திற்கும் கெட்ட பெயர் உண்டாகும் நிலைமையில் வருகிறது. ஆகையால் செய்வதை உடனடியாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். மெனையில் இப்பொழுது வீட்டு வாடகை கண்டரோல் இருக்கிறது. வீட்டு நொத்தக் காரனிடமிருந்து வாடகைக்காரனுக்குச் சர்க்கார் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்கிறார்கள். வீட்டுக்காரனுக்கும் வீட்டில் உரிமை இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் வாடகைக்கு விடப் பிறகு வாடகைக்கு இருக்கிறவனுக்குத்தான் அந்த வீட்டில் உரிமை அதிகமாக இருக்கிறது. வீட்டுக்காரன் தனக்கு வீடு வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டாலும் அவனுக்குக் கிடைப்பது இல்லை. வாடகைக்காரனுக்குத்தான் ஜாஸ்தி உரிமை ஏற்படுகிறது. அந்த முனையில் இந்த நில சீர்திருத்தத்தையும் செய்யவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டி உடனடியாக 5 சட்டம் செய்யவேண்டும். அவ்விதம் சட்டம் செய்யாமல் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப் போகிறோம் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு வந்தால் அப்பால் தொழிலாளி தான் கஷ்டப்படுகிறான். வெறும் புரளியாக இருக்கக்கூடியது என்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். கனம் மந்திரி மனிக்காவல் நாயக்கரைக் கேட்ட நிற்குப் பதில் சொன்னார். சுபாமினியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை அமல் நடத்த உத்தேசித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறோம் என்று. ஏற்கெனவே ஆறு மாதங்களாக முன் அரசாங்கத்தில் தாங்கிக்கொண்டிருந்தது, சரி இவர்கள் வந்து விட்டார்கள், ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் வந்து விட்டார்கள் நிச்சயமாக மக்களுக்கு நன்மை கிடைத்து விடும் என்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டிருந்தோம். சுபாமினியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை தேர்தலில் படித்துக் காண்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். தேர்தலில் இதைச் சொல்லி வோட்டுப் பெற்று வந்தோம் அதனால் உடனே இதை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று ராஜாஜியினிடம் சொன்னோம். இன்னும் ஒரு நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொண்டதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. ஆனால் சர்சார்ஜுக்குக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஷேக்ரிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டுக்கு தேர்விற்பதமாகக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். கமிட்டியின் ரிப்போர்ட்டை உண்மையாக நடவடிக்கைக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்றிருந்தால் உத்தேசமாக ஒரு சட்டமாகக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும். ஷேக்ரிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டில் ரூ. 150 சர்ப்ளாஸ் போடப்படுகிறது. இப்பொழுது ரூ. 50-லிருந்து சர்சார்ஜ் என்று இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு இதற்கும் சம்பந்தம் இல்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. உண்மையில் நல்ல சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று எண்ணம் இருந்தால் சுபாமினியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை உடனடியாக அமுல் நடத்தவேண்டும். தேர்தலில் அந்த கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை அமுலுக்குக் கொண்டுவருவேம் என்று சொல்லி அந்ததான் தான் காங்கிரஸ் இந்த அளவிற்காவது ஜெயிக்க முடிந்தது. பணக்காரர்கள் இந்த வேலையைக் கெடுக்க வருவார்கள். அதற்குள் இந்த சுபாமினியம் கமிட்டி ரிப்போர்ட்டை உடனடியாக நிறைவேற்ற வேண்டும்.

“மற்றொன்றையும் எதிர்பார்த்தேன். முன் மந்திரி சபை ஜமீன் மசோதாவைக் கொண்டு வந்து நிறைவேற்றியிருக்கிறது. நாட்டில் ஜமீன்தார்கள் விட அக்கிரமம் செய்யக்கூடிய இனம்தார்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களையும் போகச் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று சொன்னோம். சென்ற மந்திரி சபை 1936-ம் ஆண்டில் இனம்தார்களை ஒதுக்கி வைத்தார்கள். கனம் வைத்தியனாசுரயர் அவர்கள் காரசாரமாக பேசி exemption வாங்கினார்கள். பிறகு அதையும் சேர்க்க உடனடியாக சட்டம் செய்கிறோம் என்று மூன்று வருஷமாக வாக்குறுதி கொடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதிகாரிகளையும் நியமித்துவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் இன்னும் சட்டம் வரவில்லை. ஆனால் 1936-ம் ஆண்டில் இனம்தார்களுக்கு ரூ. 20 தீர்வை கட்டுகிறார்கள். மற்றவர்கள் ரயத்தவாரி நிலத்திற்கு ரூ. 5 கட்டுகிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் நடந்துகொண்டிருந்தால் நாட்டில் புரட்சிதான் ஏற்படும். ஒருவன் ரூ. 20 கொடுத்துக் கொண்

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டம் இன்னொருவன் ரூ. 5 கொடுத்துக்கொண்டிருக்கக்கூடிய வத்யாசம் இருக்கக்கூடாது. ஆகவே, 1936-ம் ஆண்டில் இனம்தார்களை ஒழிப்பதற்கு உடனடியாக சட்டம் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று நண்பர் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்களையும் ராஜாஜி அவர்களையும் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

“நான் சமீபத்தில் முதுகனத்தூர் தாலுகாவிற்குப் போக வேண்டிய அவசியம் ஏற்பட்டது. கனம் சி. சுபாமினியம் அவர்கள் அருப்புக்கோட்டை பகுதியை ஒரு பிற்போக்கான இடம் என்று தவறுதலாக சொல்லி விட்டதாக சொன்னார்கள். கிராமம் கிராமமாகச் சென்று பல இடங்களைப் பார்த்தேன். அங்கே தேர்தல் காலத்தில் சென்று பார்த்தேன். அங்கிருக்கும் அரசியல்வாதிகள் மனிதர்களையும் வாக்காளர்களையும் தங்களுடைய சுய நலத்திற்காக உபயோகப்படுத்திவைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அங்கு செய்யும் திருவிளையாடல்களை அரசாங்கம் கவனிக்க தவறி விட்டது என்பதை அவர்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன். அந்த கிராமத்திற்கு ரோடு வசதி இல்லை. அந்த கிராமங்களில் பள்ளிக் கூடம் கூட கிடையாது. அங்கிருக்கும் மனிதர்களை மிருகங்களைப்போல சில அரசியல்வாதிகள் நடத்துகிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையை உண்டு பண்ணியார் என்ன செய்து கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சற்று ஆராய வேண்டும். நாட்டில் என்ன நடக்கிறது? அரசியல்வாதிகள் என்ன பண்ணுகிறார்கள் என்பதை கவனிக்க வேண்டும். அந்த ஊரில் ஒரு சப்-மஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஒரு சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஒரு மூஸ்லீம் கிராம முன்சீப் கொலை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறார். ஆனால் போலீஸ் போவதற்கு முன்னால் என்ன சம்பவம் யப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று தெரிந்துகொள்ளவே முடியவில்லை. அது மட்டுமல்ல. கொலை செய்தவனே ஒரு பஞ்சாயத்தாராக வந்து உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டு பஞ்சாயத்து சொல்லுகிறான். அதற்கு ரிகார்ட் கூட ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது ஒரு கேஸ் சம்பந்தமாக. இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது அந்தப் பகுதி. போக்குவரத்து வசதியற்றிருக்கிறது. இதை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டு ஜாதியின் பெயரால் மக்களை ஏமாற்றி வருகிறார்கள். தங்களுடைய சுயநலத்திற்காக அரசியல்வாதிகள் திருவிளையாடல்கள் நடத்தி வருகிறார்கள். போலீஸ் யாதாஸ்தில் இருக்கிறது. ஒரு மனிதன் மேடையில் பேசுகிறான். அன்று தேர்தலில் காங்கிரஸிற்கு வோட்டுப்போட்டவர்களை காதை அறுத்தோம். கதிரை அறுத்தோம். இந்த முறை காங்கிரசுக்கு ஓட்டுப் போட்டால் தலையை அறுப்பேன் என்று பயபறுத்தி வோட்டுகளைப் பெற்றார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் அங்கு இருக்கும்போது இந்த நிர்வாகம் வேண்டுமா? இதற்குக் காரணம் யார்? அறிவிருந்து நான் ஜெயித்து விட்டேன், நான் பெரிய மானார்க்கி, நான்தான் சர்வாதிகாரி என்று சொல்லிக்கொள்ளுகிறார். அந்த மக்களுக்கும் இந்த அரசாங்கத்திற்குப் நேரடியான தொடர்பு இல்லை. அதிகாரிகள் இங்கு எங்கு வருவார்கள், வந்தால் ஓட்டி விடலாம் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். அது மாத்திரமல்ல. அரசியல்வாதி பேசுகிறார் சுபாஸ் பாபு இருக்கிறார் என்று. பிற்போக்கான பகுதியிலும், மக்களுக்கு கல்வி அறிவு இல்லாத இடத்திலும் ரோடு வசதி இல்லாத இடத்திலும் பேசுகிறார்கள். மக்களை ஏமாற்றிப் பேசுகிறார். சுபாஸ் போஸ் இன்னும் உயிருடன் இருக்கிறார் என்றும் தன்னை சர்க்கார் ஏதாவது செய்தால் நேதாஜி ஜவஹர்லால் மீது குண்டைப் போடுவார் என்றும் சொல்லுகிறார். இதை மட்டும் அவர் சொல்லவில்லை. ஒரு D.S.P. முன்னால் சொல்லுகிறார். ‘ஏ. விசுவநாத நாயரே, சஞ்சிவி பிள்ளையே என்னை கைது செய்வதற்கு உங்களால் முடியுமா?’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார். இந்த அரசாங்கம் இதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறதே. அது மட்டுமல்ல; D.S.P.-யை பார்த்து ‘நீங்கள் ஏதாவது செய்தால் எங்கள் படைகளை எவி விடுவேன்’ என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இந்த சர்க்காருக்கு மேல் அங்கு ஒரு சர்வாதிகார சர்க்கார் இருக்கிறது என்று அங்கிருக்கும் மக்கள் நம்புகிறார்கள். சென்ற தேர்தலில் போலிஸ் ஏஜண்டாக இருந்த தங்கசாமி பிள்ளையை கத்தியால் குத்தி விட்டார்கள். முதுகனத்தூரில் இவ்விதம் பிரமாதமாகப் பேசிப்பேசி மக்களை ஏமாற்றி வருகிறார்கள். இதற்குக் காரணம் யார்? இங்கு அரசாங்கம் இருக்கிறது. உடனடியாக இதற்கு நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டும். இதுவரை எடுத்துக் கொள்ள தவறிவிட்டார்கள். ஆகவே

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தான் அங்கே உங்களுக்கு விவரமாக மக்களை ஏவி விடுகிறார்களே. இது மிகவும் கொடுமை. இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறது அந்த ஊர்.

“அங்கு ஜில்லாவில் இன்னும் முக்கியமான விஷயத்தை அரசாங்கத்தின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். மிஸ்சர் விஷயமாக இண்டிரம் பட்ஜெட்டில் 2, 3 கோடி ரூபாய் குறைத்து விட்டார்கள். மின்சாரத்தை அங்கு கொண்டு வருகிறதும் என்று அன்று அங்கு மந்திரிகள் வந்துகொண்டு தார்கள். இன்று அந்த வாக்குறுதியை நிறைவேற்றவேண்டும். சாத்தன குளம், முவைகுளம், புளியங்குடி முதலிய இடங்களில் சப்-ஸ்டேஷன் ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். முன் மந்திரிகள் வேலையை நடத்தினார்கள். இரண்டு வருஷத்தில் மின்சாரம் கிடைக்கும் (ஸ்டேஷனுக்கு இலை, விவசாயத்திற்கு) என்று மக்களுக்குச் சொன்னார்கள். விவசாயிகளும் நம்பினார்கள். திருவிழாக்களை கொண்டாடினார்கள். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது அங்கிருந்து அதிகாரிகளைத் திருப்பிச் சென்னைக்கு அனுப்பி விட்டார்கள். அங்கே இப்பொழுது வேலை நின்று விட்டது. இவ்விதம் நடந்தால் மக்கள் என்ன நினைப்பார்கள். உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு இந்த மின்சாரம் தான் அவசியமானது. ஆகவே இந்த மின்சாரத்திற்கான பணத்தை கொடுத்து அந்த வேலையை ஆரம்பித்து முடிக்க வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.”

“மற்றொரு விஷயம். இந்த சட்டசபை இருக்கிறது அல்லவா? இது சுப்ரீம் சபையாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த சபையில் இதுவரையில் இல்லாத ஒரு புது வழக்கத்தை இப்பொழுது ஆரம்பித்து இருக்கிறார்கள். மெம்பர்கள் வரும்போது கைவாழ்த்துப் போட்டு விட்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இது நமது சபைக்கும் மதிப்புக்கும் குறைவாக இருக்கிறது. அங்கத்தினர்கள் தப்பாக நடந்தால் நமக்கு பதில் சொல்கிறார்கள். இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்தப் பழக்கத்தை நிறுத்தவேண்டும் என்று இந்த அரசாங்கத்தை நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.”

* SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Budget presented to the House reflects the colonial economy of our country and the desire of the Government to maintain that economy. The colonial economy that prevails in our land is an unbalanced economy with a lean industry and overcrowded agriculture. In our country unemployment is a big problem and people are finding it difficult to make both ends meet. It is very difficult for people to depend upon agriculture alone. If the country is to become prosperous, it must surely move in the direction of industrialisation. What is the industrial policy as revealed in this Budget? Only Rs. 10 crores and 90 lakhs are provided for industry and electricity both under revenue and capital expenditure put together out of a total budget provision of Rs. 85 crores. Thus the provision for industry and electricity is only 13 per cent of the total expenditure. That shows that the Government are definitely not for industrialisation and that they want our country to remain an agricultural country depending for ever upon foreign capitalistic countries for its requirement of industrial products. What about the industries that are already there in our country? Our economy is dominated by British capital and British firms. So many foreign firms spread all over the country are doing immense harm to the economy of our country. They are minting money out of the sweat and labour of our people. There are British firms which refuse to implement the adjudication awards given by Courts set up by this Government. Messrs. Volkart Brothers at Fort Cochin are refusing to

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implement the adjudication award given in 1949 on an industrial dispute which arose there. Aspinwall & Co., which is in possession of a whole island called the Candle Island claims that island to be its private property. That Company has the audacity to refuse to the citizens of the Island permission to hold a public meeting without prior consent, and prior consent is not at all given. Once the people of that Island wanted to hold a reception in honour of the Member who was elected from that constituency. The Company refused to give permission to hold the public meeting and I have the correspondence with me. Foreign firms like Aspinwall & Co., the homeland of whose proprietors is thousands of miles away, say that without their consent the public should not hold a public meeting. This is the Swaraj over which our Congress Government are keeping watch! I will give a few examples to show that foreign firms in this country are really bent upon minting money out of the sweat of our people and not at all interested in the industrialisation of our country. There is a dispute pending between the management of Messrs. Harrison & Crossfields and its employees represented by the Cochin Commercial Employees Association. Last year the Company divided 30 per cent of the profit as dividend. It is refusing to give any bonus to its Indian employees, when big sums are given to its British employees as private purse. Within 3½ years the firm has realized the capital invested on it and it has been existing in this country for several decades. We are morally justified in confiscating all the British firms. But we are not doing that. The entire policy of the Government is directed towards patting the British firms on their back and not towards the industrial development of this country. This policy has resulted in the ruination of our handloom industry. The causes for the ruination have been explained by so many Members. Yarn is being supplied to the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills and Harvey Mills. The handloom weavers have to get yarn after paying a multi-point sales tax and this has ruined the handloom industry. The Government do not want to solve the unemployment problem in the country. They do not want to industrialise the country and make it a prosperous one so that it may take a place of pride among the industrially advanced nations of the world.

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

“Sir, what is the land policy revealed in the Budget proposals? The food famine that has been prevailing in this State for the past few years has been attributed mainly to the failure of monsoon by the Congress Members and Congress Ministers. If we go into the land problem of our country, we will find that the parasitic system of landlordism is eating the vitality of our agriculture to its marrow. So long as we maintain the prevailing system of landlordism, we can never solve the food problem. The Government say that they will implement zamindari abolition. I may say that landlordism in our country is not confined to zamindari areas alone. It is there in ryotwari areas. It is there in every village of our country, whatever be the system of land tenure prevailing there. The parasitic system

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of landlordism, which does not contribute anything to production, is eating away the vitality of our agriculture. As long as that system prevails, there is no possibility of getting rid of these recurring famines. Rayalascema famine will be repeated and even Bengal famines will be repeated for ever and ever. Millions of peasants, agricultural labourers and even middle classes will be ruined, pauperised and forced to beg for alms in the streets.

1-15 P.m. "As regards the abolition of the zamindaris, I say that the Government have not been doing all that is needed. On page 57 of the Budget Memorandum you will see the item 'Transfer to Zamindari Abolition Fund'. A sum of Rs. 20 lakhs is provided for this in the budget estimate. It has been explained that the net collections from the zamindari areas after deducting from the gross revenue the expenditure on administration, management, special repairs to tanks, etc., should be transferred to the Zamindari Abolition Fund, and this amount is to be given as compensation to the zamindars. Rs. 20 lakhs has been provided for this purpose for this year. This means that this amount is being taken from the peasants. This shows that by the abolition of the zamindaris, rents are not reduced. Members sitting on the Treasury Benches might say that they have reduced the rents in zamindari areas to the ryotwari level. Still, the rent in zamindari areas is higher than what they were before the abolition of the zamindaris. This negates the very purpose for which the abolition of the zamindaris was effected. So, Sir, the land policy of this Government is not for the welfare of the people. The other day the Finance Minister Mr. Subramaniam was saying that land was not an end in itself, and that it was intended for producing food. If the Government had really followed that policy, I would have appreciated it. But in the budget all that tall talk is contradicted by facts and figures. The only thing the Government have done by the abolition of the zamindaris is that instead of the zamindar they themselves are now exploiting the poor peasants. The Government are not intent on bringing prosperity to the peasantry in our land. What is their principle in regard to land? That can very well be seen from the taxation proposals contained in the budget. The Government say that land belongs to the Government and that it does not belong to the people, and therefore the peasant should pay taxes to the Government, as he has been paying to the zamindar. What is the principle involved in the levy of betterment tax? The principle is this, namely, the net increase in profits multiplied by 30 and divided by two has to be given to the Government in twenty years. The Government say that the increased value of the land should go to them. Fifteen times the increase in the net profit of the cultivator should go to the Government. That means actually the entire increased value of the land should go to the Government. It does not at all compare favourably with the capital outlay that is made for irrigation or for any other purpose. It may even be more than the capital outlay. Still the Government claim that they should have the right to the increased value of the land, and that value should be paid to them within 20 years. Interest also is to be charged on the

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amount, and the amount it to be recovered as though it were an arrear of land revenue. The land policy of the Government as revealed in this budget is disastrous to the country. It really shows that the Government do not want to see a prosperous peasantry in our country. They do not want to solve the food famine in our country. They may say that they are going to execute so many irrigation projects and community projects. I am here reminded of what was said at the ECAFE Conference at Ootacamund. There an American representative stated that India is an agricultural country and, therefore, India should not industrialize. He said that India should take up only irrigation plans and not industrialization plans. What that American representative spoke, is being implemented by this Government. The Government want to see that our country is only a country producing raw materials for those imperialist countries. The Government do not want that our country should be industrialized. I am not here to say that whatever loan or grant is given to us by a foreign Government, is not to be accepted. I am not at all against any foreign help. If the United States of America is pleased to give us a loan or grant, we can very well accept it but not under any political or economic conditions. It is not for the American Government to decide whether the loan or grant is to be spent on rural welfare or on our industrialization. It is for us to decide that. Whether we should spend that money for purchasing machinery or for any other equipment, is not for the American Government to decide. The American Government says 'You spend the money on rural welfare of your country.' Is the Government of America more interested in our rural welfare than we are? There is a real purpose and there is a real motive behind this. It is that India should ever remain an agricultural country, should ever remain a producer of raw materials, and that she should for ever remain a market for the goods of those imperialist countries. That is the plan worked out by the Government. So, I call this budget an anti-national budget. The Government should have taken the House into their confidence before they thought of any community projects. The technical officers for superintending the work are all employed by America. Mind you, these officers are not paid by the India Government nor by our State Government. They are paid by the American Government. I ask you, Sir, whether these officers will obey us or serve their masters abroad.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair.)

Surely, if we accept any technical aid from any country, the people employed here should obey us. They should be paid by us. They should serve us and not their foreign masters. The community projects here are worked out by the agents of American imperialism. I say this because they are paid by the American Government and not by the Government of India. The projects are not at all intended for the welfare of our country."

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

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SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—“This being the condition of our country, it is quite natural that there is a top-heavy administration. The other countries do not want our country to become prosperous. They want to maintain their hold on India.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member's time is up. The hon. Member Mr. A. Venkataramiah has stated that he will finish his speech in ten minutes. We shall, therefore, sit till 1-35.”

*** SRI ALAPATI VENKATRAMIAH:**—అధ్యక్షా, గౌరవనీయులగు ఆర్థిక శాఖామంత్రులు ప్రతిపాదించిన ఈ బడ్జెటును నేను బలపరుచుచున్నాను. పిండికొంది కొట్టి అన్నట్లు ఆదాయములకొలది వ్యయముగాదా? ఈ బడ్జెటును ఈ శాస్త్ర సభలో ప్రవేశపెడుతూ ఆర్థిక మంత్రిగారు ఈ సంవత్సరములో బడ్జెటులో లోటు ఏర్పడిందని అందుచేతనే కొత్తపన్నులు వేయవలసి వచ్చిందని చెప్పియున్నారు. ఏ ప్రభుత్వమైనా పన్నులు విధించినచో పరిపాలన కొనసాగించలేదని అందరకు తెలిసిన విషయము. కాని ఈ పన్నులు విధించే సందర్భంలో పన్ను ఇచ్చుకొనిన వారిపైన నే విధించనశలని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ నాడు బడ్జెటులో కలిగిన లోటు ఎల్లప్పుడు సులభమిచేది కాదు. కాలమానం సరిగలేని కారణంచేత రాయలసీమలోను, గుంటూరు, నెల్లూరు జిల్లాల మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలోను కరువు సంభవించినది. ఈ ఊరునివారణ నిమిత్తం కొన్ని కొట్టరూపాయలు ఖర్చుచేయవలసి వచ్చింది. అందువల్లనే ఈ లోటు ఏర్పడింది. కాబట్టి ఇటువంటి లోటు ప్రతి సంవత్సరం రాదు. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో కొత్త పన్నులు విధించవలసి అగత్యములేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఈ కొత్తపన్నులవల్ల రైతాంగం చాలా ఆసంతృప్తి చెందుతారని ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించుకొన్నారు. మా గుంటూరు జిల్లా ఎన్నో విధాల వెనుకబడి ఉన్న జిల్లా. ఆ జిల్లాలో చాలామంది పేదరైతులు. అక్కడ నాలుగైదు ఎకరాల భూవసతి ఉన్న ఆసామి మూడూ 50 రూపాయలకు మించి శిస్తు కట్టవలసివెంది ఈ బడ్జెటు ఉపన్యాసంలో తెలిపినట్లు 50 రూపాయలకు పైబడ్డ శిస్తు చెల్లించే వారిపైన సర్ చార్జ్ విధించడంపై నట్లు మాపించుటవలన పేద రైతు లంపటా చాలా భయపడుతున్నారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇప్పటికే ఎకరానికి 17, 18 రూపాయలవరకు పన్ను చెల్లిస్తున్నవారిపై పన్ను భారం అధికంచేస్తామనడం న్యాయంకాదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఈ రెక్క ప్రకారం మూడు ఎకరములున్న రైతులందరూ పావు పన్ను ఇచ్చుకొనవలసి వస్తుంది. ఈ విధంగా మూడు ఎకరముల భూవసతి ఉన్న రైతుకు వచ్చే నికరదాయం చాలా తక్కువ. అటువంటి వారిపైన సర్ చార్జ్ వేసే ఉద్దేశం మానుకొనవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మరల మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. పన్ను వేయటం తప్పదని కొంచెం నట్లైతే ఈ సర్ చార్జ్ ని సూరూ రూపాయలుగాని, సూటుయాలై రూపాయలుగాని పైబడి చెల్లించేవారిపైననే విధించవలసిందని నా ఉద్దేశం. అంధ్ర దేశములో పేరుగొన్న ‘అంధ్రవ్యారీకు’ అనడగిన తెనాలి మహాపట్నము గుమారు 70 వేలు జనాభాగలది అయివున్నది. లోగడ ప్రభుత్వమువారు డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీములను అమలు పరచే విషయమై నియమించిన కమిటీవారు మా తెనాలి డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీమును వెంటనే అమలు జరుపవలసిందని వారి రిపోర్టులో తెలిపి ఉన్నారు. అయినప్పటికీ అది ఇంతవరకూ వర్కుచేయకుండా వుండుట చాలా కొరవైనది. అక్కడ ప్రజల మురుగునీరు దోమలకాటువల్ల అనేకరకముల వ్యాధులకు గురికావలసి వస్తున్నది. సమక ప్రభుత్వమువారు అంధ్ర వ్యారీకులో వెంటనే మురుగు డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీమును అమలు పరచవలసిందగా కోరుతున్నాను.

[5th July 1952] [Sri Alapati Venkataramiah]

“మా గుంటూరు జిల్లా సీపారుడల వసతుల విషయంలో చూచినట్లయితే చాలా వెనుకబడి ఉన్నదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. మా జిల్లాలో చాలా మైనర్ ఇరిగేషన్ ప్రాజెక్టులు నిర్మించవలసివున్నది. ముఖ్యంగా కృష్ణా టూ రివర్ చానల్ స్కీము అమలు జరుపవలసియున్నది. ఈ స్కీమువల్ల చాలావూ సలభ వేల ఎకరాల భూమి సాగులోనికి తీసుకొని రావడగలదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కృష్ణా టూ రివర్ చానల్ స్కీము గత సంవత్సరం అమలుపరుప వలచారు. బడ్జెటు ప్రతిపాదనలో ఈ విషయంకూడా నిరుడు ఉదహరింపబడింది. కాని సంవత్సరం అఖరున చూచినట్లయితే ఈ స్కీము పని ఆపుచేయబడింది. ఈ స్కీము విషయమై ఈ బడ్జెటులో విమియ తెలుపబడలేదు. ఇది మా గుంటూరు జిల్లా ప్రజల దురదృష్టమని మాత్రమే మనవి చేయవలసియున్నది. సీపి వసతులు కల్పించే సందర్భంలో గుంటూరు జిల్లాను మరువకదగిన ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. ముఖ్యమైన ఈ కృష్ణా ఎగువ రాంజ్ స్కీము ఆపుచేయటవలన ప్రజలలో చాలా నిరుత్సాహం ఏర్పడింది. గుంటూరు జిల్లావారిని ఈ విధంగా చూడడం భావ్యం కాదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మరల మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇదే విధంగా గుండ్లకమ్మనదిపై కూడా అనకట్ట కట్టవలసియున్నది. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు విషయమై ప్రజా ప్రతినిధులు మంత్రివర్గానికి నివేదించుకొంటున్నారు. కాని విమతం ఫలితం కనిపించలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో ఇరిగేషన్ పనులు ఇదివరకు కంటే కొంతకొంతగా అమలుపరచవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. జిల్లాలో కొద్దిభాగమే సీపివసతులు ఉన్న ప్రదేశం. ఇదైనా మురుగునీటి సౌకర్యాలు లేక పంటలు పాడైపోతూవున్న ప్రాంతం అనేక పర్యాటకాలు డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీములు అమలుపరచవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వానికి విన్నవించబడింది. ఈ స్కీములలో తుంగభద్రా డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీము ఒకటి. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం ఈ డ్రైనేజ్ కాలువలు పొంగిపోవుటవల్ల వేలాది ఎకరముల భూమిలోని పంట పాడైపోతూంది. కొన్ని గ్రామాదులు కూడా మునిగి పోవుచున్నవి. ముఖ్యముగా యెడ్లకల్లి, కలినేరు, జాగర్లకూడి భూములలో ప్రతి సంవత్సరము ప్రభుత్వమువారు రిమీడునుకూడా యిస్తూవున్నారు. కనుక ఈ స్కీమును వెంటనే అమలుపరచవలసిందగా కోరుతున్నాను. యిదే విధముగా భట్టి ప్రాంత డ్రైనేజ్, రేకల్ల డ్రైనేజ్ స్కీములకూడా అమలుపరచవలసి ఉన్నది. డెల్టా ప్రాంతాలలో మురుగునీరు పోయ్యే సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేసినట్లయితే అనేక వేల టన్నుల ఆహార భాగ్యాలు అదనంగా పండించవచ్చునని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. కొద్దిపాటి మొత్తంతో కొందరిలో మంచి ప్రతిఫలం వచ్చే ఈ పనులను ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ సంవత్సరమైనా కొనసాగించే విధానము చేయవలసిందని మంత్రివర్గంవారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. మా గుంటూరు జిల్లాలో మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలు చాలా ఉన్నవి. ఈ సంవత్సరం వర్షాభావంవల్ల అనేక ప్రాంతాలలో పంటలు పాడై ప్రజలు నానా అవస్థలు పడవలసి వచ్చింది. మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో ఊమం విలయ తాండవం చేస్తోంది. కొందరు మంత్రిలు కూడా ఆ ప్రాంతాలకువెళ్లి ప్రజల కష్టాలు కళ్ళార చూశారు. ఈ విషయాలన్ని తెలిసి వుండకూడా ప్రభుత్వం ఈ సంవత్సరం బడ్జెటులో మా జిల్లాలోని మైనర్ ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు అమలుచేయడానికి డబ్బు కేటాయింపుక పోవడం మా ప్రజల దురదృష్టమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. జిల్లాలో ఆహార భాగ్యాల సాగు పరిస్థితులు నానాటికి పాడైపోతున్నవి. డెల్టా ప్రాంతాలలో ములకలవల్ల, మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలో వర్షం కురవకపోవడంచేత ఆహార భాగ్యంపై నానాటికి కుంఠపడుతున్నది. ఇదివరలో మురుగు కాలువలను కాగుచేయించే సందర్భంలో ఒక సవకమిటీని వేశారు. ఆ కమిటీవారు విషయాల నన్నిటిని నేకరించి ఒక రిపోర్టు తయారుచేశారు. కాని ఆ రిపోర్టులో సూచించబడిన

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స్కీములు అమలుచేయబడుతున్నాయి. దీనివల్ల ప్రజలలో ప్రభుత్వం వట్టి కొంత విముఖత వర్షించుతూ ఉందని ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించగోరుతాను. అదే విధంగా మెట్టతాలూకాలలో మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ కనులు సరిగా జరుగుతున్నాయి. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం బడ్జెటు ప్రతిపాదనల కాలంలో ఏకో కొన్ని స్కీముల పేర్లు బడ్జెటు అంచనాలలో సూచించడం సంవత్సరాంతాన ఆ వసలు అమలు జరుగుచున్నదని చెప్పడం దూస్తే చాలావిచారం కలుగుచున్నదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. మెట్టతాలూకాలలో టైడం ప్రతి సంవత్సరం తొంగిపూడకుండా ఉండాలంటే ఈ మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ కనులను తప్పక చేయవలసి యున్నది. మా జిల్లాలో ఎన్నో కొండవాగులు, చిన్నచిన్న వదులు ఉన్నాయి. కొద్దిపాటి ముఖ్యమైన నీటి వనరులు కట్టి నీటి వసతులు కల్పించవచ్చు. అప్పుడే మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో టైడం నివారించిన వాళ్ళం అని అనిపించుకోగలము.

1-30 P.M. “మద్యపాన నిషేధం విషయం గురించి కొద్దిగా మనవిచేస్తాను. మద్యపాన నిషేధాన్ని అమలుచేయడంవల్ల మన ప్రభుత్వానికి చదివేడు కోట్ల రూపాయలవిరహానష్టం వస్తున్నది. కూలి నాలి చేతుకొని జీవించే బీదప్రజలనుంచి ఇంత డబ్బు వసూలుచేయడం మంచిదికాదని, వారిని ఈ త్రాగుడు పిశాచపు యినుక పిడికిలి నుంచి రక్షించే ఉద్దేశ్యంతో 1937 వ సంవత్సరంలోనే రాజాజీ మద్యపాన నిషేధాన్ని ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో ప్రారంభించారు. గత మంత్రివర్గంవారు ఈ కార్యక్రమాన్ని రాష్ట్ర మండలం వరకు అమలు పరచారు. కాని ఈ కార్యక్రమం అనుకోన్నంత జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగించబడలేదు అనే విషయం అందరికీ తెలిసిందే. ప్రజలలో ఈ నిషేధంవల్ల హెచ్చు సానుభూతి ఉన్నట్లు కనపించుచున్నది. ఇదివరలో రూపాయి కూలి తెచ్చుకొంటే అందులో ఏ రెండు అణాల మూడు అణాల ఇచ్చి త్రాగేవాళ్లు ఈనాడు అదే పానీయానికి దొంగతనంగా ఎక్కే రెట్లు హెచ్చువలె తెల్లించి చాటునా మాటునా త్రాగుతున్నారు. నిషేధం జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగాలంటే ప్రజలలో హృదయపరివర్తనం జరగాలి. ఈ పరివర్తనం కలుగుటకు ఎంతో ప్రబోధం జరచాలి. ఈ కుంగులన్నీ ఉంటేనే కాని మద్యపాన నిషేధం అంత జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగే అవకాశాలు తక్కువగా వున్నాయని అనుమానం కలుగుతున్నది. కాబట్టి మద్యపాన నిషేధ సందర్భంలో కొన్ని సవరణలు చేయవలసివున్నదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ముఖ్యముగా మనకు ప్రజా సేవకులము గడుక ప్రతిసభ్యుడు తన నియోజక వర్గములో మద్యపాన నిషేధము వలన కలిగే లాభములను త్రాగుడువల్ల సంభవించే నష్టములను గురించి ప్రచారం చేసి, మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలు, ధనికవర్గంవారుకూడా ఈ సంస్కరణ సరిగా అమలు జరుగుటకు తోడ్పడునట్లు చేయగోరారు. మనము కొంతకాలము ప్రచారముచేసి కేసులు పెట్టించి ప్రభుత్వమునకు సహాయముచేసినయడల తప్పక ప్రాధాన్యము చక్కగా అమలు జరుగగలదు. ముఖ్యంగా ఈ బడ్జెటులో కొత్త వస్తువు ప్రతిపాదించడం ఇప్పుడు మంచిదికాదని నా అభిప్రాయం. అసలే ధరలు కడిపోయి రైతు నిరుత్సాహ పడుతున్నాడు. పెట్టుబడి ఖర్చులు నానాటికి హెచ్చిపోతున్నాయి. దీనికి కొన్ని రాజకీయ పార్టీల మద్దతుకూడాఉంది. ఖర్చులు పెరిగిపోతూ చాలాది పగ్గిపోతున్నది. రోజులలో యాభై రూపాయలకు పైడి చేర్చించే ప్రతి రైతు అదనపు పన్ను చెల్లించా

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లనడం సమంజసంకాదు. రైతాంగాన్ని మరికొంత వయకో చూడవలసిన అగత్యం ఎంతో ఉన్నది. రైతుపై పన్ను భారాన్ని హెచ్చు చేసినట్లయితే అతడు ఉత్సాహంతో అధికోత్పత్తి కొనసాగించలేడు. కాబట్టి కొత్త పన్నులు విధించే విషయంలో పునః పరిశీలన చేయించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. మా జిల్లాలో టైడం నీటి స్కీములు అమలు చేయించడం, ఇరిగేషన్ కనులు ప్రారంభించడం వెంటనే జరుగవలసిన పనులని తెలుపుతూ ఈ బడ్జెటును బలపరుస్తున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The hon. Member's time is up. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Monday, 7th July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 7th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Improvement of rural roads in Rayalaseema.

* 44 Q.—SRI K. V. VEMA REDDI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state whether there is any special scheme for the improvement and extension of rural roads in the districts of Rayalaseema?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ There is no special scheme for the formation and improvement of village roads in the Rayalaseema districts except the five-year plan of Post-War Road Development and the District Boards' programmes of improvements to village communications.”

SRI K. V. VEMA REDDI:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I know what is the length of the roads to be formed under the Five-Year Post-War Road Development Scheme in each district of Rayalaseema?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

* 45 Q.—

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon. Member Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu is not putting his question. Therefore, I pass on to the next question.”

Legal assistance to Harijans.

* 46 Q.—SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO:—Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state—

(a) the number of (1) criminal and (2) civil cases in which Harijans were given legal assistance in 1951-52; and

(b) the quantum of aid given?

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“ (a) Nil.

“ (b) Does not arise.”

SRI A. RATHINAM:—“ Are the Government aware that the ministers are framing criminal charges against some Harijans in villages and, if so, may I know what action the Government have taken to extend the privilege of State aid to Harijans?”

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THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The position is that the Government have issued orders that ordinarily no State aid need be given to Harijans in legal proceedings except to the extent provided in rule 157 of the Criminal Rules of Practice. But whenever, in a criminal case, the Collector considers that the Harijans specially deserve legal aid, he should report the case to the Government with details of cost involved, for orders. No such aid was given to Harijans in 1951-52.”

SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—“ Is there any law providing for legal assistance to the Harijans? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Yes, Sir.”

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—“ Sir, may I know whether there were no criminal or civil cases against the Harijans in 1951-52? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ There have been no orders regarding civil cases. As regards the criminal cases, only where the Collector has made a recommendation, the Government have to pass orders. No such occasion arose in 1951-52.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know whether the Hon. Minister means that no cases have been brought to the notice of the Government or that they refused to give aid, although the Government Order says that aid must be given in all reasonable matters? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ There was no occasion to refuse, but there were no cases in which the Government had recommendations from the Collectors which were considered reasonable.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I take it then that there was not even a single case in which a Collector considered there was a reasonable case for giving aid? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ There was no reasonable case which required help.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I draw the attention of the Hon. Minister to the fact that the purpose of the Government Order for giving aid to the Harijans is practically nullified if during the course of a long year, the Government had no occasion to give legal aid to the Harijans? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I may inform the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that the Government give very sympathetic consideration to every request made by the Collector in this regard.”

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—“ In view of the large number of cases in which the Harijans are unnecessarily involved, will the Government consider the desirability of entrusting such cases to the Public Prosecutors and Assistant Public Prosecutors? ”

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THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ It depends on the recommendation of the Collector of the district.”

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—“ May I know the procedure followed by the Government before such legal assistance is granted? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The procedure is that the Collector makes a recommendation and the Government decide on the request of the Collector.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I ask whether the Government will instruct the Collectors to be liberal in their recommendations? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ They are following the policy of the Government which is liberal.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know the grounds on which the Collector sends his recommendations for legal assistance in such cases? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government have directed that whenever in a criminal case launched against Harijans by Caste Hindus or by others, the District Collector considers that the Harijans are specially deserving of legal aid in the interests of justice, he should report the facts of the case to the Government, setting out the need for legal aid at Government cost and specifying the probable expenditure to be borne by the Government, and if the Government approve of the proposal, the District Collector should arrange for such legal aid being given.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ Is State aid given to hill tribes also? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I want notice.”

SRI MANJAYA SHETTY :—“ Will the Government consider the granting of legal aid to poor people apart from Harijans? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I suppose that in accordance with rule 157 of the Criminal Rules of Practice, there is already a provision for such legal assistance in deserving cases.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—“ The lands of the Harijans are being encroached upon by political sufferers in West Godavari and other districts. Has it come to the notice of the Government and is help being given to the Harijans to defend themselves against these political sufferers? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ In regard to civil cases, no orders have been passed by the Government.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know whether the Government will call for information in how many cases the Harijans applied for legal aid from the State? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The Government will consider the suggestion.”

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Exemption given to the British-owned Commonwealth Trust Factories from certain sections of the Factories Act.

* 47 Q.—SRI K. P. GOPALAN : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state what are the reasons which prompted the Government to issue a Government Order exempting the British-owned Commonwealth Factories of Malabar and South Kanara from clauses 79, 80 and 81 of the Factories Act?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Exemption from sections 79 to 81 of the Factories Act, 1948, was granted to certain factories of the Commonwealth Trust, Limited, as the company sought exemption from these sections. Such exemption is granted to factories on application, provided Government are satisfied that the leave rules applicable to the workers in the factory allow benefits not less favourable than those for which the Act makes provision. The ownership of the factory, British or otherwise, has nothing to do with the exemption. We have, in fact, exempted 146 other factories from the operation of these clauses many of whom are Indian-owned.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know the grounds on which such exemptions were granted? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, according to the Act, 15 days' leave with wages is given to every worker and it is given in three spells of five days, but if the workers go on shorter leave, it is against the spirit of the Act and, therefore, the managements in consultation with workers apply and on the recommendation of our Factory Inspectors, we give exemptions.”

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—“ Are the Government aware that the Commonwealth trust factories in Malabar and South Kanara are British-owned factories to whom liberal concessions are granted regarding export duty and various other taxes so that they can derive more profits? Are the Government also aware that these companies are not giving bonus, sick leave allowances, allowances for auspicious days as well as casual leave with full pay, and that they have reduced the wages of the workers also? Without taking all these things into consideration, on what basis did the Government exempt these British-owned factories in Malabar and South Kanara which are getting huge profits yearly? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, I may submit that the first half of the question now put by the hon. Member is not relevant to this question because it involves dearness allowance and bonus and the capacity of the company to help the workers. As I said, sections 79 to 81 deal with leave with wages and the relaxation of these rules benefits the workers. It is only from that point of view that the Government exempted these companies from the operation of these provisions.”

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Construction of a dam in Vyppar near Mathulapuram.

* 48 Q.—SRI R. S. K. PANDIAN (on behalf of Sri K. T. Kosalaram) : Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received any representation regarding constructing a dam in Vyppar near Mathulapuram, Koilpatti taluk; and

(b) if so, what action the Government have taken over it?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ (a) Yes.

“ (b) A report has been called for from the Chief Engineer (Irrigation) in the matter and he has arranged for the gaugings of the flows in the river for the purpose.”

SRI T. GANAPATHI :—“ May I know whether the Executive Engineer for Food Production has stated that the Vyppar dam is feasible and that it will be very useful to supply water for 17 tanks? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I have no information. I have already told the hon. Member that the Government are awaiting the report of the Chief Engineer (Irrigation).”

Tank Repairs Scheme.

* 49 Q.—SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have issued orders stopping the Tank Repairs Scheme in the State; and

(b) if so, the reason for the same?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ (a) The Government have issued orders that Tank Improvement Works which have been taken up already for execution may be concentrated upon and that no new work need be taken up during the current year under the Tank Improvement Scheme. (b) The Government of India have recently laid down that only schemes fetching a return of not less than 2½ per cent will qualify for a subsidy from them. The Tank Improvement Scheme works will not satisfy the above condition. In view of the ways and means position of the State, new Tank Improvement Works are not to be taken up during the current year in addition to works which are under execution.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“ May I know whether the Hon. Minister is aware that the previous Government have given an assurance that the tanks in the zamindari estates taken over by the Government will be repaired and will the present Government fulfil the promise and assurance given by the previous Government? ”

8-45
a.m.

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I am sorry to say that I am not aware of the promise. But, I may inform the hon. Member that this Government will consider the suggestion that the hon. Member has made.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ In view of the answer given by the Hon. Minister, may I know what will be the fate of the lands which are mainly dependent on these tanks for their irrigation? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Sir, the fate is always there. But such tanks that get improvement under the revised scheme will have the benefit this year and some will have benefit next year.”

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—“ Considering the fact that some of these tanks were considered economical centuries ago, will it not be economical, at least to have these tanks repaired? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Sir, that aspect will also be considered.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—“ When these tanks require repairs, is it not the duty of the Government to repair these tanks? Otherwise, the Government should stop collecting kist and cess in respect of the lands served by these tanks which require repairs? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I am aware of the duty. But, the duty is circumscribed by other conditions that have taken place during this current financial year.”

SRI N. MAHALINGAM :—“ In view of the fact that very few schemes will give a return of 2½ per cent, will the Government take up the matter with the Central Government and see that the orders are revised so that the schemes with lower return may be taken up? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ The matter will certainly be taken up with the Government of India.”

SRI V. K. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ Will the Government consider the desirability of repairing the zamindari tanks at least, as they have been in a bad state of repair all these years? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ The desirability of repairing the tanks that have been taken over by the Government will also be considered.”

SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI :—“ At present, whatever little rain we get is wasted as these tanks are not kept in good condition. Will the Government consider it their primary duty to have these tanks repaired and kept in good condition, so that the rain water that we may get in future may not be wasted? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Yes, Sir. Everybody is aware that when a tank is not in a good condition, the water will get out of it. Whatever tanks can be repaired will be repaired in due course. All tanks cannot

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be repaired all at once. Consistent with the finances of the State, the Government will always take steps to improve the tanks.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“ Cannot this Government rescind the orders issued for the stopping of repairs to these tanks in view of the fact that there has been a continual drought for the last four or five years? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I do not quite understand the hon. Member. If I understand him aright, if the order is rescinded, even the few tanks that are taken up now, will not have repairs.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ My question was not properly answered, Sir. There are certain lands and fields which solely depend on these tanks for their irrigation. If the Government do not take proper steps to get these tanks repaired, what will be the fate of these fields? Especially when the policy of the Government is to grow more food, is it not necessary that the Government should give proper aid, by repairing these tanks and making available more water for irrigation? That is my question, Sir? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ If the hon. Member kindly brings to my notice any specific and urgent cases, the matter will be separately considered.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“ In view of the fact that the district of Ramanathapuram has not got sufficient irrigation facilities and in view of the fact that in certain of the zamindari estates taken over by the Government the repair work taken up already has been stopped consequent on the recent communication from the Government, may I know whether the Government will consider that district as a special case and take up more tanks for repair work? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I think the district of Ramanathapuram is one of the districts included in the Madras State.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know whether this Government are prepared to take up the repairs of tanks which were sanctioned by the previous Cabinet? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Yes, Sir, subject to the condition that I have referred to already, the repair works will be taken up as and when feasible.”

SRI MANJAYA SHETTY :—“ Will the Government consider the desirability of making an exception in regard to the South Kanara district? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I am always fond of South Kanara district and I will consider the hon. Member's suggestion.”

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Exemption of Brookbond Tea Company, from the operation of Shops and Establishments Act.

* 50 Q.—SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Brookbond Tea Co., is excluded from the operation of Shops and Establishments Act and, if so, from which year onwards and the reasons therefor; and

(b) whether the Government have excluded any other company from the operation of this Act?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“(a) No, Sir. However, the salesmen and van-men of the company are deemed to be excluded from the Act by virtue of section 4 (1) (b) of the Madras Shops and Establishments Act.

“(b) No, Sir.”

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—“May I know under what provisions of the Act this has been done?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“Let the hon. Member go through the various provisions of the Act and find it out.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—With great respect to the Chair, what I would like to submit is this. We ask about the provisions in order to put another question. So”

MR. SPEAKER:—“There will be no end if I allow such questions. So I am not going to allow such questions.”

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—“In view of the fact that many establishments have automatically exempted themselves from the provisions of the Act, may I know whether the Government will consider the question of dismissing all the Factory Inspectors who have been appointed to see that this Act is implemented?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“I said no company has been exempted from the operation of this Act except according to section 4 (1) (b). Therefore the necessity for these Factory Inspectors still continues.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“May I know whether the Government will consider the question of amending this section 4 (1) (b) to the advantage of the shop assistants?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“Notice, Sir.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—“Is it not desirable that these van-men, salesmen and other categories mentioned by the Hon. Minister are also made to get the same privilege as other people under the Act?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“I have nothing more to add to what I have already said.”

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SRI K. P. GOPALAN:—“The Government are now granting these concessions to the European-owned companies. May I ask whether this is the way of encouraging our swadeshi industries in the country and helping the poor workers?”

MR. SPEAKER:—“We are now in question No. 50.”

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

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

MR. SPEAKER:—“The House will now pass on to the next item on the agenda, viz., General Discussion on the Budget. Hon. Members may be aware that I have fixed a time-limit of 20 minutes. Sri V. R. Nagarajan will now speak.”

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, while dealing with the Budget, I have to state at the outset that it is quite a matter of fact one and there is no speciality or glamour about it. It is a simple budget and a greater part of it deals with fresh taxes. In its overall accounting, it discloses a total deficit of Rs. 359 lakhs, a sum which has not accumulated all on a sudden this year, but which has been the legacy of the past few years. We are given to understand that it has slowly risen from Rs. 129 lakhs to Rs. 329 lakhs last year and that it has now come to this stage. Whatever may be the reasons as to why it rose up, to think of making it up by fresh taxation is not quite welcome to the generality of the people. That is how I put it. It may not be the opinion of my party and much less the opinion of the United Democratic Front. But, still, speaking on my own behalf, I would submit that it would be better if we could avoid these fresh taxes. Firstly, there is surcharge on bus passengers. If at all there will be any vehement opposition to any taxation proposals made herein, it will be to this particular tax. Because, the bus passengers, especially in the mufassal are having a very hard time in having to travel under very bad conditions in buses. Everybody knows that bus travel is much worse than travel in a third class railway compartment.

“With all the overcrowding, baggages being thrown over here 9 a.m. and there, thrown over the heads at times, I need not here dilate on the difficulties the bus passengers are put to. Even if we are not able to add to their amenities, let us see to it that we do not add to their worries and sufferings. I submit that this surcharge on bus fare may not be welcomed by many sections in this House. There are certain practical difficulties in the matter of collection of this tax. This has been pointed out by many leading newspapers of the city. The operators of buses in the mufassal are not directly under the control of Government as the bus transport in the city is. In the case of the Government Transport, for any commission or omission, the Government can take immediate action but in the case of the private operators, it will not be possible. Further the private operators might find it difficult to maintain separate accounts in the matter of collection of the surcharge. We do not

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also know how the conductors would conduct themselves in the matter of actual collection of fares from the passengers. Sometimes they might take more money from the people. This is a tax which is to be borne by the poor passengers and if they are to be further mulcted by way of rounding off of the pies, they will be put to lot of difficulties. I referred to this when I was speaking on the Confidence Resolution. The bus operators and conductors may round off the pies just as the railways are now doing. We know that the railways are now getting a large amount of unearned income by this rounding off process. The passenger is asked to pay the next higher anna if there is a fraction of a few pies in the fare. This may happen to be the case in the collection of the bus fare also. This is an important consideration that the Government should take into account.

" Sir, coming to the levy of surcharge on land revenue it is a quite understandable form of taxation. While I do not object to the levy, I would submit to the Government that the minimum fixed may be raised to Rs. 100 or Rs. 150. The minimum now fixed I presume takes into account a landlord owning five acres of wet land. He may not be considered to be better off in these days of acute economic conditions, especially if the holding is held by a Joint Hindu Family. We should not think about the problem merely with reference to the present day high prices of the commodities. The prices may go down very rapidly and that too very soon. But we are going to levy the surcharge, I presume, not only for the present year but continue it in the future years also. Having regard to the likelihood of the prices falling down, it may work as a great hardship on small proprietors of land. Therefore I submit the minimum must be raised to Rs. 100 or Rs. 150. The rate of surcharge may also be considered to be high by some people. I submit the rate of surcharge might also be reduced with reference to the paying capacity of the people. (At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

" Regarding the betterment levy and increased sales tax on petrol and the fees proposed to be levied on foreign liquors no one could possibly take objection and I therefore do not object to them. They are persons well able to bear the incidence. Only we must take care to see that the poor men are not hit by these taxes.

" The Government propose to make up the deficit of Rs. 359 lakhs by the imposition of these additional taxes which would bring in a revenue of Rs. 270 lakhs, the remaining deficit being met from savings on account of retrenchment in the Civil Supplies Department. It is hoped that now that the food control has been lifted, consequent retrenchment in the Civil Supplies Department would bring in about rupees one crore. Ultimate deficit if any is proposed to be met from the Revenue Reserve Fund. These measures are understandable and nobody need take serious objection to these proposals. But apart from these, one has to consider whether the budget deficit could not be made up in other ways than by having recourse to new taxes. Let us take the expenditure on administration. In this country we are having a very costly

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administrative set-up under the Government of India and the State Governments. We have a top-heavy administration. This has been repeatedly stated by men big and small. I am afraid we have reached a stage when we must think of reducing expenditure on this top-heavy administration. This need not be done by effecting retrenchments all of a sudden which would displace men who have put in a lot of service. What I am suggesting is that we should reduce the expenditure we are now incurring in the matter of paying fabulous salaries to high officials. We must effect some cut in the salaries of the topmost officials such as heads of departments, the Governor's household and other Gazetted officers. If we are able to cut down the salaries and allowances of officers getting Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 4,000 as a permanent measure, we will be able to make up the deficits that we are constantly facing in our Budgets. In this connexion, I submit it will not be of any help to us to cut down the allowances and salaries of the low-paid officials. They are as useful in the proper administration of the State as the high paid officials. Instead of effecting some saving in the amounts paid to them, it would be better and feasible to effect some cuts in the salaries of the higher cadre of officials. The sooner we did it, the better it would be for the country's economy.)

" Sir, criticism of the Budget is limited by several factors disclosed in the Budget. For example, the Government had to face the horrible famine that raised its head in the districts of Rayalseema. We are told that the Government grappled with it in a successful way. Thanks to the timely rains that we had recently, that problem is now more or less out of the picture in any serious form. The Hon. the Finance Minister disclosed that a sum of Rs. 6 crores was set apart for famine relief measures. Secondly, the yield from sales tax is going down due to the fall in wholesale commodity prices and the slump in trade consequent on the peace proposals in the Korean War. It appears the original Budget was framed in March last on the expectation of a receipt of Rs. 1,600 lakhs under this head. Now it is expected that only Rs. 1,450 lakhs could be realized from this source leaving a deficit of Rs. 150 lakhs. This is an important factor which has to be taken into account in criticising the Budget proposals. There is also some relief given to the handloom weavers. In referring to the problem of the handloom weavers, I, like other hon. Members of the House, would like to draw the pointed attention of the Government to the need for giving every relief possible to these men, because they are a section of the community which comes next only to the landed peasantry in the State. Agriculture is the first and foremost industry of the land and weaving comes next. This industry gives occupation to thousands and thousands of families in all parts of India and especially in South India. They are doing yeoman service to the people in that they providing one of the most important needs of the people, namely, clothing. The South Indian silk saris are famous and I do not think any mill equipped with the most up-to-date plants will be able to compete with the handloom weaver in this respect. The handloom weavers of South India hold the monopoly for the production of silk saris. We

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therefore welcome the relief provided already by the Government for these handloom weavers. However I make a special request to Government that they should be given more help, something more than what is thought of in the Budget proposals.

"The next subject that attracts the attention of the general public is the problem of the Non-Gazetted Officers. It is not that we are taking up this problem gratuitously or simply to please the Non-Gazetted Officers outside to enable them to say that so and so Member has also been taking some interest on their behalf; it is not with that view at all that I am pleading their cause. They are a section of the public who are really suffering on account of the huge rise in prices as a consequence of the last war, prices which have not yet settled down at a particular level, which have risen up to 400 or 500 per cent over the normal prices before the war. After all, the allowances that we are giving them may not meet even a fraction of the extra cost they have to incur on account of the rise in prices. I therefore submit that giving of educational concessions and medical facilities may not satisfy them. It may be said that there is no limit to human desires. We cannot say the more we give, the more will be asked for, but we will have to see for ourselves whether we have done enough and whether we have gone to the extent where any reasonable man would take it into his head to say 'We need not spend any more'. I say we have not afforded relief to the Non-Gazetted Officers to the extent we should and I would request the Government to attend to their needs, though not urgently, at least in the near future and afford certain other kinds of relief, either by way of increase in pay or allowances. They have time enough to do all this. The concessions given by them to the Non-Gazetted Officers in the matter of education may be a blessing to most of the Non-Gazetted Officer families. As I said on a previous occasion in this House, these are not the be-all and end-all—that we expected from the Government. The Non-Gazetted Officers are fondly hoping for some increase in their pay and allowances and I hope the Government will do their best in the matter.

"There is one feature which has to be noted in the Budget proposals. Mention has been made about the Community Development Projects. We are told that we are going to have six projects located in six centres of the State. Probably because they cost much and require technical and scientific personnel, it has been possible to take up only six centres. But we would wish that such projects are extended to a greater number of districts than it has been possible. Almost all the districts are in need of all-round improvement, especially in their rural parts. We have now reached a stage when, Sir, I think much of ruralization will have to take place and much of urbanization will have to cease, because it has often been complained against the dwellers of towns and cities and also against the powers that be that after taking enormous revenues from the village people all over, the villagers are not given enough for their own enjoyment and that their primary interests are not cared for by the Government. I would submit that instead

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of going on adorning and embellishing towns and cities more and more at the expense of the villagers, we should care more for the commoner, think more of the commoner in the village who always complains that there are no good roads in the village, there is no proper lighting, there is no drinking water, there are no schools where to he could send his children and so on. In this respect, I would like to submit that even though the district boards are supposed to be functioning—I am myself a member of a District Board—I know how they are implementing the scheme of education in village parts. Taking South Arcot, for instance, Sir, where from I come, I often find in the agenda placed before us at the monthly meetings, mention of more schools being closed than opened, either because there are not enough number of teachers who are willing to teach the boys in the proper manner or because, in some cases, of the fault of the parents in not being able to send their children to schools. Under the conditions that are prevailing in the villages, there are many parents who do not like schooling for their children because a boy or a girl of 10 years or more would be more useful to them for taking the cattle for grazing or for irrigating the fields. It is that way the mind of the villager works. But I do not mean to say that it is correct or that I acquiesce in that attitude. On the other hand, we must be able to introduce systematic improvements in villages and provide for the villagers primary and free education—compulsory education, if possible, in the near future."

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

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—"Sir, I was speaking about the community projects and in that regard, I would submit that at least in the second scheme when it comes to fructify, the district of South Arcot must be included because the conditions there are appalling. The people of South Arcot are living in abject misery and I do not mean to say that their condition is as bad as that of the people of Rayalaseema. Anyway, their condition is not very much better than those in the most drought-affected areas of our State. There has been no rain in this district for the last four years, though it is a district in the Coramandel coast where one would expect constant rains or at any rate rains during the winter months. There has been failure of rains and I request that this district might be included in the second scheme of development of Community Projects.

"I am thankful to the Hon. the Speaker for giving me so much time to speak. I would request the Government, particularly the Hon. the Minister for Finance to see that as far as possible the taxation proposals are either modified or given up. I request the Government that the limits I have indicated (and possibly others also might indicate hereafter) in the matter of surcharge on land revenue may be borne in mind, and as regards the surcharge on bus fares, the proposal might be totally given up."

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* SRI A. APPU :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, I rise to support the Budget. While doing so, I have to bring to the notice of the Government certain facts for their sympathetic consideration. I have been returned from a peculiar constituency called Chevayur. Apart from the number of villages on the mainland, there are two groups of islands called the Laccadives and the Amindivi which constitute my constituency. The settlers in these islands are all Muslims. They are treated as scheduled tribes. They have protested against the inclusion of this island in a constituency on the mainland. These islands are about 150 to 450 miles away from the main land and as a candidate for election, I could not go to the islands for electioneering work. I could not also send agents. With very great difficulty I could get only one agent to whom I had to pay Rs. 500, so that he could remain in one of the islands for one full month. There was no communication at all. The Government were pleased to allow agents to travel in a steamer chartered by the Government for taking election officials, but that steamer could not be made use of by my agent since it did not come in time. There are 10,000 voters in the islands. As a protest against the inclusion of these islands in a constituency on the mainland only 20 per cent of them voted in the election. To my great surprise, though the Muslim League and communist agents were working for months on the islands, I got the majority of votes there, nearly 1,000. Sir, these islanders have been suffering for a long time for want of proper communication to the islands. They have no educational or medical facilities. They have submitted a large number of petitions to the Government for the redress of their grievances. The previous Government were pleased to depute a senior officer of the Indian Civil Service who was Collector of Malabar for a long time, to these islands to find out the possibilities of developing them. A few days ago, the Hon. the Minister in charge of Rural Welfare was pleased to say that this Special Officer had submitted his report in March last and that this report had been referred to the Board of Revenue which had not submitted its remarks so far. Sir, the development of the islands is very urgent and I request that the Government may be pleased to direct the Board of Revenue to submit its report at the earliest opportunity. For four months in the year—from May to September—there is no communication at all to the islands. The islands are cut off during this period from the mainland altogether. So, I would request that the Government may be pleased to allot a big amount for development work in these islands.

“ Next, I have to say something about the Food policy of the Government. Ours is a highly deficit district. We do not even produce one-fifth of our requirements. The food has to come from other places. We did not ask for the procurement system to be abolished altogether. We submitted a representation to the Government to introduce the levy system in the district. But to our great satisfaction, the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to decontrol food grains and also continue informal rationing in the district. There were a number of meetings in the whole district to congratulate the Chief Minister on his generous action and resolutions were

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passed congratulating him and prayers were offered for his long life and prosperity. Of course, the ryots appreciate decontrol of food grains very much, but they want informal rationing to be continued. Unless this is continued, there will be real disaster in the district. We are glad that a heavy stock has been rushed to the district and the present stock will suffice for at least eight months. I got a letter from a friend of mine from Kozhikode yesterday saying that in the beginning the price of rice in the open market showed a downward trend but now it is gradually rising. This has to be checked. The people of Malabar want their rations to be increased by an ounce at least. I submit that in Malabar, June, July and August are lean months. During normal times also, the prices shoot up. I hope everything will adjust itself satisfactorily from the beginning of the next harvest which will be in September.

“ I want to make another submission also in this connexion. Formerly we were getting rice from places like Tanjore, Kakinada, Tadepalligudem and Tiruchirappalli. Our zone now consists of Malabar and the Nilgiris. Both these districts are highly deficit. We have to depend upon rice which will be imported hereafter from outside this State or from abroad. I submit that at least for the present some arrangements may be made to get rice from Tanjore, Tiruchirappalli, Kakinada and other rice-producing areas in the State. I hope the Hon. the Minister for Food and the Hon. the Chief Minister will consider this request.

“ Next I would come to the villages on the mainland. The constituency I represent, touches the Kozhikode town. There is no proper development of communications here also. There are a number of small rivers which have no bridges at all. As my hon. Friend, Mr. V. K. Palaniswami Goundar pointed out the other day, the Highways Department is not doing its work properly. The roads were good in the district before the Highways Department was formed. Now the condition of roads is very bad. I will give a concrete instance. In my constituency, ever since the Congress Government was formed, people were agitating for village roads. There is a village by name Makkade and the people of that village formed a Road Committee, collected money and acquired land for the formation of a village road; they submitted representations to the Government, the Collector and the District Board. After four years, the District Board agreed to take up the road for its maintenance and requested the Highways Department to submit an estimate for sanction. The Divisional Engineer of the Highways Department prepared an estimate for Rs. 46,000 and sent it to the Superintending Engineer. The Superintending Engineer did not approve of that estimate and returned it to the Divisional Engineer in March 1951. Although more than a year has elapsed since, nothing has been done to revise the estimate. This is the way how village roads are attended to. I would therefore request the Government that they may be pleased to pay better attention for the formation of village roads in the districts.

9-30
a.m.

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"Then, Sir, the Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1951, is a wonderful Act which neither the janmis nor the tenants welcomed. But the care-taker Government appointed a huge staff consisting of one officer of the Collector's grade, 12 Deputy Collectors, 47 Tahsildars, 2 Deputy Tahsildars, hundreds of Revenue Inspectors and about 800 karnams to enforce the Act. A tenant who was previously paying about Rs. 7-8-0 as rent to the jenmi, has now to pay about Rs. 170. A member of the well-known Rajah's family who is an M.L.A.—Sri Sankara Varma—was telling me that under the Act the tenants have to pay 10 to 15 times the previous rent. They collect very low rents from the tenants; they sympathize with the lot of the tenants and they do not collect high rents from the tenants. They are paying about Rs. 1,30,000 assessment annually to the Government. I would therefore request the Government to take up the work of amending the Act as early as possible. Representations have been made by the janmis, the tenants and the Bar Association of Calicut about the necessity of amending this Act and we understand that the matter is under the active consideration of the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Hon. the Minister for Law. In fact I got a D.O. letter from the Hon. the Minister for Law asking me and a few other Congress Members from Malabar to meet the Hon. Chief Minister one of these days. We are studying the question carefully and we will make our representations to the Hon. the Chief Minister when we meet him. The people of Malabar feel that so long as the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari is the head of the State, he will sympathetically consider the representations of the people and he will be able to solve this complicated question by bringing in an amendment to the present Act which will be acceptable both to the jenmis and the tenants.

"Then, Sir, I would like to say a few words about the surcharge on land revenue. My hon. Friend from the other side Mr. Narayana Kurup made a beautiful speech the other day. He was a very good Congressman, but owing to certain unforeseen circumstances, he had to change his party. He is a sincere worker. Though we belong to different political parties, I have great respect and admiration for him. He represented facts correctly. There was not a word of exaggeration in what all he said and I entirely agree with the statement he made. I do not propose to repeat what all he said. But I would say that if the Bill is passed as it is, it will be a great hardship to the tenants. According to the Bill, the surcharge has to be paid by the landholder. But in actual practice, in Malabar the landholder does not pay the assessment in all cases. According to the contracts entered into between the jenmis and the tenants, the tenants have to pay the assessment and even the proposed surcharge will have to be paid by them. So, this will not be a tax on the rich janmis, but will be a tax on the poor tenants. Therefore I would request the Government that they may be pleased to take this factor into consideration, and refer this Bill to a Committee consisting of experts and an experienced officer who has worked in Malabar for a long time and who knows the village accounts. The people are now feeling that if the Bill is passed into Law, it will give a handle to the village karnams to take to

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corrupt practices. I would therefore submit that instead of collecting different rates from different persons, a uniform rate may be fixed. This can be easily done. The Government expect only Rs. 75 lakhs by this surcharge on land revenue. They know the total land revenue demand. On a rough calculation made by me, it comes to about Re. 0-2-0 in the rupee. Hence I would respectfully submit that the Government may please consider my humble suggestion before the Bill is passed into Law.

"We in Malabar are very anxious about the Malampuzha project. We had information that for want of sufficient funds, the work had to be slowed down. But we are very greatly pleased to find that a provision of Rs. 1.0 crore has been made in the budget for pushing through this scheme. I submit that the project may be completed as early as possible, so that it can bring a large tract under cultivation, for which canals, etc., have already been dug. The Hon. Minister for Prohibition, Mr. V. C. Palanisami Goundar, was pleased to visit the place recently. The people were surprised that the Minister for Prohibition was inspecting the irrigation project. I told them that the Hon. Sri V. C. Palanisami Goundar is a big landholder and he knows irrigation well. I am glad to hear that he has made a proper representation to the Government.

"In regard to Prohibition, I would like to say a few words: I am for Prohibition. But I submit Prohibition is not satisfactorily enforced in our district. Those who want toddy, arrack, brandy or whisky, can get any quantity in our district. From the adjoining Travancore-Cochin State and French Settlement of Mahe people bring a large quantity of liquor into our district. I therefore request that proper steps may be taken to enforce Prohibition. I know the Hon. Minister for Prohibition takes keen interest and we were members of Taluk and District Prohibition Committees in Coimbatore; I hope the Hon. Minister will visit Malabar one of these days and study how Prohibition is enforced there and devise more effective measures.

"In regard to the plight of N.G.Os. also, I have to say a few words. I was myself an N.G.O. and retired as a Gazetted Officer. I know the difficulties of N.G.Os. Even during normal times when there was no famine and when the prices were low and when we could get 30 measures of paddy per rupee, the N.G.Os. were in difficulties—I was in the Collector's office, Malabar, for a number of years and all the N.G.Os. including myself were always indebted to the Public Servants' Co-operative Society. But now, Sir, when the prices have gone up by 5 or 6 times, they are given only a small percentage as dearness allowance. They are suffering very much and I know how a lower division clerk is getting on with the pay he is getting, especially one who has a number of children. The educational concession that has been given by the present Government should go a long way to help them. It is a great boon and is very much appreciated by the N.G.Os. But they want the present Government to take into consideration the prevailing prices also."

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

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SRI A. APPU :—“ Finally, Sir, I congratulate the Hon. the Minister for Finance on his excellent budget speech. This is the first time I hear a budget speech. It is couched in beautiful English and is understandable to everyone. It is also interesting.”

* SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“ மிஸ்டர் ஸ்பீக்கர் ஸார், தற்போது சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பட்ஜெட் கிராமங்களில் வசிக்கக் கூடிய விவசாயிகளையும் கீழ்தர, மத்தியதர, வகுப்பினரையும் மிகவும் பாதிக்கும்படியாக இருக்கிறது. நிலவரி மீது சர்சார்ஜ் ஆகவும், நிலங்கள் மீது அபிவிருத்தி தீர்வையாகவும் பஸ் ஊட்டணத்தில் சர்சார்ஜாகவும் பலவிதமான வரிகள் போடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.

“ நிலவரி மீது போடப்பட்டிருக்கும் வரிவைப் பொறுத்த மட்டில் ரூபாய் நூற்றுக்குக் குறைவாய் வா செலுத்தும் விவசாயிகளை மேலும் வரி செலுத்தும்படி சொல்லுவது சரியல்ல என்பது என் கருத்து. ரூ. 100 க்குக் குறைவாய் வரி செலுத்தும் விவசாயிகள் தான் சாதாரணமாக கிராமத்திலே நேடியாகக் கலப்பை பிடித்து விவசாயம் செய்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் தான் உண்மையிலேயே உணவு உற்பத்தியை பெருக்குபவர்கள். அவர்கள் தான் நிலத்தைக் குத்தகைக்கோ, வாரதிறக்கோ, வேறு எந்த முறையிலும் விட்டு விடாமல் தாங்களே விவசாயம் செய்துகொள்ளுபவர்கள். 100 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் வரி செலுத்துபவர்கள் பெரும்பாலும் நிலத்தை குத்தகை, வாரம், கந்தாயம் இம்மாதிரியாக விட்டு விட்டு, சுகமாக வாழக்கூடியவர்கள். நூறு ரூபாய்க்கு குறைவாய் வரி செலுத்தும் விவசாயிகள், அவர்களுக்கு கிடைக்கும் குறைந்த ஆதாயத்தில் இன்றிருக்கும் சூழ்நிலையில் மேன்மேலும் வரிகொடுக்கும் நிலையில் இல்லை. ஆகவே 100 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் நிலவரி செலுத்துபவர்களை மீட்டிவிடுவது இந்தத் தொகையையும் சேர்த்து அதிகமாக வாங்க முடியும், 10-லிருந்து 200 வரை வரி செலுத்துபவர்களுக்கு ஒரு விதிமுறை, இன்னும் 500க்கு மேல் நிலவரி செலுத்துபவர்களுக்கு மட்டவகுப்போடாகக் கூட அவர்கள் கொடுக்கக் கூடிய நிலையில் உள்ளார்கள். யுத்தத்திற்குப் பின்னால் பொருள்கள் விலையெல்லாம் ஏறிப்பதனால் லாபம் அடைந்திருக்கக் கூடியவர்கள் அவர்கள் தான். ஆகையால், 100 ரூபாய்க்குக் குறைவாக நிலவரி செலுத்துபவர்களை எந்தக் காரணத்தைக் கொண்டும் வரி செலுத்துமபடி செய்கக்கூடாது. அவர்களுக்கு இன்னும் சலுகைகள் கொடுக்கவேண்டாமே தவிர வரிபோடக்கூடாது. உணவு உற்பத்தியை பெருக்கக் கூடியவர்கள் அவர்கள். நிலத்தில் உண்மையாகத் தாங்களே பாடுபடக் கூடியவர்களும் அவர்கள்தான். ஆகையால் அவர்கள் மீது வரி போடுமீண்டும் வரி போடுவது உசிதமாகக் காரியமா என்று யோசிக்கவேண்டும்.

“ அபிவிருத்தி வரியைப்பற்றி சொல்லும்போது, 20 வருஷங்களிலே அதை வசூல் செய்ய வெண்டுமென்று சர்க்கார் முடிவு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். அபிவிருத்தியை பொறுத்த வரையில், இன்று அபிவிருத்தி செய்யப்படும் நிலங்களுக்கு அபிவிருத்தி வரி போடுவதினால் தவறு இல்லை. எந்த அளவுக்கு போடுவது, எந்தெந்த தரப்பார்களுக்குப் போடுவது என்பதைப் பற்றித் தான் அதிகக் கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும்.

“ கீழ் பவானி திட்டத்தின் கீழ் 2,10,000 ஏக்கர் புதிய நிலங்கள் சாகுபடிக்கு வருகிறது. அந்தப் பிரதேசங்களிலிருக்கக்கூடிய மக்கள் ஏழைகளாகவும், பணக்காரர்களாகவும் இருந்தாலும் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ஏக்கர்கள் படைத்தவர்களும் இருக்கிறார்கள். அபிவிருத்தி வரி போட்டால் யார் கொடுக்கக்கூடிய நிலையில் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை சிந்தனை செய்து பார்க்கவேண்டும். 1953-ம் வருஷத்திலிருந்து இன்றைய வரை அபிவிருத்தியடைந்த நிலங்களுக்கு வா.போடுவதைப்பற்றி ஆட்சேபணை இல்லை. புதிதாக அபிவிருத்தி அடைந்த நிலங்களின் மீது வரி போடும் போது நிச்சயமாக ஜக்கிரதையாகப் போடவேண்டும்.

“ வாய்க்காலில் தண்ணீர் வந்தாலும்கூட, அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு மூலதனம் இல்லை, வட்டிக்குப் பணம் கேட்டாலும் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைப்பதில்லை, பாங்குகளும் அவர்களுக்குக் கொடுப்பதில்லை, அந்தப் புதிய வாய்க்கால்களில் தண்ணீர் வந்து விட்டால், எப்படி நிலத்தை சீர்திருத்துவது,

[7th July 1952] [Sri K. R. Nallasivam]

எப்படி வருமானம் எடுப்பது என்று யோசித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள், இரண்டொரு ஏக்கர்கள் உள்ள சிறிய விவசாயிகள். 10 ஏக்கர் நிலம் வைத்திருக்கும் ஒரு விவசாயி குறைந்தபட்சம் 8 ஏக்கர்களையாவது விற்குதான் தான் நிலத்தை சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டு வரமுடியும். எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் மாதிரம் அல்ல. இன்னும் பல இடங்களில் இம்மாதிரி இருக்கிறது.

“ நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்வது என்னவென்றால், புதிதாக சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் நிலங்களுக்கு குறைந்த பட்சம் 2 வருஷங்களுக்கு காவது அபிவிருத்தி வரி போடாமல் இருக்கவேண்டும். மீதமுள்ள நிலங்களுக்கு அபிவிருத்தி வரி போடுவதைப்பற்றி ஆட்சேபணை இல்லை.

“ அடுத்தபடியாக பஸ் சார்ஜ் உயர்வைப்பற்றி எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், அது நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஆயிரக்கணக்கான சாதாரண மக்களையும், ஏழை விவசாயிகளையும் குமஸ்தாக்களையும் தான் மிகவும் பாதிக்கின்றது, அதை அடியோடு நீக்கவேண்டுமென்பதுதான் எங்களுடைய கோரிக்கை. இதனால் பாதிக்கப்படுகிறவர்கள் கிராமங்களில் உள்ளவர்கள்தான். பணக்காரர்களும் நிலச்சுவான்தாரர்களும் பஸ்வரில் பிரயாணம் செய்வதில்லை. ஆகையால் சாதாரண மக்கள் மீது போடும் இந்த வரியை நிச்சயமாக எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ நம்மகாணத்தை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், விவசாயத்துறையில் புதிய பிரச்சனை முளைத்திருக்கிறது. அதைப்பற்றி அரசாங்கத்திடம் விவசாயிகள் தூது சென்றிருக்கிறார்கள். பழைய வாய்க்கால்களில் என்ஜின்கள் வைக்காமல் இருக்கவேண்டும், அப்படி இன்ஜின்களை வைப்பதால் 100 ஏக்கருக்கு பாய்ந்த பிறகு, தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் போய் விடுகிறது. இது விஷயமாக ஏராளமான விவசாயிகள் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு விண்ணப்பம் செய்திருக்கின்றார்கள், அதில் ஓரளவு நியாயம் இருக்கிறது. இது விஷயமாய் அரசாங்கம் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கோயமுத்தூர் ஜில்லாவில் காலிங்கராயன் வாய்க்கால் என்று ஒரு வாய்க்கால் இருக்கிறது. திருச்சி ஜில்லாவில் புகலூர் வாய்க்கால் இருக்கிறது. சேலம் ஜில்லாவில் ராஜா வாய்க்கால் என்று இருக்கிறது. இது போன்ற பழைய வாய்க்கால்களைப் புதிய முறையில் திருத்தி அமைக்கும் வரை என்ஜின்கள் வைப்பதற்கு பெர்மிட்கொடுக்கக்கூடாது. புதிய இன்ஜினீர்ஸ் முறையில் திருத்தியமைக்கப்பட்ட பிறகு இந்த வாய்க்கால்களில் ஒவ்வொன்றிலும் குறைந்தபட்சம் 5 ஆயிரம் ஏக்கர் வரையில் அதிக பாசனம் செய்யக்கூடிய வகையில் இருக்கும். பழைய முறையில் வெட்டப்பட்ட வாய்க்காலுக்கும் புதிய இன்ஜினீர்ஸ் முறையில் வெட்டப்பட்ட வாய்க்கால்களுக்கும் வித்தியாசம் ரொம்ப இருக்கிறது. உடனடியாக ஷே வாய்க்கால்களையும் மற்றும் இது போன்ற கால்வாய்களையும் உடனடியாகத் திருத்தியமைப்பதன் மூலம் கீழே இருப்பவர்களுக்கும் மேலே இருப்பவர்களுக்கும் சிரமம் இல்லாமல் செய்ய வேண்டும்.

“ புகலூர் வாய்க்கால் 7 ஆயிரம் ஏக்கருக்கு பாய்கிறது. கீழே இருக்கக் கூடிய நிலங்களுக்குத் தண்ணீர் பாய்வதில்லை. மேலேயுள்ள மிராசதாரர்கள் அரசாங்கத்தினிடம் சென்று, எங்களுடைய 5, 10 ஏக்கரில் கபிலை ஏற்றத்தில் இறைப்பதற்குப் பதில் இன்ஜின் வைத்து பயிரிடுகிறோம். அதனால் அரசாங்கத்திற்கு என்ன நஷ்டம் என்று கேட்டு பெர்மிட் வாங்கிகொள்ளுகிறார்கள். இதில் கஷ்டம் என்னவென்றால், 5 ஏக்கருக்குப் பெர்மிட் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு 50 ஏக்கருக்குப் பாய்ச்சுவதற்கு அவர்கள் தயங்குவதில்லை. அரசாங்கம் எந்த நடவடிக்கையும் எடுக்கவில்லை. அவர்களிடமிருந்து 2 3, 10-க்கு நீர்க்கூலி வசூல் செய்வதோடு நின்றுவிடுகிறது. கீழேயுள்ள 2, 3, ஏக்கருள்ள விவசாயிகள் அதனால் பாதிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். அந்த வாய்க்கால்களைப் புதுப்பித்து, புதிய இன்ஜினீர்ஸ் முறைப்படி வெட்டி, 500 ஏக்கர் வரையில் பாயக்கூடிய முறையில் செய்யவேண்டும். விவசாய அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு இது புதிய வழியாகும். வாய்க்கால்கள் பழைய முறையில் இருப்பதனால், இன்று பாசன வசதியில்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. இதைத்தான் சர்க்கார் கவனிக்க வேண்டும்.

[Sri K. R. Nallasivam]

[7th July 1952]

“ஆயிரக் கணக்கான வாய்க்கால்கள் பழைய முறையிலேயே இருப்பதால் ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ஏக்கரா நிலங்கள் தண்ணீர் பாசனம் இல்லாமல் சும்மா விக்கின்றன. இதை சர்க்கார் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக சிலர் சொன்னார்கள் கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து அநேகம் விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றுகிறார்கள் என்று. அநேகமாக தமிழ் நாட்டில் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் இப்பொழுது விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றும் காரியம் நடந்து கொண்டு வருகிறது. அதற்குப் பல காரணங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. முதலாவது காரணம் என்னவென்றால், இப்பொழுது வந்திருக்கும் காலகிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் நிலச் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப்போகிறார்கள் என்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டு தங்களையே நிலத்திற்கு ஏதாவதும் வந்துவிடும் என்று பயந்துகொண்டு அநேகம் மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை விற்றுக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அத்துடன் அவர்களையே நிலங்களில் வெள்ளமையும் விவசாயிகளையும் வெளியேற்றி வருகிறார்கள். இது ஒரு முக்கியமான காரணம். இதை மாதிரியான முக்கிய காரணத்தால் அநேகம் விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்படுகிறார்கள். எனக்குத் தெரியும் எங்கள் தாலுகாவில் பெரிய மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை இப்பொழுது விற்றுக்கொண்டிருப்பது. இன்னும் பெரிய பெரிய மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை எவ்வளவுக்குக் கேட்டாலும் கொடுக்கத் தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். உண்மையிலேயே பார்த்துப்போது அநேகம் இடங்களில் விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றுவதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு உடனடியாக ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வந்தாக வேண்டும். ஏனென்றால் தேசத்தில் இவர்கள் தான் உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு முக்கெலும் பாக இருக்கிறார்கள். உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் இவர்கள் தான். அவர்கள்தான் நிலத்தின் ராஜாக்களாகப் போகிறார்கள். அவர்களை பாதுகாப்பது இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் கடமையாக இருக்க வேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினை இருக்கிறது. மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினையைப் பொறுத்தவரைக்கும் கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லா ஒரு பஞ்சப் பிரதேசமாக இருந்தாலும் அங்கே குடிக்க கிணறுகளில் தண்ணீர் கிடைக்கா விட்டாலும், சமராயம் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டால் தண்ணீரைவிட குறைந்த விலைக்கு சமராயம் கிடைக்கும் அவ்வளவு தூரம் இந்த கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லா கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதில் அபிவிருத்தி அடைந்திருக்கிறது. கிட்டிற்றுவீடு இந்த சமராயம் காய்ச்சுவதைப் பார்த்தால் தெரியவரும். இந்த அரசாங்கம் இதை மரியாதையான முறையில் திறமையான முறையில் கண்காணக்க வேண்டும். இப்பொழுது சட்டத்தை மீறுவது எப்படி என்ற ஒரு மனோபாவம் மக்களிடத்தில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இவ்விதம் சட்டத்தை மீறும் மனோபாவம் நாளுக்கு நாள் ஒரு அங்குலம் அங்குலமாக மக்களிடத்தில் வளர்ந்து கொண்டே வருகிறது. எந்தத் துறையிலும் எப்படி சட்டத்தை மீறலாம் என்று எண்ணம் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் மக்கள். அதற்கு இந்த மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம் சாதனமாக இருக்கிறது.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினையில் அதிகமாக சமராயம் காய்ச்சுபவர்கள் இந்த மரம் ஏறிகள்தான். அவர்கள் பிரதேசமாக சமராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். இந்த மரம் ஏறிகளுக்கு வேறு வேலைகள் கிடைக்காததன் காரணமாகவும், இல்லாததன் காரணமாகவும் அவர்கள் எப்படியாவது சமராயம் காய்ச்சி பிழைக்கிறார்கள். எப்படியாவது பிழைக்கவேண்டும் என்று அவர்கள் இந்தக் காரியத்தில் ஓர்வங்கி இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அரசாங்கம் ஒரு உதவியும் செய்யவில்லை. இப்பொழுது கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்களில் கப்பட்டி காய்ச்சி விற்பதற்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது மரம் இல்லாததால் மரங்கள் காய்ந்துவிட்டது. ஆனால் இந்தக் கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்கள் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை. அதனால் அவர்கள் புதிய தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதை பெல்லாம் பார்த்தபிறகுதான் மதுவிலக்கு ஆல் பிரயோசனம் கிடைப்பது. என்று எண்ணி இந்த மதுவிலக்கை மீட்டு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கோருகிறோம்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் இருக்கின்றன. அவைகளைப்பற்றி கொஞ்சம் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன், எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் பல ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள்

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இருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் அவைகள் நகரங்களில்தான் அதிகமாக இருக்கின்றன. பெரிய பெரிய கிராமங்களில் கிடையாது. கிராமங்களில் உள்ள ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் மிகவும் குறைவு. கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் அநேகமாக 20 அல்லது 30 மைல்கள் நடந்து நகரங்களுக்குச் சென்று வைத்யம் செய்துகொள்ள வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்காக நான் என்ன வழி சொல்லவிரும்புகிறேன் என்றால் Moving hospitals அதாவது, நகருகின்ற ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் அதாவது, ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளை வாகனங்களில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு சிங்கள முறையில் அதிகம் செலவு இல்லாமல் ஷர்ணாராகச் சென்று நடத்தவேண்டும். ஒவ்வொரு தாலுகாவிற்கும் சிறிசில பிர்காவிற்கு ஒரு டாக்டரை வைத்து கிராமங்களோடும் சென்று நல்ல முறையில் சிக்ஷனமான முறையில் இந்த வாகன் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளை வைத்து நடத்திவந்தால் கிராமவாசிகளுக்கு எவ்வளவோ சுகமாக இருக்கும். அதனால் பலருக்கும் வைத்தியம் செய்ய முடியும்.

“அதோடு இன்னும்மொரு முக்கியமான விஷயம். உண்மையில் அதைப் பற்றி இங்கு பேசுவதற்குக்கூட வெட்கமாக இருக்கிறது. அதாவது, கிராமங்களில் இப்பொழுது நடந்துவரும் கர்ப்பத்தடை. இதைப்பற்றி நான் கொஞ்சம் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். கிராமங்களில் கர்ப்பத் தடைக்கு அரசாங்கம் ஏதாவது ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளின் மூலம் உதவி செய்துவருவதாக தெரியவில்லை. கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் ஒரு புதிய முறையில் கர்ப்பத் தடையை இப்பொழுது முயற்சிசெய்து வருகிறார்கள். அதன் காரணமாக நூற்றுக்கணக்கான, ஆயிரக்கணக்கான, பெண்கள் வருஷந்தோறும், 20 வருஷதற்குள்ளுள்ள பெண்கள், செத்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். நிபுணர்களை வைத்துப்பார்த்தால் தெரியவரும். இந்த நகரம் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் மூலம் இந்த கர்ப்பத்தடைச் சாதனங்களைக் குறைந்த விலையில் ஏழை மக்களுக்கு கொடுத்து உதவி வந்தால் நன்றாக இருக்கும். இது அரசாங்கத்தின் கடமை அரசாங்கம் இவ்வித ஒரு நன்மையைச் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக சமுதாய அபிவிருத்தி திட்டம் இருக்கிறது. இந்த சமுதாய அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தை நான் பரிபூர்ணமாக ஆதரிக்கிறேன். ஆனால் நம் கம்யூனிஸ்டு தோழர்கள் அதை ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. ஏனென்றால் அதை ஆதரித்தால் அமெரிக்காவின் ஆதிக்கம் நம் நாட்டிற்கு வந்துவிடும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆசிய நாடுகளில் நாம்தான் முக்கியமானவர்கள். ஆகவே நாம் எந்தப்பக்கம் சாய்வோமோ என்று அமெரிக்கர்கள் பயப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் இங்கிருந்து ஒன்றையும் கொண்டுவரவில்லை மாட்டார்கள். அவ்விதம் விடுவதற்கு, நாம் முட்டாள்கள் அல்ல. அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்து நாம் பணம் வாங்கி சமுதாய திட்டத்தை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு பதிலாக வேறு எந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து வந்தாலும் அதை வரவேற்க தயாராக இருக்கிறோம். அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்து வரும் இந்த 40 கோடிக்கு பதிலாக, சோவியத் ரஷ்யாவிலிருந்து 400 கோடி நம் தேசத்துக்கு வாங்கிக்கொடுத்து சமுதாய அபிவிருத்திக்குப் பாடுபட்டால் அதையும் வரவேற்கத் தயாராக இருக்கிறோம். இதைப்பற்றி ஒரேயடியாக அமெரிக்காவினுடைய ஸைக்கலிகள் என்று சொல்வதில் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை. இந்த விஷயத்தில் அரசாங்கத்தைப்பற்றி குறைசொல்ல முடியாத அளவில் இருக்கிறது. அரசாங்கம் செய்யும் ஒவ்வொரு காரியத்தையும் குறை சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருப்பதற்கு நாம் இங்கு வரவில்லை. எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் திருத்தம் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று இருக்கக்கூடாது. அரசாங்கம் எந்த நல்ல காரியம் செய்தாலும் அதை ஆதரிக்கத்தான்வேண்டும். எதையும் எதிர்ப்பதில் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை.

“கடைசியாக இந்த விவசாயத்தைப்பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்லிவிட்டு முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் உற்பத்தியை 1, 5 மடக்கு பெருக்க முடியும் என்று நேரடியாக காண்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். நானும் செய்திருக்கிறேன். அந்தப்படி அதிகப்படியாக உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்கு அதிகப்படியான மூலதனம்போடவேண்டும். ஆனால் விவசாயிகளிடத்தில் எல்லைரிடத்திலும் அதிகப்படியான மூலதனம் இப்பொழுது கிடையாது. ஆனால் மூலதனம் வேண்டியது இருந்தால் 4, 5 மடங்கு அதிகப்படியாக

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“ஆயிரக் கணக்கான வாய்க்கால்கள் பழைய முறையிலேயே இருப்பதால் ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ஏக்கரா நிலங்கள் தண்ணீர் பாசனம் இல்லாமல் சும்மா விக்கின்றன. இதை சர்க்கார் கவனிக்கவேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக சிலர் சொன்னார்கள் கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து அநேகம் விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றுகிறார்கள் என்று. அநேகமாக தமிழ் நாட்டில் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் இப்பொழுது விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றும் காரியம் நடந்து கொண்டு வருகிறது. அதற்குப் பல காரணங்கள் இருக்கின்றன. முதலாவது காரணம் என்னவென்றால், இப்பொழுது வந்திருக்கும் காலகிரஸ் அரசாங்கம் நிலச் சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப்போகிறார்கள் என்று நினைத்துக்கொண்டு தங்களையே நிலத்திற்கு ஏதாவதும் வந்துவிடும் என்று பயந்துகொண்டு அநேகம் மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை விற்றுக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அத்துடன் அவர்களையே நிலங்களில் வெள்ளமையும் விவசாயிகளையும் வெளியேற்றி வருகிறார்கள். இது ஒரு முக்கியமான காரணம். இதை மாதிரியான முக்கிய காரணத்தால் அநேகம் விவசாயிகள் நிலங்களிலிருந்து வெளியேற்றப்படுகிறார்கள். எனக்குத் தெரியும் எங்கள் தாலுகாவில் பெரிய மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை இப்பொழுது விற்றுக்கொண்டிருப்பது. இன்னும் பெரிய பெரிய மிராசுதார்கள் தங்களுடைய நிலங்களை எவ்வளவுக்குக் கேட்டாலும் கொடுக்கத் தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். உண்மையிலேயே பார்த்துப்போது அநேகம் இடங்களில் விவசாயிகளை வெளியேற்றுவதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு உடனடியாக ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வந்தாக வேண்டும். ஏனென்றால் தேசத்தில் இவர்கள் தான் உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு முக்கெனும் பாக இருக்கிறார்கள். உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் இவர்கள் தான். அவர்கள்தான் நிலத்தின் ராஜாக்களாகப் போகிறார்கள். அவர்களை பாதுகாப்பது இந்த அரசாங்கத்தின் கடமையாக இருக்க வேண்டும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினை இருக்கிறது. மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினையைப் பொறுத்தவரைக்கும் கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லா ஒரு பஞ்சப் பிரதேசமாக இருந்தாலும் அங்கே குடிக்க கிணறுகளில் தண்ணீர் கிடைக்கா விட்டாலும், சமராயம் வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டால் தண்ணீரைவிட குறைந்த விலைக்கு சமராயம் கிடைக்கும் அவ்வளவு தூரம் இந்த கோயம்புத்தூர் ஜில்லா கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதில் அபிவிருத்தி அடைந்திருக்கிறது. கிட்டிற்றுவீடு இந்த சமராயம் காய்ச்சுவதைப் பார்த்தால் தெரியவரும். இந்த அரசாங்கம் இதை மரியாதையான முறையில் திறமையான முறையில் கண்காணக்க வேண்டும். இப்பொழுது சட்டத்தை மீறுவது எப்படி என்ற ஒரு மனோபாவம் மக்களிடத்தில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இவ்விதம் சட்டத்தை மீறும் மனோபாவம் நாளுக்கு நாள் ஒரு அங்குலம் அங்குலமாக மக்களிடத்தில் வளர்ந்து கொண்டே வருகிறது. எந்தத் துறையிலும் எப்படி சட்டத்தை மீறலாம் என்று எண்ணம் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் மக்கள். அதற்கு இந்த மதுவிலக்குச் சட்டம் சாதனமாக இருக்கிறது.

“அடுத்தபடியாக மதுவிலக்குப் பிரச்சினையில் அதிகமாக சமராயம் காய்ச்சுபவர்கள் இந்த மரம் ஏறிகள்தான். அவர்கள் பிரதேசமாக சமராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். இந்த மரம் ஏறிகளுக்கு வேறு வேலைகள் கிடைக்காததன் காரணமாகவும், இல்லாததன் காரணமாகவும் அவர்கள் எப்படியாவது சமராயம் காய்ச்சி பிழைக்கிறார்கள். எப்படியாவது பிழைக்கவேண்டும் என்று அவர்கள் இந்தக் காரியத்தில் ஓர்வங்கி இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு அரசாங்கம் ஒரு உதவியும் செய்யவில்லை. இப்பொழுது கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்களில் கப்பட்டி காய்ச்சி விற்பதற்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். இப்பொழுது மரம் இல்லாததால் மரங்கள் காய்ந்துவிட்டது. ஆனால் இந்தக் கூட்டுறவு சங்கங்கள் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை. அதனால் அவர்கள் புதிய தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதை பெல்லாம் பார்த்தபிறகுதான் மதுவிலக்கு ஆல் பிரயோசனம் கிடைப்பது. என்று எண்ணி இந்த மதுவிலக்கை மீட்டு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கோருகிறோம்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் இருக்கின்றன. அவைகளைப்பற்றி கொஞ்சம் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன், எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் பல ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள்

[7th July 1952]

[Sri K. R. Nallasivam]

இருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் அவைகள் நகரங்களில்தான் அதிகமாக இருக்கின்றன. பெரிய பெரிய கிராமங்களில் கிடையாது. கிராமங்களில் உள்ள ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் மிகவும் குறைவு. கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் அநேகமாக 20 அல்லது 30 மைல்கள் நடந்து நகரங்களுக்குச் சென்று வைத்யம் செய்துகொள்ள வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்காக நான் என்ன வழி சொல்லவிரும்புகிறேன் என்றால் Moving hospitals அதாவது, நகருகின்ற ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் அதாவது, ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளை வாகனங்களில் வைத்துக்கொண்டு சிங்கள முறையில் அதிகம் செலவு இல்லாமல் ஷர்ணாராகச் சென்று நடத்தவேண்டும். ஒவ்வொரு தாலுகாவிற்கும் சிறிசில பிர்காவிற்கு ஒரு டாக்டரை வைத்து கிராமங்களோடும் சென்று நல்ல முறையில் சிக்ஷனமான முறையில் இந்த வாகன ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளை வைத்து நடத்திவந்தால் கிராமவாசிகளுக்கு எவ்வளவோ சுகமாக இருக்கும். அதனால் பலருக்கும் வைத்தியம் செய்ய முடியும்.

“அதோடு இன்னுமொரு முக்கியமான விஷயம். உண்மையில் அதைப் பற்றி இங்கு பேசுவதற்குக்கூட வெட்கமாக இருக்கிறது. அதாவது, கிராமங்களில் இப்பொழுது நடந்துவரும் கர்ப்பத்தடை. இதைப்பற்றி நான் கொஞ்சம் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். கிராமங்களில் கர்ப்பத் தடைக்கு அரசாங்கம் ஏதாவது ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளின் மூலம் உதவி செய்துவருவதாக தெரியவில்லை. கிராமத்திலுள்ளவர்கள் ஒரு புதிய முறையில் கர்ப்பத் தடையை இப்பொழுது முயற்சிசெய்து வருகிறார்கள். அதன் காரணமாக நூற்றுக்கணக்கான, ஆயிரக்கணக்கான, பெண்கள் வருஷந்தோறும், 20 வருஷதற்குள்ளுள்ள பெண்கள், செத்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். நிபுணர்களை வைத்துப்பார்த்தால் தெரியவரும். இந்த நகரும் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் மூலம் இந்த கர்ப்பத்தடைச் சாதனங்களைக் குறைந்த விலையில் ஏழை மக்களுக்கு கொடுத்து உதவி வந்தால் நன்றாக இருக்கும். இது அரசாங்கத்தின் கடமை அரசாங்கம் இவ்வித ஒரு நன்மையைச் செய்யவேண்டும் என்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக சமுதாய அபிவிருத்தி திட்டம் இருக்கிறது. இந்த சமுதாய அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தை நான் பரிபூர்ணமாக ஆதரிக்கிறேன். ஆனால் நம் கம்யூனிஸ்டு தோழர்கள் அதை ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. ஏனென்றால் அதை ஆதரித்தால் அமெரிக்காவின் ஆதிக்கம் நம் நாட்டிற்கு வந்துவிடும் என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆசிய நாடுகளில் நாம்தான் முக்கியமானவர்கள். ஆகவே நாம் எந்தப்பக்கம் சாய்வோமோ என்று அமெரிக்கர்கள் பயப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் இங்கிருந்து ஒன்றையும் கொண்டுவரவில்லை மாட்டார்கள். அவ்விதம் விடுவதற்கு, நாம் முட்டாள்கள் அல்ல. அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்து நாம் பணம் வாங்கி சமுதாய திட்டத்தை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு பதிலாக வேறு எந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து வந்தாலும் அதை வரவேற்க தயாராக இருக்கிறோம். அமெரிக்காவிலிருந்து வரும் இந்த 40 கோடிக்கு பதிலாக, சோவியத் ரஷ்யாவிலிருந்து 400 கோடி நம் தேசத்துக்கு வாங்கிக்கொடுத்து சமுதாய அபிவிருத்திக்குப் பாடுபட்டால் அதையும் வரவேற்கத் தயாராக இருக்கிறோம். இதைப்பற்றி ஒரேயடியாக அமெரிக்காவினுடைய ஷைக்கலிகள் என்று சொல்வதில் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை. இந்த விஷயத்தில் அரசாங்கத்தைப்பற்றி குறைசொல்ல முடியாத அளவில் இருக்கிறது. அரசாங்கம் செய்யும் ஒவ்வொரு காரியத்தையும் குறை சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருப்பதற்கு நாம் இங்கு வரவில்லை. எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் திருத்தம் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று இருக்கக்கூடாது. அரசாங்கம் எந்த நல்ல காரியம் செய்தாலும் அதை ஆதரிக்கத்தான்வேண்டும். எதையும் எதிர்ப்பதில் பிரயோசனம் இல்லை.

“கடைசியாக இந்த விவசாயத்தைப்பற்றி ஒரு வார்த்தை சொல்லிவிட்டு முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் உற்பத்தியை 1, 5 மடக்கு பெருக்க முடியும் என்று நேரடியாக காண்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். நானும் செய்திருக்கிறேன். அந்தப்படி அதிகப்படியாக உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்கு அதிகப்படியான மூலதனம்போடவேண்டும். ஆனால் விவசாயிகளிடத்தில் எல்லைரிடத்திலும் அதிகப்படியான மூலதனம் இப்பொழுது கிடையாது. ஆனால் மூலதனம் வேண்டியது இருந்தால் 4, 5 மடங்கு அதிகப்படியாக

உற்பத்தியை பெருக்கமுடியும். இன்றிருக்கும் நிலைமையில் நிச்சயமாக பெருக்கமுடியும். நானும் உற்பத்தி செய்கிறேனேன். ஒரு வருஷம் பார்த்தேன். உடுத்த வருஷம் அவ்விதம் மூலதனம் போடமுடியவில்லை. காரணம் வாங்கும் சக்தி குறைந்திருப்பே. எல்லா நிலங்களிலும் அதிகமாக உற்பத்தி பெருக வேண்டுமானால் நிலம் பிரித்துக் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும். அப்பொழுதான் ஒவ்வொரு விவசாயிக்கும் அக்கறை உண்டாகும். அத்துடன் நிலத்தில் உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்குவதற்குத் தேவையான மூலதன உதவியை பொக்கிஷ மந்திரி அவர்கள் கொடுத்து உதவி செய்யவேண்டும்.”

‘విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా—విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా ప్రకృతి సౌందర్యానికి పుట్టినిల్లు. విశు మూచినా పర్యవసక్తు— వన సహజము—వనదీపత వచ్చని చెట్టురేమలతో అలంకరించని పర్యవసక్తు లేదు. కొండగుట్టల మధ్యనుంచి చిన్న చిన్న నెలయేళ్లు మాకుధూ, వనసానాయి.

‘శ్రీకాళేశం జిల్లా—శ్రీకాళేశం జిల్లా చరిత్ర ప్రస్థిమిత జిల్లా. ఎక్కడ చూచినా ప్రకృతి సౌందర్యంతో చూడ ముచ్చటగా అుండుంది. అముహువలసనుండి పాలకొండ వెళ్లుతూ అుంటే వనసీమలతో వచ్చూపున్న కొండలు, లోయలు, ఆకర్షణ గలిగిన మిట్టపల్లాలు, జలజల ప్రవహించే నెలయేళ్లు—ప్రకృతి చూడ మహాహరంగా అుండుంది. కాదుమీద ప్రయాణం చేసేవారికి ఉయ్యాల బాగిదట్టు అుండుంది. జిల్లాలో అనుగడుక్కి కొండ, కొండకొండకి ఒక కోట కనిపిస్తాయి.’

Such are the natural resources and heavenly gifts we have. We have got very many rivulets, hill-streams and rivers—Perennial rivers too—Nagavali and Vamsadhara. But we are very backward so far as rice is concerned. To substantiate this, I shall read this reference from 'Aidella Abhyuthayamu':

‘ విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా—విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా తరుగు జిల్లాలలో ఒకటి. ఈ జిల్లాలో సామిసరి ప్రశస్తి అయ్యే వంట జిల్లా ప్రజలకు రెండు గైలకు మాడ సరిపాడు. అందువల్ల తప్పనిసరిగా జిల్లాలోనికి ఆహార-ధాన్యములను దిగుమతిచేయవలసివుంది.’

From this it can be seen that the food produced in Visakhapatnam district is such that it is not enough. Not even for two months is the food sufficient for the people in Visakhapatnam district. We have to depend upon the neighbouring district of Srikakulam for the rest of the year. What does the "Aidella Abhyuthayamu" for Srikakulam district say about this factor? Here it is :

‘ఈ జిల్లా మిగులు జిల్లాలలో ఒకటి. వంటలు సుమారుగా వందకే సంవత్సరానికి 6,000 టన్నుల దాన్యం మిగులు శ్రుంకుంది. అయితే 1950 లో జిల్లాలో కొన్ని ప్రాంతాల్లో వంటలు కాగా పొడవడంవల్ల ప్రభుత్వం జిల్లాను సరుగు జిల్లాగా తరలించి 1950 లో దాన్య సేకరణను పూర్తిగా ఆపుచేసింది.’

There are often failures of rains and so the area covered by both these districts is often famine stricken. When such is the state of affairs in the two districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam, which are often famine-stricken what are the relief measures the

Government propose to take? We have suggested several useful irrigation schemes for our parts. So far as Visakhapatnam district is concerned, the schemes are going to cost the Government only about Rs. 58 lakhs. The additional acreage that would be brought under irrigation due to these schemes is about 33,000 acres. It is expected that the increase in production of foodstuffs would be approximately 6,400 tons. These are the figures furnished in 'Visala Abhyuthayamu'. If these schemes are pushed through, it will go a long way to meet the present deficit, but if several more useful schemes in Srikakulam district are pushed through, it would wipe out the deficit once and for all. All the irrigation schemes in Srikakulam district would cost the Government Rs. 8,31,000 and the additional tonnage of foodstuffs is expected to be about 67,000 and an additional acreage of 3,18,000 will be brought under cultivation. About 40,000 tons of additional food is expected to be got from Vamsadhara Project which will bring an additional acreage of 2,00,000 under cultivation. In this connection I may tell for the information of the hon. Members of this House that all the legislators from Srikakulam district including some Members of Parliament headed by one of our Union Ministers, Sri V. V. Giri, waited in deputation on the then Revenue Minister, Sri Sitarama Reddi, and urged on the Minister to include the Vamsadhara Project in the Five-year Plan. I am sorry to find that it has not found a place in the Five-year Plan. Not even a token grant has been provided for it in this Budget. It seems as though this Ministry is following in the footsteps of the previous Ministry of neglecting Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts altogether. It is most deplorable that the Government are completely neglecting the irrigation sources in the abolished estates. They should look to the urgent need for repairs and maintain them, especially the river channels for which previously the zamindars themselves used to do all Korambo, Kudimaramat, etc. I may mention for example, Sayanna channel, Regidi channel, Guttavillihabham channel in Bobbili Estate and Kintali channel in Sinpuram Estate. I request the Government to do all that the zamindars used to do. Ever since the abolition of these Estates, the Government neglected them and there is a fall in food production. This can be verified from the records.

“ Coming to the Industries side of the picture, I should like to inform hon. Members that the area covered by Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts is rich in natural resources. There is large sugarcane, jute and groundnut production in this area. In Chipurupalli taluk and Kumparu areas, manganese and mica are found in abundance. Inasmuch as the industrial and mineral output of our State is very low, I should like the Government to exploit our mineral and natural resources and see to it that proper action is taken at once in the matter to improve the low standard of living prevailing in this area by creating employment. In view of the fact that there is a large tract of forest area in our parts, paper industry could be developed in that area with Government patronage.

[Sri P. Pundarikakshacharyulu] [7th July 1952]

" I should like to congratulate the Government on their having come forward with proposals to develop minor ports in our State. I request the Government to include the development of minor ports of Bhimalipatnam, Kalingapatam and Bharuva also in their scheme.

" There is a great agitation going on in the two districts of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam for the formation of a Development Board just on the lines of the Rayalaseema Development Board. I request the Government to give their earnest consideration to this matter.

" I come from a constituency where there is a large population of handloom weavers. The plight of the handloom weavers during the last five years is very deplorable. I support the proposals which the hon. Member, Sri Prakada Kotiah gave the other day to better the lot of the handloom weavers. I also suggest that the Sales tax on handloom products and yarn should be taken away. This will relieve the distress of the handloom weavers to some extent. The revenue that would be lost due to this tax being taken away is roughly about four lakhs of rupees. Certain varieties of cloth should be reserved for Handloom industry in the State.

" Coming to Education, I should like to inform hon. Members that in the two districts of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam there are only 27 high schools in Srikakulam and 25 in Visakhapatnam districts. This works out roughly to one school for every eighty thousand of our population. I plead for the opening of more high schools in the two districts.

✓ " In our districts there are big Estates like Bobbili, Vizianagaram, Parlakimidi and Salur, and there are other inam and zamin estates. These estates have been taken over by the Government under Zamindari Abolition Act. The Rent Reduction Act is in operation in these estates. Even though the Rent Reduction Act has reduced the rents payable by the tenants on the one hand, it is being enhanced on the other. The rent reduction is only a farce. The pattadars who had been paying about 3½ annas for every rupee by way of land cess and other cesses before the Zamindari Abolition Act came into force, are now paying as much as seven annas for a rupee by way of cess. This wide disparity should be removed, and I request the Government to consider this.

" There are vast tracts of poramboke lands in the Bobbili and Kompameta zamins. The Government have neglected to improve these poramboke lands and bring them under cultivation. Some of the big zamindars are taking the law into their own hands and are converting these poramboke lands into private lands. This practice should be put an end to at once.

" Under the Zamindari Abolition Act, some zamindaris and inam estates could not be taken over till now. In those estates, and in some estates at the time of the introduction of that Act, and on the eve of its enforcement, and since 1916, vast tracts of land, and tank-beds too were alienated. I request the Government

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to appoint an Enquiry Committee to go into the question of those alienated lands also so that they can be distributed amongst landless labourers and Harijans.

" Now, Sir, I come to the proposals for fresh taxation made by the Government. Anyone who cares to go to the Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts can easily see how, on account of the present slump, there is much distress among the ryots, and how even the big ryots are unable to raise loans of even Rs. 50. Any fresh taxation will only be adding to the burdens that are already there, and I request, therefore, that the betterment tax and the surcharge on land should not be enforced. I may add that even if the betterment tax and the surcharge Bills are proceeded with, it should be ordered that all lands where survey and settlement operations have not been finished, should be exempted from these taxes. If, however, such lands are brought within the purview of these Bills, lot of trouble will be caused to the ryots and there will also be malpractices by the revenue and village officials. 10-15 a.m.

" Sir, although it is now three years since the Srikakulam district was brought into existence, the Government have not so far cared to construct buildings at the headquarters for the district and I find there is not even a token grant for this purpose in the Budget.

" In regard to road development, there are only 25 miles of road for every 100 square miles in the Srikakulam district; the Government should take immediate steps to construct more mileage of roads.

" The Government are giving medical aid and school-fee concessions to the non-gazetted officers and the employees of district boards. I request the Government that the same concessions should be given to the village officers also.

" In the case of the village officers in the abolished estates, the scale of pay should be the same as in the case of the village officers in ryotwari areas. Sir, though estates have been converted into ryotwari areas, it is not known why the village officers there are given less pay than in ryotwari areas. I suggest that they should be treated just like the village officers in ryotwari areas and should be put on the same cadre.

" Again, Sir, there is at present a distinction between L.M.Ps. and M.B.B.Ss. in the district boards. L.M.Ps. and M.B.B.Ss. serving under Government are put on the same cadre as Assistant Surgeons and the same scale of pay applies to both of them. The Government should see to it that in the case of the district boards also, the L.M.Ps. and the M.B.B.Ss. are put on the same cadre as Assistant Surgeons and given the same scale of pay. I also request Government to establish more hospitals in the rural areas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts.

" I find in the Budget that a large amount is allotted under Police administration. Such a huge amount is not necessary in the present circumstances, and I suggest that the grant under Police may be cut to some extent.

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"As regards prohibition, there is no need to have a separate Prohibition department, spending Rs. 70 lakhs over it. This department may be abolished and the Police department may be given charge of prohibition administration.

"I also submit, Sir, that there should be no additional surcharge on bus fares. In this connection, I wish to suggest that the Government, as an alternative, may get much revenue if only the bus routes are auctioned."

SRI M. VEERABHADRAM:—“ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ఈ బడ్జెటును వివరించుచున్నాను. ఈ బడ్జెటును చూచినచోడనే దేశ ప్రజాసామ్యుని దృష్టిలో పెట్టుకొనేవా రెవరైనా దీనిని వ్యతిరేకించడానికి వెనుకంజవేయరాదంటూ ఎంత మాత్రం అతిశయోక్తి లేదు. ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేయడంలో ఎటువంటి నూతన విచారణ అవసరంలేదు. వ్యవహార వ్యవస్థలోనే ఇది తయారుచేయబడింది. కాని ఒక్క విషయం మాత్రం ఇందులో కొద్దగా కనిపిస్తుంది. అదే మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలైన వేదలైన విధింపబడిన కొద్ది వస్తుల విషయం యాదృశ్యంగా చూపబడినట్లు. వస్తు వెల్లింబే ప్రతి రైతు సరకార్థిగా హెచ్చు వస్తు భారం మాయపడి ఉంది. దీని ప్రకారం నాలుగైదు ఎకరాల కల్లభూమి ఉన్న వేద రైతుకూడా హెచ్చుగా వస్తు వెల్లింపబడినందున ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించగోల్తును. ఇక రెండో విషయం బెటర్ మెంటు ట్యాక్సు విధించుటకు కలపెట్టుట. ఈ కొద్ది వస్తు వెల్లి రైతాంగం పూర్తిగా చెప్పి తింటుంది. ముఖ్యంగా రాయలసీమ, విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం వంటి జిల్లాలలోని రైతులు చాలా వేదవారు. ఎంతో కాలంనుంచి నీటి వనరులు లేని కారణంచేత వంటి సరిగా పండక ఋణభారంతో కృంగి పోతున్నారు. ఈ నాడు ఆ పంట ప్రాంతాలలో ఏదైనా నీటి వనరులు కల్పించినట్లైతే ఆ నీటి వనరులపై సేద్యంచేయ బడే భూములవారు బెటర్ మెంటు ట్యాక్సు చూడటం ప్రభుత్వానికి అంత ముద్రిం చెల్లింబాలని అంటున్నారు. ఈ నీటి వనరులను నిర్మాణముచేయడంపై ఎకరం వా వేయి రూపాయలు పెరిగితే, ఆ భూమిని సాగుచేసే రైతు సంవత్సరానికి యాదృశ్యంగా రూపాయల చొప్పున ఇటువై సంవత్సరాలలో ఈ మొత్తాన్ని ప్రభుత్వానికి చెల్లించాలి. దీనిపై ఆ రైతు తన పొలాన్ని తానే తిని కొనుక్కోనుచున్నట్లు అభిరుచి. ఇటు వంటి కొత్త వస్తు వేయడంపై రైతులలో ఎంతమాత్రం ఉత్సాహములేమీలేదా పోయింది. కొత్త వనరులు నిర్మాణము చేస్తున్నారనే సంభావన అసలు పొందలేక పోతున్నారు. ఈనాడు మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలోని వేద రైతులు తన తిండి కట్ట గుడ్డా లేక అలమటించిపోతున్నారు. అటువంటివారికి నీటి వనరులను నిర్మాణము చేయడం ప్రభుత్వం వారి విధి. కాని ఇటువంటి వస్తులు విధించడంపై వ్యవసాయదారునికి అధికాహారోత్పత్తి చేయుటకు ఎటువంటి అసక్తి ఉండదని మంచి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా వస్తు వేసి మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలోని రైతులు ఇక ముందు నీటి వనరులు నిర్మాణముచేయమని కోరకుండా ఉండునట్లు చేసే విధానమిది అని వేద రైతులు అనుకుంటున్నారని ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించవలసియున్నది. ఈ వస్తు అభివృద్ధికాదు, అభివృద్ధినిరోధక వస్తు మాత్రమేనని ప్రభుత్వంవారు తెలుసుకోవాలి. ఈనాటి ధరల ప్రకారం భూమి విలువ ఎంత పెరిగిందని అంచనావేయబడడంలో దానిని ఆధారం చేసుకొని కొత్త వస్తులు విధించబడినట్లైతే ఉత్తరోక్తా ధరలు పడిపోయి, భూముల విలువలు తగ్గినప్పుడు రైతు ఎంతగా వాధపడవలసివస్తుందో ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించవలసివుంది. ఈ కారణంవల్ల ఈ వస్తు లాగానే సన్నకారు రైతులు ఎంతో అంతోషం చేయుచున్నారని ప్రభుత్వం వారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఈ వస్తు విధించడంలో అంతర్గత ఇకముందు నీటి

7th July 1952]

[Sri M. Veerabhadram]

వనరులు విర్వహవలసినదని రైతుల కోరకుండాచేయుటే అనికూడా ప్రజలు అనుమానిస్తున్న విషయం మంత్రిగారివారు గమనించాలి. ఆదాయంలో లోటువచ్చినందు వల్లనే ఈ కొత్త వస్తులను విధించవలసినవచ్చినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారు వాదించవచ్చును. వస్తులను విధించవద్దని ప్రభుత్వ ఆదాయాన్ని పెంచవద్దని ఎవ్వరూ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఆసరు. కాని వస్తు విధించే విషయంలో సంఘంలోని ఏ వర్గంవారు వస్తులను భరించ గలరు, ఎవరు భరించలేరు అనే విషయాన్ని గుర్తించాలి. వస్తు భారంతో కృంగి పోయిపోతున్న సామాన్య రైతులమీద ఇంకా వస్తులు వేయడం గర్హించవలసినవిషయం. ఏ, ఏ వర్గాలవారిపై వస్తులు వేయవలసినో మా యు.డి.యఫ్. ప్రోగ్రాములో వివరించి యున్నాము. వస్తులు విధించకుండా ఏ విధంగా ప్రభుత్వ ఖర్చులను తగ్గించుకో గలమా అనే విషయంకూడా గమనించాలి. ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలనావ్యయం తగ్గించుకోమని మేము వెప్పినంతనే దీనిపై మెంతు చేసినా కవిశ్యానిష్టులు తప్పుపడతారు; చేయక పోయినా అక్షేపిస్తారని మంత్రులు ఆవవచ్చు. అది పొరబాటు. మేము వెప్పేది వేలాది జీతాలు ఇచ్చే ఉద్యోగుల సంఖ్య తగ్గించమని, హెచ్చు జీతాలలో కోతలు పెట్టమని మాత్రమే కాని, యు.డి.యఫ్. లకు తక్కువ జీతాలు ఇవ్వాలని వారి సంఖ్య తగ్గించాలని ఆర్థం చెప్పకూడదు. అంతే కాకుండా మన దేశంలో సామ్రాజ్య దేశాలవారు ఎంతో కాలంనుంచి మిల్లులు స్థాపించుకొని ఉండి ఎంతో లాభంగడించుకొన్నారు. వారు పెట్టిన పెట్టుబడులకు ఎక్కువ రేటు ఇదివరకే సంపాదించుకొన్నారు. అటువంటి సంస్థలను ప్రభుత్వం స్వాధీనం చేసుకోవాలి. ఆ సంస్థలు దేశంలోని వేద కార్మికుల రక్షాన్ని విరోధకారోజు వీల్చివేస్తూ తమ పాట్లు పెంచుకుంటున్నారు. ఇదాహరణకు మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో ఉన్న చిట్టవలస జనతనార ఫ్యాక్టరీ విషయం లీకుకొండి. ఈ ఫ్యాక్టరీ విషయం శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి చాలా తెలుసును 1937-39 వ సంవత్సరముల మధ్య ఆయన ప్రధానిగా ఉన్నప్పుడు జరిగిన కార్యాల విషయం, కూలి లను పెట్టిన వాధగా ఆయన మంచిపోయి ఉంటారని అనుకోను. ఆ సమయంలో వారు చేసిన రెక్కల ప్రకారము అప్పటికే ఆ ఫ్యాక్టరీ యజమానులు తాము ఎంత పెట్టుకొంటున్నారో అంత లాభం సంపాదించుకొన్నారని చేలిపోయింది. అప్పటినుంచి నేటివరకూ ఈ కంపెనీకు వదలూడు సంవత్సరములలో ఆ మిల్లు మేనేజిమెంటువారు సంపాదించిన లాభములు చాలాకా ఆ సంస్థను ప్రభుత్వంవారు స్వాధీనం చేసుకోవాలని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఏటా ఒక లక్షల సంస్థ మన రాష్ట్రంనుంచి లక్షలాది రూపాయలు లాభం సంపాదించుకొని పోతూ ఉంటే ఏమీ చేయక వేద రైతులపై అదనంగా వస్తులు వేయబడిన ఈ ప్రభుత్వం వేదలను ఉద్ధరించే ప్రభుత్వం, అనే విషయాలు గమనించగోల్తును. ప్రజలు ఈ విషయాలను అర్థం చేసుకోలేనంత తెలివి తక్కువ వారుకావని కాంగ్రెస్ వాదులు ఎంత త్వరగా గుర్తించే అంతమంచిదని వారికి తెలియ జేస్తున్నాను. విదేశీయులు తమ పెట్టుబడులకు మించి అధిక లాభాలు సంపాదిస్తున్న సంస్థలను అనేకమున్నాయి. అటువంటి సంస్థలను ఫ్యాక్టరీలను మన మదాసు రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు స్వాధీనం చేసుకోవాలి అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆ విదేశీయ సంస్థల మేనేజిమెంటులంటే ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి భయమా, ఆటో అని అడుగు తున్నాను.

“ఇదే విధంగా నేల్సు ట్యాక్సు వసూలుచేసే విషయంలోకూడా చాలా అవకతవ కలు జరుగుతున్నాయి. మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో జనతనార వ్యాపారం విరివిగా జరుగు తుంది. ఈ వ్యాపారములలో చాలా మంది బెంగాలీనుంచి వచ్చినవారే. ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలలోని కంపెనీల విజేంట్లుగావచ్చిన ఈ వ్యాపారములపై నేల్సు ట్యాక్సు వసూలుచేయ బడుటలేదు. కాని మా జిల్లాలోని వర్తకులు జనతనార కాని విక్రయిస్తే నేల్సు ట్యాక్సు

[Sri M. Veerabhadram] [7th July 1952]

సముద్రంలో కలసిపోతున్నది. కాని వాటి నీటిలో నూటికి అయిదువంతులైనవి ఉపయోగపడుతున్నాయి. మా జిల్లాలో చాలా భాగం జమీందారీ ప్రాంతంగా ఉండినవి. జమీందారులు నీటి పనులు కాగుచేయించానికి పూనుకొని కారణంచేత వ్యవసాయదారులు చాలా కష్టపడుతున్నారు. జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఉన్న నీటి పనులు నామమాత్రమే ఉంటుంటేనేనని అందరికీ తెలిసిపోవడం విషయమే. రాయలసీమ జిల్లాలవలెనే విశాఖజిల్లా, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు చాలా వెనుకబడినవి వంటి ప్రాంతాలని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అక్కడక్కడ ఉన్న తెరువులనుగూడా గత 25, 30 సంవత్సరాలుగా ఎటువంటి మరమ్మత్తులు లేని కారణంచేత పూడిపోయినవి. జమీందారీలను ప్రభుత్వంవారు స్వాధీనం చేసుకొనిన తరువాత అయినను ఏటి మరమ్మత్తులు చేయిస్తారని ఆశించాను. ప్రభుత్వంవారు పనులకుగాను ప్రశస్తికంగా ఏర్పాటుచేసి ఫీడ్ ప్రాడక్షన్ డిపార్టుమెంటువారు సరైన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొనుటలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయాలను అనేకసార్లు జిల్లా కలెక్టరుగారికిగూడా రుచి చేసినాము. అయినను పాదు ప్రయోజనం కనిపించుటలేదు. ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగుల అశ్రద్ధవల్ల అనేక తెరువులను పాగు జరిగే పరిస్థితులు తప్పిపోతున్నాయని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఒక గ్రామంలో నాలుగువందల ఎకరముల భూమికి నీటిని ఇచ్చే తెరువు పెరిపోయింది. దానికి ఇంతవరకు మరమ్మత్తులు చేయించలేదు. ఈ సంవత్సరం ఆ తెరువు క్రింద ఉన్న భూమి వివిధంగా పాగుచేయాలి అర్జీకావడం లేదు. సకాలంగా నీటి పనులను కాగు చేయించకపోయినట్లైతే ఆ ఫీడ్ ప్రాడక్షన్ డిపార్టుమెంటు ఉండి ప్రయోజనమేమీ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆలోచించుచున్నట్లు లేదు. తమకు ఈ విధంగా ఆమలు తెరువుగా తెలుసు అధికారాధిష్టించేయాలని సమయానుకూలంగా గుర్తించక ప్రసంగాలు చేయడం ఈస్టాబ్లిష్మెంటువంటి విషయమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం మా జిల్లాలో కొన్ని పనులు చేయదలచుకుంటున్నట్లు అంచనాలను చూపిస్తూ ఉంటారు కాని సంవత్సరాంతాన కనుపించేవి ఏమిటి? ఆ పనులు అనేక సంవత్సరాలూ ఆసలే తీసుకొనుటలేదు. ఒకవేళ తీసుకొనబడినా జరిగిన పనులు అతి స్వల్పం. ఈ విధంగా ప్రజలను మధ్యపెట్టడంవల్ల ప్రయోజనమేమీ ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియాలి. మా జిల్లాలో ముఖ్యంగా కారదా, వరాహ అనే నదులు ఉన్న వాటిలో కొద్ది పెద్దవి. వాటిపై ఆకట్టు కట్టితైతే ఎన్నో వేల ఎకరాల భూమిని పాగులోనికి తీసుకొనిరావచ్చు. ముఖ్యంగా శాంతివాదిపై ఆరందేల్ ఆకట్టు నిర్మించవలసియున్నది. దీనిని గురించి గత ముప్పది సంవత్సరాలుగా ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కాని ఇంతవరకు ఎటువంటి ప్రయోజనం కనుపించుటలేదు. ఈ రిజర్వాయరు కట్టినట్లైతే అనకాపల్లి, ఎలమంచిలి తాలూకాలలో వేలాది ఎకరాల భూమిని పాగులోనికి తీసుకొనిరావచ్చు. అలాగే భాస్కర విషయంలో తరుగు జిల్లా అయిన విశాఖజిల్లా జిల్లాలోగూడా నీటి కనలులను ఏర్పాటుచేయడానికి ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు చూడదు? పూర్వకంగా పూనుకొని అనేది చాలా విచారకరమైన సంగతి. అదే విధంగా విశాఖజిల్లా తాలూకాలో నా నియోజకవర్గంలోని ఒక ప్రాంతంలో ఒక కాగు కొండలమధ్యగా ప్రవహిస్తుంది. ఈ ప్రవాహానికి మూడుతెవులు కొండలున్నాయి. ఇక నాగవైతెవు ఒక గొడవట్టి నైతే ఒక రిజర్వాయరు నిర్మించి దానివల్ల ఎంతో భూమిని పాగులోనికి తీసుకొని రావచ్చు. ఇటువంటి శాకాంతాలు ఉన్నప్పటికీ ప్రభుత్వం వాటిని వినియోగించదు. మా జిల్లాపట్ల ప్రభుత్వం చూపుతున్న నిరాకరణవల్లనే తదనాల్గు ఎన్నెన్నో పట్టణ ఒక్కచానికూడా కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీవారు గెలుచుకొనేక పోయినారని ఇప్పటికైనా ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు గమనించాలి.

7th July 1952] [Sri M. Veerabhadram]

“ఇక మంచి నీటి విషయంలో కూడా ప్రభుత్వం ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధ చూపడంలేదు. అనేక గ్రామాలలో మంచి నీళ్లు వారకక వేసవికాలంలో ప్రజలు చాలా బాధలు పడుతున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారికి ఎన్నిసార్లు మురపెట్టుకున్నా, అలంపడం లేదు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వమైనా శ్రద్ధ తీసుకుంటుందని ఆశిద్దాము.

“ఇక భీమునిపట్నం గురించి కొద్దిగా మనవిచేస్తాను. భీమునిపట్నం సముద్ర ప్రాంతాన ఉన్న చిన్న పట్నం. ఇదివరలో ఇచ్చటనుంచి నార ఇతర ప్రాంతానికి ఎగుమతి చేయడమూ ఉండేది. కాని యుద్ధకాలంలో ఈ ఎగుమతి వ్యాపారం విశాఖపట్నానికి తరలించబడింది. అప్పటినుంచి వ్యాపారం ఏమీ లేకపోయినందువల్ల పట్నం చాలావరకూ దెబ్బ తిన్నది. కాబట్టి ఇదివరకటివలెనే ఇచ్చటనుంచి జనపనార ఎగుమతి వ్యాపారానికి ఏర్పాటు చేయించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. భీమునిపట్నం ట్రైన్ పోర్టులో తగిన సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేస్తేనే కాని ఇది సాధ్యపడదు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవలసినదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ముఖ్యంగా భీమునిపట్నం ఆరోగ్య విషయకంగా మంచి ప్రదేశం. కోస్తా ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలలో ఇది మంచి ఆరోగ్యవంతమైన ప్రదేశమని అందరు ఎరిగి ఉన్నట్టిదే. ఇటువంటి ప్రదేశాన్ని అభివృద్ధిపరచడానికి ప్రభుత్వం పూనుకోవాలి. అంతేకాకుండా కొన్ని జిల్లా ఆఫీసులను, జిల్లా విద్యాశాఖాధికారి ముద్రాపాతి కచ్చేరీలను భీమునిపట్నానికి మార్చించవలసినవిని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా భీమునిపట్నం కొంత ప్రాధాన్యం కల్పించి కచ్చేరీ ఆరోగ్యవంతమైన ఈ ప్రదేశం అభివృద్ధిపొందటానికి చాలా అవకాశాలున్నాయని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా ఇక్కడ లిస్ట్ టౌన్ ఫ్యాక్టరీని కట్టుటకు చాలా సౌకర్యాలున్నాయి. ఇటువంటి వ్యాపారసంస్థ నొకదానిని భీమునిపట్నంలో ఏర్పాటుచేయడానికి ప్రభుత్వం ప్రోత్సాహమివ్వవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను.

“గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలకాలంలో కాంగ్రెసువారు చాలా అన్యాయాలు చేశారు. అనేక సంవత్సరాలూ హరిజనులు ఎంతోకాలంనుంచి వ్యవసాయం చేసుకొంటున్న భూములనుండి వారిని బలవంతంగా వెళ్లగొట్టారు. కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులుగా చాలామంది అత్యున్నత స్థాయి కొందరు రైతులను బెదిరించి భూములను లాగుకొన్నారు. మన్నేరైతును భూమినుంచి తొలగించుటకు వారుచేసిన అన్యాయాలు గెక్కకు మించి పోయినాయి. ఈ అన్యాయాల గురించి తనకోర్దారులకు డిప్యూటీ కలెక్టర్లకు మనవి చేసుకొన్నా వారేమీ చర్య తీసుకొనుటలేదు. రైతుకే భూమి కాక ఉండాలని రైతుకు ప్రభుత్వానికి మధ్య ఇంతెవరు మధ్యవర్తులు ఉండరాదని అనేక పర్యాయాలు కాంగ్రెసువారు తీర్మానాలలోను ప్లాట్ ఫారాలమీద వెప్పేవారు కాని వారు ఈ వాడు చేస్తున్నది దానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధమే. జమీందారీ విరియాలలో వారు చేస్తున్నది ఇన్నీ ఆన్లీ అన్యాయాలు కాదు ఆయుధాలు చూపించి, ఇతర విధాల బార్లవ్వంచేసి విండ్ల పరిబడి మన్నుకొనే భూములనుంచి రైతులను తొలగించేసినారు. ఈ అన్యాయాలను ఆపుచేయించాలి. కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం భూస్వాముల, పెట్టుబడిదారుల ప్రభుత్వంగా మారిపోవడంవల్లనే ఆంధ్రదేశంలో కాంగ్రెసుసంస్థ నామ దూరాలు లేకుండా పోయిందనే విషయం ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించుకోవాలి.”

“యుద్ధకాలంలో విరియో డ్రోప్ కట్టుటకుగాను విశాఖజిల్లా సమీపమున ఉన్న కురిపారం అనే గ్రామంలోని ప్రజలనందరను ఇరొకచోటికి వెళ్లిపోమని అధికారులు ఉత్తరువులు జారీచేశారు. ఆ వేద ప్రజలందరు ఇతర ప్రదేశాలకు పోయి కట్టుకున్నారు. ఇప్పుడు వారు కట్టుకున్న ఇండ్లకు అధికారులు లాంకు ఎనేస్ మెంటు వసూలు చేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విధంగా వసూలుచేయడం అన్యాయం. ప్రభుత్వం వారి కోరికపైనే ఆ ప్రజలు తమ ఇండ్లను వదిలిపెట్టినారు. కాని వేరు కారణం

[Sri M. Veerabhadram] [7th July 1952]

లేదు. విండ్ల తరగతి నివసిస్తున్న ఇండ్లను వదలిపెట్టి వెళ్ళటానికి ఎవరూ ఇష్టపడని తెలుసుకోవాలి. ప్రభుత్వంవారు వాగ్విగామం ఉన్నప్పుడు వీరిని ప్రోత్సహించి ఉంటే వల్లనే వారు వేరేచోట ఇండ్లు కట్టుకొనవలసివచ్చింది. ఇటువంటివాడు ఎంతో శ్రమ కోర్చి ఇల్లుకట్టుకున్నాడు. వానిని తిరిగి లాండ్ నెక్సు వసూలు చేయడం భర్తం కాదు. కాబట్టి లాండ్ నెక్సును రద్దు చేయించాలని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరు చున్నాను.

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A.M.

“క్యూర్టేజీ పార్టీనాయకుడు శ్రీ తిమ్మారెడ్డిగారు వారి ఉపన్యాసంలో కమ్యూనిస్టులపై ఎన్నో ఆధారాలు చేశారు. కమ్యూనిస్టులు రిహబిలిటేషన్ గా ఉన్న తెచ్చుకుంటున్నారని వారు మామీద ఆరోపించారు. అది సత్యమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఎన్నికలకు ఒక నెలకుండుగానే మేము బయటపడగలిగాము. కారులను గాని, లారీలను గాని ప్రచారానికిగాను ఉపయోగించలేక పోయినాము. మేము మా విజయం నైక్యమీద, కాలి నడకను వెళ్ళి ప్రచారం చేసుకొనవలసివచ్చిన విషయం ప్రజలకందరకూ తెలిసినటువంటి విషయమే. కాని కె.యల్.పి. వారు ఈ నాడు వారి స్వంత కనులకొరకై, ఉపయోగించుకుంటున్న కారు ఎక్కడినుంచి వచ్చినదో వారి విషయం వారికి తెలియకపోవడం కాదు. ఈ విషయంలో ఎవరికైనా సందేహం కనుక ఉన్నప్పుడే వారు సింధియా కంపెనీ కార్యాలయం ఆఫీసు వారు తెలుతారు. తిమ్మారెడ్డిగారు వారి పార్టీవారు అనుసరించే విధానాలను, పద్ధతులను ఇతరులపై ఆరోపించడం అన్యాయమని తెలుసుకోవగలగ్గాను. కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీని నిందించడమే వారు పనిగా పెట్టుకొని నిజానిజాలతో సంబంధంలేకుండా ఆధారాలు చేయడం రాజనీతిక కాదని వారు ఎంత త్వరగా గ్రహిస్తే, అంత మంచిదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. వారు ప్రజలకు ఎన్నికలలో విమర్శలు చెప్పి తాని మధ్యకట్టాలో ఆడుతున్న గుర్తుంచుకోవాలనే కాని, స్వప్రచారానికంటే మనస్సులో ఉంచుకొని లేనిదానికి, తన్ను దానికి కమ్యూనిస్టులపై ఆరోపణలు చేసి కాంగ్రెసువారికి మద్దతు ఇవ్వడమే పనిగా పెట్టుకోవడం, దానివల్ల వారు తిరిగి ప్రజల మన్ననను పొందజాలని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“మేక చెప్పిన కారణాలచేత ఈ బడ్జెటు భూస్వాముల బడ్జెటు అని, పెట్టుబడి దారుల బడ్జెటు అని పేదవారిపై కన్ను భారాన్ని వేస్తున్నట్లే బడ్జెటు అని చెప్పి దీనిని వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI B. KRISHNAMURTHI RAO:—“సభాధ్యక్ష, ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వం వారికల్ల ప్రతిపాదించబడ్డ బడ్జెటు ప్రతిపాదనలు 1952 క సంవత్సరం నుంచి 1953 క సంవత్సరం వరకూ ప్రతిపాదించబడ్డాయి. ఈ బడ్జెటు ప్రతిపాదనలను నేను వివరుస్తూ కొన్ని సవరణలను, సలహాలను ప్రభుత్వానికి ఇవ్వడమొన్నాను. ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితి ఎలావున్నదీ, ఆదాయం ఎంతవస్తున్నదీ, ఎంత ఖర్చు పెట్టవలసిన అవసరమున్నదీ, కనీసము ఎంతమాత్రము ఖర్చు చేస్తున్నట్లున్నదో, ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వాని ప్రాయం మేరకు వ్యతిరేకములేకుండా పరిపాలనలో విమర్శించడంకంటే ప్రజలకు కావలసినటువంటి కనీసపు సౌఖ్యాలు తెరవేర్చటానికి ప్రభుత్వ ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితుల దృష్ట్యా ఎంతమాత్రము కష్టం భారం వేయవచ్చును, అనేటటువంటి వ్యక్తం తోనూ, మారదృష్టితోనూ మామన్నరతోటి రూపాయలు లోటు పడ్డాయింటి బడ్జెటుకు పూర్తిచేయడానికి ఈ సంవత్సరం మూడురకాలుగా ప్రజలపై కష్టం భారం వేయవలసివచ్చినది. అయితే ప్రతిపక్షవర్గం వారిలో ఈనాడు యీ కష్టం భారం విషయంలో కొంత భారాన్ని పెట్టిన భూస్వాములు, మహారాజులు, జమీందారులమీద రైతు అనేటటువంటి వ్యక్తంతో వివేచనాశూన్య విమర్శలున్నాయి. అయితే ప్రభుత్వానికి రైతే పెట్టవలసినదే కాదు గనుక యాభై రూపాయలకు కట్టక తప్ప

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కట్టేటటువంటి భూస్వాములమీద ఈ కష్టం భారం ఎక్కువగా వేయటం అన్యాయమని విమర్శించే సభ్యులు అనేకమంది ఉన్నారు. ఒక ఉదాహరణ చెబుతున్నాను : నేను చిత్తూరు జిల్లా అసలా రాయలసీమలో ఒక వెనుకబడిన జిల్లానుండి ఎన్నుకోబడినవాను. రాయలసీమలో రెండువందల యకరాల మెట్టభూమి, ముప్పై నలభై యకరాలు మాగాణి భూమి కలిగివుంటే సాధారణంగా కొన్ని వేల రూపాయల అయివజా వస్తుంది. దక్షిణ దేశంలోగాని లేక డెల్టా ప్రాంతంలోగాని అయిదు యకరాలలోపు కలిగి యున్నవారు యాభై రూపాయలు శిస్తు చెల్లించవలసివస్తుంది. రెండు మూడు ఎకరాలుగల వారు ప్రభుత్వానికి ఈనాడు అదనపు శిస్తు చెల్లించడం మాత్రం కట్టం. యాభై రూపాయలకు పైడి నూరు రూపాయలవరకు శిస్తుపై సర్కార్ వేయడం మంచిదని నా యభిప్రాయం.

“మరొక విషయం చెబుతాను. ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వం భూమి అభివృద్ధి కన్ను (betterment tax) వేయనున్నది. ఈ అదనపు బెటర్ మెంటు టాక్సు ఎవరికి? ప్రభుత్వం ఈ డబ్బుతో ప్రభుత్వ క్రింద ఉన్నటువంటి వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధి సంహలద్వారా ఏ ఏ జిల్లాలలో వారు అభివృద్ధి పొందుతున్నారో ఆ జిల్లాలలో మాత్రమే ఈ అభివృద్ధి కన్ను వేయాలి? ప్రభుత్వం స్వాధీనం చేసుకోకుండా ఉన్నటువంటి జమీందారీలకు భూమి అభివృద్ధి కన్ను వేయకూడదు. ప్రభుత్వ సౌకర్యాలు ఉండే ప్రాంతములలో ఈ అభివృద్ధి కన్ను వసూలుచేసి వరకా లేదు. ముఖ్యంగా జమీందారీ ప్రాంతములు వెనుకబడ్డ ప్రాంతములు ఇప్పుడు ఈ జమీందారీల విలువరద్దు అయింది. రైతువారీ ప్రాంతంగా ఈ జమీందారీ ప్రాంతం మార్చేవరకూ ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉండుమగాను ఒక ప్రత్యేక సిబ్బంది ఏర్పడేంతవరకూ ఆయా ప్రాంతాలలో ఉన్నటువంటి రైతులకు ప్రభుత్వం ద్వారా వివిధమైనటువంటి పని కలుగలేదు. ముఖ్యంగా ఈనాడు మా చిత్తూరు జిల్లాలో ఉన్న భూమి జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలే. ఇప్పుటికి కొన్ని జమీందారీలు రద్దు అయినాయి. కొన్ని ఇంకా రద్దుకాలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో జమీందారీ ప్రాంతమైన వుంగనూరు జమీందారీ అభివృద్ధిలోనికి రాలేదు. ఇట్టి జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలకు మాత్రం అభివృద్ధి కన్ను వేయకుండా ఈనాడు ఎక్కువగా అభివృద్ధిలోనికి వచ్చినటువంటి రైతువారీ ప్రాంతాల పైనే శిస్తు వేయడం మంచిది.

“బస్సు ప్రయాణీకుల విషయములలో వేలాది మంది ప్రయాణించేస్తున్నారు. జమీందారులు, మహారాజులు, ధనవంతులు కాదులైన వారు సాధారణముగా బస్సులలో ప్రయాణం చేయరు. సామాన్య మధ్య తరగతివారు, ప్రయాణించేస్తూవుంటారు. ముఖ్యంగా సామాన్య ప్రజలు, కార్మిక తరగతులవారు, కోర్టువ్యవహారాలు వగైరా కనులకు అవసరంగా వెళ్ళవలసి వచ్చినప్పుడు బస్సులలోనే ప్రయాణించేస్తారు. సామాన్యమైన మధ్య తరగతి వాళ్ళందరికీ ఎక్కువగా కోర్టు వ్యవహారాలకే కాకుండా, ఇతర ఆర్థిక కనులకుకూడా బస్సులలో ఒక పట్టణమునుంచి మరొక పట్టణమునకు ప్రయాణించేస్తారు.

“మరొక విషయం యేమిటంటే ఈ డబ్బును సక్రమంగా వసూలుచేయడమనేది గతర్ష మెంటుది ఒక పెద్ద సమస్య. ఈ చార్జ్ సక్రమంగా వసూలుచేసి ఓవర్ లాండ్ చార్జీలు ప్యాసింజర్ల మీద ఎక్కువ వేయకుండా చేయాలి. ఈ రోజులలో బస్సులలో చాలామటుకు ఓవర్ లాండ్ తో ప్రయాణం చేస్తూవుంటారు. ఈ ఓవర్ లాండ్ నూడా ఒకనాడు ఉంటుంది, ఇంకొకనాడు ఉండదు. ఓవర్ లాండ్ లేని రోజున బస్సు ఓవర్ లాండ్ చార్జీలు కట్టడానికి సమ్మతిస్తారని నేను అనుకోను. ముప్పై నీటి కేపాసిటీగల బస్సులో సాధారణముగా అరవై మందివరకూ ప్యాసింజర్లను ఎక్కించుకొని ప్రయాణం చేయ రోజులుగూడా ఉన్నవి. అయితే ఓవర్ లాండ్ వుంటే పోలీసు వారు పట్టుకొని

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కేసులు పెట్టక మేకాకుండా బస్సు పరిష్కారం కూడా రద్దు అవుతుంది. కనుక ఈ ఓవర్ లోడ్ చార్జీలు ప్రభుత్వం ఆక్రమంగా ఎగుమతులకు వచ్చే అనే అందోళన ప్రజలలో కలుగకుండా ప్రభుత్వం బస్సు ఓవర్ లోడ్ వసూలు చేయాలనిపించగా చేస్తే ఈ టాక్సు సక్రమంగా వసూలు చేయలేము. దీనికి మరొక ప్రత్యేక సిబ్బంది చేయవలసివస్తుంది. గనుక ఈ సిబ్బంది ఖర్చులు ప్రభుత్వానికి వెరుగుతుంది గనుక ఈ అవసరం చార్జీ వ్యాసించే ముందు చేయవలసివస్తుంది.

“ఇక మద్యపాననిషేధం విషయంలో నేనొక సలహా చెప్పదలచుకున్నాను. ఇక ప్రభుత్వ ప్రతిపాదనలలో ఈ త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడనివారు అందరూ తిరిగి ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధం తీసివేసి ఇరల మద్యపానం మామూలు ప్రకారం పెట్టమని కోరుతున్నారు. ఈ విషయములో నేనొకమాట చెప్పదలచుకున్నాను. మద్యపాననిషేధం వట్టం రాక ముందు కూలినాని చేసుకొని తీసివేసి ప్రతిమనుష్యుడు సాధారణముగా త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడియుండేవాడు. అతడు దినమునకు నాలుగు అణాలు సంపాదించివచ్చుకు మూడు అణాలవరకూ త్రాగుడుకు ఖర్చు పెట్టి ఇంటికి ఒక అణా మాత్రం కుటుంబ పోషణకు తీసుకొని వెళ్ళగా కుటుంబపోషణ కష్టపాత్రముగా ఉండేది. ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధం వట్టము అమలులోనికి వచ్చినతరువాత అతనికి సంపాదించుకున్న నాలుగు అణాలు మిగులుతున్నది. ఈ త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడినందువల్ల ఇప్పుడు ప్రతి ఇంటిలోను పిల్లాబిల్లాకూడా అలవాటు చేసుకున్నారు. ఇదీకాకుండా ఛామ్యధరకు రక్షణముగా అప్పుడూ వ్యాపారవృత్తిలోకి తెచ్చినారు. ఈ దినములలో ధనికవర్గం వారు ఈ పాతాయిని రహస్యంగా కాచుంచి, అమ్మించి దబ్బు గడించుచున్నారు. అందువలననే ఈ ధనికులే మరల ఈ వట్టమును తీసివేయమని కోరుతున్నారు. ఈ వట్టమును తీసివేయటం ధనికవర్గమును పోషించుటకేసరి నా ఆశీర్వాదము. ఈ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ పేద కుటుంబాల సలహా తీసుకొనుట మంచిదని నా సలహా. ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వంకింద వి మనుష్యుడైనను పేదవాడుగాని, ధనికుడుగాని విచారంగా త్రాగుట సాహసించరు. రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వముకు మాలదొయుటకు కమ్యూనిస్టుల ప్రయత్నపడుతున్నారు. ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధమును పూర్తిగా అమలు జరుగుతలెనని సలహా యిచ్చుచున్నారు. ఈ వట్టమును రద్దుపరచుట గాంధీ సిద్ధాంతములకు వ్యతిరేకము. గనుక రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వంగాని, మరే ప్రభుత్వంగాని ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధము కుఖ్యంగా పేద కుటుంబాలకు ఎక్కువగా సానుభూతిగా నున్నదిగనుక ఈ నిషేధం వట్టము అమలులో నుంచుమరని నేను విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయములో రాయలసీమవారు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రానికి సుముతులుగానే ఉన్నారు. అధిక మంత్రి శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు మదరాసు రాష్ట్రం అరవలకు చెందినదనినీ, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములో మదరాసు చేర్చునాడని చెప్పియున్నారు. ఈ విషయములో మదరాసు నగరము అరవల, కన్నడలు, ఆంధ్రులు, ఇంకా ఇతర కమ్యూనిటీవార్లవల్ల అనాదినుండి improve చేయబడియున్నది. అయిననూ ఈ నగరము అరవలకు ఒక్కరికీ వెండదనినీ కుఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రులే ఎక్కువమంది ఈ నగరమును వృద్ధిలోకి తెచ్చినారనినీ నేను గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు ఈమదరాసు నగరము ఆంధ్రులకు చెందదు అని చెప్పటం సలబుగాదు. మదరాసు లేని ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము ఏర్పరచుటకు మా రాయలసీమ ప్రజలు ఎంతమాత్రము సన్ననింపరని నేను గట్టిగా చెప్పచున్నాను.

“రాయలసీమను సర్వతోముఖంగా అభివృద్ధిపరచడం ఎంతో అవసరం. వీటేట టైలానికి గురిఅవుతున్న రాయలసీమ ప్రజలను రక్షించాలనే ఉద్దేశం ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉన్నట్లయితే వృక్షయంత్రార్యకంగా రాయలసీమ వెంట నుండు కమిటీవారు సహజంగా

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చివరలో సూచనలను అమలుజరుపాలి. ఎవో Development Board ను వేళావేళానికోనే సంవృత్తిపడక ఆ బోర్డు చేసిన సూచనలను వెంటనే అమలుజరుపాలి అని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కృషిచేయాలని మనవి చేయుచున్నాను.

“నా చిత్తూరు జిల్లాకు ఎన్నికైనటువంటి స్థానంలేకుండా ఒక కార్యక్రమమును నూతన ప్రభుత్వం ప్రారంభించియుండలేదు. 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరానికి పూర్వపు బడ్జెటులలో ఆధికాహారోత్పత్తికిగాను రాష్ట్రములో కోట్లకొలది రూపాయలు ప్రభుత్వం ద్వారా సరఫరాచేయబడింది. లాభాన్ని పొందనటువంటి జిల్లాలకు ఈ బడ్జెటులో కూడా కొన్ని లక్షలరూపాయలు కేటాయించిననూ, అందులో మా చిత్తూరు జిల్లాకు మాత్రం 19 లక్షల రూపాయలు కేటాయించబడియున్నది. ఈ జిల్లాలో ఏ స్క్రీము లేకుండాయున్నది. కాబట్టి ఆధికాహారోత్పత్తి స్క్రీము ఈ జిల్లాలో ప్రోత్సహించగలండు అను కోరుచున్నాను.

“రెండవది ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీము విషయములో నేను ఒకమాట చెప్పదలచాను. 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరపు బడ్జెటులో ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీముకింద వ్యవసాయమునకుగాను ఒక లక్ష రూపాయలు మాత్రమే ఇచ్చారంటే ఈ విషయములో చాలా విచారింపదగిన విషయము. ఈ జిల్లాలో సాగుకు పనికివచ్చే భూమి చాలావున్నది గనుక ఈ ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీమును ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రోత్సహించుమరని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

“ఇది ముఖ్యంగా జమీందారి రద్దు విభాగంగురించి కొంత అభివృద్ధికి తీసుకొని రావలసిన అవసరం ఉన్నది. ప్రభుత్వానగరానికి దగ్గరగా వున్న రైతులు ఈనాడు సౌకర్యాల కావలసినట్లుగా. గ్రామాలలో నీటికేకాని, వ్యవసాయానికిగాని సౌకర్యాలు లేక రైతులు అనేక బాధలుపడుచున్నారు. ఈ జిల్లాలో జి.యం.ఎఫ్. స్క్రీముకూడా సక్రమంగా పనిజరిగడంలేదు. ఇందుకుగాను మైజూర్ గా ఒక ఇంజనీరింగు శాలను వేసి ఈ స్క్రీమును అభివృద్ధిలోకి తీసుకురావలసిన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ జిల్లాలో వ్యవసాయ సౌకర్యాలులేనందున, కొరతజిల్లాగా ప్రభుత్వం తెలిసినది. ఈ జిల్లాలో ఇరిగేషన్ సౌకర్యాలుచేయించి వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి తోడ్పడవలసిందిగా కోరుతున్నాను. ఇంతవరకునూడా జమీందారీలు స్వాధీనం చేసుకోవడంకూడా ఉన్నది. వాటిని అన్నిటిని స్వాధీనంచేసుకొని ప్రభుత్వం సక్రమమైన వ్యవసాయ వ్యవసాయ సౌకర్యాలు చేయించినయడం ఈ జిల్లా చాలా ప్రాముఖ్యతకు తీసుకురావచ్చును. ఇప్పటికి ఇరవై ముప్పై సంవత్సరాలనుండి జమీందారి భూములు ఆక్రమించుకొని ఆక్రమంగా రైతులు అశుభవిస్తున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వం సరియైన విచారణచేయించి ఈ ఆక్రమ పట్టాలను రద్దుచేయించి జిల్లాలో పేదప్రజలకును, హరిజనులకును ఇవ్వవలసిన కోరుచున్నాను. ఈనాడు పుంగనూరు తాలూకాలో కొందరు రైతులు ఆక్రమ పట్టాలకలిగించుకొని భూములను స్వాధీనములో ఉంచుకున్నారు. ఇటువంటివి ఈ పుంగనూరు జమీందారీలోనేగాక వింగలపాలెం తాలూకా జమీందారికి సంబంధించిన గ్రామాలలో కూడా ఉన్నది. పట్టాలన్నియు రద్దుచేయించవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. కాబట్టి జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో పట్టాలు ఇచ్చేవిషయంలో ప్రభుత్వం స్పష్టంగా ఒక విధానాన్ని అనుసరించి జమీందారీ రద్దుపట్టాలను సమగ్రంగా పంపించి ఇప్పటి పరిస్థితులకు అనుగుణంగా కొన్ని మార్పులతో సంస్కరించుటకు చాలా అవసరమని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవి చేస్తూ ఇంతటితో నిలిచిస్తున్నాను.”

* Sri K. RAMIAH CHOUDARY:—“అధ్యక్షా, ప్రస్తుతము గౌరవనీయు 11
రైత ఆధికకామామ్యురైతులవంటి శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరపు
బడ్జెటును ప్రవేశపెట్టుతూ, ఈ బడ్జెటు కరువుసమయంలో తయారుచేసినటువంటి

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కేసులు పెట్టడమే కాకుండా బస్సు పరిష్కార కూడా రద్దు అగును. కనుక ఈ ఓవర్ లోడ్ చార్జీలు ప్రభుత్వం ఆక్రమంగా ఎగ్రూలు చేస్తున్నారని అనే అంబోషన్ ప్రజలలో కలుగ కుండా ప్రభుత్వం బస్సు ఓవర్ లోడ్ వసూలు చేయవలసిందిగా చేస్తే ఈ టాక్సు సక్రమంగా వసూలు చేయలేము. దీనికి మరొక ప్రత్యేక సిబ్బంది చేయవలసివస్తుంది. గనుక ఈ సిబ్బంది ఖర్చులు ప్రభుత్వానికి పెరుగుతుంది గనుక ఈ అవసర చార్జీ వ్యాసించే ముద వేయక క్కరి లేదు.

“ఇక మద్యపాననిషేధం విషయంలో నేనో సలహా చెప్పడంలేదు. ఇక ప్రభుత్వ ప్రతిపాదనలలో ఈ త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడనివారు అందరూ తిరిగి ఈ మద్య పాన నిషేధం తీసివేసి ఇరల మద్యపానం మామూలు ప్రకారం పెట్టమని కోరుతున్నారు. ఈ విషయములో నేనొకమాట చెప్పడంలేదు. మద్యపాననిషేధం వట్టం రాక ముందు కూలినాలి చేసుకొని తీవ్ర ప్రతిమనుష్యుడు సాధారణముగా త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడియుండేవాడు. అతడు దినమునకు నాలుగు అణాలు సంభాషించినప్పుడు మూడు అణాలవరకు త్రాగుడుకు ఖర్చు పెట్టి ఇంటికి ఒక అణా మాత్రం కుటుంబ పోషణకు తీసుకొని వెళ్ళగా కుటుంబపోషణ కష్టపాథ్యముగా ఉండేది. ఈ మద్యపాన నిషేధ వట్టము అమలులోనికి వచ్చినతరువాత అతనికి సంపాదించుకున్న నాలుగు అణాలు మిగులుతున్నది. ఈ త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటుపడినందువల్ల ఇప్పుడు ప్రతి ఇంటిలోను పిల్లాల్లాకూడా అలవాటు చేసుకున్నారు. ఇదికాకుండా ఛామ్యధరకు రక్ష్యముగా అప్పుడూ వ్యాపారవృత్తిలోకి తెచ్చినారు. ఈ దినములలో ధనికవర్గం వారు ఈ పారాయని రహస్యంగా కాచుంచి, అర్జించి దబ్బు గడించుచున్నారు. అందువలననే ఈ ధనికులే మరల ఈ వట్టమును తీసివేయమని కోరుతున్నారు ఈ వట్టమును తీసివేయుట ధనికవర్గమును పోషించుటకేనని నా అభిప్రాయము. ఈ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ పేద కుటుంబాల సలహా తీసుకొనుట మంచిదని నా సలహా. ఈ రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వంకింద బి మనుష్యుడైనను పేదవాడుగాని, ధనికుడుగాని బహిరంగంగా త్రాగుట సాహసించరు. రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వముకు మాలద్రోయుటకు కమ్యూనిస్టుల ప్రయత్నపడుతున్నారు. ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధమును పూర్తిగా అమలు జరుగవలెనని సలహా యిచ్చుచున్నారు ఈ వట్టమును రద్దుపరచుట గాంధీ సిద్ధాంతములకు వ్యతిరేకము. గనుక రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వంగాని, మరే ప్రభుత్వంగాని ఈ మద్యపాననిషేధము కుఖ్యంగా పేద కుటుంబాలకు ఎక్కువగా సానుభూతిగా నున్నదిగనుక ఈ నిషేధ వట్టము అమలులో నుంచుమరని నేను విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయములో రాయలసీమవారు ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రానికి సుముతులు గానే యున్నారు. అధిక మంత్రి శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు మదరాసు రాష్ట్రం అరవలకు వెందినదనినీ, ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రములో మదరాసు చేర్చునాడదని చెప్పియున్నారు. ఈ విషయములో మదరాసు నగరము అరవలు, కన్నడులు, ఆంధ్రులు, ఇంకా ఇతర కమ్యూనిటీవార్లవల్ల అనాదినుండి improve చేయబడియున్నది. అయిననూ ఈ నగరము అరవలకు ఒక్కరికి వెండదనినీ కుఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రులే ఎక్కువమంది ఈ నగరమును వృద్ధిలోకి తెచ్చినారనినీ నేను గట్టిగా చెప్పగలను. శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు ఈమదరాసు నగరము ఆంధ్రులకు వెండదు అని చెప్పటం సలబుగాదు. మదరాసు లేని ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము ఏర్పరచుటకు మా రాయలసీమ ప్రజలు ఎంతమాత్రము సన్ననింపరని నేను గట్టిగా చెప్పచున్నాను.

“రాయలసీమను సర్వతోముఖంగా అభివృద్ధిపరచడం ఎంతో అవసరం. వీరేట జైలానికి గురిఅవుతున్న రాయలసీమ ప్రజలను రక్షించాలనే ఉద్దేశం ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉన్నట్లుంటే వ్యవసాయపూర్వకంగా రాయలసీమ డెవలప్ మెంటు కమిటీవారు సమర్థం

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చిన రిపోర్టులో సూచనలను అమలుజరుపాలి. ఎవో Development Board ను వేళామనేదానితోనే సంవత్సరపడక ఆ బోర్డుచేసిన సూచనలను వెంటనే అమలుజరుపటానికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కృషిచేయాలని మనవియుచున్నాను.

“మా చిత్తూరు జిల్లాకు ఎర్విగ్గ మైనటువంటి స్థానంలేకుండా ఒక కార్యక్రమమును నూదా ప్రభుత్వం ప్రారంభించియుండలేదు. 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరానికి పూర్వపు బడ్జెటులలో ఆధికాహారోత్పత్తిగాను రాష్ట్రములో కోట్లకొలది రూపాయలు ప్రభుత్వం ద్వారా సరఫరాచేయబడింది. లాభాన్ని పొందనటువంటి జిల్లాలకు ఈ బడ్జెటులో కూడా కొన్ని లక్షలరూపాయలు కేటాయించిననూ, అందులో మా చిత్తూరు జిల్లాకు మాత్రం 19 లక్షల రూపాయలు కేటాయించబడియున్నది. ఈ జిల్లాలో ఏ స్క్రీము లేకుండాయున్నది. కాబట్టి ఆధికాహారోత్పత్తి స్క్రీము ఈ జిల్లాలో ప్రోత్సహించగలండు లకు కోరుచున్నాను.

“రెండవది ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీము విషయములో నేనుఒకమాట చెప్పడంలేదు. 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరపు బడ్జెటులో ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీముకింద వ్యవసాయమునకుగాను ఒక లక్ష రూపాయలుమాత్రమే ఇచ్చారంటే ఈ విషయములో చాలా విచారించదగిన విషయము. ఈ జిల్లాలో సాగుకు పనికివచ్చే భూమి చాలావున్నది గనుక ఈ ఇరిగేషన్ స్క్రీమును ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రోత్సహించుమరని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను.

“ఇది ముఖ్యంగా జమీందారి రద్దు విభానంగురించి కొంత అభివృద్ధికి తీసుకొని రావలసిన అవసరం ఉన్నది. ప్రభుత్వానగరానికి దగ్గరగా వున్న రైతులు ఈనాడు సౌకర్యాల కావలసినట్లుంటుంది. గ్రామాలలో నీటికేకాని, వ్యవసాయానికిగాని సౌకర్యాలు లేక రైతులు అనేక బాధలుపడుచున్నారు. ఈ జిల్లాలో జి.యం.ఎఫ్. స్క్రీముకూడా సక్రమంగా పనిజరిగడంలేదు. ఇందుకుగాను స్వేచ్ఛగా ఒక ఇంజనీరింగు శాఖనువేసి ఈ స్క్రీమును అభివృద్ధిలోకి తీసుకురావలసిన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ జిల్లాలో వ్యవసాయ సౌకర్యాలలేనందున, కొరతజిల్లాగా ప్రభుత్వం తెల్పినది. ఈ జిల్లాలో ఇరిగేషన్ సౌకర్యాలుచేయించి వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి తోడ్పడవలసిందిగా కోరుతున్నాను. ఇంతవరకునూడా జమీందారీలు స్వాధీనం చేసుకోవడంకూడా ఉన్నది. వాటిని అర్జిటిని స్వాధీనంచేసుకొని ప్రభుత్వం సక్రమమైన పద్ధతులలో వ్యవసాయ సౌకర్యాలు చేయించినయెడల ఈ జిల్లా చాలా ప్రాముఖ్యతకు తీసుకురావచ్చును. ఇప్పటికి ఇరవై ముప్పై సంవత్సరాలనుండి జమీందారి భూములు ఆక్రమించుకొని ఆక్రమంగా రైతులు అనుభవిస్తున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వం సరియైన విచారణచేయించి ఈ ఆక్రమ పట్టాలను రద్దుచేయించి జిల్లాలో పేదప్రజలకును, హరిజనులకును ఇవ్వవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈనాడు పుంగనూరు తాలూకాలో కొందరు రైతులు ఆక్రమ పట్టాలకలిగించుకొని భూములను స్వాధీనములో ఉంచుకున్నారు. ఇటువంటివి ఈ పుంగనూరు జమీందారిలోనేగాక వింగలపాలెం తాలూకా జమీందారికి సంబంధించిన గ్రామాల్లో కూడా ఉన్నది. పట్టాలన్నియు రద్దుచేయించవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. కాబట్టి జమీందారి ప్రాంతాలలో పట్టాలు ఇచ్చేవిషయంలో ప్రభుత్వం స్పష్టంగా ఒక విధానాన్ని అనుసరించి జమీందారి రద్దుపట్టాలను సమగ్రంగా పంపించి ఇప్పటి పరిస్థితులకు అనుగుణంగా కొన్ని మార్పులతో సంస్కరించుటకు చాలా అవసరమని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవి చేస్తూ ఇంతటితో నిలిచున్నాను.”

* Sri K. RAMIAH CHOUDARY:—“అభ్యుదయ, ప్రస్తుతము గౌరవనీయు 11
రైత ఆధికకామామ్యురైతువంటి శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యంగారు 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరపు
బడ్జెటును ప్రవేశపెట్టుతూ, ఈ బడ్జెటు కరువుసమయంలో తయారుచేసినటువంటి

[Sri K. Ramiah Choudary] [7th July 1952]

దనియు అందువలననే ఈ బడ్జెటులో లోటువచ్చిందనియు, కేవల ఇది కేవలం కరువు బడ్జెటు అనియు చెప్పినారు. ఈ మాటను అంతరు బియ్యంవలననే. కాని మన రాష్ట్రంలో ఇటువంటి కరువుకాటకాలు ఇక ముందు రాకుండా వాటిని నివారించు విధానం ఏర్పాటు ఈ బడ్జెటులో దూరకపోవడం చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది. ముఖ్యంగా మా ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ లోని పశ్చిమ గుంటూరు జిల్లాలోని కందుకూరు, ముఖ్యంగా రాయలసీమ మధ్య నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని ఉదయగిరి, కనిగిరి, పొడిలి, వచ్చి జాలాకాలూ, గత ఏ సంవత్సరములాగా వర్షములేనందున, పంటలు పండక, ఆహార ప్రజలకు లభించలేక, కొన్నిచోట్ల త్రాగుటకు నీరు కూడా లేకుండా నానావస్థలు ఉడుతున్నాయి. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో బడ్జెటును తయారుచేసేటప్పుడు, ఈ ప్రజల అవస్థలు గమనించి ఈ కరువుకాటకాలు ఇక ముందైన రాకుండా, వారికి నీటి సదుపాయాలు కలుగజేసి శాశ్వతమయిన నివారణకు ఏర్పాటు ఈ బడ్జెటులో చేయకపోవడం మాత్రం చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది.

ఇప్పుడు రాయలసీమలో ఖామదేవత తాండవమాడుతుంది. ప్రజలు, రైతాంగముకా తినుటకు లెండి, కొన్నిచోట్ల త్రాగుటకు నీరు కూడా లేకుండా ప్రాంతాల చేత బట్టకొని అన్నమా రానుచున్నా అనే నివాసాలలో గ్రామాలు పెరిగిపోయి వలసపోయినందున ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేశారు. కాని ఇటువంటి కరువుకాటకాలకు మరల అవకాశంలేకుండా వాటిని ఎదుర్కోడానికి ఈ బడ్జెటులో ఏ సదుపాయాలు చూపకపోవడమనేది చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉంది. దీని దృక్పథం చూస్తే ముందునుంచి కూడా ప్రభుత్వము ఆంధ్రులను సంతోషింప బిడ్డల్లాగా చూస్తున్నట్లున్నది. ఏ విషయములకును పట్టటం లేని, వ్యవసాయము, విద్య, వైద్యము మొదలైన అన్ని విషయాలలోనూ ఆంధ్రులను చిన్న దూపులోకి చూస్తూ ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేశారని తెలుసుకోవలసివస్తుంది. ముఖ్యంగా రైతులు దేశానికి ఎక్కువగా, పట్టణీయులు తక్కువగా అయిపోయినారు. రైతులు కేవల క్రొత్తగా ప్రభుత్వములో చాగుపడకపోయి చెప్పి ఆశాభావంతో అటువంటివారి ఆశలన్నీ ఈరోజు నిరాశరేనాయి. అంతేకాకుండా గత ఏ సంవత్సరముల క్రొత్తగా ప్రభుత్వములో, కరువుకాటకాలకు గురి అయిన వంటి, పట్టణీయుల నివసిస్తున్నటువంటి రైతాంగంవైన నీరు అనేకరకాల కన్నులు చారము చేసి ఆడబ్బులో పట్టణీయులను పోషించడానికి కృషిచేస్తున్నట్లు కన్పడుతున్నది. ఎక్కడ చూచిన రైతులు, మెట్ట జాలాకాలూ రైతులు కానివ్వండి, పల్లె ప్రదేశాలలో రైతులు కానివ్వండి, అయిదు సంవత్సరములనుంచి వర్షాలు లేనందువలన పంటలు పండక చాలా చెబ్బినవలసివచ్చింది. అటువంటివారిపై ఇంకా పన్నులువేసి వారిని కష్టపెడుతున్నారంటే, ఈ పట్టణీయులను ఈ పట్టణీయుల పోషించడానికి ప్రభుత్వము సహాయపడుతున్నదని తెలుసుకోవలసివస్తుంది. ముఖ్యంగా, ఆంధ్రులస్థితిగతులను గురించే పోవడం, వారికోర్కెలను మన్నించకపోవడం అనేది ఆంధ్రులకునిజంగా అపమానకరమైనటువంటి విషయం. మీరు మిక్కిలి ఆంధ్రుల చిరకాల వాంఛ అయినటువంటి నందికొండ ప్రాజెక్టును ఈ బడ్జెటులో గూచించక, దాదాపు పదిహేని రూపాయలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి క్రిస్టా-వెన్నూరు ప్రాజెక్టు బడ్జెటులో కేటాయించుట చాలా శోచనీయము. ఇటువంటి శోచనీయమైన విషయాలు ఒక ఆంధ్రునిగురించే కాకుండా, పన్నుల భారముతో కూడిన రైతాంగాన్ని క్రుంగదీసేటువంటి అనేకవిషయాలు ఈ బడ్జెటులో చేర్చబడ్డాయి కన్పడుతున్నది. బడ్జెటులో లోటువచ్చిందని ఇదివరకే వాదపడుతూ ఉన్నటువంటి మెట్టపాంతాల వ్యవసాయాలైన, వీరరైతాంగంవైన మరల పన్నులువేసి బడ్జెటులో టును సమరింప చూస్తున్నారు. దీనికి కారణంగా, ప్రజావసరాలను మనస్సులో పెట్టుకొని వాటిని తీర్చడానికి, ఈ విధంగా బడ్జెటును తయారుచేయవలసివచ్చిందని చెప్పుకున్నారు. ఇదంతాచూస్తే, బడ్జెటును తయారుచేసేటప్పుడు,

[7th July 1952] [Sri K. Ramiah Choudary]

ఇందులో రైతులయొక్క కష్టములు తెలిసినటువంటి రైతుల ప్రతినిధి ఎవరులేనని తెలుస్తున్నది. వారికిబదులు, ఏ న్యాయవాదులూ, లేక డాక్టర్ల వ్యతిరేకమువారిలో లేక పెద్దపెద్ద భూస్వాములలో కోటికొద్దీ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని హస్తగతంచేసికొనిన కారణం చేత ఈనాడు రైతు చెబ్బినవలసిన పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడినది. ప్రజలకు, ఆరోగ్యమైనది, గడ్డ, యిల్లు, ఆరోగ్యవసతులు మొదలగు ప్రాథమిక అవసరాలు, ఉన్నత సంస్కృతి అవసరమనిచెప్పి నెడనా అన్నారు. కాని ఈ బడ్జెటులో ప్రజలకు, లెండి, బట్ట, యిల్లు కలుగజేసే వసతులేరి కన్పడవని తెలుసుకోవలసివస్తుంది. ఇదంతాచూస్తే, ఈ క్రొత్తగా ప్రభుత్వము కేవలము, అనాటి బ్రిటిష్ పరిపాలకుల విధానాన్నే ఇంకా కూడా అట్టేసాగిస్తూ, అదేపద్ధతి ఈరోజుకూడా ప్రభుత్వము అట్టిపెట్టి రైతులైన మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజానీకంవైన, కూలీలైన చెబ్బకొట్టడానికి ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నది. ఇదేవిషయాన్ని, తిరుపతిలో కల్లూరు చంద్రశాస్త్రిగారు ఒకసారి మాట్లాడుతూ మన దేశానికి సాంకేతికము వచ్చినాకూడా బాసన పద్ధతి పోలేదు అనిచెప్పారు. ఇది 'అంధ' పద్ధతి' ప్రచురింపబడినది. ఈ బాసన పద్ధతి పోనంతవరకు, మధ్యతరగతి ప్రజలకు, కూలీలకు, కార్మికులకు, వారి ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితిని అభివృద్ధిపరచి వారి సుఖజీవమునకు దోహదము చేయనంతవరకు, ఏ ప్రభుత్వమైనా ప్రజల మన్ననను పొందలేదు. అటువంటి ప్రభుత్వము క్రమముగా తననముకాక తప్పుదు. ఇప్పుడు బెటర్మెంటుటాక్సు అనిచెప్పి రైతులైన ముఖ్యముగా మెట్టపాంతాలలోని ప్రజానీకంవైన వేయవలసివచ్చింది. దీనికి కారణం ఏమి చెప్పుతున్నారంటే, మీకు ఫ్రాజెక్టులు కట్టినాము, నీటి సదుపాయాలు చేస్తాము అని చెప్పుతున్నారు. కాని, గత ఏ సంవత్సరములనుంచి వర్షము లేనందువలన మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో రైతాంగము వివరీత కష్టపడుతున్నది గురి అయి, అనేకమంది రైతులు వ్యవసాయాన్ని మానుకొని, ఇప్పుడు ఏ బర్మాలోనో లేకపోలే ఈ మదరాసు పట్టణములోనో రిక్తలాగునూనో, లేక మరే నీచవృత్తులచేస్తూనో జీవితము గడుపుతున్నారు. కనుక ఇదే విధానాన్ని ప్రభుత్వము ప్రతిసంవత్సరము అనుసరించినట్లైతే కొద్ది కాలములోనే చేతములో రైతులేలేకుండాపోతూ పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడుతుంది. రైతాంగము ఈమాదిరి అవస్థపడుతున్న సమయంలో భూములైన ముఖ్యముగా మెట్టభూములైన బెటర్మెంటు టాక్సు వేస్తున్నారంటే చాలా ఘోరంగాఉంటుంది. రైతులు వారిమామూలువ్యవసాయానికి ఎక్కువగా ఖర్చుచేయవలసియింటుంది. ఎద్దులు కొనవలసివస్తే వెయ్యి రూపాయలు పెట్టవలసి ఉంటుంది. ఒక ఆవు కొనవలసివస్తే సుమారు నూరు రూపాయలు పెట్టవలసిఉంటుంది. అయిదు సంవత్సరములనుంచి వర్షములేని కారణంచేత ఎస్తువుల ధరలు పెరిగి రైతులు ఇంకా భరింపలేక విముఖముచెంది పల్లెలను వదలుకొని పట్టణాలకు పోతున్నటువంటి సమయములో వారికి కావలసిన సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేసేందుకు ప్రయత్నం చేయుటకు బదులు మరల వారిపైన బెటర్మెంటు టాక్సు అని చెప్పి కొత్తపన్నులు వేయడం చాలా విచారకరమైన విషయం. ఈ పన్నుల విధానము రైతును వ్యవసాయములో చాలా నిరుత్సాహ పరుస్తున్నదని చెప్పకతప్పదు. ఇట్లు అందరి రైతులైన ఈ పన్నులు విధించుటకు బదులు ఏ రైతాంగమైతే ముందుకువచ్చి మాకు పలానాప్రాజెక్టులు కట్టించండి, పలానా అనకట్టలు కట్టించండి అని అడుగుతుందో ఆ రైతులపైననే ఈ పన్నులు వేసి వారినుండి ఈ బెటర్మెంటు టాక్సు సమూలుచేస్తే చాలా చాగుంటుందని ప్రభుత్వము తెలుసుకోవడము అవసరము.

“ఇంకా సర్ చార్జీలు వేయవలసివచ్చాయి. వీటివల్ల పెట్టణీయులకా రైతాంగమంతా చాలా చెబ్బిపోయింది. ఇప్పుడికే పది ఎకరాలు, ఇరువై ఎకరాలు మొదలుకొని నూరు ఎకరాలుగల రైతులుగూడా పంటలేక కుటుంబాలు పోషించలేక భూములను

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వకలుకొని పోయే పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడింది. ఇటువంటి సమయములో ఈ సర్కార్లు వేసిన ట్టుయిన మెట్టు తాలూకాలలోని రైతాంగములకు శేవలము వ్యవసాయాన్ని బొత్తిగా మూలకొని ఇతర వృత్తులకు పోవడానికి దోహదము చేస్తున్నదని ప్రభుత్వము తెలుసుకోవలసియున్నది. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము రైతుల కష్టాలను గమనించి ఈ సర్కార్లను మెట్టు ప్రాంతాల రైతులైన గాక జిల్లా ప్రాంతాలలోని భూస్వాములైన వేయడము మంచిదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“తరువాత బస్సుచార్జీల విషయములో, ముఖ్యము ఒక నైసా వంతున బస్సు చార్జీ ఎక్కువ చేసినారు. అందులోను పల్లెలకు, మద్రాసు పట్టణమునకు వ్యత్యాసము చూపారు. ఒక సభ్యుని ప్రశ్నకు సమాధానంగా, ఈ బస్సుచార్జీ రేటు హెచ్చించు మద్రాసు నీటిలోని బస్సులకు వర్తింపదని చెప్పారు. ఈ బేధము ఎందుకు చూపారో నాకు అర్థం కావడంలేదు. నిజంగా ఈ పట్టణములో తిరిగేవాళ్లంతా వి.ఎం.ఎస్.ఎ.లో లేక వ్యాపారస్థులలో, కోటీశ్వరులలో లేక మద్రాసు చూడడానికి వచ్చి ఇష్టమైన సారము ద్రవ్యము వెచ్చించునటువంటివారో అయితే అవుతారు. ఇటువంటి భవవంతులై ఈ బస్సు రేటు హెచ్చించు వర్తింపదుకు బదులు శేవలము పల్లెప్రాంతాలలోని వీధి ప్రజానికానికీ వర్తింపదుట్లు చేయడంలో వివిధ న్యాయమున్నదో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. అంధప్రాంతములలోనే కాదు మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో ఎక్కడైనా సరే ఈ పన్నుల విధానాన్ని గురించి గుర్తొని మధ్యతరగతి ప్రజానికము, కూలీలు వియ్యమున్నారో తెలుసునా? మీ ప్రభుత్వమువద్ద, మీ పన్నులువద్ద. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినప్పటి నుండి మాకేమి సహాయము చేయలేకపోయిన, పన్నులు మాత్రము రక్కలేతంతా విధిస్తూఉంది. ముందున్న ఆ తెల్లవారే తిరిగి రావచ్చుంది. మీకు కల్లాగ బ్రతుకు తాము అని అంటున్నాము. కనుక ఇటువంటి విధానాన్ని ప్రభుత్వము మార్చుకొని వీధి ప్రజానికమునైన పన్నుల భారము వేయకుండా చూడవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. సాధారణంగా బస్సు యజమానులు—1, 2 బస్సులున్న వారైనా సరే కాగా సంపాదించి కోటీశ్వరులగా ఉంటారు. కనుక, ఈ ఆదాయాన్ని వాడుకగర్లుండి రాబట్టలే కాగంటుంది గాని వీధి ప్రయాణికులనుండి వసూలు చేయకూడదు. కనుక ఇదివరకు ఉన్న బస్సుచార్జీ రేటునె ఉంచవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇంక మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాగురించి కొంత మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ జిల్లాలో కరువు ప్రాంతాలలో చాచాపు పదివేల కుటుంబాలు శేవనార్హమై ఇతర ప్రదేశాలకు వలసపోయారని ప్రభుత్వమునకు తెలిసినది. ముఖ్యంగా, ఉదయగిరి, కనిగిరి, పొదిలి, దర్శి తాలూకాలు కరువుకు చాలా గురిఅయి అనేకమంది ప్రజలు వలసపోవలసివచ్చింది. ఈ పరిస్థితులను ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తీసుకు రావడానికి ఎంతో ప్రయత్నము చేశాము. ఫామిల్ కమిషనరుకు కూడా తెలుపుకొన్నాము. కాని ఆ కరువు నివారణకుగాను ప్రభుత్వము సరియైనటువంటి చర్యలు వివిధ తీసుకోలేదు. అక్కడక్కడ బియ్యం కొన్ని గంట రేషన్లు వామమూత్రముగా పెట్టినారు. ఆ గంట రేషన్లలో వేసే గంటకూడా ఆరోగ్యకరముగా ఉండదు. చెట్టవాసన కలిగి చాలా ఆనారోగ్యకరముగా ఉంటుంది. ఈ ఆనారోగ్యకరమైనటువంటి గంటరేషన్లు మాత్రము కొద్ది కన్నుతున్నాయి గాని ఇదిగూడా ప్రజలు ఆరోగ్యవంతముగా ఉండాలనే భావనకలిగి సరియైన గంట వేసే టెట్లు కన్నడలేదు. ఇటువంటి కరువుకాలాలకు ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో ఉన్న చాచాపు 15 వేలమంది గురి అగుతున్నారు. ప్రజలు ఈవిధముగా రాధవతున్నప్పుడు ఈ రోజు ప్రభుత్వమువారు సక్రమమైన ఒక ప్రణాళిక తయారుచేసి వీధి ప్రజానికాన్ని ఈ కరువునుండి రక్షించలేకపోవడం చాలా శోచనీయమైన విషయము. ఉదయగిరి తాలూకా చాలా మెట్టుతాలూకా. ఈ తాలూకాలో సుమారు 15 వంతుల వా

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తాల మూగణిభూమి ఉన్నది. అక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి 1 లక్ష 32 వేల జనాభా ఈ భూమిపైన ఆధారపడి జీవకవలసిఉంటుంది. ఈనాడు దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినగూడా ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలయొక్క కష్టాలను గమనించకుండాపోవడం అంటే ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనకు ముందున్న ఫ్రీటిడ్ పరిపాలనకు అట్టే లేదాకన్నదదు.

“ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చిన తరువాత వారు ఈ మెట్టుతాలూకాకు మేలుచేసేందల్లా రికే లక్షలు ఖర్చుచేసి ఒక చెరువుదగ్గర ఆనకట్ట కట్టారు. దానివల్ల 150 ఎకరాలు మాత్రము సాగుకువస్తుంది. తరువాత ఈ 5 సంవత్సరాల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనలో ఈ తాలూకాలో ఒక కొత్త పోస్టు ఆఫీసు నిర్మించారు. మెట్టు ప్రాంతమైన ఈ తాలూకాలోని నీటి సదుపాయాలు లేక ప్రజలు ఈమదిరి కరువు కాలాలకు గురిఅయి అవస్థ పడుతుండగా, అయిదుసంవత్సరములనుండి పరిపాలిస్తున్న కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము ఈ కష్టాలను తొలగించేందుకని వి ప్రాజెక్టులుగాని మరి వి ఇర్రిగేషన్ స్కీములుగాని, ఇతర నీటి సదుపాయములు గాని కలుగజేయలేదు. ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో ఒక రికే లక్షలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి ఒక ఆనకట్ట మరికొన్ని కొత్త పోస్టు ఆఫీసు నిర్మించింది తప్ప ఏమిచేసింది ఏమిలేదు ఈ ఆనకట్టవల్ల 150 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే సాగుఅవుతుంది. అదికూడ ఇటీవల విరదలవల్ల తెగి, కంటువాడుచేసి సముద్రపు పాలుచేయుటకు దోహదము చేశారు. ఇంకొక విషయం ఏమంటే ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో మర్రిట్టవారు ఉన్నది. దీని విషయంగురించి ప్రభుత్వానికి తంతులు ఇచ్చాము. ప్రధానమంత్రికికూడా తంతులు ఇచ్చాము. ఈ వాగు ప్రవాహము అక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి తోట భూములను ముంచివేయుచున్నది. మాకు ఏమి ఆనకట్టలు, ఇతర నీటి సదుపాయములు లేకపోగా, మాకు ఈ వాగువల్ల తోట భూములు నాశనముకాకుండా దానికి మోటుకొండల దగ్గర ఆనకట్ట కట్టిన మంచిది. రైతులకు వి సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయకుండా ఈవిధంగా వారిని నిర్లక్ష్యము చేస్తున్నందువల్లనే రైతులు ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని తిరస్కరించి తిరగబడడానికి సాహసీస్తున్నారు. కనుక రైతులను తృప్తిపరచవలసినట్లే, వారికష్టాలను గమనించి వారికి తగిన చేయూతనిచ్చి వారి కోరికలను తీర్చవలసినట్లే, ఈ బడ్జెటులో సూచించబడిన అధిక పన్నులను తొలగించి వారికి తగిన వసతులు కల్పించవలసిన మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“మరొక విచారకరమైన విషయమేమంటే, పల్లెటూళ్లలో అయితే ప్రజలకు కూడుగుడ్డకు మాత్రము అవస్థపడుతున్నాయంటే, ఇక్కడ మద్రాసు పట్టణములో చూచినట్లయితే అనేకమంది వీధి ప్రజానికము ఉండుటకు ఇల్లుగాని మరి వి ఇతర నివాస ఆధారములేకుండా ఉంటున్నారు. బర్మాపల్ కంపెనీదగ్గర చూచినట్లయితే ఎక్కువ కుటుంబాలు పొట్టుకూటికై నానావస్థలు పడుతూ రోడ్డు ప్రక్కన విలాటి నివాసము లేకుండా ఆకాశమే ఒక ఇల్లుగా జీవిస్తాన్ని సాగిస్తున్నారు. దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చిన తరువాతకూడా ఇలామంది ప్రజలకు ఉండటానికి ఇల్లువాకిలి లేకుండా ఉండే పరిస్థితిని చూడవలసిన పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడినది. అంటే ప్రభుత్వ విధానము వీరికిగా ఉండో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. ప్రజాప్రతినిధులమైన మనము ప్రజల విశ్వాసాన్ని దూరంగాని మీ కోరికలను నెరవేరుస్తాము, మిక్కులను కరువువాదలనుండి రక్షిస్తాము అని నానాకాలు చేసినటువంటివారము, ఈనాడు వారికి ఏమి మేలుచేయకపోవడం, వారి కోరికలను అసహజమైన మారు, గుడ్డ, నివాస వసతులు వారికి కలుగజేయకపోవడం అంటే చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది. ఇవ్వుట సభ్యులందరికీ తెలిసినట్లుగా ఈ అసెంబ్లీ చుట్టు ప్రక్కల ఎంతమంది భిక్షుగల్గును దోషంతా చూస్తున్నాము, ఒక అణా ఇవ్వండి, ఒక కాండా ఇవ్వండి అని బలిమాలుతూంటూ అందరికీ తెలిసియు యున్నది. నిజంగా ఇవన్నీ చూస్తూ తిరస్కరిస్తున్నటువంటి మనము ప్రజాప్రతినిధులమేనా అని అడుగు

[Sri K. Ramiah Choudary] [7th July 1952]

వకలుకొని పోయే పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడింది. ఇటువంటి సమయములో ఈ సర్కార్లు వేసిన ట్టుయిన మెట్టు తాలూకాలలోని రైతాంగములకు శేవలము వ్యవసాయాన్ని బొత్తిగా మానుకొని ఇతర వృత్తులకు పోవడానికి దోహదము చేస్తున్నదని ప్రభుత్వము తెలుసుకోవలసియున్నది. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము రైతుల కష్టాలను గమనించి ఈ సర్కార్లను మెట్టు ప్రాంతాల రైతులైన గాక జిల్లా ప్రాంతాలలోని భూస్వాములైన వేయడము మంచిదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“తరువాత బస్సుచార్జీల విషయములో, ముఖ్యము ఒక నైసా వంతున బస్సు చార్జీ ఎక్కువ చేసినారు. అందులోను పల్లెలకు, మద్రాసు పట్టణమునకు వ్యత్యాసము చూపారు. ఒక సభ్యుని ప్రశ్నకు సమాధానంగా, ఈ బస్సుచార్జీ రేటు హెచ్చించు మద్రాసు నీటిలోని బస్సులకు వర్తింపదని చెప్పారు. ఈ బేధము ఎందుకు చూపారో నాకు అర్థం కావడంలేదు. నిజంగా ఈ పట్టణములో తిరిగేవాళ్లంతా వి.ఎం.ఎస్.ఎ.లో లేక వ్యాపారస్థులలో, కోటీశ్వరులలో లేక మద్రాసు చూడడానికి వచ్చి ఇష్టమైన సారము ద్రవ్యము వెచ్చించునటువంటివారో అయితే అవుతారు. ఇటువంటి భవవంతులై ఈ బస్సు రేటు హెచ్చించు వర్తింపదుకు బదులు శేవలము పల్లెప్రాంతాలలోని వీధి ప్రజానీకానికి వర్తింపదుట్లు చేయడంలో వివిధ న్యాయమున్నదో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. అంధప్రాంతములలోనే కాదు మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో ఎక్కడైనా సరే ఈ పన్నుల విధానాన్ని గురించి గుర్తొని మధ్యతరగతి ప్రజానీకము, కూలీలు వియ్యున్నారో తెలుసునా? మీ ప్రభుత్వమువద్ద, మీ పక్షమువద్ద. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చినప్పటి నుండి చాలామీ సహాయము చేయలేకపోయిన, పన్నుల మాత్రము రక్కలేతంతా విధిచూపింది. ముందున్న ఆ తెల్లవారే తిరిగి రావచ్చుంది. మీకు కల్లాగ బ్రతుకు తాము అని అంటున్నాము. కనుక ఇటువంటి విధానాన్ని ప్రభుత్వము మార్చుకొని వీధి ప్రజానీకమునైన పన్నుల భారము వేయకుండా చూడాలని ఆవశ్యకమున్నది. సాధారణంగా బస్సు యజమానులు—1, 2 బస్సులున్న వారైనా సరే కాగా సంపాదించి కోటీశ్వరులగా ఉంటారు. కనుక, ఈ ఆదాయాన్ని వాడుకగర్లుండి చాలిట్టే కాగంటుంది గాని వీధి ప్రయాణికులనుండి వసూలు చేయకూడదు. కనుక ఇదివరకు ఉన్న బస్సుచార్జీ రేటునె ఉంచవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇంక మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాగురించి కొంత మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ జిల్లాలో కరువు ప్రాంతాలలో చాలామంది కుటుంబాలు శేవనార్థమై ఇతర ప్రదేశాలకు వలసపోయారని ప్రభుత్వమునకు తెలిసినది. ముఖ్యంగా, ఉదయగిరి, కనిగిరి, పొదిలి, దర్శి తాలూకాలు కరువుకు చాలా గురిఅయి అనేకమంది ప్రజలు వలసపోవలసివచ్చింది. ఈ పరిస్థితులను ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తీసుకు రావడానికి ఎంతో ప్రయత్నము చేశాము. ఫామిల్ కమిషనరుకు కూడా తెలుపుకొన్నాము. కాని ఆ కరువు నివారణకుగాను ప్రభుత్వము సరియైనటువంటి చర్యలు తీసి తీసుకోలేదు. అక్కడక్కడ బియ్యం కొన్ని గంటల్లో చాలు వామమాత్రముగా పెట్టినారు. ఆ గంటల్లో చాలు వేసే గంటకూడా ఆరోగ్యకరముగా ఉండదు. చెట్లవాసన కలిగి చాలా ఆనారోగ్యకరముగా ఉంటుంది. ఈ ఆనారోగ్యకరమైనటువంటి గంటల్లో చాలు మాత్రము కొద్ది కన్నుతున్నాయి గాని ఇదిగూడా ప్రజలు ఆరోగ్యవంతముగా ఉండాలనే భావనకలిగి సరియైన గంట వేసే టట్లు కన్నడలేదు. ఇటువంటి కరువుకాలాలకు ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో ఉన్న చాలామంది 15 వేలమంది గురి అగుతున్నారు. ప్రజలు ఈవిధముగా రాధవతున్నప్పుడు ఈ రోజు ప్రభుత్వమువారు సరకులైన ఒక ప్రత్యేక తయారుచేసిన వీధిప్రజానీకాన్ని ఈ కరువునుండి రక్షించలేకపోవడం చాలా శోచనీయమైన విషయము. ఉదయగిరి తాలూకా చాలా మెట్టుతాలూకా. ఈ తాలూకాలో సుమారు 15 వంతుల వా

[7th July 1952] [Sri K. Ramiah Choudary]

తాలూకాలోనుండి ఉన్నది. అక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి 1 లక్ష 32 వేల జనాభా ఈ భూమిపైన ఆధారపడి జీవకవలసిఉంటుంది. ఈనాడు దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చినగూడా ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలయొక్క కష్టాలను గమనించకుండాపోవడం అంటే ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనకు ముందున్న ట్రిటిడ్ పరిపాలనకు అట్టే తేడాకన్నదదు.

“ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము వచ్చిన తరువాత వారు ఈ మెట్టుతాలూకాకు మేలుచేసేందల్లా రికే లక్షలు ఖర్చుచేసి ఒక చెరువువద్దగర ఆనకట్ట కట్టారు. దానివల్ల 150 ఎకరాలు మాత్రము సాగుకువస్తుంది. తరువాత ఈ 5 సంవత్సరాల కాంగ్రెస్ పరిపాలనలో ఈ తాలూకాలో ఒక కొత్త పోస్టు ఆఫీసు నిర్మించారు. మెట్టు ప్రాంతమైన ఈ తాలూకాలోని నీటి సదుపాయాలు లేక ప్రజలు ఈమదిరి కరువు కాలాలకు గురిఅయి ఆవస్థ పడుతుండగా, అయిదుసంవత్సరములనుండి పరిపాలిస్తున్న కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వము ఈ కష్టాలను తొలగించేందుకని వి ప్రాజెక్టులుగాని మరి వి ఇన్ఫ్రిక్షన్ స్క్రీములుగాని, ఇతర నీటి సదుపాయములు గాని కలుగజేయలేదు. ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో ఒక రిక్త లక్షలు ఖర్చుపెట్టి ఒక ఆనకట్ట మరికొన్ని కొత్త పోస్టు ఆఫీసు నిర్మించింది తప్ప ఏమీచేసింది ఏమీలేదు ఈ ఆనకట్టవల్ల 150 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే సాగుఅవుతుంది. అదికూడ ఇటీవల విరదలవల్ల తెగి, కంటువాడుచేసి సముద్రపు పాలుచేయుటకు దోహదము చేశారు. ఇంకొక విషయం ఏమంటే ఉదయగిరి తాలూకాలో మర్రిట్టవారు ఉన్నది. దీని విషయంగురించి ప్రభుత్వానికి తంతులు ఇచ్చాము. ప్రధానమంత్రికికూడా తంతులు ఇచ్చాము. ఈ వాగు ప్రవాహము అక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి తోట భూములను ముంచివేయుచున్నది. మాకు ఏమీ ఆనకట్టలు, ఇతర నీటి సదుపాయములు లేకపోగా, మాకు ఈ వాగువల్ల తోట భూములు నాశనముకాకుండా దానికి మాయుకొండల దగ్గర ఆనకట్ట కట్టిన మంచిది. రైతులకు వి సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయకుండా ఈవిధంగా వారిని నిర్లక్ష్యము చేస్తున్నందువల్లనే రైతులు ఈనాడు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని తిరస్కరించి తిరగబడడానికి సాహసీస్తున్నారు. కనుక రైతులను తృప్తిపరచవలసంటే, వారికష్టాలను గమనించి వారికి తగిన చేయూతనిచ్చి వారి కోరికలను తీర్చవలసంటే, ఈ బడ్జెటులో సూచించబడిన అధిక పన్నులను తొలగించి వారికి తగిన వసతులు కల్పించవలసని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“మరొక విచారకరమైన విషయమేమంటే, పల్లెటూళ్లలో అయితే ప్రజలకు కూడుగుడ్డకు మాత్రము అవస్థపడుతున్నాయంటే, ఇక్కడ మద్రాసు పట్టణములో చూచినట్లుయితే అనేకమంది వీధి ప్రజానీకము ఉండుటకు ఇల్లుగాని మరి వి ఇతర నివాస ఆధారములేకుండా ఉంటున్నారు. బర్మాపల్ కంపెనీదగ్గర చూచినట్లుయితే ఎక్కువ కుటుంబాలు పొట్టుకూటికై నానావస్థలు పడుకూ రోడ్లు ప్రక్కన విలాటి నివాసము లేకుండా ఆకాశమే ఒక ఇల్లుగా జీవిస్తాన్ని సాగిస్తున్నారు. దేశానికి స్వాతంత్ర్యము వచ్చిన తరువాతకూడా ఇలామంది ప్రజలకు ఉండటానికి ఇల్లువాకిలి లేకుండా ఉండే పరిస్థితిని చూడవలసిన పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడినది. అంటే ప్రభుత్వ విధానము వీరికిగా ఉండో ఆలోచించుకోవచ్చు. ప్రజాప్రతినిధులమైన మనము ప్రజల విశ్వాసాన్ని దూరంగాని మీ కోరికలను నెరవేరుస్తాము, మిక్కులను కరువువాదలనుండి రక్షిస్తాము అని నానాకాలు చేసినటువంటివారము, ఈనాడు వారికి ఏమీ చేయలేకపోవడం, వారి కోరికలను అసంతృప్తిచేసే మాకు, గుడ్డ, నివాస వసతులు వారికి కలుగజేయకపోవడం అంటే చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది. ఇవ్వుట సభ్యులందరికీ తెలిసినట్లుగా ఈ అసెంబ్లీ చుట్టు ప్రక్కల ఎంతమంది భిక్షుగల్గును దోషంతా చూస్తున్నాము, ఒక అణా ఇవ్వండి, ఒక కాండా ఇవ్వండి అని బ్రతిమాలుతుంటూరో అందరికీ తెలిసియు యున్నది. నిజంగా ఇవన్నీ చూస్తూ తిరస్కరిస్తున్నటువంటి మనము ప్రజాప్రతినిధులమేనా అని అడుగు

[Sri K. Ramiah Choudary] [7th July 1952]

జనాను ? ప్రజల ఎట్లయినా పాడేపోసి మనము మాత్రము సుఖంగా ఈ సభలో ఇష్టమువచ్చినట్లు చర్చలు జరుపుకొంటూ రోజుకు 12-8.0 రూపాయలు జతపెట్టే సలహా రు. 150 లు జీతము లిసుకొంటూ ఉండడానికేనా మనము ఇక్కడికి వచ్చినది ? ఇదంతా చూస్తే స్వతంత్రము వచ్చిందంటే అసెంబ్లీ సభ్యులకే వచ్చినట్లున్నది గాని వల్ల ప్రజాసేవానికి గాని, కూలీలకుగాని, హరిజనులకుగాని ఏమాత్రము రాలేదు. వారు బ్రహ్మదానికి అవకాశములేకుండా ఉన్నది. దేశానికి వెన్నెముక అయినది అంటే ఈ రైతాంగానికి, పేద ప్రజాసేవానికి ఏలాటి ఉపకారము చేయకుండా మనము మాత్రము రోజుకు రు. 12-8.0 జతపెట్టే సలహా రు. 150-0-0 లు జీతము లిసుకొంటూ ఈ గవర్నమెంటు చూస్తూ సుఖంగా ఉండడమేనా మన కర్తవ్యము ? అనేక మంది ప్రజలు వారి కనీస అవసరాలైనటువంటి లెండి, గడ్డ దొరకక గ్రామాలవిడిచి పరిసరాంతాంటే వారికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము ఏమి సహాయము చేయలేకుండా ఉన్నది. ఒక కాంగ్రెసు అధ్యక్షి 'మేము ఈ బడ్జెటును సహాయ చేస్తున్నామని చెప్పారు. కాని దీనిని ఎవరు సహాయ చేయడంలేదు. వ్యతిరేక వాగ్వివాదాలు కలుగుతూ కాంగ్రెసువారు కొంతమంది దీనిని వ్యతిరేకించుచున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వము ప్రతిబాధించిన బడ్జెటును యితరతరంగా ఆమోదించడానికేనా మనము ఇక్కడకు వచ్చినది ? ప్రజల కష్టాలను ప్రభుత్వానికి సవ్యచెప్పి, వారి కష్టాలను తొలగించి వారికి తగిన సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేయడం మన విద్యుత్ కర్తవ్యము.

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a.m.

“ అది వాత, వద్యపాన నిక్షేపము గలది కొంత మందిచేస్తారు. వద్యపాన నిక్షేపము కొరకు ఒక చట్టముచేసి అదిధంగా ప్రజలను బలవంతంగా వద్యపానమునుండి నిక్షేపించడం ఎప్పుటికీ కూడా జయప్రదం కాజాలదు. ప్రజలు నిజంగా ఈ వద్య పానము చాలా తక్కువ అని వారు తెలుసుకొనేటటువంటి పరిస్థితులు కలుగ జేయుట సమయ వద్దరిగాని బలవంతముతో ప్రయోజనముండదు. ప్రజలు ఈ వద్య పానము తక్కువ అని గ్రహించుకొనుటకు వారికి సరియైన విద్య నిచ్చే విధానము చేయవలసి యుండుంది. అప్పుడు వారికి జ్ఞానమువచ్చి వద్యపానాన్ని వారంతికువారే విడిచి పెట్టగలరు. అదిధంగా సంఘములూ ఈ మాట్లాడుటలనియంతుంటుంది. సంఘములూ ఇది తక్కువ అని గుర్తించినాడే ప్రజలలో నిజమైన మార్పు వచ్చి దీనిని నిక్షేపించగలరు. అంతేకాని ఒక చట్టముచేసి దానిని ప్రజలమీదనుంచి వారిని బలవంతపెట్టడం ఏమిలాభము లేదు. ప్రభుత్వము ఇప్పుడు వద్యపాన నిక్షేప చట్టాని ఆమోదించినా కూడా పబ్లిక్ లో త్రాగనివారు ఎవరున్నారని నేను అడుగుచున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా ఈ నిక్షేపం వల్ల అనారోగ్యకరమైనటువంటి కొంగసారాయిచేసి ప్రజలు నానా రోగాలకు గరితగు చున్నారో ఇక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి పట్టణవాసులకు తెలియదుగాని మాకు, పబ్లిక్ లో నిజ నించువారికి కాగా తెలుసు. కనుక ఈ వద్యపాన విషయాన్ని ప్రజలకు వివరించి దీనికి విడిచిపెట్టి అనారోగ్యకరమైనటువంటి సారాయిని త్రాగనివారిని కోరుకూ విర మిస్తున్నాను.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“ I find from the lists submitted by the whips of parties that there are a number of speakers. It is not possible for them all to get a chance, within the time prescribed. I should like therefore to reduce the time-limit for each speaker from 20 to 10 minutes.”

* Sri T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I submit, Sir, that there are three more days during which the general discussion is expected to last, i.e., till 1-30 p.m. on the 10th instant. If it cannot be

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[Sri T. Viswanatham]

managed on the 9th, then the Chair can think of reducing the time-limit. You may allow the speakers to go on as at present, to-day and tomorrow, so that on the 9th and 10th if there are many more speakers whom you cannot accommodate, the time-limit may be reduced.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“ But I find from the lists of speakers submitted by the whips of parties that there are about 30 speakers for to-day, and it will not be possible to finish the list. Yesterday, also there were about 30 speakers, and it was not possible to give every one of them a chance to speak. I would suggest to the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to consider the matter and see whether the time-limit could not be restricted to 10 minutes.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I suggest with your permission, Sir, that if you cannot accommodate us, at least it can be reduced to 15 minutes, and not 10 minutes.”

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“ I accept the suggestion of the hon. the Leader of the Opposition and fix 15 minutes for each speaker.”

* Sri THINAKARASWAMI THEVAR :—“ Mr. Speaker Sir, I support the Budget. Before I come to the subject proper, I have to say a few words about the constituency to which I belong. Probably many of you will be astonished to hear that I belong to a tribe called the Criminal Tribe—not now but a few years ago. From the year 1911 for a period of 30 to 35 years a population of 10 lakhs of Kallars had been registered under the Criminal Tribes Act and under the enforcement of that Act they suffered a good deal. During all these years, these 10 lakhs of Kallars were crushed by the rules and regulations under the Criminal Tribes Act. I may say that I need not be a thief to be called a criminal, but because by birth I am born in that community, I am a criminal and whoever is born in that community is a criminal. Is it justice, I ask, to call a man criminal just because he is born in that community? It was almost unjust Act. I am, of course, proud to say that an Act which had been in existence for the last 30 or 35 years, has at last been repealed by our Congress Government.

“ Now, as regards the Act itself, I have to say a word. Very many friends have been talking about poverty and famine. If hon. Members pay a visit to my area, they will know what poverty really means. I can say that in the whole of the southern districts you cannot see such a poverty-stricken area as the constituency to which I belong. The Kallars belong to an ancient martial class and they have been so for many years, but they were smashed by the Criminal Tribes Act. Not only that, from time immemorial the area has been poverty-stricken and as I said, you cannot see such a poverty-stricken area in the whole of South India. Though the Kallars are well-built, strong and active people and can work for even twelve hours a day, still they are not able to earn their livelihood, because of the poverty-stricken area. I can also say they are a brilliant type of people, honest and brave, but still they are not able to earn their living. Of course, they are all farmers owning small extents

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of land each, but due to continuous failure of monsoon and the consequent failure of crop, the sufferings of the people there are untold and unrepresentable.

"As regards the uplift of this community, the Government no doubt started a department called the Kallar Reclamation department, and that is now under the management of the Harijan Welfare Department. In spite of the existence of this department for several years past, out of a population of 10 lakhs of Kallars, very few of them are educated, and in fact, almost all of them are illiterate and unemployed. In spite of the enormous effort put in by the Government and the enormous amount of money spent by the Government during all these thirty years or so, there are only a handful of graduates in that community and the worst of it is even this handful of graduates are left unemployed and there is not even a few in the gazetted ranks. Some time ago the department opened some industrial centres to help these people, and carpentry was one of the subjects taught there. The unemployed agricultural labourers took to carpentry; some of them worked in the brass section and some others in the weaving section. In these three centres very many Kallar labourers were employed for the last so many years, but all of a sudden the Government abolished all these industrial centres, and the result is unemployment of the Kallars especially in the area concerned. How is the unemployment problem to be solved? We have been agitating and representing to the Government that something should be done to relieve unemployment, by giving irrigational facilities particularly by diverting the waters of the Periyar to Tirumangalam taluk so that the Kallars of the taluk may be benefited. As a matter of fact, so far as Kallar reclamation is concerned, it is the Kallars that have been agitating for the Periyar scheme for the last so many years. I may say that the Hydro-Electric Scheme of Periyar is an ancient scheme so far as Tamil Nad is concerned. Unless the waters of the Periyar are diverted to this area, you cannot solve the poverty problem of the people so far as this area is concerned. As regards the scheme itself, it has been long pending with the Government and in fact, I myself led a deputation several times to the Government of Madras and three times to the previous Congress Government. In case the scheme is put into operation, certainly it will help Kallar Reclamation and I may also venture to say that if that is done even the Kallar Reclamation department can be abolished in course of time and thus much expenditure can be saved to the Government. I refer to the Periyar Hydro-Electric Scheme, and if that is put into execution, about 20,000 acres of land could be brought under cultivation and almost all the poor peasants in the Kallar area would be helped in this way. In this connection, I may also say that the Kallars are ready to help in the matter of labour and I can give a guarantee to the Government that I am prepared to see that as many as one lakh of the Kallar people are made available for digging the canal free of cost. Even in regard to betterment contribution, if we are asked to give that we are also prepared to do so, provided the Government come forward to give us facilities through land mortgage banks or co-operative societies. In this respect we are

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prepared to act up to the suggestions of the Government. The scheme has been finally investigated and sent up to the Planning Commission. It is now in the hands of the Planning Commission. I request the Government to take some special interest and see that the scheme is executed as early as possible in order to remove the sufferings of ten lakhs of Kallars who have been groaning under the weight of poverty for the past thirty years.

"The administration of the Kallar Reclamation Scheme is entrusted to the Harijan Welfare Department. Out of the 10 lakhs of Kallar population, very few are studying. The Kallar students require not less than half a dozen boarding homes. Now there is only one boarding home for them in Usilampatti. I hear that there is correspondence going on for the abolition of even that one boarding home. Its abolition will ruin the Kallar community.

"In former years, Kallar students studying in missionary boarding schools were given stipends and scholarships. The managements have cut down the allotment of funds by about 50 per cent and very few Kallar students are given the concessions now.

"Though there are 10 lakhs of Kallars, there are only very few graduates among them in spite of the enormous sum spent by the Government for the last thirty years on Kallar uplift. Not one of those graduates is yet in the gazetted rank.

"Till the year 1935, the Kallar community was given preferential treatment in the matter of recruitment to Government services. Subsequently, the preferential treatment was given up and the Kallars were clubbed under the category of Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus. It is not easy for the Kallars to compete successfully with the Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus. As there are very few educated Kallars, they cannot prosper unless some preference is shown to them in the matter of recruitment to Government services.

"Sir, there is a river Kallar in the Western Ghats. If an anicut is built and the waters of that river are diverted to irrigate portions of the Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts, it will be a great boon to the ryots of those districts who will be benefited."

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

* SRI THINAKARASWAMI THEVAR :—"Almost all the Kallars are agriculturists. Every one is a peasant and holds some landed property. He works hard on the land and yet he is unable to earn enough to eke out his livelihood. In Usilampatti there is a concentration of Kallar population. Extension of electricity for agricultural purposes is a great need in the area. The area should be given preference in the matter of supply of electricity, as after all electricity is asked for agricultural purposes and not for any luxurious purpose. Extension of electricity will be a great boon to the area and will help the Kallars to improve their agriculture."

SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIYAR :—"Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to record my disapproval of certain proposals in the budget presented by the Hon. Finance Minister. My serious objection

11-30
a.m.

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is to the continuance of the Prohibition policy. I object to it not as a dogma or merely for the sake of opposition. When the Congress Party was preaching Prohibition during the regime of the Justice Party, it was pointed out to the Congress that Prohibition was tried in various countries without success and that even America, which tried Prohibition, did not succeed and gave it up. The Congress Party replied that there was a great difference between India and other countries, because in our country Prohibition had the moral support of the public. I too thought then that Prohibition might succeed because of that moral support. To-day we hear even from the Members of the party in power that the moral support is inert and that public co-operation is not forthcoming in such a measure as to make Prohibition a success. They admit that Prohibition has not been a grand success that it ought to be and as it is proclaimed to be. When that is the position, I do not know why the Government are still persisting in that policy. Whenever we ask why new taxes are levied or why such and such a nation-building activity has not been taken up, the Government reply that they have to levy new taxes and cut down expenditure to make up for the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition. The revenue from the sales tax and other taxes which were levied for the ostensible purpose of recouping the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition far exceeds the amount of the loss. The State has lost the revenue. But have the people been saved from drink? No. I am sure the Hon. Minister for Prohibition himself will admit that in certain areas, though not in his district, drink is cheaper than water, as was said by some hon. Member. Drink is available in large quantities and is the product of culinary process in every kitchen. If one member of a family was an addict before Prohibition, now all the members are addicts to this evil habit. In spite of this fact, the Government are persisting in their Prohibition policy. What are the causes of its failure? It is impossible for a law to wean away addicts from the drink habit by threat of penalty. People have evolved a very easy process of illicit distillation out of their ingenuity. An addict who carries on illicit distillation not only himself drinks but also carries on a business in the sale of drinks. It is a very thriving business also. I hear that in some areas the trade is well organized and on a large scale. The actual offender is not caught and sent to jail. His hirelings, who do the actual distillation, are sent to jail and their families are looked after by the unscrupulous organizer who is at the bottom of the trade. In my area, thousands of agricultural labourers have been sent to jail for Prohibition offences and to that extent agricultural labour has been wasted. Another kind of distiller is the person who does not himself drink but carries on the trade of selling drink because it gives him a vast margin of profit. These distillers alone are supporters of the Prohibition policy and they alone stand to lose by the repeal of Prohibition. Enthusiasm and public co-operation will not be forthcoming in an abundant measure for some years to come, because public conscience has not developed so much as to be always alert. If public opinion is alert in some places even now, it is with a view to gain some personal ends and not because of the people's sincere belief in Prohibition as a nation-building activity. If public co-operation, which

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the Government seek, is forthcoming, then everyone will be an unhealthy spy on his neighbour and that is a position which, I think, even the Government themselves will not like to tolerate in this country. The Prohibition Act is based on the presumption that a confirmed addict can be weaned away from drink by threat of the penal provisions. There is a similar presumption underlying every penal law. The working of the Prohibition Act has proved that presumption to be wrong. Even though the Act has been in force for fourteen years, it has not weaned away confirmed addicts from drink. Since the Government have been losing revenue and at the same time the drink habit has become more widespread, I would suggest to the Government to go slow. Let the Prohibition Act be on the Statute Book. Let the provisions relating to the grant of permits be liberalized. Let every confirmed addict, who declares himself to be so before a specified officer, be given a permit."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :— 'Is it for toddy only or for all intoxicating drinks?'

SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIYAR :— "For everything. Then there will be a clear section of the population who are not addicts. For every 500 or 600 permit-holders, let there be a tavern and let liquor be sold only in the taverns and nowhere else. If anybody is found to trade in liquor outside the tavern, he may be hauled up under the penal provisions of the Prohibition Act.

"If this is done, Sir, I am quite sure that within 30 or 40 years there will not be a single drink addict in the country and the penal provision of the Act also can be made severe in regard to non-permit-holders. 11-45 a.m.

"Another problem in connection with this Prohibition is the unemployment of the ex-tappers, ex-contractors and others who were engaged in the trade. Just issue permits to those people who were already engaged in the trade, and as years pass by these people also will become less in number, and then the Government can effect total Prohibition. In a period of 30 or 40 years, even the unemployment problem of these ex-tappers will not give any trouble to the Government. So much about Prohibition.

"Sir, consequent on the introduction of Prohibition, the Chief Minister brought in the levy of sales tax. I am not against the levy of the sales tax. But I would like the Government to examine the unpopular provisions of the Act. The most unpopular provision in the Act is that it is a multiple-point tax in character. The assesses are large in number. It is an all-pervading provision. Every member of the population pays the tax. Every one is made to feel that he is paying the tax, because every bill shows that he is paying sales tax on every purchase every day. Instead of levying the tax on a multiple-point basis, if it is levied at a single point, even at a higher rate, there will be lesser number of assesses. Consequently, there will be less chance of evasion, and expenditure on the establishment for the collection work will also be very much reduced. Except the assesses, the rest of the population will not know or feel the levy of the tax, and they

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will take it that the cost of any article they purchase is so much, because in the bill they will not find the sales tax staring them in the face. This sales tax which is the most unpopular of the taxation measures can be made less unpopular if it is made a single-point tax, and the tax collected from a lesser number of assesses.

"Sir, the proposal to levy a surcharge on land has been stated as one that will affect only people who have large holdings. After the Hon. the Finance Minister finished reading his Budget speech, I was cutting jokes with one of my landlord friends. When I spoke about the proposed levy of surcharge on land, he said, 'What do I care; if they levy Rs. 5 extra on an acre, I will recover it from my tenant; I am not a loser thereby'. I would like the Finance Minister to take note of this and see that the levy is not circumvented."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"The Government will see that they do not circumvent the levy."

SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIYAR :—"Thanks for the assurance. I now come to the problems of my constituency with which I am more intimately concerned. I shall now deal with the transport problem. I am unable to understand the policy underlying the restriction on the number of public transport vehicles in a particular route. If the route is in competition with the railway, I can understand the restriction on the number of transport vehicles. But in routes where there is no rail-road competition, I am unable to understand the restriction on the number of buses. The headquarters of my constituency is Tiruppattur, and it is next in importance only to the district headquarters. Tiruppattur is a Revenue Subdivision where there is the Subdivisional Magistrate's Court. There is a college and there is also a hospital. It is a place of great commercial importance for a radius of about 25 miles. There is a road from Tiruvannamalai to Tiruppattur, which is 55 miles in length. The jurisdiction of the Subdivisional Magistrate begins from Chengam, which is about 17 miles from Tiruvannamalai on the road to Tiruppattur. In this route, neither the merchants nor the litigant public are able to get buses, as the number of buses is very much restricted. There is overloading of buses, but in spite of overloading, people do not get seats in buses. If one wants to go to Tiruppattur on a certain day, on the previous day itself, one must make arrangements for it. I would request the Hon. Minister to take note of this. I believe many representations have been made to the Traffic Board and also to the Transport Minister in this regard. I would request the Hon. Minister to see that four more buses are allowed to ply on this road."

"Sir, when I am on the subject of transport, I would point out also that there is a restriction on the number of taxis plying on this road. The maximum number allowed is only three. Three taxis are quite inadequate to meet the demands of the people. Whenever anything is in short supply, the demand for it is very high and the charges also are high. The charges collected by the taxis are anything between 8 annas and Rs. 2-8-0 per mile. Much harm will

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not be done if the number of taxis is increased in that route or for that matter, in any other route. More number of taxis means that cheaper transport will be available to the public whenever they want. Tiruppattur, which is next in importance to the district headquarters, is not well-connected by trains. All the trains stop at Jalarpet, and there is no connecting train to Tiruppattur. I would suggest that a special service should be opened between Jalarpet and Tiruppattur connecting every train at Jalarpet. Tiruppattur is not connected with Jalarpet by buses. Therefore, I would submit that the Transport Minister takes note of this fact and does something."

"Sir, my area is affected by the Abolition of the Zamindari Act. Before the zamindaris and estates were abolished, it was stated that a millennium would dawn on the ryots if the zamindaris were abolished. Actually the ryots now find that they are in a worse position than they were before."

"As regards forests, the ryots were previously paying lump sum mamools, and they were grazing their cattle in the forests. But the amount they have now to pay far exceeds the lump sum mamool they paid previously. Heavy amounts are now being collected. In some places grazing rights have been taken away. Before the abolition of estates, the ryots were paying only half the cess, the other half being paid by the landlord. Now the full cess, that is, 5 annas in the rupee, is being collected. This is an extra collection from the ryots. Irrigation facilities in the zamindari areas have been in a shameful state of affairs. Even now the same state of affairs continues. Of course it is only two years since the estates were taken over. I wish that irrigation works in the estates are expedited. In some places all tanks have been converted into ryoti lands, and they are being cultivated. I wish that they are taken back, and the tanks are restored to their original position so that more lands can be brought under cultivation, with water from the tanks."

* SRI M. R. APPA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker Sir, it was only the other day that a vote of confidence in the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Rajagopalachari was passed by the House, and it is time now that we consider what policies should be adopted and what measures we should put into force to bring in or usher in the welfare State for which we have been planning all these years. The Five-year Plan, as far as it concerns Madras was placed on the table of the House during the time of the last Government. According to that plan, our aim is that everybody should be provided with the minimum necessities of existence, everybody should be provided with a school to send his children to, and everybody should be provided with a hospital for getting treatment in case of illness; also that everybody must be provided with employment to live by. To attain these ideals, we must have enough production. It is not enough to distribute what we have, because we have very little. Increasing production should be the main business of all the people here as well as of outside, because as far as increased production is concerned, there cannot be two opinions."

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A great famine visited upon us recently and the severity of the famine has been unprecedented in the history of Rayalaseema. In spite of people having been affected, in spite of the fact that cattle have been sold, and in spite of the difficulties for water and food, our Government have done their best to see that people were not put to any avoidable difficulties. Many difficulties have been avoided. I congratulate the Government (and I have no hesitation in doing so) on the way in which they have dealt with the Rayalaseema famine. The villagers also helped the Government in this matter. We have now been freed from that terrible nightmare by the kindly intervention of Nature in the shape of timely rains.

Sir, for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth which we have in view, the administration of the country must be carried on in the language of the people. Based on this demand alone, there has been agitation all over South India as well as in some parts of Central India that there should be provinces formed on a linguistic basis. This problem of linguistic provinces came to the fore in 1913, long before the non-co-operation movement began in Andhra. As far as the Congress organization is concerned, with Mahatma Gandhi's approval, linguistic provinces have been formed, namely, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, Tamilnad Congress Committee, Kerala Congress Committee, and so on, and I am sure that none of these committees would be willing now to merge into one. Referring to the linguistic provinces, in 1947 a short notice question was put by Mr. Ranga to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister was kind enough to say that whatever might be the position regarding other linguistic provinces, so far as the Andhra State was concerned, there could not be any difficulty, and that steps would be taken to form the Andhra State. In pursuance of that demand, the Central Government appointed a committee with Mr. Justice Dhar as its President. Many organizations submitted memoranda to that committee, and that committee gave a report on this subject. When this report was considered by the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee appointed the J.V.P. Committee consisting of the Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, (the late) Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who is now the Governor of Madhya Pradesh. After their report, a Partition Committee in Madras was constituted consisting of prominent Tamilians and Andhras. That Committee went into the matter. Some differences arose. They finally came to the conclusion that Andhras should abandon their claim to the City of Madras being included in the Andhra State, and also that Rs. 1 crore should be given to the Andhra Province. At that time there was great political activity. To that report the Hon. Mr. Prakasam appended a minute of dissent saying that Rs. 1 crore was not sufficient but that Rs. 10 crores should be given, and that the Andhra capital could not be moved out of Madras forthwith. This minute of dissent was supposed to be a flaw in the complete understanding arrived at. This subject is still hanging fire. Recently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru clarified the position by saying that at least as far as the City of Madras was concerned, some agreement must be arrived at. The

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Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee recently passed a resolution saying that the claim that Madras City should be included in the Andhra State should be abandoned. Other parties have also passed such a resolution.

"I want to make it clear that it does not mean that Madras City will automatically go to any part of South India. When other States like the Tamil State and the Kerala State are formed, then only the question of Madras City should be considered and it cannot be included in any one State. The present moment seems to be very opportune, because our Chief Minister, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari has always been an ardent supporter of the formation of the Andhra State. If you peruse the proceedings of the Madras Legislature in 1937 when he was the Head of the Government, you will see that he made an eloquent speech introducing a Resolution in the Legislature, and he commended that the Andhra State should be immediately formed. If you examine Part I of the Constitution of India, you will find that Article 3 which lays down the procedure for the formation of new States reads as follows:—

'Parliament may by law—

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any States;

(b) increase the area of any State;

(c) diminish the area of any State;

(d) alter the name of any State;

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President.'

"In the beginning, it was sought to be enacted that the Legislature of the State should introduce a resolution and pass it by a majority of votes recommending the formation of a State, but later on when the Constitution was actually passed the procedure was simplified. I am sure our Chief Minister will do his best. He also said the other day, replying to the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, Sri T. Viswanatham, that he would do his best in the matter. Under these circumstances, and as we know that our Chief Minister and our Prime Minister are great democrats and great men, we hope they will do all that is necessary to carry out the will of the people.

"Coming to the question of projects next, the most important project in the Krishna district, we must all think of, is the Budameru Project. That project has been there for a very long time and the previous Government also included it in their proposals for the five-year plan. But, Sir, we learn now that it may be excluded from the five-year plan. We are all agitated over it and the people are holding conferences and they have sent representatives also to urge this matter on the Hon. the Public Works Minister and the Hon. the Chief Minister. The Budameru Project consists of four or five stages. The first stage is the diversion of Budameru into the Krishna river, the second is the bunding of Budameru river, the third is the building of a few reservoirs and

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the fourth is the draining of Kolleru into which the whole river flows. The drainage from Kolleru is called Upputeru and it is proposed to double its present size so that thousands of acres may be saved from submersion, and food production may be enormously increased. First of all, people are anxious that this drainage scheme, i.e., the diversion of Budameru floods into the Krishna river should be taken up immediately because it costs only Rs. 15 lakhs. I say that the Government, at least in every alternate year, are losing lakhs of rupees by giving relief to flood affected peasants and also by way of remission of land revenue. If remission of land revenue is taken into consideration, that amount alone is more than enough to complete the scheme of diversion of Budameru floods into the Krishna river. I earnestly hope that at least this drainage scheme will be taken up by our Government.

"Coming to minor irrigation projects, I may say that people are complaining that small tanks and small bunds—for instance, Budameru bund which costs only Rs. 30,000—are not attended to properly. I hope that these will be attended to promptly and in such small matters the engineers may be given power to carry on in anticipation of the sanction of Government.

"Another important problem that has arisen in my constituency is this. In Nuzvid taluk, after the abolition of zamindaris, many of the tenants have been put to lot of difficulties in regard to their rights over the forests. They should be allowed to go and gather dry wood in the forests and fencing materials for their fields. Without fencing materials, it is impossible to grow any crops. Now, on account of the transition from zamindari to Government management, because survey and settlement are not over, the Forest Officers do not know where the reserved forests end and where the unreserved forests begin. Therefore, they have completely stopped issuing permits: so much so that all the people there are clamouring for the issue of permits. It has taken a serious form and it is almost calamitous because no dry crop can be raised without fencing materials. I represented the matter to the Forest Minister and I am sure he will do his best, realizing the magnitude of the problem, and issue favourable orders.

"Nuzvid taluk in Krishna district is a dry area and many people are under the impression that the Krishna district is a delta area and it need not be attended to. It is not so, Sir. In dry areas it is something like Rayalaseema and though there is no actual famine, the conditions there from the last year onwards have been bordering on famine conditions. Well subsidies and loans have been given there and I request that the Government may consider the question sympathetically and extend the time for collecting the subsidies to one more year, so that the tenants may not be forced to sell their few belongings."

*SRI M. LAKSHMANASWAMI :—“అధ్యక్షా, ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వమువారు తెచ్చినటువంటి బడ్జెటుకు గత ఆయిదు సంవత్సరముల కంటే ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని నిరంకుశంగా పరిపాలించిన కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ప్రవేశపెట్టిన బడ్జెటుకు ఎంత మాత్రం తేడా లేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. దీనిలో సూతనత్వం ఏమీలేదు. ప్రజా

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సామాన్యం జూచి సంతోషించే హంశములు ఇందులో ఏమీ లేవని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఆ బడ్జెటులను ఈ బడ్జెటుతో పోల్చుచూచినట్లయితే ఈ బడ్జెట్ వాటికన్న కూడా ప్రజావ్యతిరేక బడ్జెటుగా కనపిస్తున్నదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఆర్థిక శాఖామంత్యులు చేసిన బడ్జెటు ప్రసంగంలోని ఏ విషయం వేదవారిని సంతోషపరచుటలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ మంత్రివర్గం కొన్ని కొత్త పన్నులను కూడా విధించ నిశ్చయించినది. గత ప్రభుత్వం ఇంతలోటు వస్తుందని అంచనా వేయలేదు. వారు కొత్త పన్నులను కూడా విధించవలసింది కాని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం రాగానే కొత్తపన్నులు వేయ నిశ్చయించినది. గోరుచుట్టు మీద రోకిటిపోటు బిళ్లెలు అసలే పన్ను భారాన్ని మోయలేక బాధపడుచున్న రైతులపైను, ప్రజాసామాన్యముపైను కొత్తపన్నులు విధించి దాదాపు నాలుగు కోట్ల రూపాయలవరకు వసూలుచేయడంలో ఈ ప్రభుత్వ లక్షణమేమో స్పష్టపడుతోంది. ఏమి వేయదలచిన పన్నులలో చాలాభాగము వేదవారిపైన మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలపైన పడుతుందని వారు గమనించవలసియున్నది.

“ఈ ప్రభుత్వం విధించదలచుకొన్న పన్నులలో బస్ ప్రయాణీకులపై పన్ను విధించదలచడం ఒకటి. ఇప్పటికే బస్ యజమానులు ప్రయాణీకులపట్ల నుండి అధికంగా రేట్లు వసూలుచేస్తున్నారు. దీనికితోడు బస్ రేట్లు మైలుకు ఒక టైసా చొప్పున పెంచుచేసిట్లయితే ఈ సాకుతో బస్ యజమానులు ఒక టైసే కాకుండా అనేక టైసెలా వసూలుచేయడానికి ఎంతమాత్రం వెనుకాడరని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. బేజవాడనుండి పెనమలూరు గ్రామానికి భుక్తు దూరం ఏడు మైళ్లు మాత్రమే. ఇప్పుడు బస్ యజమానులు ఈ ఏడు మైళ్ల దూరానికి ఆరు అణాలు వసూలుచేస్తున్నారు. ఇక ముందు మైలుకు ఒక టైసా అధికంగా వసూలు చేయవలసిన కారణం చెప్పి ఏడు అణాలు వసూలుచేయవచ్చు. అంటే మైలుకు ఒక అణా చొప్పున ఏడు మైళ్ల దూరానికి ఏడు అణాలు వసూలుచేస్తారు. ఈ విధంగా పెంచుకొన్న పన్నులు చేయడానికి ఈ కొత్త పన్ను ఉపయోగపడుతుందని ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించవలసి యున్నది. బస్ ప్రయాణీకులపై వసూలుచేయడానికి చిన్నచిన్న రైతులపైవెక్కువగా ఈ ప్రభుత్వం పన్నులు వేయదలచడం చాల విచారకరమైన విషయం. ఇప్పటికే ఎకరానికి పది రూపాయలనుండి పదునైదు రూపాయలవరకు పన్నులు చెల్లించుకున్న రైతుల పట్ల నుండి అదనంగా పన్నులు వసూలు చేయదలచడంలో ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారి ఉద్దేశ్య మేమో అర్థం కావడంలేదు. సాగుకు వివిధ రూపాయలు చెల్లించే రైతు అనగా దాదాపు నాలుగైదు ఎకరాల భూవసతిగల ఆసామి ఈ అదనపు సర్చార్జీ చెల్లించవలసినదం చాలా శోచనీయమైనటువంటి విషయం. ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు విధించదలచిన పన్నులలో అధిక భాగం వేదరైతులపైనే పడుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. వేద రైతులపై పన్ను భారం తగ్గించటానికి ఎదురు పెంచుచేయడం ప్రజాధిమతానికి విరుద్ధం. కాబట్టి ఈ సర్చార్జీ విధించే సందర్భంలో చిన్న రైతులను మినహాయించే ఏర్పాటు చేయవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలివి జేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విషయాన్నే కొందరు కాంగ్రెస్ సభ్యులుగూడా తెలియజేశారు. సన్నకారు రైతులకు ఈ పన్ను పట్ల చాలా ఇబ్బంది కలుగుననే విషయం స్పష్టపడినదని మంత్రివర్గంవారు ఈసరికి గ్రహించి ఉంటారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

“ఆదాయంలో లోటువచ్చినదనే కారణంతోనే ఈ కొత్త పన్నులు విధిస్తున్నామని ప్రభుత్వంవారు తెల్లపడ్డాయి. కాని ఆదాయంలో లోటురాకుండా ఆదాయంకన్న ఖర్చు ఎక్కువ కాకుండా వారు విమచర్యులు తీసుకుంటున్నారని అడుగు వేస్తాను. మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు చేస్తున్న ఖర్చులలో దుబారా పెంచుకొని ఉన్నదనే

[Sri M. Lakshmanaswami] [7th July 1952]

విషయం ప్రజలందరికీ తెలుసు. ముఖ్యంగా నామమాత్రం అధికారంగా గవర్నరు గారి నిమిత్తం ఆయన జీతానికి, భత్యానికి, హడావిడిని బట్టి దానికి చేస్తున్న ఖర్చుల చాలావరకు తగ్గించవచ్చు. అదేవిధంగా పోలీసు డిమాండుల ఖర్చు తగ్గించవచ్చు. కాంగ్రెసువారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత పోలీసు శాఖపై ఖర్చు దినదినాభివృద్ధి చెందుతూవచ్చింది. పోలీసు శాఖలో అనేక పెద్ద పెద్ద ఉద్యోగాలు కొత్తగా ఏర్పాటు చేయబడ్డాయి. పెద్ద ఉద్యోగులకు హెచ్చు జీతాలు ఇవ్వడం సామాన్య ఉద్యోగులకు తక్కువ జీతాలు ఇవ్వడం కాంగ్రెసువారు తమ ముఖ్య ధర్మంగా గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలు భావించారు. మేము ఉద్యోగస్తులకే జీతాల ఖర్చు తగ్గించమని చెబితే ప్రభుత్వంవారు రిట్రైండ్ చేస్తే కమ్యూనిస్టులు తప్పుపట్టుతారని తిరిగి మామీద నిందమోపుతున్నారు. మేము చెప్పేది చిన్న చిన్న ఉద్యోగులకు తలగించమని కాదు. వేలాది జీతాలు పుచ్చుకొంటున్న పెద్ద ఉద్యోగుల సంఖ్య తగ్గించవలసిందని వారికిచ్చే వేలకొలది రూపాయల జీతముల కోరిక కోరిక అమలుజరుగువలసిందనే ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించగోరారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారు చేసే ఖర్చులలో చాలా దుబారా కను పిస్తుంది. ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్మించే సందర్భములో కూడా కృతార్థము మొదలైన మధ్య వర్తతు హెచ్చులాభం సంపాదిస్తున్నారు. ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారుచేయడంలో కూడా చాలా లోపాలు ఉంటున్నాయి. లంచగొండితనం పెరిగిపోతోంది. ఈ లోపాలు సవరించినట్లయితే ఆదాయము కన్న ఖర్చు ఎక్కువ అవడని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. పరిపాలనలోగల లోపంవల్లను దుబారా వల్లను ఈ లోపాలు ఏర్పడింది. ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క అసహర్థత వలన వచ్చిన లోపము భగ్గచేసుకోవటానికి తేదలపై పన్ను వేయడం ఉచితం కాదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇక ఇరిగేషన్ వసతులు ఏర్పాటుచేసే విషయమై ఆంధ్రజిల్లాల పట్ల గత ప్రభుత్వం, ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా సవరితల్లి ప్రేమతో ప్రవర్తిస్తుంది అని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఉదాహరణగా మా జిల్లాలోని బుడమేరు ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం గమనించండి. సాధారణంగా ప్రతి సంవత్సరం బుడమేరు వరదవల్ల వేలాది ఎకరముల భూమిలోని పంట పాడైపోతుంది. 1949 వ సంవత్సరములో సంభవించిన తుపాను సందర్భములో బుడమేరు వరదలవల్ల కలిగిన నష్టం చాలా ఎక్కువ. ఆ సమయంలో మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వంలో మంత్రిగా ఉన్న శ్రీ కళా వెంకటాచల గారు స్వయంగా తుపాను చెబ్బి తిన్న ప్రాంతాలను చూచారు. బుడమేరు వరదచేసిన నష్టము అపారం అని తమ ఆభిప్రాయం వెలిబుచ్చారు. కాని ఆచరణలో ఏమి జరిగింది? ఈ నాటివరకూ ఆ స్కీము ఆచరణలో పెట్టలేదు. ప్రతిసారి ఏదో ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారు చేయిస్తున్నాము, స్కీములో మార్పులు చేస్తున్నాము అని అంటారు. ఒక ఇంజనీరు స్కీము తయారుచేసి ఎస్టి మేట్లు పంపించిన తరువాత ఆయనను మార్చి వేస్తారు. తరువాత మరొక ఇంజనీరు వస్తాడు. ఆయన వేరే ఇంకొక స్కీము తయారు చేస్తాడు. వేరే విధమైన ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారు చేస్తాడు. తరువాత ఇంకొక ఇంజనీరు వస్తాడు. ఆయన కూడా ఆతని పూర్వం వలెనే పనిచేస్తాడు. ఈ విధంగా రకరకాల స్కీములను తయారు చేయించడం, రకరకాల ఎస్టి మేట్లు పంపించడం, చివరకు ఆ స్కీమును అమలు జరుపక పోవడం జరుగుతోంది. ఇదే ఆంధ్ర దేశంలో స్కీముల విషయంలో కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం వారు అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానం. ఆంధ్ర దేశంలోని నీటి వనరులను ఈ విధంగా వెనుకబెట్టడం ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారి విధానం. ఆంధ్రులను మోసగించడం ఇకముందు సాగదు. కాంగ్రెసువారు ఆంధ్రులను గత 5 సంవత్సరాల కాలంలో ఏ విధంగా పరిపాలించారో ప్రజలు అర్థం చేసుకొన్నారు. ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలు తమ అభిప్రాయాన్ని విశదపరచారు. ఇప్పటికైనా కాంగ్రెసువారు ప్రజలు వాంఛించేది ఏమిటి? ఏ విధంగా ప్రవర్తించాలి అని గుర్తించు.

[7th July 1952] [Sri M. Lakshmanaswami]

కోవాలి. స్వప్రయోజనాలకే ప్రాముఖ్యమిచ్చి ప్రజల మొరలను అలకించని కాంగ్రెసు వారికి ప్రజలు గొప్పపాఠం నేర్పారు. బుడమేరు స్కీమును ఇకముందైనా అమలు చేయాలి. నా నియోజక వర్గంలోను, గన్నవరం, గుడివాడ తాలూకా ప్రాంతాలలో బుడమేరు ముంపువల్ల సంభవించుచున్న నష్టం అపారం. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం ఎన్నో వేల ఎకరాల భూమిలోని పంట మునిగుపోతోంది. తుమ్మలపాలెం ప్రాజెక్టు క్రింద 9 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగత్య అవకాశం ఉంది, కాని యిప్పుడు 2,800 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే సాగతున్నాయి. ప్రభుత్వం స్వాధీనం చేసుకుంటే మొత్తం 9 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగు లానికి తీసుకొని రావచ్చు. ప్రభుత్వానికి అదనంగా అయ్యే ఖర్చు కూడా ఏమీ లేదు.

“వడపాటు పంపింగు స్కీముక్రింద అయిదువేల ఎకరాలు సాగవుతుంది. ఇప్పుడు 12-15 500 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే సాగు సమర్థతానికి సాగులోనికి తీసుకురాబడుతుంది. P.m. ఈ స్కీము ఏ విధంగా పూర్తిచేయబడుతుందో అధికారులకు ఒక అభిప్రాయం లేదు. అసలు స్కీమును వెనుకకు నెట్టి ఒక వికృతమైన స్కీమును ముందుకు తెచ్చారు. ఈ స్కీముక్రింద 5 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగుకొచ్చేట్లు చూడాలి. అధికాశాస్త్రవేత్తల చేయడం రైతులకు చెప్పడం వరకే ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలుసును. కాని రైతుల ఆహారధాన్యాలు ఉత్పత్తిచేయడానికి సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేయడానికి వారు వెనుకాడుతారు; అందులో ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రజిల్లాలలోని స్కీములంటే వారికి సవరితల్లి ప్రేమ అని చురల మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా కాంగ్రెసు వారు ఎంతో కాలం కొనసాగించలేదు. ప్రజలను మోసగించడం ఇకనైనా మానుకోవాలి. ప్రజల కష్ట నిష్ఠూరాలను అధికారులకు తెలిసినప్పుడు వాటిని నివారించడానికి ప్రయత్నించవలెనే కాని ప్రజలను మధ్య పెట్టడం న్యాయంకాదు. ఈ విషయం ఇప్పటికైనా కాంగ్రెసువారు గుర్తించాలి అని కోరుకుంటున్నాను.

“జమీందారీ రద్దు శాసనం చేశారు. కాని దానిని వారు సరిగా అమలు జరుపడం లేదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో జమీందారులు భూములను, అన్యాయకృతం చేస్తున్నారు. అడవులను అన్యాయకృతం చేస్తున్నారు. అడవులను బంజరులను వెనుక పెట్టడం వల్ల ఉత్పత్తి దొంగవట్టాలు సృష్టిస్తున్నారు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో కాంగ్రెసు నాయకుల మనకు నేనూ ఈ విషయాలలో లాలోపంగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నారని కూడా ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. నేడవారు, బలహీనులు అయిన చిన్నరైతులను బలవంతంగా భూమినుండి తప్పించడానికి జమీందారులు అనేకవిధాలుగా ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారు. మా జిల్లాలో వల్లపల్లి జమీందారీలోని లంక భూములనుంచి జమీందారు రైతులను తొలగించిస్తున్నారు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ఉద్యోగం మద్దతు కూడా పొందుతూ రైతులను బాధపెట్టడం మామూలైపోయింది. జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఇంతవరకు నీటి వసతులు సరిగా కల్పించబడలేదు. అయినను పన్నులు అధికంగా ఉన్నాయి. జమీందారీ రద్దు వట్టం వచ్చిన తరువాత కూడా పన్నులు హెచ్చుగానే ఉంటున్నాయని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“జమీందారులు నీటి వనరుల విషయంలో నిర్వహించుకూ వచ్చిన బాధ్యతలు కూడా ప్రభుత్వం నిరాకరించుతోంది. గన్నవరం తాలూకా వీరంకి గ్రామం జమీందారు క్రింద ఉన్నప్పుడు పంటకాలువ మరమ్మత్తు చేయించేవాడు. ప్రభుత్వం క్రిందకి వచ్చిన తదుపరి ఆ బాధ్యత వదులుతుంది. విజయవాడ తాలూకా, తోడ్లవలూరు గ్రామంలో జమీందారు పంటకాలువల త్రవ్వించే ఖరతుమీద ఎకరం 1-కి రూ 1-5-0 వసూలు చేసేవాడు. ప్రభుత్వంకూడ ఆ మొత్తం వసూలు చేస్తోంది. కాని కాలువల మరమ్మత్తు బాధ్యత వదులుతుంది. గన్నవరం తాలూకా హనుమంతపురం అగ్రహారంలో

[Sri M. Lakshmanaswami] [7th July 1952]

విషయం ప్రజలందరికీ తెలుసు. ముఖ్యంగా నామమాత్రం అధికారంగా గవర్నరు గారి నిమిత్తం ఆయన జీతానికి, భత్యానికి, హడావిడికి చెప్పున్న ఖర్చుల చాలావరకు తగ్గించవచ్చు. అదేవిధంగా పోలీసు డిమాండుల ఖర్చు తగ్గించవచ్చు. కాంగ్రెసువారు అధికారంలోకి వచ్చిన తరువాత పోలీసు శాఖపై ఖర్చు దినదినాభివృద్ధి చెందుతూవచ్చింది. పోలీసు శాఖలో అనేక పెద్ద పెద్ద ఉద్యోగాలు కొత్తగా ఏర్పాటు చేయబడ్డాయి. పెద్ద ఉద్యోగులకు హెచ్చు జీతాలు ఇవ్వడం సామాన్య ఉద్యోగులకు తక్కువ జీతాలు ఇవ్వడం కాంగ్రెసువారు తమ ముఖ్య ధర్మంగా గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలు భావించారు. మేము ఉద్యోగస్తులకే జీతాల ఖర్చు తగ్గించమని చెబితే ప్రభుత్వంవారు రిట్రైండ్ చేస్తే కమ్యూనిస్టులు తప్పుపట్టుతారని తిరిగి మామీద నిందమోపుతున్నారు. మేము చెప్పేది చిన్న చిన్న ఉద్యోగులకు తలగించమని కాదు. వేలాది జీతాలు పుచ్చుకొంటున్న పెద్ద ఉద్యోగుల సంఖ్య తగ్గించవలసిందని వారికిచ్చే వేలకొలది రూపాయల జీతములలో కొంత భాగం అమలుజరుగుచున్నదనే సంగతి ప్రభుత్వంవారు గుర్తించగోరారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారు చేసే ఖర్చులలో చాలా దుబారా కను పిస్తుంది. ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్మించే సందర్భములో కూడా కృతార్థము మొదలైన మధ్య వర్తతు హెచ్చులాభం సంపాదిస్తున్నారు. ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారుచేయడంలో కూడా చాలా లాభాలు ఉంటున్నాయి. లంచగొండితనం పెరిగిపోతోంది. ఈ లాభాలు సవరించినట్లయితే ఆదాయము కన్న ఖర్చు ఎక్కువ అవడని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. పరిపాలనలోగల లాభంవల్లను దుబారా వల్లను ఈ లాభాలు ఏర్పడింది. ప్రభుత్వం యొక్క అసహర్థత వలన వచ్చిన లాభాలు భగ్న చేసుకోవటానికి చేదలపై పన్నులు వేయడం ఉచితం కాదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇక ఇరిగేషన్ వసతులు ఏర్పాటుచేసే విషయమై ఆంధ్రజిల్లాల పట్ల గత ప్రభుత్వం, ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా సవరితల్లి ప్రేమతో ప్రవర్తిస్తుంది అని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఉదాహరణగా మా జిల్లాలోని బుడమేరు ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం గమనించండి. సాధారణంగా ప్రతి సంవత్సరం బుడమేరు వరదవల్ల వేలాది ఎకరముల భూమిలోని పంట పాడైపోతుంది. 1949 వ సంవత్సరములలో సంభవించిన తుపాను సందర్భములో బుడమేరు వరదలవల్ల కలిగిన నష్టం చాలా ఎక్కువ. ఆ సమయంలో మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వంలో మంత్రిగా ఉన్న శ్రీ కళా వెంకటాచల గారు స్వయంగా తుపాను చెబ్బి తిన్న ప్రాంతాలను చూచారు. బుడమేరు వరదచేసిన నష్టము అపారం అని తమ ఆభిప్రాయం వెలిబుచ్చారు. కాని ఆచరణలో ఏమి జరిగింది? ఈ నాటివరకూ ఆ స్కీము ఆచరణలో పెట్టలేదు. ప్రతిసారి ఏదో ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారు చేయిస్తున్నాము, స్కీములో మార్పులు చేస్తున్నాము అని అంటారు. ఒక ఇంజనీరు స్కీము తయారుచేసి ఎస్టి మేట్లు పంపించిన తరువాత ఆయనను మార్చి వేస్తారు. తరువాత మరొక ఇంజనీరు వస్తాడు. ఆయన వేరే ఇంకొక స్కీము తయారు చేస్తాడు. వేరే విధమైన ఎస్టి మేట్లు తయారు చేస్తాడు. తరువాత ఇంకొక ఇంజనీరు వస్తాడు. ఆయన కూడా ఆతని పూర్వం వలెనే పనిచేస్తాడు. ఈ విధంగా రకరకాల స్కీములను తయారు చేయించడం, రకరకాల ఎస్టి మేట్లు పంపించడం, చివరకు ఆ స్కీమును అమలు జరుపక పోవడం జరుగుతోంది. ఇదే ఆంధ్ర దేశంలో స్కీముల విషయంలో కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం వారు అనుసరిస్తున్న విధానం. ఆంధ్ర దేశంలోని నీటి వనరులను ఈ విధంగా వెనుకబెట్టడం ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారి విధానం. ఆంధ్రులను మోసగించడం ఇకముందు సాగదు. కాంగ్రెసువారు ఆంధ్రులను గత 5 సంవత్సరాల కాలంలో ఏ విధంగా పరిపాలించారో ప్రజలు అర్థం చేసుకొన్నారు. ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలు తమ అభిప్రాయాన్ని విశదపరచారు. ఇప్పటికైనా కాంగ్రెసువారు ప్రజలు వాంఛించేది ఏమిటి? ఏ విధంగా ప్రవర్తించాలి అని గుర్తించు.

[7th July 1952] [Sri M. Lakshmanaswami]

కోవాలి. స్వప్రయోజనాలకే ప్రాముఖ్యమిచ్చి ప్రజల మొరలను అలకించని కాంగ్రెసు వారికి ప్రజలు గొప్పపాఠం నేర్పారు. బుడమేరు స్కీమును ఇకముందైనా అమలు చేయాలి. నా నియోజక వర్గంలోను, గన్నవరం, గుడివాడ తాలూకా ప్రాంతాలలో బుడమేరు ముంపువల్ల సంభవించుచున్న నష్టం అపారం. ప్రతి సంవత్సరం ఎన్నో వేల ఎకరాల భూమిలోని పంట మునిగుపోతోంది. తుమ్మలపాలెం ప్రాజెక్టు క్రింద 9 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగత్య అవకాశం ఉంది, కాని యిప్పుడు 2,800 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే సాగతున్నాయి. ప్రభుత్వం స్వాధీనం చేసుకుంటే మొత్తం 9 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగు లానికి తీసుకొని రావచ్చు. ప్రభుత్వానికి అదనంగా అయ్యే ఖర్చు కూడా ఏమీ లేదు.

“వడపంట పండింప స్కీముక్రింద అయిదువేల ఎకరాలు సాగవుతుంది. ఇప్పుడు 12-15 500 ఎకరాలు మాత్రమే యీ సంవత్సరానికి సాగులోనికి తీసుకురాబడుతుంది. P.m. ఈ స్కీము ఏ విధంగా పూర్తిచేయబడుతుందో అధికారులకు ఒక అభిప్రాయం లేదు. అసలు స్కీమును వెనుకకు నెట్టి ఒక వికృతమైన స్కీమును ముందుకు తెచ్చారు. ఈ స్కీముక్రింద 5 వేల ఎకరాలు సాగుకొచ్చేట్లు చూడాలి. అధికాశాంతిచేయడం రైతులకు చెప్పడం వరకే ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలుసును. కాని రైతుల ఆహారధాన్యాలు ఉత్పత్తిచేయడానికి సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేయడానికి వారు వెనుకాడుతారు; అందులో ముఖ్యంగా ఆంధ్రజిల్లాలలోని స్కీములంటే వారికి సవరితల్లి ప్రేమ అని చురల మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా కాంగ్రెసు వారు ఎంతో కాలం కొనసాగించలేదు. ప్రజలను మోసగించడం ఇకనైనా మానుకోవాలి. ప్రజల కష్ట నిష్ఠూరాలను అధికారులకు తెలిసినప్పుడు వాటిని నివారించడానికి ప్రయత్నించవలెనే కాని ప్రజలను మధ్య పెట్టడం న్యాయంకాదు. ఈ విషయం ఇప్పటికైనా కాంగ్రెసువారు గుర్తించాలి అని వాదించాము.

“జమీందారీ రద్దు శాసనం చేశారు. కాని దానిని వారు సరిగా అమలు జరుపడం లేదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో జమీందారులు భూములను, అన్యాయకృతం చేస్తున్నారు. అడవులను అన్యాయకృతం చేస్తున్నారు. అడవులను బంజరులను వెనుక పెట్టడం వల్ల క్రింద ఇచ్చినట్లు దొంగవట్టాలు సృష్టిస్తున్నారు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో కాంగ్రెసు నాయకుల మనకు నేనూ ఈ విషయాలలో లాలోచనగా ప్రవర్తిస్తున్నారని కూడా ప్రజలు అనుకుంటున్నారు. నేడవారు, బలహీనులు అయిన చిన్నరైతులను బలవంతంగా భూమినుండి తప్పించడానికి జమీందారులు అనేకవిధాలుగా ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నారు. మా జిల్లాలో వల్లపల్లి జమీందారీలోని లంక భూములనుంచి జమీందారు రైతులను తొలగించివేస్తున్నారు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో ఉద్యోగం మద్దతు కూడా పొందుతూ రైతులను బాధపెట్టడం మామూలైపోయింది. జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఇంతవరకు నీటి వసతులు సరిగా కల్పించబడలేదు. అయినను పన్నులు అధికంగా ఉన్నాయి. జమీందారీ రద్దు చట్టం వచ్చిన తరువాత కూడా పన్నులు హెచ్చుగానే ఉంటున్నాయని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“జమీందారులు నీటి వనరుల విషయంలో నిర్వహించుకూ వచ్చిన బాధ్యతలు కూడా ప్రభుత్వం నిరాకరించుతోంది. గన్నవరం తాలూకా వీరంకి గ్రామం జమీందారు క్రింద ఉన్నప్పుడు పంటకాలువ మరమ్మత్తు చేయించేవాడు. ప్రభుత్వం క్రిందకి వచ్చిన తదుపరి ఆ బాధ్యత వదులుతుంది. విజయవాడ తాలూకా, తోడ్లవలూరు గ్రామంలో జమీందారు పంటకాలువల త్రవ్వించే ఖరతుమీద ఎకరం 1-కి రూ 1-5-0 వసూలు చేసేవాడు. ప్రభుత్వంకూడ ఆ మొత్తం వసూలు చేస్తోంది. కాని కాలువల మరమ్మత్తు బాధ్యత వదులుతుంది. గన్నవరం తాలూకా హనుమంతపురం అగ్రహారంలో

[Sri M. Lakshmanaswami] [7th July 1952]

మూడు తరాలుగా కాపురం ముంపున్న కలాలిలనుండి ప్రభుత్వం క్రిందకు ఆ గ్రామం వచ్చిన తరువాతవారి నివేశన స్థలాలకు వెనాల్పలు వసూలు చేస్తున్నారు. ఇలాంటి అన్యాయం జరుగకుండా చూడాలని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక బెటర్ మెంటు టాక్సు విషయం గమనించండి. దీనిని అభివృద్ధిపన్న అని పిలిచేదాని కన్న అభివృద్ధి నిరోధక పన్ను అని పిలవడం సమంజసమని అనుకోవాలి. ఈ కొత్త పన్నులను సీటికన్లకు కోరేవారు హెచ్చుపన్నులు ఆసగా ఎక్కువగా సుమారు యాభై రూపాయలవరకూ పన్ను ఇచ్చుకోవలసి వస్తుంది. ఇంత హెచ్చు పన్నులు విధించి తుదకు మాకు ఎటువంటి సౌకర్యాలు వద్దని ప్రజలు అనే వరకూ వారిని బాధించేట్టాడానికే ఈ పన్ను ఉద్దేశించబడిందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కాబట్టి ఈ పన్నును కూడా విధించడం మానివేయాలని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇక డి-కంట్రోలు విషయం మనవిచేస్తాను. డి-కంట్రోలు వల్ల ప్రజలందరూ సుఖపడ్డారని, దీనిని ప్రజలందరూ ఆదరించారని, కంట్రోలు రద్దు చేయవద్దనే వారిని ప్రజలు విశ్వసించడం కావలసివస్తే ఈ విషయంలో ఎవరినైనా వారంతా చేయగలవని కృషి లోక్ సార్వీ నాయకుడు శ్రీ తిమ్మ రెడ్డిగారు ధీమాగా ప్రకటించారు. బహుశః వారు ఈ ఎన్నికలలో జరిగినవిషయం మరిచిపోయి వుంటారు. ఎన్నికలకు ఎంతో ముందునుంచే రంగా వర్గీయులు కంట్రోలు రద్దుచేయడం తమ ప్రధాన ఆశయమని చెబుతూ వచ్చారు. అయితప్పటికీ నాతో పోటీపడిన వారు సార్వీ అభ్యర్థి డివజ్జ కూడా కోల్పోయినాడు. ఈ సంగతిని మరిచి ఆయన ఈ సభలో వారంతా చేయడం కాగుండలేదు. కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దువల్ల ఎంతవరకూ ప్రజలు సుఖపడ్డారో, ఎంతవరకూ ఆహారధాన్యాల ధరలు పెరిగినో, వేదసాదలు ఆహారధాన్యాలను సరిసమైన ధరలకు నేకరించుకోగలరో అనే విషయాలపై సరియైన తీర్పు ఇవ్వటానికి మరికొంత కాలం వ్యవధి కావాలి. కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దువల్ల లాభంపొందేవారు పెద్ద పెద్ద భూస్వాములు, పాశుకాదు, పెట్టుబడిదారులు, మిల్లు యజమానులు మాత్రమేనని, చిన్న రైతుకుల, కూలీలకు, కార్మికులకు దీనివల్ల విశేష లాభం కలుగలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. సన్న కారు రైతులు ఇంజనర్ కెప్పుడో తమ ధాన్యాన్ని ప్రభుత్వం వారికి అమ్ముకొన్నారు. ధాన్యాన్ని కొంతకాలం నిలవబంచి మంచి ధర వచ్చినప్పుడు అమ్ముకొనే స్థానం వారికి లేదు. వేద రైతులవద్ద ఉన్న ధాన్యాన్ని ఇవివరకే ప్రభుత్వంవారు నేకరించారు. ఇక ఆగస్టు మాసంనుంచి వేదరైతుల వద్ద ధాన్యం విమీ ఉండదు. వారు, వారి క్రింద కూలీ చేసేవారు, ఇతర కార్మికులు అందరూ కూడా పెద్ద భూస్వాముల యొక్క, ఇదివరలో ధాన్యంకొని నిలువచేసిన మిల్లియనమీనలయొక్క దయాదాక్షిణ్యాలమీద ఆధారపడి ఉండవలసివస్తుంది. ఈ యదార్థవిషయాలను గురించి ఆలోచించక కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దువల్ల యావత్ ప్రజల సుఖపడిపోతారని ఉత్కర్షచేయడం కాగుండలేదు. కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దువల్ల వేదప్రజలు ఒక ఢంగా అప్పుయ్యా, బ్రతికాను అనుకొంటున్నారని అనవచ్చు. ఇదివరకు వారు ఏ కొద్ది మాత్రపు బియ్యం కొనుక్కొని తెచ్చుకొనుచున్నారో అది ఇతర ఉద్యోగులు వారిని అటకాయించి వాటిని లాగుకొనే వారు. ఆ వాడ తప్పిపోయిందని వారు కొంత సంతోషపడుతున్నారని అనుకోవడం సబబే. అంతేకాని కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దు వల్ల ప్రజానీకమంతా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని పొగడి చేస్తున్నారని, ఆయన ప్రజల బంధువని ప్రశంసించడం తిమ్మ రెడ్డిగారి వంటివారు చేస్తూ చేతాకాని ప్రజాసామన్యము ఆ విధంగా చేయరని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. కంట్రోల్స్ రద్దు తొలగించడంతోనే ప్రభుత్వమువారు సంవృద్ధిపడక వచ్చేసెలూ ఆహారధాన్యాల ధరలు పెరుగుతూ చూడవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

[7th July 1952] [Sri M. Lakshmanaswami]

“సుద్యనిశ్చయం ఎలా అమలు జరుగుతోందో అదరి తెలిసినదే. కృష్ణా జిల్లాలో సుద్యనిశ్చయం అమలు జరుపుటవలన 10 వేల మంది గీతనివారు నిర్మోలగలయ్యారు. ప్రభుత్వ చర్యవల్ల వారి వృత్తులు పోయినపుడు వారి వృత్తుల కల్పించవలసిన బాధ్యత ప్రభుత్వానికి ఉండదు. ఫీల్డు లేబరు కో-ఆపరేటివ్ స్టాన్డల్డు పెట్టమని చెప్పవచ్చు. కృష్ణా జిల్లాలో 65 స్టాన్డల్డు రిజిస్టరు అయితే వీటిలో 5 స్టాన్డల్డు మాత్రము భూమి యవ్వబడింది. అదికూడా యీ స్క్రీము అమలు జరుపక పూర్వమే జరిగింది. వృత్తులు పోయినవారికి వృత్తులు కల్పించాలని, సుద్యనిశ్చయం విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వపాలనని ప్రసాదించిన చేయాలని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.”

SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR:—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I just wish to say a few words in general about the Budget that has been presented to us. The Hon. Finance Minister has presented a deficit Budget and he has proposed certain taxation proposals to cover that deficit. I do not think that he would have thought well before launching upon these taxation proposals. Having become a Minister for the first time, I am sure he would have tried his best to avoid all these proposals. But since he has brought forward those proposals, I would like to give him some alternative suggestions. First of all, I would like him to think of retrenchment. Even in his speech he has stated that retrenchment could be made to the tune of about a crore of rupees, though the Hon. Chief Minister differed from him and has stated elsewhere that the saving on account of retrenchment would not go beyond a few lakhs of rupees. Even conceding that there could be a saving to the tune of one crore of rupees, I would request the Hon. Finance Minister to seriously consider some of the retrenchment proposals. For instance, this morning, my hon. Friend Sri Rajam Ramaswamy was referring to me about the administration of the electricity schemes. The expenditure under interest on loan alone comes to about Rs. 2.07 crores, but the income is only Rs. 1.89 crores. Is this a remunerative enterprise? If the administration of this department is seriously looked into and the cost of the top-heavy administration is curtailed, there is likely to be some appreciable saving. All these things can be done. If only the Hon. Finance Minister makes an earnest effort, he can make both ends meet. I have been telling the previous Finance Minister, Sri Gopala Reddi, in season and out of season that much could be done regarding this Sales Tax Department. He has been calling it a 'Kamadhenu'. I ask the present Sales tax Minister whether that Kamadhenu has failed him now. Why should not he take serious steps to catch the evading traders to the utmost and see that this deficit is covered as much as possible from the income of this department?

“There has been a lot of criticism about the estimates that are being prepared by the Public Works Department. In the Parliament, of which the present Finance Minister was a Member in the past, they had invented the Estimates Committee. When the Budget was presented last time, this proposal was accepted by the then Finance Minister, but it was never implemented. From this morning's paper, we find that the Madhya Pradesh State

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Assembly has thought about this Estimates Committee. I think our Finance Minister will also think about it and form one, which I think will be accepted by the Hon. Minister for Public Works also without any murmur. If these things are taken into consideration, I think much of the deficit can be covered and any new taxation proposal can be thought of after some time. I know the responsibility of the Government. The Five-year Plan has to be carried out without any delay and for this purpose, the Government will require large sums of money. If the Government fail in their other attempts to get more money, then they can think of additional taxation proposals. I wish to submit that this is not the proper time for launching new taxation proposals. We have already been unpopular to some extent and the present taxation proposals will be exploited by the other side. I think it is better that we avoid the additional taxation proposals for the present.

“Supposing the taxation proposals are to be implemented at any cost, I would suggest some alternatives. For instance, any surcharge on the agriculturists paying a land revenue of Rs. 150 and below, will be a hard thing. It may not be hard on those who are doing agriculture in areas having assured water-supply. But, for those people like me who are living in dry areas where the monsoon has been failing—particularly this year the monsoon has failed in our parts—it will be very hard indeed to pay this additional tax. I think it is better if agricultural income-tax is introduced so that those who get additional income will be able to pay this tax. My esteemed Friend, Sri Palaniawami Gounder, who is a big mirasdar, said that it was very difficult to maintain accounts and that the income-tax people were already worrying the traders, and if agricultural income-tax was introduced, then it will be another kind of pressure by the officers on the agriculturists. I do not think anybody who is having an income of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000 will find it difficult to maintain some accounts. I think it will be very easy for them to maintain an account. I feel that, that kind of tax alone will be equitable and not the present kind of taxation proposed by the Hon. Finance Minister, by which a person will be taxed irrespective of whether that person gets additional income or not.

“As regards the betterment levy, I just had a look at the Bill. The wording of the Bill is very ambiguous. Even minor irrigation works which have been executed from 1943 can be brought under this betterment levy proposal. I hope the definition contained in the Bill will be made clear, so as not to cover the minor irrigation tanks and other works.

“As regards the community projects which have been proposed in this Budget, I wish to say a few words. These projects are suggested to be started only in those areas where you have got assured water-supply. The idea is said to be that the scheme should not fail. If one is aware of the feelings of the people in certain areas where the Firka Development Scheme has been started, and where no appreciable benefits have accrued to them,

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one will be in a position to realize what will be the feelings of the people if they did not get anything out of these community projects also. When the Firka Development Scheme was introduced in some of the areas, rules were made in such a way that it should not be taken to the other part of the district. So, the benefit went to only one area. Fortunately, in my district, we had the privilege of having this scheme in our area and so I have nothing to grumble against.”

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—“On a point of order, Sir, can a Minister sleep in the House when a discussion on the Budget is going on?” (Laughter.)

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“The Hon. the Minister, whom the Member refers to, is not sleeping at all.”

SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDIYAR :—“I think some of the Community projects will be started in those areas which have not been benefited by the Firka Development schemes. It is suggested that the project will cover about 300 villages. I feel it can be split up into hundred villages each so that more districts could be covered and the portion which has not been covered by the Firka Development schemes may, at the other end, benefit from the Community project. If this is done, people living in these areas will have a good chance of improving their conditions of living. For instance, in our district, a very backward district (Ramanathapuram) from which my hon. Friend, Mr. Swaminathan, also comes, there is one taluk called Mudukulathur of which he has also made mention. My Friend, Mr. Thinakaranaswami Thevar, was asking for schemes to reclaim Kallars and others. I say, Sir, here are certain Maravars who also come under the Criminal Tribes Act, and as the undisputed leader of that community, Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar, has said, they are still in a dormant stage. Mr. Thinakaranaswami Thevar wants measures for reclaiming these ten lakhs of Kallars. I say they have far advanced. We see so many Deputy Collectors and Sub-Inspectors of Police from that community. But this Maravar community is there still at the starting point. It has not made one inch of advance. I would commend to the Hon. the Minister for Finance that some of the Community projects should be started in such areas, so that the people living there may not fall into the traps of some undesirable people. I submit that this fact should be taken into consideration seriously by the Government. Again, Mr. Thinakaranaswami Thevar said that no other part of the country was so backward as the Tirumangalam taluk where Kallars live. I say, Sir, that the Mudukulathur taluk is worse than the Tirumangalam taluk. I hope Government will take serious note of my suggestion and act.

“Sir, I do not want to dwell upon small grievances here and there in a general discussion of this kind. I would, however, like to say one word about rural credit. I would very much like the Chief Minister to be here when I speak on this subject as he was the author of the famous Debt Relief Act of 1938. I had the

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honour of sitting on one of the Debt Conciliation Boards in which I conciliated nearly 1,000 cases. But what is the present position? In the last Assembly, the Debt Relief Act was amended and I was also on the Select Committee. Now, on account of all these amendments, what is happening in villages, is that, instead of mortgages, sale deeds are executed. If you want Rs. 100 you will have to execute a pro-note for Rs. 150 and pay an interest of 12 or 15 per cent. When you pay back the amount, the pro-note is handed back or destroyed. But if you want bigger amounts, sale deeds are executed. Credit is not at all available in villages, especially in those areas where the monsoon has failed for years continuously. People are suffering for want of credit. I think, the Government will take serious note of this fact and try to arrange rural credit as early as possible, so that people may not be frustrated and say that the Government cannot do anything to solve the problems of the rural people.

“ Coming to rural communications, I must say that they are very poor. As has been mentioned by certain hon. Members, the villages look to district boards. But they say that the State Government are not financing and again the State Government say that the Central Government are taking away all taxes and that they are not authorised to tax more. This is not the way we must look into the matter. We must analyse the causes of poverty and we must also analyse the reasons why rural people fall into the hands of people who you say are creating chaos. We must go into the root of all this. My friend, Mr. Krishna Rao, from Nellore, was saying yesterday—and I do not know whether hon. Members here were following his line of thinking—‘ do not increase the Police force; Police has to be increased only when the people are creating trouble; do not make them create trouble.’ I agree with him. The Government must consider the serious discontent of the poor people in the villages, so that they may not go against the Government. I do not say that the previous regime did not attend to their needs. I am not one of those who say that the previous regime did not do anything good to the people. It may be on account of the misdeeds of some people and individual Ministers, that the previous regime became unpopular. But if you go into the records of the previous regime, all ameliorative measures were attempted by them in a serious manner. I am sure the present Government will take note of the needs of the people and do good to them, so that they may earn a very good name and become popular.”

JANAB KUNHI MUHAMED SHAFEE:—“ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മലയാളക്കര! എന്റെ മറ്റു പാസാഗ്ഗർ പാഞ്ഞുപോയ ജനങ്ങളുടെ ഇടയിൽ വളരെ അധികം ഉണ്ടാകുന്ന ഒരു കാര്യമാണ് പുതിയ നികുതികൾ ചുമത്തുക എന്നുള്ളത്. വിശേഷിച്ച് ഈ നികുതി വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്ന കാര്യത്തിലുള്ള നിർദ്ദേശം മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേതോടും വളരെ അധികം ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകൾ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു വരുത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു പോകുമ്പോൾ അത് ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. മദ്രാസി സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ, നികുതിയുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ മലബാറിൽ പ്രത്യേകമായ സ്ഥിതികളാണ് ഉള്ളത്. ഈ നികുതികൾ ചുമത്തുകയാണെങ്കിൽ സാധുക്കൾക്കും മദ്ധ്യതരക്കാരുടെ ഇടയിൽ ഭാരപ്പെട്ട ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങൾക്കും വളരെ വലുതായ ദാഹ ചുമക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇടവരും. അതു ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ

7th July 1952]

[Janab Kunhi Muhamed Shafee]

[illegible]

“സെർ, ചലഞ്ചറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ചില സംഗതികൾ പറയുവാൻ ഞാൻ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. ജോബന്തികാലത്ത് ഗ്രാമീണരായ ആളുകൾക്ക് അവരുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങളും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും കലക്ടറുടെയോ, ആർ. ഡി. ഓ. ഡിൻററായോ മുഖാമുഖം ബോധിപ്പിച്ച് ഒരു നിവേദനം, ശ്രീകടാരള്ള സെക്രട്ടറിയോടോ ഉണ്ടാക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. മേന്മനാർമാരുടെയും മറ്റു ഗ്രാമപഞ്ചായത്തുകളുടെയും കണക്കുകൾ പരിശോധിപ്പിക്കാൻ ഉതകുന്ന ഒരു ചട്ടം

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അ് മനോഹരമാണ് ജനബന്തി ഇപ്പോൾ നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നത്. ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് സംഗതികൾ മനസ്സിലാക്കത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ ജനബന്തി നടത്തുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ വേണ്ട പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണം നല്ല ഗ്രാമീണരുടെ സങ്കടങ്ങളും അക്ഷേപങ്ങളും അധി:കൃതന്മാരുടെ മുമ്പിൽ കൊണ്ടു വരവാനും അവർക്ക് ഒരു നിവാരണം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാനുമായി ജനബന്തി ഒരു ഉപകരണമാക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് വേറെ ചില സംഗതികളും എനിക്ക് പറയുവാനുണ്ട്. അവിടെ ജലസേചനപദ്ധതികൾ വളരെ ആവശ്യമാണ്. മലമ്പുഴ പദ്ധതിയുടെ പണി മഴിവിട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട് വളരെ അധികം കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ പദ്ധതിയുടെ പണി ഇന്ത്യാ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ സഹായത്തോടുകൂടി ഉടനെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥരുടെ സഹായത്തോടെ മേലിൽ അതു മഴിയിപ്പിക്കാൻ തുടവരുത്താത്തവിധത്തിൽ പ്രവർത്തനം നടത്തണമെന്നും ആൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നു. കഷ്ടപ്പാട് പദ്ധതിയെപ്പറ്റിയും എനിക്ക് ഇതുതന്നെയാണ് പറയുവാനുള്ളത്. വളരെ അധികം minor irrigation project കളും മലബാറിൽ, ഫ്രീന്റെ അഭാവത്തിൽ പ്രവർത്തനം നടത്താതെ ഇരിക്കുകയാണ്. അവയെല്ലാം പ്രോത്സാഹനം നല്കി ജനബന്തിന് ഒരു ചിഹ്നം നയമുണ്ട് മദിരാശി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് അനുവർത്തിക്കുന്നു എന്ന ആക്ഷേപത്തിന് വഴി വെക്കാനിരിക്കുന്നതാണ്. ആയുർവ്വേദ ജില്ലയിൽ റോഡു കട്ടിയിൽ സ്ഥിതി പറയുകയുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ വളരെ ദോഷമാണ്. യാത്രക്കാരുടെ ജീവനും അപായം ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻപോലും ഇടയാക്കത്തക്ക വിധത്തിൽ റോഡുകളിൽ മൃഗങ്ങൾ കടന്നുപോകുന്നുണ്ട്. കണ്ടോട്ടിയിൽ നിന്നു കോഴികോട്ടേക്ക് പോകുന്ന റോഡ് യാത്രക്കാർക്കും ഉണ്ടാകത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ അപകടമായ വിധത്തിൽ ചെറിയ; കണ്ടോ, കഴി കളം നിറഞ്ഞു കിടക്കുന്നു. പാച്ചുമെൻറ് (patohment) പണിക്കും ചിലർ റിപ്പോറിനും നിൽക്കുന്ന സമയം ഏതും ചെയ്യപ്പെടുന്നു. ഇത് കോൺക്രീറ്റ് ഇടുവായുള്ള പദ്ധതി സ്വീകരിച്ച് പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കൊല്ലത്തോളം റിപ്പോറിനും മറ്റും ചിലവായെന്ന എത്രയെ അധികം പണം ചെലവായിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യും.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair.)

“ആസ്ത്രീകളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം മലബാറിന്റെ തലസ്ഥാനമായ കോഴിക്കോട് എത്രയെ അധികം ഉറപ്പിക ചിലവുചെയ്ത് ഒരു Headquarters ആസ്ത്രീ കെട്ടിടം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോഴും അതിന്റെ ഒരു ഭാഗം ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ പണിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. തിന്ന് കണ്ടോട്ടിയെ പണി നിർമ്മാണം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുകയാണ്. അവിടെ ഇപ്പോൾ മഴക്കാലമാണെന്ന-സംഗതി ഗവണ്മെന്റിനറിയാം. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ ചുരുക്കം മഴക്കാലം കേടാക്കുവാൻ ഇടയാകുന്നതാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ പണി താലിതപ്പെടുത്തണമെന്ന് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനോടു ആൻ അട്ടിമറിക്കുന്നു. അതുപോലെതന്നെ കോഴിക്കോട്ട് മിനിസിപ്പാലിറ്റിയിൽ പൈപ്പുവെള്ളം നൽകുന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ഗവണ്മെന്റ് എടുക്കുന്ന നയം വളരെ ആക്ഷേപാർഹമാണ്. എട്ടു പത്തു കൊല്ലത്തോളമായി ഈ പൈപ്പു വെള്ളത്തിന്റെ പേരിൽ കോഴിക്കോട്ടെ ജനങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു നികുതി പിരിച്ചു വരുന്നു. പത്തുനൂറു ലക്ഷത്തോളം ഉറപ്പിക കോഴിക്കോട്ടു നഗരത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളോട് നികുതിയായി ഇതിന്റെ പേരിൽ പിരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണ് എന്റെ അറിവ്. ഈ കച്ചൽ വെള്ളം കൊടുക്കുന്ന കായ്ക്കത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഉടനടി എന്തെങ്കിലും ഫലപ്രദമായ നടപടികൾ എടുക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. കോഴിക്കോട് ഒരു മെഡിക്കൽ കോളേജും; ഇതു പറയുമ്പോൾ വലിയ ഒരു കായ്ക്കമാണെന്നു തെറ്റിദ്ധരിക്കാൻ ഇടയാകരുത്. ഒരു മെഡിക്കൽ കോളേജു കോഴിക്കോട്ടു സ്ഥാപിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ മലബാറിലെ യുവാക്കളും യുവതികളുമായ എത്രയും പേർ വേലപ്പെട്ടു പരിശീലനം ലഭിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഇപ്പോൾ മെഡിക്കൽ കോളേജിൽ മലബാർ വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് അഡ്മിഷൻ കിട്ടാത്ത വിഷയം കൊല്ലത്തോളമായും അതു പ്രയോജനപ്പെടും. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ കായ്ക്കം ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ സവിശേഷമായ ശ്രദ്ധയോടുകൂടി വിലയിരുത്തേണ്ടതാണ്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ മലബാറിലെ സംസ്കാരമായ ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് വലിയ കഷ്ടപ്പാടുകളാണുള്ളത്. നാട്ടിൻപുറങ്ങളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്ന പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു ഏറന്മാർ, വളർന്നുവന്നു രാജ്യകളിൽ താമസിക്കുന്ന സാധു കട്ടികൾക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം തെക്കേയ്ക്കും വളരെ ചുരുക്കമാണ്. നിർബന്ധ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നടപ്പാക്കാൻ പരിശ്രമം നടത്തേണ്ടതും അതു വിചാരിച്ചുപോലെ വിജയിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ചില കോളേജുകളിൽ ഏല്പിച്ച് വിശേഷിച്ചു എലിജെൻറി സ്കൂളുകളിൽ പഠിക്കുന്ന സാധുക്കളായ കട്ടികൾക്ക് ചെയ്യുകയുണ്ടാകുന്നതാണ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനോടു ആൻ അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

7th July 1952] [Janab Kunhi Muhamed Shafee]

മുസ്ലീം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം elementary സ്കൂളുകളിൽ പഠിക്കുന്ന കട്ടികൾക്ക് ഏതാനും scholarships പാസ്റ്റാക്കിട്ടുണ്ട് എന്ന് കേട്ടതിൽ ആൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അതിന്റെ എണ്ണം ഇനിയും വലുപ്പിക്കണം. മലപ്പുറ ഹൈസ്കൂളിനോടു ചേർന്ന ഹോസ്റ്റലിന്റെ പണി എടുപ്പിക്കുവാനായി ഏല്പിട് ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണ്. രണ്ടു മൂന്നു കൊല്ലമായി ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ ഇതിന്നു സംഖ്യ വകയിരുത്താറുണ്ടെന്നു എന്റെ അറിവ്. ഹിന്ദുവിളള മുസ്ലീം ഗവൺസ് ഹൈസ്കൂളും ട്രെയിനിങ്ങ് സ്കൂളും അവിടെ നിന്ന് കൂടുതൽ സൗകര്യമുള്ള ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തേക്ക് മാറ്റുന്ന കായ്ക്കം ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ആലോചിക്കുന്നു. ആരോഗ്യപരമായ കായ്ക്കങ്ങൾ നോക്കിയാലും മറ്റു സംഗതികൾ നോക്കിയാലും ഹിന്ദു മുസ്ലീം ഗവൺസ് ഹൈസ്കൂൾ ഇപ്പോൾ നില്ക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലം ഒരു വിദ്യാലയത്തിന്നു പററിയ സ്ഥലമല്ലെന്നു പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. മലബാറിൽ ഒരു Women's College ഇല്ലാത്ത കായ്ക്കം ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഒരിക്കലും വിസ്മയപ്പെടാൻ പാടില്ല. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള കണക്കുകൾ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ കയ്യിലുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഒരു ഡിമൻസ് കോളേജ് ഇല്ലാത്ത കോട്ടം തീർക്കാൻ ഉള്ള ശ്രമം ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാണ്. മറ്റൊന്നു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു മിരുവാഴാകുന്നതിൽ സ്ഥാപിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള District Livestock Farm നെ പററിയാണ്. ഈ ഫാം തുടർച്ചയ്ക്കു രണ്ടു കൊല്ലമായിട്ടും അവിടേക്കു മെഡിൻ റോഡിൽനിന്നു ഒരു അപ്രോച്ച് റോഡ് ഇതുവരെയും ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. അതുപോലെതന്നെ അവിടേക്കു മാറ്റുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർക്കു താമസിക്കുവാനുള്ള quarters ഉം ഉണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. സെന്റ് കനറയിൽ കൊയിലയിൽ തുടങ്ങിയ ഫാം ഒരു പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ ഫാമായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ ഫാം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു സന്ദർശിച്ചു ഈ ഫാം പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ ഒന്നാക്കിത്തീർക്കാൻ ആൻ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. എന്റെ രാജ്യകിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഒന്നരണ്ടു കായ്ക്കങ്ങൾ പറയുവാനുണ്ട്. വളർന്നുവന്നു രാജ്യകിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം Electricity Extension Scheme കൊണ്ട് യാതൊരു ഗുണവും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ല. ആ രാജ്യകിയിലേക്കു എലക്ട്രിസിറ്റി വികസിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടു ഇല്ല. പെരിന്തൽമണ്ണ, ഒറ്റപ്പാലം, മണ്ണാങ്കാട്, ചെപ്പുലശ്ശേരി എന്നീ ചെറു നഗരങ്ങളിലേക്കു എലക്ട്രിസിറ്റി ഏല്പിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. മേൽപ്പാലം മുതലായ ചുരുക്കം ചില യന്ത്രങ്ങൾ ഏല്പിച്ചു വെള്ളം തേടുന്ന ഇലക്ട്രിക് പമ്പുകൾ ഏല്പിക്കുന്നതിൽ വലിയൊരു തോതിൽ കൃഷി വലുപ്പിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയും. ഈ സംഗതി ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടേണ്ടതാണ്. പെരിന്തൽമണ്ണയിലുള്ള ലോക്കൽ ഫണ്ട് ആസ്ത്രീ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഏറ്റെടുത്തു നല്ലനിലയിൽ നടത്തേണ്ടതാണ്. കൂടാതെ ഈ ആസ്ത്രീയിൽ ഒരു Lady doctor യുടെ സേവനം അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. എന്നാൽ 80 ക. ശമ്പളം കൊടുത്താൽ ഈ പണിക്കു അപേക്ഷകന്മാർ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല. അതുകൊണ്ട് Government service ൽ നിന്നു ഒരു മേഡി ഡോക്ടറെ ലെൻഡ് (lent) ചെയ്യണം. ഫക്കർ ഡെവലപ്പ്മെൻറിനെപ്പറ്റി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ പെരിന്തൽമണ്ണ ഫക്കയിൽ ആ പദ്ധതി ഏല്പിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. പ്രസ്തുത ഫക്കയെപ്പറ്റിയ പീനോക്കുമായി നില്ക്കുന്ന ഒരു ഫക്ക മലബാറിൽ വേറൊരുതോ എന്നു സംശയമാണ്.

*SRI M. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഫൈനാൻസ് മന്ത്രി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് തയ്യാറാക്കിയപ്പോൾ ഈ നാട്ടിലെ സാധാരണക്കാരായ ജനങ്ങളുടെ സാമ്പത്തിക നിലയും സാമൂഹ്യ നിലയും നില നിർത്തുവാൻ ഉപകരിക്കുന്ന പദ്ധതികൾ ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു പ്രതീക്ഷിച്ചിരുന്നു. ഈ നാട്ടിലെ സാധാരണക്കാരായ ആളുകളുടെ ഉന്നമനത്തിനുവേണ്ടി പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നു എന്ന് അഭിമാനിക്കുന്ന കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽ നിന്നു തങ്ങളുടെ സാമ്പത്തികനില ഉയർത്തുവാനുള്ള പദ്ധതികൾ പ്രതീക്ഷിച്ചിരുന്നു. ശ്രീമാൻ രാജഗോപാലാചാരി കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് നേതൃത്വം സ്വീകരിച്ചപ്പോൾ, ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ മുഖ്യമന്ത്രിസ്ഥാനം ഏറ്റെടുത്തപ്പോൾ, കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ആദ്യങ്ങളിൽ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്ന അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ ഉള്ള മന്ത്രിസഭ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്ന ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ സാധാരണക്കാരുടെ അവശതകൾക്കു വല്ല പരിഹാരവും ഉണ്ടാകുമെന്നു ആശിച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അവർ നിരാശപ്പെടുകയാണുണ്ടായത്. കഴിഞ്ഞ ഒന്നു കൊല്ലങ്ങളായി, കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണത്തിന്റെ പോരായ്മയുടെ ഫലമായി നാട്ടിൽ ഭക്ഷ്യപ്രാപന കായ്ക്കത്തിൽ ഉണ്ടായ മാറ്റം ഇല്ലാത്തതാകാൻ ഡികൺട്രോൾ (decontrol) ഏല്പിക്കുന്നതുതൊണ്ടു് സാധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഡികൺട്രോളിനെ എന്റെ നാട്ടുകാർ സ്വാഗതം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ decontrol കൊണ്ട് കഴിഞ്ഞ അഞ്ചു കൊല്ലമായി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരിൽ നിന്നും ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്ന ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളിൽനിന്നും വിമുക്തരായിത്തീർന്നു നാട്ടുകാർ ഒരു രക്ഷ ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. തങ്ങളുടെ അദ്ധ്വാനഫലം

[Sri M. Narayana Nambiar] [7th July 1952]

[illegible]

ப.ம. “சுத, விஜயபாஸ கய்துணைகரிது பரமகயாணகிக் காலுரேலாய்” ரபு கிக் விஜயபாஸ ஸஸகய்துவிதுண வதுர ஸயிகு ஸாஸது. வபரவது, கபாது ஸது, கபாஸது, கபாஸது, வபர துசுனிய ஸாஸது துவயிக் கிவவது.”

7th July 1952] [Sri M. Narayanan Nambiar]

ഇന്ത്യയിലെ ജനങ്ങൾ കിട്ടിക്കൂടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം വളരെ അധികം വിചിത്രകയാണ്. കഴിഞ്ഞ നവംബർ കൊല്ലത്തെ കോൺഗ്രസ്സ് ഭരണത്തിൻ കീഴിൽ സ്കൂളുകൾ ഇല്ലാത്ത ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽ സ്കൂളുകൾ വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവർ യാതൊന്നും ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല എന്നുള്ളതു മേലനാലനകൾക്കു ഒരു പൊതുമാർഗ്ഗമാണ്. ഈ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ സ്കൂളുകൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ച് അവിടത്തെ സാധു ജനങ്ങളുടെ കുട്ടികൾക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുകയും ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കണം എന്ന് ആൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. മാത്രമല്ല, കൗൺസിലർമാർ കിഴക്കൻ ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽ ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ വളരെ അധികം താമസിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളാണ്. ഈ ഹരിജനകുട്ടികൾക്ക് വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം നൽകുകയുമില്ല. പനത്തടി ഗ്രാമത്തിൽ വളരെ അധികം ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ താമസിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അത് വെറും കിഴക്കൻ ഗ്രാമമാണ്. അവിടത്തെ സ്ഥിതിയും ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടണം. റോഡുകളുടെ കയ്ക്കും പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കൗൺസിലർമാർ ഭൂമിയിൽ ഉൾഗ്രാമങ്ങളിൽ റോഡുകളില്ല എന്ന് പറയുകയും യാതൊരു അതിശയോക്തിയുമില്ല. തെക്കൻ കണ്ണടകത്തിലെ അധികൃതന്മാർ മോസ് ഫ്ലാഗ് താലൂക്കിനോടു ഒരു ചിററമ്മനയമാണ് കൊണ്ടുവന്നത്. യാതൊരു പ്രോത്സാഹനവും നമുക്കു ചെലിക്കുന്നില്ല. റോഡുകൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കേണ്ട കയ്ക്കത്തിൽ യാതൊരു പദ്ധതിയും ഇല്ല. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കൗൺസിലർമാർ രാമസ്വാമിനെപ്പറ്റിയാർ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രി ആയിരുന്ന കാലത്തു ഒരു പദ്ധതി ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന പക്ഷെ അത് നടപ്പിൽ വന്നതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. മാത്രമല്ല, മലബാറും സൗത്ത് കാനറയും സംയോജിപ്പിക്കുന്ന റോഡിന്റെ പ്രവർത്തനം ഇനിയും പൂർത്തിയാക്കിയിട്ടില്ല. പ്രോഫിബിഷ്യനപററി പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ മെറ്റിറോഡം റ്റു ചെയ്യണമെന്ന പദ്ധതിയും പറയുന്നതായി കേൾക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. പ്രോഫിബിഷ്യൻ നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയതുകൊണ്ടു സംധാരണക്കാരെങ്കിലും കയ്ക്കങ്ങൾക്ക് ഗുണം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്ന് പറയേണ്ടതായിരിക്കാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. സംസ്ഥാനികരെയും ധർമ്മികരെയും സംധാരണക്കാരെന്ന് നിമിപാട്ട് ഉയർത്താൻ ഇതു വളരെ അധികം സഹായിക്കിട്ടുണ്ട്. ആരാണ് പ്രോഫിബിഷ്യനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം തകരുകയും വരുത്തുന്നതെന്ന് അന്വേഷിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരിൽ പലരും ഈ നിയമം ലംഘിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന് ഒരു പരമാർത്ഥം മാത്രമാണ്. വലിയ പണക്കാരും ജന്മികാരും പ്രഭുക്കന്മാരായ ഗ്രാമോദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും ഈ നിയമം ലംഘിക്കുന്നവരിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുകയും എന്ന് പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ചെറുക്കന്മാരെ ഇടയിൽ കള്ളക്കാരെ നടക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന ഒരു ആവലാശിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവരോടു ചോദിച്ചാൽ തങ്ങൾക്ക് തൊഴിലില്ലാത്തതിന് വേറെ വല്ല തൊഴിൽ ഉണ്ടാകാൻ ശ്രമിക്കണമല്ല എന്നു അവർ പറയും. ചക്കരചെത്തിയ വേണ്ടത്ര സഹായം കിട്ടുന്നില്ല. ചക്കരക്കു കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു. മാത്രമല്ല, ചക്കര സ്റ്റീക്കർ വീഴ് വീഴ് തോറും കൊണ്ടുപോയി വിറ്റിട്ടു. വേണം കൾ ഉണ്ടാകാൻ അളവുകൊണ്ടു ചക്കരയെക്കൊണ്ടുവരിയ്ക്കുക ബെഞ്ചാമിൻ ചില കേസുകൾ ചെയ്തു കൊണ്ടു ചക്കരചെത്തിയ കൂട്ടൽ സഹായം ലഭിക്കാത്തതെന്ന പദ്ധതികൾ സ്ഥിരീകരിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. മാത്രമല്ല, ജലസേചന പദ്ധതിയെ കുറിച്ച് പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ എന്റെ താലൂക്കിൽ ഇക്കൊല്ലത്തെ ബയ്ജററിൽ അതിനു യാതൊരു സംഭവ്യം വകവെച്ചതായി കാണുന്നില്ല. വലിയ വലിയ പദ്ധതികളിൽ ഒരു ശ്രദ്ധ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ചെല്ലേണ്ട പുരോഗതി ഉണ്ടാകാൻ പോകുന്നില്ല. ചെറിയ ചെറിയ ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികൾ ആവിഷ്കരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു കൂടുതൽ കേടുന്നസാധനങ്ങൾ ഉല്പാദിപ്പിക്കാൻ സംധിക്കും എന്നാണ് എന്റെ വീശ്വാസം. മറ്റൊരു കാര്യം fisherman സമുദായത്തെ കുറിച്ചാണ്. അവരുടെ ഉപരിവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഗവണ്മെന്റിന് യാതൊരു ശ്രദ്ധയുമില്ല. ബെക്കൽ എലിമെന്ററി സ്കൂൾ ഒരു തെൻസ്കൂൾ ആകാത്തതു ഒരു അഭിപ്രായവുമായിരുന്നു. പക്ഷെ അതിന് യാതൊരു ചെട്ടുകാരണമില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു മലബാറിൽ ഉൾപ്പെടുന്നതും തെക്കൻ കണ്ണാടക കിഴക്കൻ സമുദായം ലഭിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതുമായ എന്റെ താലൂക്കിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധ കൂടുതൽ പതിയണമെന്നും കൂടുതൽ സമുദായത്തെ ശോക്ത് ബാക്ടറിനും മറ്റിവിടങ്ങളിലേക്കും അവർ കൂടുതൽ പ്രോത്സാഹനം നൽകണമെന്നും ആൻ അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു.

* **SRI S. NARAYANAPPA :—** “అధ్యక్ష, ఇప్పుడు ఈ బడ్జెటు జర్నలింగ్ విషయములో కొంతమటుకు నాకు లోచన సలహాలను ప్రభుత్వానికిచ్చేటట్లు నా నిమగ్న భర్తము. ఈయొక్క బడ్జెటు లోటు బడ్జెటు. ఆర్థిక లోటు మూడున్నర కోట్ల వరకు ఉన్నది. ప్రతి ఒక్క సభ్యుడు ప్రభావశిలిత కాబట్టి ఈ సభలో ప్రభుత్వ

[Sri S. Narayanappa]

[7th July 1952]

దృష్టికి తమతమ నియోజకవర్గాలయొక్క బాగోగులను గురించి విచించి వాటి ఫౌక ర్యాలును పొందుట వారి కనీస ధర్మము. అయినను ఈ బడ్జెటులో గ్రామముల యొక్క బాగోగులను గురించి ఎక్కువ ఉపయోగములేనట్లు కనబడుచున్నది. దీనివల్ల ముఖ్యంగా పట్టణములయొక్క ఫౌకర్యాలు ఎక్కువగా కనబడుచున్నది. రాష్ట్రము యొక్క జనసంఖ్యలో వల్లెలలో నివసించే ప్రజలు కనీసము ముప్పాతికరుంది ఉన్నారు. ఈనాడు పట్టణములలో నివసించే జనాభా సంఖ్య నాల్గవవంతు భాగము మాత్రమే. తక్కిన మూడు భాగములు వల్లెలలో నివసించే జనాభా దర్శిచావస్థలో ఉన్నారు. నడిచుటకు రోడ్లు, ఎడ్లబండ్లకు రాకపోకల ఫౌకర్యాలు కనీసమాత్రమైనా లేవు. వైద్య ఫౌకర్యాలు అసలే సున్న. నీటి ఫౌకర్యాలు విషయంలో త్రాగుటకు మంచి నీళ్లు అయినను దొరకక అవస్థలు వడుతున్నాయి. కనీసము త్రాగుటకు మంచి నీళ్లు చేయుటకు పని, ఉడుటకు యిల్లు మొదలైన వసతులు కల్పించవలసినది ప్రభుత్వ ధర్మమైయున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క అవసరాలను గమనించి ఎక్కువ ద్రవ్యాన్ని ముఖ్యంగా వల్లెలలో నివసించే ప్రజల ఫౌకర్యాంగారకు ఖర్చు పెట్టుటకు ప్రయత్నింప వలసినదని నేను మనవి చేయుచున్నాను. ఈ మంత్రవర్గము అధికారంలోకి వచ్చి మూడు మాసాలు అయింది. అయినా వారికి ఉన్నటువంటి అనుభవాన్ని పురస్కరించుకొని ఎక్కువ సమర్థతతో యీ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేశారు. అందులో ప్రధాన మంత్రి శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రజావంతులు; తమ అనుభవాన్ని వినియోగించి యీ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేయించి ప్రజాప్రతినిధుల ఆమోదానిచ్చారు. ఈ బడ్జెటు విషయంలో ఎక్కో విషయాలు వర్ణించవలసి ఉన్నవి. అందలో అర్థిక ఆదాయం ప్రభుత్వం సంపాదించవలసియున్నది. అందుకుగాను ఇప్పుడు కొన్ని కొత్త పన్నులను చేయుట తలపెట్టి నాటారు బస్సు ప్రయాణీకుల రేట్లను కాచ్చించుట, ఘడి కొత్తు, సర్పాట్ల వగైరా పన్నులు కాచ్చించుట, యీ బడ్జెటులో సూచించి యున్నారు. ముఖ్యంగా ప్రయాణీకుల బస్సు రేట్లలో మొలకు కనీసము ఒక పావుడి కాచ్చించే పద్ధతి ఉన్నది. దేశంలో ప్రతి మనిషికి ఈ కాచ్చు రేట్లు పెల్లించవలసి వచ్చినంత వల్ల ఒక నిరసనభావము పిర్వతనన్నది. దీనికి బదులు ప్రతి ఒక నీటుకున్న ఇంత అని ఒక విధంగా సర్పాట్లవేస్తే అది కాగుంటుందని నా సూచన. ఇంతకు ఇప్పుడు రైతులమీద పన్ను భారం పెచ్చిందని రైతు సంఘాలు ఆందోళన చేస్తున్నది. తరువాత కంటల ధరలుకూడా పడిపోతున్నాయి. ఈ నీటిలో ఇప్పుటికి పన్ను భారంతో కాళ్ళుకడుతున్న రైతులకు లాంఛం రెవిన్యూవైన సర్పాట్ల అనే కొత్త పన్ను వేయడం మేలే, ఈ విషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వంవారు నిజంగా కొంత దూచించి వేయవలసి యున్నది. నూరు రూపాయలు పన్ను అంతకు వైన పెల్లించేరైతు వైన యీ కొత్త కాచ్చు పెడితే ప్రభుత్వ ఆదాయం తగ్గుతున్నప్పటికీ రైతుల ఆందోళన ఎక్కువగా ఉండదు అని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. మనగ ముఖ్యంగా ఎక్కువ ఆదాయంలేకనే రాష్ట్రమును ఫౌకర్యవంతంగాచేసి అన్ని ప్రదేశాలను సర్వ కృమణజాతీని ప్రజలు అవసరాలను తీర్చుటకు సాధ్యములేదు. ప్రభుత్వ బడ్జెటు లోటు రింతేగాని ప్రజల ఫౌకర్యాలు తీర్చుటకు వీలులేదు. కనుక ఉన్నంతమట్టుకు యిప్పుడు ఈ సభలోని ప్రతి ఇంటిలో పెట్టెరుటువంటి ప్రజల ఫౌకర్యాలు అన్ని మన ప్రభుత్వం తీర్చుటకు యోచించి ననూ, ఆరు నూర్లుకోట్ల రూపాయలైనా కావాలి. కనుక ఉన్నటువంటి ఆదాయంతోనే ప్రజల అవసరాలను వారి నిరసనభావాన్ని గమనించి ప్రజల సహకారాన్ని సంపాదించి ప్రజలకు కనీస పన్నులు వేస్తూ, పెల్లగా ఆదాయమును పెంచే విధానాన్ని పరిశీలించి ప్రభుత్వం సాగించితే ప్రజలలో ఆందోళన లేకుండా పోతుంది. ఇప్పుడు మన ఆహార పదార్థములమీద కంప్రైజ్లు మోర్చిగా తొలగించి యా.ఆ.సి లకు విద్యా ఫౌకర్యాలు

[7th July 1952]

[Sri S. Narayanappa]

ఇటువంటివిచేసి రాష్ట్రంలో కొంతమట్టుకు కాంగ్రెసు ప్రతిష్ఠను సంపాదించుకొన్నది. ఆదేశముగా రైతు వర్గములోను వల్లెల ప్రజలయొక్క నీటిగతులను దృష్టిలో యిండుకొని వారిలో అలజడి కలిగించకుండా ఈ పన్ను భారము విషయంలో ఒక విధమైనటువంటి విధానాన్ని అనుసరించి ఆందోళన తొలగించి ప్రజా మన్నననుపొంది పరిపాలన సక్రమంగా సాగించుటకు విచ్ఛిన్నమైయుట ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క కనీస ధర్మమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ముఖ్యంగా గుత్తి, కళ్యాణదుర్గం, ఉరవకొండ ఈ ప్రదేశాలు చాలా వెనుకబడిన తాలూకాలు. గుత్తి, గుంతకల్లు, పురవకొండ, కళ్యాణదుర్గం తాలూకాలలో ఎక్కువ లోతైనటువంటి చావులున్నవి. మంచి నీళ్లు అసలేలేవు. చతురశ్రకు గడ్డినూడా లేదు. ఈ చావులలోనుంచి ప్రజలకు కనీసము 100 మొదలు 120 పెట్ల వరకూ దిగితేనేగాని నీళ్లు దొరకవు. ఒక గ్రామములో అసలు త్రాగుటకు నీళ్లు లేకుండా పోవుటవలన పిమ్మిలో, రెండు మైళ్ళ వల్ల నీళ్లు తెచ్చుకోవలెను. ఇట్టి కష్టాన్ని ప్రజలు వంచాయితీ బోర్డులద్వారా, ప్రజా సంఘాలద్వారా ఆందోళనచేసి ప్రభుత్వదృష్టికి తెచ్చినప్పటికినీ నీటి ఫౌకర్యాలు కల్పించుకొనుట యీనాటికి ఫలించలేదు. ఈ విషయంలో గుత్తి, గుంతకల్లు, ఉరవకొండ, కళ్యాణదుర్గం, వెనుకొండ, ధర్మవరం. ఈ ప్రదేశాలలో వర్షాకాలంలోనైనా నీళ్లు దొరుకుట చాలా కష్టంగా న్నది. Protected water-supply schemes ద్వారా యిప్పుడు తెలిపే టటువంటి స్కీములు వెంటనే ప్రభుత్వదృష్టిలోనికి తీసుకొని వాటికి ఫౌకర్యాలు కలిగించవలయును. తరువాత గుంతకల్లు నీటి కొళాయిల స్కీము పని ప్రారంభించినారు. మొదటి భాగము పని పూర్తి అయినది. రెండవ భాగము మొదలు పెట్టవలయును. ఈ పని వెంటనే చేయించవలయును. కొన్ని వంచాయితీ బోర్డులు నీటి కొళాయిలు స్కీములు తలపెట్టి ప్రాథమిక అంత్య చర్యలన్నీ తీసుకొనవచ్చుటకీ ఆ స్కీములు అమలు జరుగవలెను. ప్రస్తుతం నేను పురవకొండ వంచాయితీ బోర్డు ప్రెసిడెంటుగా ఎనిమిది సంవత్సరములనుండి పనిచేయుచున్నాను. ఉరవకొండ నీటి కొళాయి స్కీములను గురించి ప్రభుత్వానికి యిచ్చి మహజిల్లా, డివిజనులు పెట్టినను రాయబారాలు వంపినను ప్రభుత్వం యింతవరకూ అమలుచరమ చర్య తీసుకొనలేదు. యీ స్కీముల విషయమై యిప్పటికి ఇరవై సంవత్సరములనుండి పురవకొండ వంచాయితీ బోర్డు ఆందోళనచేస్తూ వచ్చినది. యీ విషయమును గురించి ప్రభుత్వానికి వంపిన డివిజనులు గాని, మహజిరులుగాని అన్నియుచేరి ఘమారు 780 పేజీలుగల పైలు గవర్నమెంటు వారి చేతుల్లో ఉన్నది. ఇంత ఆందోళనచేసినను ప్రభుత్వం ఈ నాటికైననూ ఏ చర్య తీసుకోకుండా పెడతెలివి పెట్టుచున్నది. గనుక నీటికొరకు చాడవడములు వంటి ఈ ప్రజల కష్టాన్ని గమనించి, నీటి కుళాయిల స్కీము కొనసాగించుటకు ప్రభుత్వం వెంటనే చర్య తీసుకొనగలందులకు కోరుచున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు ఉన్నట్టింటి నీటి కొళాయిలు స్కీములలో గుంతకల్, ఉరవకొండ, గుత్తి, ప్రధానములు. గుంతకల్లునుండి ఉరవకొండకున్నూ, ఉరవకొండనుండి కళ్యాణదుర్గం వరకున్నూ, విద్యుచ్ఛక్తి సరఫరా వ్యవస్థాపాదావర్తకు ఫౌకర్యాలు కల్పించుటకు సహాయకడగలందుకు యిదివరకూ ప్రభుత్వంవారు మంజూరుచేసినదానిని అమలు చేయవలయునని కోరుచున్నాను.

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p.m.

“గుత్తి తాలూకాలోని వేల్పుమడుగు, వెంకలపాడు, రామాచిరం, కొట్టాలపల్లె, కళ్యాణదుర్గం తాలూకాలోని తగ్గుపర్తి, గుద్దేమంట, అంజంతల్లె, రామపాగరం మొదలైన గ్రామాలలో బొత్తిగా మంచి నీళ్లుగాని చావులుగాని వెరువులుగాని లేక అక్కడక్కడ చిన్నచిన్న గుంటలు, చుడుగులు ప్రభుత్వాని నీళ్లు తెచ్చుకుంటున్నాయి.

[Sri A. K. Masilamani Chettiar] [7th July 1952]

“இரண்டாவதாக எங்கள் நகரத்தில், அதாவது வேலூர் டவுனில் கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. அது மட்டுமல்ல, அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரி ஒன்றும் இருக்கிறது. சாதாரணமாக ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளில் நர்சுகளோ, டாக்டர்களோ, மற்ற சிப்பந்திகளோ எல்லோரும் பரிசுத்தமாகவும், அவரவர்களுக்குரிய உடைகளையும் உடுத்துபவராகவும் இருக்கிறார்கள். சுகாதார முறைக்கு விரோதமாக இல்லாமல் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளுக்குள்ளும், அங்கு வேலை செய்யும் சிப்பந்திகளும், மற்றும் சுற்றுப்புறங்களும் சுத்தமாக இருக்கும்படியான முறையில் பாதுகாத்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரியென்பது எங்கள் ஊரில் ஒரு பெரிய ஆஸ்பத்திரி அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் எந்த இடத்திற்குப் போனாலும், சுத்தமாகவும் விபாதிபஸ்தர்களுடைய விபாதி குணமாவ தற்கான சூழ்நிலையிலும் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும். வியாதிகளுக்கு சிகிச்சை செய்துகொள்ளுவதற்கு ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளுக்குப் போகின்றோம். அவர்கள் கொடுக்கும் மருந்துகளால் வியாதிகள் குணமாகின்றன என்பது வாஸ்தவமே. இருந்தபோதிலும், வியாதியஸ்தர்கள் அந்த இடத்திற்குப் போனமாதிரித்திலே, அங்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய சுகாதாரத்தைப் பார்த்த வுடனே, ஒரு உணர்ச்சியும், ஆனந்தமும் உண்டாகக்கூடிய நிலை ஏற்படும். ஆனால், நம்முடைய கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி அவ்வளவு நன்றாக வைக்கப்படவில்லை. சமீபத்தில் நம்முடைய சுகாதார மந்திரி கனம் ஸ்ரீ ஏ. பி. ஷெட்டி அவர்கள் அங்கு வந்திருந்தார்கள். நானும் அவரோடு அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரிக்குப் போயிருந்தேன். நாங்கள் அங்கு போய்ப்பார்த்தபோது அது ஆஸ்பத்திரியாகவே இல்லை. அதைப் பற்றி நான் அதிகமாகச் சொல்லுவதற்கு இஷ்டப்படவில்லை. அதைச் சரியான முறையில் நிர்வகிக்கவேண்டும், அல்லது எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று நான் அவரிடம் சொன்னேன். இன்றையதினமும் அதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன் : கவர்ன்மெண்டாரால் நடத்தப் படக்கூடிய ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் சாதாரணமாக நாங்கள் நகரசபையில் நடத்தும் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளின் அளவுக்குக் கூட இல் லாமல் இருக்கிறது. கவர்ன்மெண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி ரொம்ப முறை தவறானதாக நடத்தப்படுகிறது என்று சொல்லுகின்றேன். எந்த இடத்தில் பார்த்தாலும் அசுத்தம். சுத்தம் பண்ணுவதற்கு வசதியில்லை. நர்சுகளுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகள் இல்லை. நர்சுகளைப் பார்த்தால் நர்சுகளாகத் தோன்றவில்லை அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில். இம்மாதிரி குறைகளுக்கெல்லாம் அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் இல்லாமல் அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நடப்பது போல் சிறந்த முறையில் நிர்வகிக்கப்பட்டு, சுத்தமாகவும் நன்றாகவும் இருக்க வேண்டும். வியாதிக்கு மருந்துகொடுப்பதை விட, சுகாதார சூழ்நிலையினால் வியாதியஸ்தனின் மனநிலை சரியாக இருக்கச்செய்யவேண்டும். அந்த முறையில் கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி நடப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை அரசாங்கம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று நான் அரசாங்கத்தாரைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“அது மாதிரமல்ல, அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் 100, 150 பேர்களுக்குத் தான் படுக்கைகள் இருக்கின்றன. சராசரி 450 பேர்களுக்குமேல் படுக்கைகள் தேவையாக இருக்கின்றன.

“ஆனால் அங்கு வேண்டிய படுக்கைகள் கிடையாது. அங்கே சரியான வசதிகள் கிடையாது என்பதை இந்த பட்ஜெட் சமயத்தில் அவசியம் சொல்லிக் கொள்ளக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். இந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் இன்னும் நூறு படுக்கைகள் அதிகப் படுத்துவதும் இன்னும் அநேக வசதி களைச் செய்து கொடுப்பதும் அவசியம். அவைகள் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் இல்லா விட்டாலும் பிறகு அதை சரி பண்ணுவதற்கு வழிவகைகள் செய்ய ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

1-30 மூன்றாவதாக மதுவிலக்கு என்று ஒன்று இருக்கிறது. இந்த மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி நான் அடிக்கடி பேசிக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறேன். எந்த ஆண்டிலும் நகரத்தில் எந்த இடத்தில் பார்த்தாலும் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதும் இறக்குவதும் எங்குபார்த்தாலும் கனம் விற்பதும் குடிப்பதும் இருக்கிறது. இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் போலீஸ்காரர்களும் எடுக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது நிதியும் நிர்வாகமும் பிரிவினையானதால்

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இந்த மதுவிலக்கிற்கு எவ்வளவு பாதகம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பது நன்றாக தெரியவரும். கள் இறக்குகிறவர்களையும் கள் விற்கிறவர்களையும் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறவர்களையும் பிடித்துக்கொண்டு கேஸ் போட்டால் அவர்களுக்குத் தகுந்த தண்டனை விதிக்காமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஏனென்றால் இப்பொழுது ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் நீதி நிர்வாகப் பிரவினியால் அந்த பாதகம் ஏற்படுகிறது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். கேஸ்களை கஷ்டப்பட்டு பிடித்து கேஸ் போட்டால் குற்றவாளிகளுக்கு ரூ. 10 அல்லது 5 என்று அபராதம் போடுகிறார்கள். இதனால் அவ்விதம் குற்றம் செய்யும் மற்றவர்களுக்கு சந்தோஷமாகவும் இன்னும் அதிகம் செய்வதற்கு ஹேதுவாகவும் இருக்கிறது. இதனால் இந்த நீதி நிர்வாக பிரிவினை வேண்டாம் என்று சொல்லவில்லை. இந்த மதுவிலக்குக் குற்றங் களைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் எப்படி எடுத்தாலும் தடுக்க முடியும். அவ்விதம் கள் குடிப்பவர்களுக்கு ஒரு வருஷத்துக்கு குறையா மலும் காய்ச்சுகிறவர்களுக்கு ஐந்து வருஷங்களுக்குக் குறையாமலும் தண்டிக்கும்படியான ஒரு சட்டம் இருக்க வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால் ஒழிய இந்தக் குற்றங்களைத் தடுப்பது என்பது அசாத்தியம் என்பதாக நான் கருது கிறேன். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் முறையில் அதைத் தடுப்பது என்பது முடியாது. அதனால் தான் நம் கட்சியினரும் எதிர் கட்சியினரும் பல வகை யாக இதை எதிர்த்தும் சாதகமாகவும் பாதகமாகவும் பேசுகிறார்கள். இந்த மதுவிலக்கு சம்பந்தமாக என் மனதில் தோன்றியதை அடிக்கடி புரோகி பிஷன் கமிட்டியில் பேசுவது உண்டு. எந்த இடத்திலும் இதைப் பற்றி தயங் காமல் சொல்லி வருகிறேன். நாம் செய்யும் காரியத்தில் நமக்கு ஹேயம் வரவேண்டும். மதுவிலக்கு என்பதை சரியானபடி நடைமுறையில் கொண்டு வர வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்றால் நான் சொன்ன மாதிரி அதிகப்படியான தண்டனை இருக்க வேண்டும். ரொம்ப காலமாக இதைப் பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொண்டும் வந்திருக்கிறேன். மற்றவர்களும் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்தும்படியாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக நகர சபைகள், முனிசிபல் நிர்வாகங்கள். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நகரசபை அங்கத்தினர்கள் தலைவர்கள் மகாநாட்டில் சொன்னார்கள் நகர சபைத் தலைவர்களாக இருப்பவர்கள் பிரதம மந்திரி யாக வர முடியும் என்று அவர் சொன்னது வாஸ்தவம் தான். அவர் சொல்லியபடி அவருக்கு ஏற்பட்ட அனுபவத்தையும் தெரிவித்தார்கள். அவர் சேர்மனாக இருந்த காலத்தில் அவரும் கமிஷனரும் இரட்டை ஆட்சியாக இல்லவே இல்லை. அவர் சேர்மனாக இருக்கும் காலத்தில் அவர் சிறிது அதிகாரத்தை வகித்து வந்தார்கள். அதனால் நகரசபை ஆட்சியையும் முனிசிபல் நிர்வாகத்தையும் புரிந்துகொள்ள ஹேதுவாக இருந்தது. நான் இப்பொழுது வெல்லூர் நகர சபைசேர்மனாக இருக்கிறேன். சேர்மன் என்றால் பாரக்கிறதற்கு வேண்டிய கௌரவம் இருக்கிறது, சேர்மன் என்ற ஸ்தானத்திற்கு கௌரவத்தையும் கிடைக்கிறது என்று நான் நினைத்து வந்தேன். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது சேர்மனுக்கு கௌரவம் இருப்பதாக நினைக்கவில்லை. சேர்மன் என்றால் ஒரு அடிமை என்றே நான் இப்பொழுது கருதுகிறேன். எங்களுடைய மனப்போக்கை மாற்ற கனம் ராஜாஜியால் முடியும் என்பதை அவருக்கு ஞாபகப்படுத்த விரும்புகிறேன்.

“நிற்க, கனம் ஸ்பீக்கர் அவர்கள் எனக்கு பயம் ஆகி விட்டது என்கிறார். வேலூர் தாலுகாவில் காடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. காடுகளின் நிர்வாகத்தை நடத்த ஆபீசர்களும் கீழ்தர சிப்பந்திகளும் ஏராளமாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். இப்பொழுது அநேகம் இடங்களில் காடுகள் அழிக்கப்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் இப்பொழுது வனமகோத்சவம் என்று பல இடங்களிலும் செடிகளையும் மரங்களையும் நடுவது ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்து பெரிய பெரிய வனமகோத்சவம் கொண்டாடப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் மரங்களையும் காடுகளையும் வெட்டுவதில் குறைவு இல்லாமலிருக்கிறது. அதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கை கள் எடுக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

Mr. SPEAKER:—“The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Tuesday, 8th July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

[Sri A. K. Masilamani Chettiar] [7th July 1952]

“இரண்டாவதாக எங்கள் நகரத்தில், அதாவது வேலூர் டவுனில் கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. அது மட்டுமல்ல, அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரி ஒன்றும் இருக்கிறது. சாதாரணமாக ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளில் நர்சுகளோ, டாக்டர்களோ, மற்ற சிப்பந்திகளோ எல்லோரும் பரிசுத்தமாகவும், அவரவர்களுக்குரிய உடைகளையும் உடுத்துபவராகவும் இருக்கிறார்கள். சுகாதார முறைக்கு விரோதமாக இல்லாமல் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளுக்குள்ளும், அங்கு வேலை செய்யும் சிப்பந்திகளும், மற்றும் சுற்றுப்புறங்களும் சுத்தமாக இருக்கும்படியான முறையில் பாதுகாத்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். உதாரணமாக அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரியென்பது எங்கள் ஊரில் ஒரு பெரிய ஆஸ்பத்திரி அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் எந்த இடத்திற்குப் போனாலும், சுத்தமாகவும் விபாதிபஸ்தர்களுடைய விபாதி குணமாவதற்கான சூழ்நிலையிலும் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும். வியாதிகளுக்கு சிகிச்சை செய்துகொள்ளுவதற்கு ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளுக்குப் போகின்றோம். அவர்கள் கொடுக்கும் மருந்துகளால் வியாதிகள் குணமாகின்றன என்பது வாஸ்தவமே. இருந்தபோதிலும், வியாதியஸ்தர்கள் அந்த இடத்திற்குப் போனமாதிரித்திலே, அங்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய சுகாதாரத்தைப் பார்த்துவுடனே, ஒரு உணர்ச்சியும், ஆனந்தமும் உண்டாகக்கூடிய நிலை ஏற்படும். ஆனால், நம்முடைய கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி அவ்வளவு நன்றாக வைக்கப்படவில்லை. சமீபத்தில் நம்முடைய சுகாதார மந்திரிகனம் ஸ்ரீ ஏ. பி. ஷெட்டி அவர்கள் அங்கு வந்திருந்தார்கள். நானும் அவரோடு அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரிக்குப் போயிருந்தேன். நாங்கள் அங்கு போய்ப்பார்த்தபோது அது ஆஸ்பத்திரியாகவே இல்லை. அதைப் பற்றி நான் அதிகமாகச் சொல்லுவதற்கு இஷ்டப்படவில்லை. அதைச் சரியான முறையில் நிர்வகிக்கவேண்டும், அல்லது எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்று நான் அவரிடம் சொன்னேன். இன்றையதினமும் அதைச் சொல்லுகிறேன் : கவர்ன்மெண்டாரால் நடத்தப் படக்கூடிய ஆஸ்பத்திரிகள் சாதாரணமாக நாங்கள் நகரசபையில் நடத்தும் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளின் அளவுக்குக்கூட இல்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. கவர்ன்மெண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி ரொம்ப முறை தவறானதாக நடத்தப்படுகிறது என்று சொல்லுகின்றேன். எந்த இடத்தில் பார்த்தாலும் அசுத்தம். சுத்தம் பண்ணுவதற்கு வசதியில்லை. நர்சுகளுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகள் இல்லை. நர்சுகளைப் பார்த்தால் நர்சுகளாகத் தோன்றவில்லை அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில். இம்மாதிரி குறைகொண்டலாம் அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் இல்லாமல் அமெரிக்கன் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நடப்பது போல் சிறந்த முறையில் நிர்வகிக்கப்பட்டு, சுத்தமாகவும் நன்றாகவும் இருக்க வேண்டும். வியாதிக்கு மருந்துகொடுப்பதை விட, சுகாதார சூழ்நிலையினால் வியாதியஸ்தரின் மனோநிலை சரியாக இருக்கச்செய்யவேண்டும். அந்த முறையில் கவர்ன்மெண்ட் பென்ட்லண்டு ஆஸ்பத்திரி நடப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை அரசாங்கம் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்று நான் அரசாங்கத்தாரைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“அது மாதிரமல்ல, அந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் 100, 150 பேர்களுக்குத் தான் படுக்கைகள் இருக்கின்றன. சராசரி 450 பேர்களுக்குமேல் படுக்கைகள் தேவையாக இருக்கின்றன.

“ஆனால் அங்கு வேண்டிய படுக்கைகள் கிடையாது. அங்கே சரியான வசதிகள் கிடையாது என்பதை இந்த பட்ஜெட் சமயத்தில் அவசியம் சொல்லிக் கொள்ளக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறேன். இந்த ஆஸ்பத்திரியில் இன்னும் நூறு படுக்கைகள் அதிகப் படுத்துவதும் இன்னும் அநேக வசதிகளைச் செய்து கொடுப்பதும் அவசியம். அவைகள் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் இல்லாவிட்டாலும் பிறகு அதை சரி பண்ணுவதற்கு வழிவகைகள் செய்ய ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

1-30 மூன்றாவதாக மதுவிலக்கு என்று ஒன்று இருக்கிறது. இந்த மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி நான் அடிக்கடி பேசிக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறேன். எந்த ஆண்டிலும் நகரத்தில் எந்த இடத்தில் பார்த்தாலும் சாராயம் காய்ச்சலாகும் இடம் இறக்குவதும் எங்குபார்த்தாலும் கள்களை விடும் குடிப்பதமாக இருக்கிறது. இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் போலீஸ்காரர்களும் எடுக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது நிதியும் நிர்வாகமும் பிரிவினையானதால்

[7th July 1952] [Sri A. K. Masilamani Chettiar]

இந்த மதுவிலக்கிற்கு எவ்வளவு பாதகம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பது நன்றாக தெரியவரும். கள் இறக்குவர்களையும் கள் விற்கிறவர்களையும் சாராயம் காய்ச்சிறவர்களையும் பிடித்துக்கொண்டு கேஸ் போட்டால் அவர்களுக்குத் தகுந்த தண்டனை விதிக்காமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். என்னென்றால் இப்பொழுது ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் நீதி நிர்வாகப் பிரவினையால் அந்த பாதகம் ஏற்படுகிறது என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். கேஸ்களை கஷ்டப்பட்டு பிடித்து கேஸ் போட்டால் குற்றவாளிகளுக்கு ரூ. 10 அல்லது 5 என்று அபராதம் போடுகிறார்கள். இதனால் அவ்விதம் குற்றம் செய்யும் மற்றவர்களுக்கு சந்தோஷமாகவும் இன்னும் அதிகம் செய்வதற்கு ஹேதுவாகவும் இருக்கிறது. இதனால் இந்த நீதி நிர்வாக பிரிவின வேண்டாம் என்று சொல்லவில்லை. இந்த மதுவிலக்குக் குற்றங்களைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் எப்படி எடுத்தாலும் தடுக்க முடியும். அவ்விதம் கள் குடிப்பவர்களுக்கு ஒரு வருஷத்துக்கு குறையாமலும் காய்ச்சிறவர்களுக்கு ஐந்து வருஷங்களுக்குக் குறையாமலும் தண்டிக்கும்படியான ஒரு சட்டம் இருக்க வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால் ஒழிய இந்தக் குற்றங்களைத் தடுப்பது என்பது அசாத்தியம் என்பதாக நான் கருதுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் முறையில் அதைத் தடுப்பது என்பது முடியாது. அதனால் தான் நம் கட்சியினரும் எதிர் கட்சியினரும் பல வகையாக இதை எதிர்த்தும் சாதகமாகவும் பாதகமாகவும் பேசுகிறார்கள். இந்த மதுவிலக்கு சம்பந்தமாக என் மனதில் தோன்றியதை அடிக்கடி புரோகிபிஷன் கமிட்டியில் பேசுவது உண்டு. எந்த இடத்திலும் இதைப் பற்றி தயங்காமல் சொல்லி வருகிறேன். நாம் செய்யும் காரியத்தில் நமக்கு ஐயம் வர வேண்டும். மதுவிலக்கு என்பதை சரியானபடி நடவடிக்கையாகக் கொண்டு வர வேண்டும். அவ்விதம் கொண்டு வரவேண்டுமென்றால் நான் சொன்ன மாதிரி அதிகப்படியான தண்டனை இருக்க வேண்டும். ரொம்ப காலமாக இதைப் பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொண்டும் வந்திருக்கிறேன். மற்றவர்களும் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்தும்படியாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக நகர சபைகள், முனிசிபல் நிர்வாகங்கள். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் நகரசபை அங்கத்தினர்கள் தலைவர்கள் மகாநாட்டில் சொன்னார்கள் நகர சபைத் தலைவர்களாக இருப்பவர்கள் பிரதம மந்திரியாக வர முடியும் என்று அவர் சொன்னது வாஸ்தவம் தான். அவர் சொல்லியபடி அவருக்கு ஏற்பட்ட அனுபவத்தையும் தெரிவித்தார்கள். அவர் சேர்மனாக இருந்த காலத்தில் அவரும் கமிஷனாரும் இரட்டை ஸ்டீசியாக இல்லவே இல்லை. அவர் சேர்மனாக இருக்கும் காலத்தில் அவர் சிறிது அதிகாரத்தை வகித்து வந்தார்கள். அதனால் நகரசபை ஸ்டீசியையும் முனிசிபல் நிர்வாகத்தையும் புரிந்துகொள்ள ஹேதுவாக இருந்தது. நான் இப்பொழுது வெல்லூர் நகர சபைசேர்மனாக இருக்கிறேன். சேர்மன் என்றால் பார்க்கிறதற்கு வேண்டிய கௌரத்தை இருக்கிறது, சேர்மன் என்ற ஸ்தானத்திற்கு கௌரத்தையும் கிடைக்கிறது என்று நான் நினைத்து வந்தேன். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது சேர்மனுக்கு கௌரவம் இருப்பதாக நினைக்கவில்லை. சேர்மன் என்றால் ஒரு அடிமை என்றே நான் இப்பொழுது கருதுகிறேன். எங்களுடைய மனப்போக்கை மாற்ற கனம் ராஜாஜியால் முடியும் என்பதை அவருக்கு ஞாபகப்படுத்த விரும்புகிறேன்.

“நிற்க, கனம் ஸ்பீகர் அவர்கள் எனக்கு பயம் ஆகி விட்டது என்கிறார். வேலூர் தாலுகாவில் காடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. காடுகளின் நிர்வாகத்தை நடத்த ஆபீசர்களும் கீழ்தர சிப்பந்திகளும் ஏராளமாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். இப்பொழுது அநேகம் இடங்களில் காடுகள் அழிக்கப்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் இப்பொழுது வனமகோத்சவம் என்று பல இடங்களிலும் செடிகளையும் மரங்களையும் நடுப்படி ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்து பெரிய பெரிய வனமகோத்சவம் கொண்டாடப்படுகிறது. ஆனால் மரங்களையும் காடுகளையும் வெட்டுவதில் குறைவு இல்லாமலிருக்கிறது. அதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

Mr. SPEAKER:—“The House will now adjourn and meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Tuesday, 8th July 1952.”

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 8th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Rajaji Hall.

* 51 Q.—SRI T. VISWANATHAM: Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether any amount is collected by way of rent when Rajaji Hall is given for the use of Congress Legislature Party; and

(b) if so, the amount collected during the last six years?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“(a) & (b) No rent is being collected when political parties in the Legislature are permitted to use the Rajaji Hall.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“May I have an assurance, Sir, from the Hon. the Chief Minister that the Hall will be freely lent to all political parties?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Sir, he can draw that assurance from the present practice.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Sir, is it not a fact that the Hall is lent not only to the Legislature parties but also to the Congress Party for holding meetings of the Congress Party?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Sir, I must say that questions in relation to minor events of a past period are difficult to answer by way of supplementaries.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Will the Hon. the Chief Minister give an assurance that the Hall will be lent to all political parties in the future?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Sir, if the distinction made between political parties and Legislature parties is kept in mind, I am sorry I cannot make promises that it will be allowed to all political parties. At present we have decided that we should use this Hall for State Government functions, for meetings of important Government and quasi-Government committees and conferences, whether Central or State, public meetings of a non-controversial and important character in which all sections of the public are

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eligible to and may in fact participate, for instance Sheriff's meeting for collecting funds and assistance for flood relief, etc. Now it has become unfortunately by convention an adjunct of the Legislative Assembly. It is practically a part of the Legislative Assembly with its overflow of ground accommodation. I do not think that I will be able to stop this in view of the vicinity of the Hall although it is different from the Assembly buildings. Therefore we have to use it for the parties in the Legislature and for necessary purposes in connexion with Legislative work."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" May I know, Sir, why it is called 'Rajaji Hall' ? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I am glad, Sir, the question is put. I am not aware of the reason at all." (Laughter.)

Extent of waste lands in the occupation of agricultural labourers.

* 52 Q.—SRI G. RAMA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) how many pattas for Government assessed or unassessed waste lands have been issued to the agricultural labourers or landless poor since 1948 till now ; and

(b) the total extent of such waste lands in the occupation of agricultural labourers or landless poor in the State and also the total number of such persons?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" (a) & (b) The information is not available here and the obtaining of information by special references to each and every district for answering this most comprehensive question would involve great time and labour wholly out of proportion to the value of the information so obtained."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Are the Government aware, Sir, that a good number, as a matter of fact, thousands of agricultural labourers, both Harijans and others, are involved in this question and they are being evicted even though they have been occupying it for the last 24 years? Will the Government take this into consideration and issue a special Ordinance or pass an Act so that they may not be evicted from their lands? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The Government are not aware of the fact that the hon. Member just mentioned but I will go into the question."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—" Will the collection of the statistics help the Government to know the number of landless labourers as against landed labourers? "

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" It may help, Sir."

SRI A. RATNAM :—" Sir, is there any plan for assignment of lands and the issue of pattas to the landless poor and the scheduled classes who have been cultivating the lands for 20 years and more? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The plan has not yet fructified."

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—" May I know, Sir, whether it is the policy of the Government that waste lands shall be assigned to landless poor or colonization co-operative societies? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, if there are any lands available for the Government, assignment to landless labourers is the first charge on them."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" With reference to the answer given by the Hon. Minister that no useful purpose will be served in view of the long time that will be taken to collect the information required, may I ask Sir, whether the Hon. Minister is aware that the centre of gravity of importance has shifted to the agricultural side and whether the Government will not undertake to collect the statistics so as to give an overall picture of the position of landless labourers in this State? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I sympathize with the fact but as the answer itself indicated, it involves a very comprehensive enquiry and the result will not be commensurate with the trouble taken."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" In view of the fact that the Government in the past have declared that it is their policy to see that waste lands are assigned to landless labourers in preference to others, do not the Government think it necessary to collect this statistics in order to see that their own policy is being actually implemented by their own officers? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, the hon. Member's suggestion will be duly considered."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" Sir, will the ex-tappers who were thrown out of their profession on account of the introduction of prohibition, get priority in the matter of assignment of these lands to the landless poor? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I think, Sir, if the ex-tappers are landless, they will also come under the category of landless people."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" Sir, will they have any priority because they were thrown out of their profession? "

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SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" Sir, will they have any priority because they were thrown out of their profession? "

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, each question will be considered on its merits."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, whether in view of the fact that though the agricultural labourers have been on their lands for so many years they are not given pattas the Government will consider the question of giving them pattas immediately? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I do not know how the question of issue of patta arises at all. But the Government will consider the other thing."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Hon. Minister is not aware that the Board of Revenue will have annual accounts of land occupied unauthorizedly? At a moment's notice the Board of Revenue can give the information if the Hon. Minister wants it."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The Board of Revenue has information about so many other things but it has no definite information about the landless poor. This is a later phenomenon that has arisen in politics now."

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" May I know, Sir, the number of land disputes that arose since the Government assigned to political sufferers lands that had been previously occupied by the agricultural labourers? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question."

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" Will the pattas be given free of charge because the landless poor will necessarily be poor? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I do not think there is any charge for the issue of pattas unless it is by way of an inducement to karnams and village munsifs." (Laughter.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, I would like to know whether Government are aware that numerous complaints are made to the District Collectors about delay in the disposal of applications, because they are receiving thousands of applications regarding these lands and whether Government are going to see that the applications are considered and disposed of as early as possible, so that greater trouble is not given to Harijans and agricultural labourers."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The pending applications will be duly considered and the Government will pay their earnest attention to them."

SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—" May I know, Sir, whether non-Harijan labourers are given lands for house-sites? "

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MR. SPEAKER :—" The present question does not relate to house-sites. The hon. Member may put a separate question."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" The Hon. Minister said that there are no fees for the issue of a patta unless it be inducement that is given to the karnams and village munsifs. Do the Government recognize the giving of these inducements officially? " (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The Government do not recognize it at all either officially or unofficially." (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" I pass on to question No. 53."

SRI G. RAMA RAO :—" అయ్యో, ప్రశ్న వేసినది మేము. (అంటే వెనుక బెండింగ్ కు వచ్చినవారము.) సర్కి మంటరీ ప్రశ్నలు వేసినవారు ముందుకూర్చున్న మంబర్లు మేము ఎప్పుడు నిలుచున్నా, మీరు మళ్ళీ చూడలేదు. నాకు ఇంకా టెలియదు. నా ప్రశ్నకు వివిధ సమాధానం వచ్చిందో నాకు తెలియదు." 8-45 a.m.

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" He says he does not understand English."

MR. SPEAKER :—" If the hon. Member wants any information, let him come and meet me in my chamber."

AN HON. MEMBER :—" I want to know whether the word menial in question No. 53 is parliamentary."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is parliamentary."

Revision of pay of public health menials of Fort Cochin Municipality.

* 53 Q.—SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN : Will the Hon. the Minister for Health be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have received any letter or telegram from municipal authorities of Fort Cochin Municipality in the month of September of 1951 stating that the monthly payment to public health menials of Fort Cochin Municipality be increased to a minimum of Rs. 45 (basic salary and dearness allowance included) and if so, what was the reply given by Government;

(b) whether it was stated in the letter of the Municipal Commissioner that the monthly payments of the menials do not suffice to purchase the rationed articles due to them; and

(c) whether the Fort Cochin Municipality had proposed to supply rice to the menials at subsidized rates and what was the Government's reply?

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY :—" (a) A telegram and letter, both, were received in August 1951. The Commissioner, Fort Cochin Municipality, was informed that the question

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, each question will be considered on its merits."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, whether in view of the fact that though the agricultural labourers have been on their lands for so many years they are not given pattas the Government will consider the question of giving them pattas immediately? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Sir, I do not know how the question of issue of patta arises at all. But the Government will consider the other thing."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Hon. Minister is not aware that the Board of Revenue will have annual accounts of land occupied unauthorizedly? At a moment's notice the Board of Revenue can give the information if the Hon. Minister wants it."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The Board of Revenue has information about so many other things but it has no definite information about the landless poor. This is a later phenomenon that has arisen in politics now."

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" May I know, Sir, the number of land disputes that arose since the Government assigned to political sufferers lands that had been previously occupied by the agricultural labourers? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The hon. Member may give notice of a separate question."

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" Will the pattas be given free of charge because the landless poor will necessarily be poor? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I do not think there is any charge for the issue of pattas unless it is by way of an inducement to karnams and village munsifs." (Laughter.)

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, I would like to know whether Government are aware that numerous complaints are made to the District Collectors about delay in the disposal of applications, because they are receiving thousands of applications regarding these lands and whether Government are going to see that the applications are considered and disposed of as early as possible, so that greater trouble is not given to Harijans and agricultural labourers."

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The pending applications will be duly considered and the Government will pay their earnest attention to them."

SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—" May I know, Sir, whether non-Harijan labourers are given lands for house-sites? "

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MR. SPEAKER :—" The present question does not relate to house-sites. The hon. Member may put a separate question."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" The Hon. Minister said that there are no fees for the issue of a patta unless it be inducement that is given to the karnams and village munsifs. Do the Government recognize the giving of these inducements officially? " (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The Government do not recognize it at all either officially or unofficially." (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" I pass on to question No. 53."

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MR. SPEAKER :—" If the hon. Member wants any information, let him come and meet me in my chamber."

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(b) whether it was stated in the letter of the Municipal Commissioner that the monthly payments of the menials do not suffice to purchase the rationed articles due to them; and

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of revision of pay of public health menials might be considered after the Government had passed orders on the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Committee.

“(b) Yes.

“(c) Yes. The Government did not approve the proposal.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“ May I know, Sir, if the Government have passed orders on the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Committee, and if so, what those orders are? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The Government Order was issued only on the 29th March 1952.”

SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the Government consider that the wages fixed under the Minimum Wages Act would enable the employees to lead a healthy life? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ Only minimum wages are fixed. As a matter of fact, most of the municipalities are paying more than the minimum wages.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware that a number of municipalities, like Tuticorin, etc., have not implemented the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Committee, and if so, what action do the Government propose to take? ”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The question refers to Fort Cochin Municipality. Let the hon. Member put a separate question.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the minimum wage includes dearness and other allowances? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ It includes dearness allowance.”

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—“ May I know, Sir, what scales of pay have been recommended by the Minimum Wages Committee? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ It is Rs. 25 per mensem for grades I and II and Rs. 40 per mensem for grades III, IV and V.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ Are the Government satisfied that a mere sum of Rs. 25 inclusive of dearness allowance can be a minimum wage particularly when the textile workers are getting Rs. 40 per mensem as dearness allowance alone? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ I have already said that almost all the municipalities are paying more than the minimum wages fixed by the Minimum Wages Committee.”

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SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—“ The minimum wage fixed previously was Rs. 28 per mensem inclusive of dearness allowance and it was asked to be increased as it did not suffice to purchase the rationed articles. If the minimum wage is now Rs. 25 per mensem inclusive of dearness allowance, do the Government consider that, by decreasing the pay by Rs. 3 the employees will be able to purchase the rationed articles? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ It is open to the municipalities to write to Government and fix the minimum wages and the Inspector of Local Boards will examine whether the municipalities can afford to pay the proposed wages to their menials.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—“ If in general practice the municipalities are paying more than the minimum wage, will the Government consider the desirability of fixing the minimum wage a little higher up? ”

THE HON. SRI A. B. SHETTY:—“ The minimum wage was fixed only recently and the Government Order was published on the 29th March 1952.”

Reconstitution of the village panchayats.

* 54 Q.—

MR. SPEAKER:—“ As the hon. Member Sri V. Gopala Gounder is not in his seat, the answer will be printed in the proceedings.”

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government intend to reconstitute the village panchayats under the provisions of the Village Panchayats Act, 1950, this year, and if so, when the elections will be held; and

(b) if it is by General Election, is it on the basis of adult franchise?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI:—“ (a) The Government propose to reconstitute the existing panchayats under the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950, after holding elections to them, which are expected to commence from September 1952.

“(b) Yes, the Assembly electoral rolls pertaining to the panchayat area will be the electoral rolls for panchayat elections also, with reference to section 12 of the Madras Village Panchayats Act, 1950.”

Report of the Special Officer for the development of Ramanathapuram district.

* 55 Q.—SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN: Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Special Officer for development work in Ramanathapuram district has submitted his report to the Government; and

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of revision of pay of public health menials might be considered after the Government had passed orders on the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Committee.

“(b) Yes.

“(c) Yes. The Government did not approve the proposal.”

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(a) whether the Special Officer for development work in Ramanathapuram district has submitted his report to the Government; and

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(b) if so, will the Government be pleased to lay a copy of the report on the table of the House?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“(a) Yes, Sir.

“(b) The report is under print and copies will be placed in the library of the Legislature in due course for information of the hon. Members.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“May I know, Sir, whether the Government are considering the report and whether they are going to implement any of the suggestions that have been made by the Special Officer?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“Notice, Sir.”

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“In answer to question (b) the Hon. Chief Minister was pleased to say that a copy will be placed in the library of the Legislature. May I ask, Sir, whether copies will be supplied to the Members of this House?”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“Sir, I have said that it will be placed in the library of the Legislature in due course. If hon. Members want any further assistance in the matter, the Government will be very willing to help.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“May I know, Sir, whether the report submitted by the Special Officer for development work in Ramanathapuram district includes Pudukkottai also?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“The hon. Member can give notice of a separate question.”

Sales tax on fish.

* 56 Q.—SRI C. H. KANARAN : Will the Hon. the Minister for Rural Welfare be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that Government have exempted fish catch including those cured in the fish-curing yard sold by fishermen from sales tax; and

(b) whether the Government have received any representation from fishermen's organization in the West Coast to the effect that the curers should be treated as producers of fish to be placed on a par with agricultural producers and therefore exempt from the sales tax and whether the Government have passed orders on these representations?

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“(a) The Government have not exempted fish including those cured in the fish-curing yards from sales tax. They have, however, revised the rate of taxation in respect of dealers in flowers, fish and mutton with effect from 1st April 1951, as shown below :—

(i) If the turnover of the dealer is not less than Rs. 10,000 per annum but does not exceed Rs. 15,000 per annum—Rs. 96 per annum;

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(ii) if the turnover exceeds Rs. 15,000 per annum, but does not exceed Rs. 20,000 per annum—Rs. 144 per annum;

(iii) if the turnover exceeds Rs. 20,000 per annum, tax is levied at the usual rate of 3 pies per rupee on the entire turnover.

“(b) Yes. Representations have been received from the Dakshina Kannada Mogaveera Mahajana Sangha, the Fish Curers' Association, Tellicherry and Thalayi, the West Coast Fisheries Association, and various other small associations that the sale of fish generally or at least in the raw state be exempted from tax and that dry fish sold by fish merchants should also be exempted from tax. The representations are under the consideration of the Government in consultation with the Board of Revenue and the Director of Fisheries.”

SRI C. H. KANARAN :—“May I ask, Sir, when sales tax on fish was first introduced and do the Government consider that fish curers and fish merchants also should pay sales tax?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“It is under examination, Sir.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“In view of the fact that there is a great shortage of food in our State and that fish is a supplementary food, will the Government consider the necessity of abolishing sales tax on fish altogether?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“As a general rule, it may not be done. But in certain cases, the Government have revised the rates of taxation as I have already stated in my answer.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“In view of the fact that the fishing folk are generally backward, will the Government as a gesture to backward people, withdraw collection of sales tax from fish curers?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“It is a general question regarding backward communities. As I have already said, the question is being examined in the case of those poor fishermen who are directly dealing in fish.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“May I know whether this concession is intended for the fishermen who are actually dealing in fish or for the businessmen who trade in fish?”

THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO :—“Sometimes the fishermen also deal in fish. But, actually this concession has been given to those dealing in fish business including those catching fish.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“May I know, Sir, whether it is the considered policy of this Government to continue to tax the essential food articles in this State?”

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THE HON. SRI S. B. P. PATTABHI RAMA RAO:—"I cannot discuss the policy of the Government in answering a question, Sir."

Scheme of Separation of Judiciary from the Executive.

* 57 Q.—

MR. SPEAKER:—"As the hon. Member Sri V. Gopala Gounder is not in his seat, the answer will be printed in the proceedings."

SRI V. GOPALA GOUNDER: Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state—

(a) the number and names of districts in which the "Scheme of Separation of Judiciary from the Executive" is yet to be extended; and

(b) whether the Government intend extending this scheme to these districts in the near future; and if so, the probable date?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAIR:—" (a) Nine—

- (1) Madurai,
- (2) Tiruchirappalli,
- (3) Tanjore,
- (4) East Godavari,
- (5) West Godavari,
- (6) Krishna,
- (7) Guntur,
- (8) Malabar and
- (9) South Kanara.

" (b) Yes, it is the intention, but it is not possible now to indicate the probable date."

Extent of land taken over by the Government under Zamindari Abolition Act.

* 58 Q.—SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state—

(a) the total extent of land taken over by the Government under the Zamindari Abolition Act;

(b) the total amount of money paid to the zamindars as compensation up to 31st March 1952;

(c) the total revenue derived by the Government from those lands up to 31st March 1952; and

(d) the extent of such land granted to (a) the Harijans and (b) the landless poor?

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—" (a) The total extent of land taken over by the Government under the Estates Abolition Act is 16,840.86 square miles.

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" (b) A sum of Rs. 4.48 crores has been deposited with the Tribunals up to 31st March 1952 as advance compensation to landholders whose estates have been taken over by Government under the Estates Abolition Act.

" (c) The estimated revenue derived from the estates taken over by the Government was—

	RS.
Account for 1950-51	1,09,80,831
Account for 1951-52	1,37,38,700

" (d) The information is not available with the Government."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO:—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government have decided on any plan for the disposal of the cultivable waste lands taken over from the zamindars? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—" There is time enough to look into the matter, Sir."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH:—" ఎన్నో లాండు యాక్టు అమలు జరుపుతున్నప్పుడు కొన్ని ఆగ్రహాలు తీసుకున్నారు. ఎన్ని ఆగ్రహాలు తీసుకున్నారు? అందుకుగాను ఆగ్రహం ద్వారా ఎంత డబ్బు ఇచ్చారు? ఇంక ఎన్ని ఆగ్రహాలు తీసుకోవలసి ఉన్నది? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—" It is a matter of detail and I want notice, Sir."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—" May I know the basis of revenue assessment for the lands taken over from the zamindars? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—" I cannot answer off-hand, Sir."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—" May I know how many estates still remain to be taken over by Government? "

MR. SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member may put a separate question."

SRI V. K. RAMASAMI MUDALIYAR:—" Will the Government be pleased to state whether any compensation will be paid to the temples whose estates have been taken over or will the Government be pleased to make any interim cash payment to the temples in the meanwhile so that there may not be interruption in the daily 'pujas' ? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—" Interim payments are being made. Recently payment was made to the devasthanam authorities of some temples in Ramanathapuram district."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—" May I know whether it is a fact that the Government have issued orders in connexion with the lands that were disputed by the zamindars as kamatham lands, that such lands are to be allowed to be cultivated by the zamindars themselves? "

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THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ This is a big question. I cannot answer it off-hand.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Sir, my question is a specific one. It refers to certain specific types of lands which were disputed as kamatham lands by zamindars. When the Collectors were questioned they said that they had orders from the Government that these lands should be given to the zamindars until it was decided otherwise. I would like to know from the Government whether they have issued orders to that effect.”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ I would like to have notice, Sir.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—“ On a point of information, I would like to know when the short-notice question which I have given notice of five days ago, would be answered.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ How can I say off-hand? The hon. Member can come to my Chamber. I shall refer to the Secretariat and give him the required information.”

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

II.—HALF-HOUR DEBATE.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Sir, the answers given by the Hon. Revenue Minister in reply to question No. 52 are very unsatisfactory. Because that question involves the welfare of the State and also the policy of Government, I would request that a half-hour debate may be allowed so far as this question No. 52 is concerned.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member will have an opportunity to speak on the subject when the demand under Revenue comes for discussion before the House in a few days. I need not allow a half-hour debate now on this question.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ When the demand under Revenue comes up before the House there will be ever so many questions involved regarding the policy of Government. As such I would request that a half-hour debate may be allowed to discuss question No. 52. When the demand under Revenue is discussed in the House, we cannot expect concentrated attention on this question being paid by the Government.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I am afraid it is not possible. Hon. Member should know that we are sitting at a stretch from 8-30 a.m. to 1-30 p.m. Hon. Members will feel very hungry if the time-limit is extended beyond 1-30 p.m.” (Laughter.)

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ On a point of information . . . ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member can come to my Chamber afterwards. I shall give him all the information required.”

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III.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Let us now pass on to the next item in the agenda, viz., General discussion on the Budget. The hon. Member Raja Muthiah Chettiar will now speak.”

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Budget that has been presented to this House should be considered from the background of the circumstances prevailing in this part of the country now. Before I come to the main items in the Budget, I think I will be untrue to myself if I fail to congratulate the Government on some of their achievements. Before we begin to criticise them and ask them to do this and that, it is but fitting that we congratulate them on their achievements.

“ I should first of all like to praise the magnificent work which this Government have done in relieving the distress of the famine-stricken people of Rayalaseema. The achievements of the civil as well as the military authorities in having tackled the famine certainly requires the commendation of this House. Sir, I refer to the famine not to please the Government or congratulate them on what they have done, but because I want to bring to the notice of this House that the new taxation measures proposed by this Government should be looked at from the background of the enormous amount of money spent by this Government on relief works in Rayalaseema. Personally speaking, I am of the view that the money spent on account of famine in Rayalaseema could not alone be a sufficient justification for the Government coming forward with taxation proposals. It is not to this House that they should come for money. They ought to have directed their attention to some other place, viz., to the Government of India. My only grievance is that this Government have not sufficiently pressed the Government of India for money, particularly when the money is required to alleviate the distress in Rayalaseema. The then Hon. Finance Minister, Mr. A. B. Shetty, said a few months ago that he expected to get two crores of rupees from the Central Government by way of loan, for tackling the famine in Rayalaseema. I expected that the two crores loan would be converted eventually into a grant. What did the Government of India do? The Government securities held by this Government, which were worth two crores of rupees were sold. I should respectfully submit that the Government of India have not rendered sufficient help by asking the Reserve Bank to sell the two crores of rupees worth of securities which this Government held. Any broker in Bombay could have done it. This Government required as much as six crores of rupees to relieve the distress. What the Government of Madras expected was that the Central Government would give them half, viz., three crores of rupees by way of grant and the other half by way of loan. If these two things had been done, our financial difficulty would have been mitigated to a great extent. Even now it is not too late. I should expect the Hon. Chief Minister to bang

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at the doors of the Government of India. I am sure that with the esteem in which he is held at the Centre, the Hon. Chief Minister will succeed. With the backing of the people of the State and with the backing of this House, I am quite sure that the Hon. Chief Minister will be able to get satisfactory response from the Centre and to that extent relieve the people of this State from tax burden.

"While other States were able to persuade the Government of India to bear half the cost on their famine-relief measures, how is it that we have been neglected? I should like to say that during the last five years, the attitude of the Central Government towards South India has been very unfair. Time and again I have requested the Madras Ministers to go to Delhi and try to persuade the Central Government and see to it that our request is attended to. But they could not do so. Even our representatives in Delhi have not made sufficient representations to the Central Government on the floor of the Parliament to help us in our just cause. The representatives of Uttar Pradesh raised a hue and cry about their sufferings and to some extent they were benefited by the Central Government coming to their rescue. Our representatives in Delhi have not taken sufficient initiative in the matter. They ought to have moved a resolution in the Central Parliament. They ought to have seen that satisfactory response was got from the Centre. But what is the use of myself alone protesting? Even now time is not lost. I hope my remarks will reach the ears of our representatives at Delhi and goad them to wait in deputation on the Prime Minister or the Finance Minister of the Government of India and see that more money is given to this Government."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"On a point of order. I would like to know whether the hon. Member is talking about the Budget proposals or about the conduct of our legislators in the Parliament at Delhi."

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great respect for my esteemed Friend, Mr. Ramamurthy; but my respect has gone down on his query. The reason for my talking in that line is to point out to all assembled here that on account of the Central Government not rendering sufficient financial assistance to us, we are now faced with additional taxation proposals. Time and again the Madras Government ought to have asked for more and more money. This House has got a right to ask the Government of India to render us more financial assistance. I am perfectly entitled to ask our co-legislators in Delhi, who were elected by the people of South India, to impress on the Central Government our difficulties. They have also been elected like ourselves by the peoples' vote. We have a right to expect that they would work for our welfare. As such, I think I am right in requesting them to render us all assistance."

AN HON. MEMBER:—"They are not interested."

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RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Oh! If there is one such group with that particular ideology I shall excuse them. There is no need for me to club them with others. I am sure that our other representatives would succeed in their endeavours."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Hear, hear."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I would like to inform the hon. Member that we would welcome any resolution demanding that the Central Government should render us greater financial assistance. But that is entirely different from what the hon. Member is speaking about."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"We do not believe in demands. We believe in persuasions." (Laughter.)

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—"After the very effective way in which Rajaji has replied, I think there is no necessity for me to answer."

"Sir, it will be agreed on all hands that the Finance Minister-ship of the Madras Government is not a very happy one. He has been put to the trouble of finding money from even sources beyond his control. Hence it is absolutely essential that the Central Government should come forward with a grant of a few crores of rupees."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"May I know by what kind of persuasion?"

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Hon. Members on the opposite side may think of different kinds of persuasions. As far as I am concerned, my method would be to attract the attention of the Government of India by making effective speeches on the floor of this House."

"As far as the loan market is concerned, the Government of India are the controlling authority. It is they who monopolise the market. As such the State Governments find it difficult to increase their capital outlay. But considering the financial position of our State, we are happy to note that we are not involved in great public debts. Our debt position is very much better. Comparing our capital outlay with the benefits that would accrue to us from our major irrigation projects, we have every reason to be proud of ourselves. Considering the financial backwardness of several of the major States, we are happy to find that we are not so backward."

"Coming to our deficit of nearly four crores of rupees, how are we to meet the deficit? The Government should proceed with irrigation schemes, and effective representation should be made to the Government of India to come to our rescue by giving us liberal grants to push through our irrigation projects. Everybody in this House will feel disappointed if any useful irrigation scheme is slowed down. Besides, we should try to get loans from the open market."

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" As I said at the outset, I wish to refer to some of the creditable things which this Government have done. The educational concession which this Government have given to the children of the Non-Gazetted Officers, even though it was a belated one, should be welcomed by one and all.

9-15 a.m. " The decontrol of foodgrains is a matter of great satisfaction; there is no necessity for me to praise the Government, for praise has come from throughout the country, from all parts of the country, from all people. It only remains for the people now and for the representatives of the people to give full co-operation in order to see that the decontrol measures adopted by the Government are a complete success. Why decontrol should succeed is a point which need not be discussed now. But I should enjoin on the Government of Madras that it is up to them to represent to the Government of India that more rice should be imported from Burma, Siam and other places. Rice is available in those countries in plenty; it may be that it costs a little more and yet perhaps it is worthwhile getting rice from those places. I want to tell the Government of India through this Government that broken rice is absolutely necessary for the people in South India. The poor classes of people here require only broken rice as it is cheaper than full rice; and I hope that the Government of Madras will urge on the Government of India to send for broken rice from Burma, Siam and other countries. In that way also, we can make decontrol a success.

" Now I wish, Mr. Speaker, to turn to the fresh taxation proposals of the Government. Nobody likes fresh taxation of course, but still we will have to face the problem of additional revenue for the Government. We have got to give responsive co-operation to this Government. (Sri T. Viswanatham: 'Hear, hear'.) Why not? (Laughter.) You may also come over to this side and you are most welcome. (Laughter.) Probably that may also happen one day, and perhaps shortly; although it is also true that when you come to this side, we may have to go to that side and sit there; but that cannot be helped.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, there has been a good deal of agitation during the last four or five days, during the past week, that the surcharge on bus fares will sit heavily on the passenger and that the passenger will do continuous propaganda against the Government of the day. That is true. Some people ask 'are there no alternatives'? I am very glad to hear that the Motor Passengers' Association, or some association, of which I am unable to give the correct name, has suggested some alternatives. What I submit is that while we oppose the surcharge on the bus fare, we would request the Government to examine alternatives. Suggestions may come from anybody, and hon. Members here may suggest alternatives. One alternative suggested to me is that the petrol tax which is not now being put on buses and lorries, may be levied on them, and that would bring in about Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 lakhs per year. I would commend to the Hon. Finance Minister and the

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Hon. Chief Minister this suggestion and I would request them to give serious consideration to it. I am also told that in addition to this, the motor people themselves are willing to pay some amount based on the seating capacity of the bus, or pay some kind of lump sum in addition to the present tax, which again might bring in another Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 lakhs. On the whole, by adopting these two alternatives, we can expect at least a crore of rupees in the place of the Rs. 2 crores which the proposal of the Government is expected to yield. I therefore submit that these two suggestions may be considered by the Government as alternatives to the tax proposed, so far as buses are concerned. I am also informed that thousands of lorries and buses for which permits have been issued are not at present paying the tax. If the taxes due are collected regularly, I trust we can get some more money. I cannot understand why taxes are not now collected properly. Probably the reason is that after getting the permits, they are reporting 'sick' in the language of the motor people.

" As regards the betterment fee, one can have no objection to the levy of a betterment fee on land that has been actually brought into cultivation on account of big schemes such as the Tungabhadra project or the Bhavani project; but the Bill as drafted by the Government gives the impression that there is sufficient scope allowed for the Government to tax any land that might have had some kind of improvement on account of any kind of work done. I find even alteration work is mentioned there as one of the items which will form the basis for levy of the betterment fee. I submit, Sir, it is too wide a term, and I do not think it is really the intention of Government to tax all kinds of land. If the intention is really to tax only such lands as have been improved as a result of big schemes, then the language should be made clear. Even in the case of lands bettered as a result of big schemes, for some time to come, the rate should be kept at a minimum and raised only gradually in course of time.

" In regard to the tax on land, over which a hue and cry has been raised by the mirasdars, I may state that the objection is raised more because of the fact that the limit is fixed at Rs. 50, which means that it will affect owners of land of even five to six acres. I submit that if the proposal is to be given effect to, the Government will have to consider the advisability of raising the limit from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 or some such thing. That will probably go a long way to alleviate the apprehensions of the people and of the Members here who have raised objections in regard to this matter.

" There is another matter which I should like to bring to the notice of the House, and also to the notice of the Government, particularly of the Chief Minister, the Finance Minister and the Revenue Minister. Let us not be under the impression that the famine-affected areas in this State comprise only the Rayalseema districts; there are many other tracts in this State in many other districts which are perpetually in famine conditions, such

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as parts of the districts of North Arcot, parts of Madurai and the whole of Pudukkottai and Ramanathapuram; they are almost always in famine conditions, and Government have not done anything to alleviate the sufferings of the people in these tracts during the last thirty or forty years. People in some of these parts have not even the amenity of having drinking water; and hon. Members who are hailing from such areas will agree with me when I say that at present drinking water is not available in most of these places. Thanks to the prompt action taken by the Madras Government, the military people have arrived in the southern districts from Rayalaseema and they are carrying on work with a view to deepen the wells. But at the same time, I submit that the expenditure on these military people, on their salary, on their rations, etc., will be thousands and thousands of rupees, while they are put on the work of deepening about 25 wells only in two or three taluks in the Ramanathapuram district and in Pudukkottai. It is hopeless waste of public money to spend so much on them and ask them to deepen only 25 wells in the course of a month or so; I would request the Hon. the Chief Minister to look into this matter at once and see to it that orders are sent to the military people that they should carry on continuous operations with a view to deepen at least 200 to 300 wells in the course of a month in the Sivaganga, Karaikudi and Tiruppattur taluks. It is not necessary for me to refer to the fact that the Government of India are giving crores and crores of rupees to improve the Malnad area—some of us do not even know where the Malnad area is—I am told it is somewhere to the south of Bombay and north of South Kanara—it has an extent of about 30,000 square miles. Mr. Nagan Gowda probably can recognize where the area is. Mr. Viswanatham who knows all kinds of statistics probably also knows the area. We all know how that area is being helped by the Government of India. I wish to take this opportunity to bring to the notice of the House the condition of the area lying between the Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli districts in the north and Danushkodi in the south—an area of the extent of about 30,000 square miles, which is actually lying waste. I want the Government to take up some major irrigation work there. According to the Finance Minister's review, minor irrigation schemes are practically coming to an end and the grants under the well subsidy scheme will also stop now. I want the Hon. Finance Minister and the Hon. Revenue Minister to inaugurate some big irrigation scheme in this area and also put into effect the well subsidy scheme, in addition to taking up suitable minor irrigation schemes. Let the Government of India give us a few crores of rupees to carry on the Grow More Food work and the Rural Development work in this area. I do sincerely hope that this Government will succeed in getting a loan from the Government of India; but if they do not succeed, I now give the assurance that I will be able to see that a loan of Rs. 2 crores is raised in the open market for this particular purpose, if only the Government will float a loan. In such a case, I will go about in person and somehow get this amount from the people of the

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locality, to be used for this particular purpose of developing that area. While on this, I should not also forget to impress on the Government the necessity for supplying electricity to this area. As a matter of fact, when we are not able to get the necessary water for irrigation purposes from the rivers and canals, we have to tap the sub-soil water which has to be lifted up; and in order to lift the water up, electricity is absolutely necessary, and it is because of the lack of electric power that irrigation cannot be taken up in those places. I would request the Minister in charge of electricity to tour the area and find out for himself how the area has to be developed. (At this stage, the Speaker sounded the gong.)

“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have only one more subject to refer to, viz., the question of headquarters for the Ramanathapuram district. The Ramanathapuram district has at present its headquarters at Madurai and it is not therefore possible for the officials to pay proper attention to the needs of the rural areas. We have all along been wanting a separate headquarters for the Ramanathapuram district; and now that Pudukkottai has come in, we demand, and I demand with the full knowledge of all the Members here representing that area, and with their full concurrence, that Pudukkottai may be made the headquarters of the Ramanathapuram district. It has already got a hospital, a jail, courts, etc., and there are any number of buildings there which can be used if the headquarters is to be situated there. I trust, Sir, that the Hon. Minister will go through the Kudva report which has recommended that Pudukkottai may be made the headquarters of the district and come to a decision in the matter. My friend, Mr. Ramaswami, will then have the chance of Virudunagar being made the headquarters of the southern part; let him live in that hope and he will have my best wishes.

“ There are also two other matters which I should like to refer to in passing. I cannot refrain from referring to the educational policy of the Government. I am glad that in regard to grants for buildings the Government have given up the policy of fixing a maximum of Rs. 35,000 for a school and Rs. 75,000 for a college. I think they should at least give a half-grant.

“ In regard to education generally, I am sorry to state that the standards of education are deteriorating. I am not going to talk about the vernacularization of schools or about the medium of instruction; I do not want to take up the time of the House by referring to them, and if I do so, I will require much time, which I am sure you, Sir, will not allow me. One important thing to be emphasized is that the standard of University education has gone down, and I want the Government to tell the Universities so and also to help the Universities to raise the standard of education. Universities cannot by themselves do so, if the standard of education which has deteriorated in the high schools is not raised. In this connexion, I want to submit that the medium of instruction

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in the University Colleges should continue to be English for many, many years to come. (At this stage the Speaker sounded the gong.) I may be given one or two more minutes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Sri V. V. Ramaswami."

* SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, on the presentation of the first Budget of this Assembly by my young and amiable friend Mr. Subramaniam, I very much wanted to congratulate him, but I am sorry to say that I must reserve it till the end of this session; because I find after going through the Budget, that there is no definite policy or any central idea running through it. Moreover, it is contrary to all canons of taxation and there is no human touch at all in the framing of the Budget. I find no account has been taken of the taxable capacity of the people in their present circumstances. The Government are aware that the purchasing power of the people has gone down very low. On account of the recent decontrol policy of the Government, it is perhaps considered that the people will be in a position to keep some more money in their hands, and that by way of gratitude, they will be able to pay some more tax to the Government. But, I fear, Sir, that the people, though they admire the Government for having decontrolled foodgrains, will not be ready to pay the additional taxes. We have therefore to be very careful before launching on any proposals for further taxation.

9-30
a.m.

"Before taking up the question of taxation, we must examine what are the duties of the Government. Governments in all the countries of the world demand taxes with a view to increase production and to spend them on social services and also on the protection of the people. But, in our set-up I find that out of the total budgeted revenue of Rs. 62 crores, nearly Rs. 20 crores has been set apart for Police and other departments. According to Saint Tiruvalluvar (இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த வகுத்தலும் வல்லது அரசு) the main object of a State must be to increase production and distribute it fairly and the last item must be protection. On the other hand, I find the Government have taken up protection first and are spending nearly one-third of the revenue on that account. In other words, Government have altered the priority given by Saint Tiruvalluvar in this great verse which I have quoted. Sir, the total income of the Government in the year 1939 was nearly Rs. 17 crores and we are spending these Rs. 17 crores on general administrative purposes. That is, what we got as total revenue during 1938-39 is now being consumed for major administrative purposes in the present set-up. Moreover, if we take into consideration every item of expenditure, there is very little improvement in expenditure under some of the important items. For instance, take education. In spite of an increase of Rs. 40 lakhs, the provision made under primary education is only Rs. 7 lakhs and at this rate, I am afraid, we cannot liquidate illiteracy in the State.

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Under Public Health also, there is an increase of Rs. 18 lakhs of which Rs. 5 lakhs has been provided for establishment. Again there is a reduction under epidemics, but this is very bad, especially when there is famine and under-nourishment on a large scale. Under social amenities in particular, we must be very careful in providing for public health and sanitation in rural parts. We find that all these things are attended to in towns and major cities and rural parts have been neglected. Wherever we go in rural parts, we find no hospitals and no maternity centres, not even in important parts of the district. Such being the case, how can you expect the villagers to pay their taxes willingly?

"Now, Sir, you have framed a Budget with a deficit to the tune of about Rs. 4 crores. I can understand it if you are going to tax people for providing more amenities, but when you propose to impose additional taxation and use the revenue from such taxation for capital outlay, I cannot understand it. It is not sound in principle and no economic pandit will justify such a kind of taxation. I am told that the Delhi Government, particularly the Planning Commission, have asked you to finance the various schemes by raising taxation. But, I do not know why you should be bound by the Government of India, especially when as my esteemed friend, the Raja of Chettinad, has stated, the Government of India do not treat us fairly. I may tell the Hon. Minister that so long as we are in the present set-up according to the present Constitution, and unless we get away from the political and economical shackles of Delhi, we will be treated like this and there is no salvation for us. If the Government of India ask us to resort to taxation for major schemes according to the Planning Commission, I would like to put the question, why should we say 'yes' to them at once? When the great Pandit Jawaharlal asked the Government of Madras to go slow with the Prohibition policy, did they pay heed to that advice? They did not do. Again recently our Chief Minister, Rajaji, boldly decontrolled the foodgrains—and rightly too—even though the Government of India might have thought otherwise. So, I think, if the Planning Commission insist on this Government that they should resort to more taxation, I would suggest to the Government of Madras to turn round and ask them, why should the Government of India give us only Rs. 56 lakhs when they get crores of rupees from tobacco and other duties, and why should they not give us more subventions. That is the question which this Government should put to the Planning Commission. I am also told that taxation as a means of financing capital expenditure will not be a sound procedure. Moreover, there is no boom for the surplus to be mopped up, but depression has begun; prices have gone down immensely and many businesses have stopped and the money market has become tight. Though the Raja Saheb of Chettinad said that he would be able to get as much loan in the open market as possible, I have my own doubts about it and people will not be forthcoming easily to contribute. I am informed that shortly the Finance Commission set up by the Government of India will be visiting Madras and at that time I would

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suggest to the Government to make out a case and ask them to restore the 18 per cent of the divisible pool which we had according to the Niemeyer Award—the Deshmuk Award reduced it, to 17.5 per cent—and give it retrospective effect. Again, Sir, we must also realize that in the rural parts, Government are not ruling but chill penury is ruling, if any person cares to go and see what is happening in rural areas. And, you will be astonished to know that the rate of interest there is one kalam of paddy a month for every hundred rupees. That will work out to more than 100 per cent interest per annum. Such is the distress that is prevailing in rural parts and lands are sold away to local money-lenders. That is the state of penury in rural parts. I would therefore suggest that some radical reform must be taken up as early as possible, since all lands are passing away from the poor ryots and cultivators. Moreover, when the Finance Commission visit Madras, I hope the Hon. the Finance Minister will be able to impress upon them the need for getting at least 25 per cent of the divisible pool set up after 1950. I hope that the Hon. Finance Minister, with his wit and energy, coupled with the resourcefulness of the redoubtable leader, Rajaji, will be able to get more subventions and grants from the Centre and drop this idea of new taxation altogether.

“ Now, Sir, it is said that a stable Ministry has been assured for the governance of this State under our able Chief Minister, the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari. May I presume that Rajaji has enough backing to make an impression upon the Central Government and fervently hope that he will succeed in convincing the Finance Commission and get substantial subventions and grants for our State?

“ I now proceed to offer my remarks upon the various items concerning the departments under the charge of Hon. Ministers. In regard to food, I would like to assure the Hon. Minister for Food that the people are very much gratified with the present food policy of the Government. I have been a supporter of the decontrol policy for more than three years. I may assure the Hon. Minister that the people will stand by the present policy, but I want an assurance from the Hon. Minister and the Government that under no circumstance they will re-introduce controls again. The decontrol policy has removed the blot which was upon us and it is shameful for us to depend upon up-country States which have been demanding larger sums of money for foodgrains than we have been able to pay to our own cultivators. We have also been depending upon foreign countries for our food. This must be removed and has been removed. Therefore, I hope that should any unforeseen difficulties arise, the Government will rise to the occasion and carry the people with them and will not at any cost introduce controls again.

“ In the matter of co-operation, I would like to say one thing. The Government should not have their own ideas and then ask the people to co-operate with the Government. On the other hand, people want the Government to co-operate with their wishes and

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aspirations. So, Sir, the Government must be able to find out what the grievances of the people are. For the past 4 or 5 years though the Congress Party had been in power, people have been crying hoarse regarding the food control policy, but they did not pay heed to their voices and complaints and it was on this account that they lost their prestige and also their majority. So, the policy of the Government must always be to find out the aspirations of the people and pursue a course of action which is in accord with the wishes of the people. Then only the Government can depend on the co-operation of the people.

“ Now, Sir, in regard to the Board of Revenue, ever since the Indian National Congress was formed, the first resolution at every session of the Congress used to be the abolition of the Indian Council and next the abolition of the Revenue Board. Now the India Council is gone and the Congress Party has been ruling over us since 1947 but yet the Revenue Board is there. I do not, of course, say that the Board must be abolished all at once. What I want should be done is this. On this occasion, I remember that at one of the political conferences held at Madurai, the late Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, at that time the Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Council presided. He was described as the broomstick of the Legislative Council by the ‘ Madras Mail ’. The first important resolution adopted at that conference was in favour of the abolition of the Board of Revenue. We have not yet done that. Yesterday, my hon. Friend, Mr. Jayaram Reddiyar, said that we must take measures to effect retrenchment. But retrenchment is not an easy affair. So, what I suggest is, you must convene a conference of Provincial Heads of Departments and tell them that people desire that expenditure should be cut down because administration has become top-heavy and ask them to suggest ways and means of effecting retrenchment to an appreciable extent, and if not, to prevent further increase in expenditure which is going on in every department without rhyme or reason. As a possible measure of retrenchment, I would suggest that the offices of Revenue Divisional Officers in the various districts may be abolished. I hear that such a system prevails in Uttar Pradesh.

“ In regard to education, Sir, I would suggest that secondary education should be taken away from the management of local fund authorities and run by private managements; and if private managements are not forthcoming, Government must undertake the responsibility. Recently, the Government of India have set up a Commission to be presided over by our distinguished educationist, Dr. Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. I hope the Commission will be able to make very good recommendations for a proper and suitable system of education to our boys and girls and I am sure the Government will be very glad to implement them when the time comes. I hope also that, if possible, the Government will be pleased to place the report of that Commission when it is ready before this Assembly for consideration.

“ Then, Sir, with regard to commercial taxes, there is much talk about the sales tax and it is said there is much evasion. It

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is said that the multi-point levy affects prices at every stage and so there is much evasion of the tax. On the other hand, if the tax is levied only at a single point, there will not be this evasion and there will be increased revenue to the State.

"I would also like to refer to another matter in this connection. An Industrial Finance Corporation has been established and funds placed at its disposal, but I understand the funds placed at its disposal have not been exhausted. Some funds are also placed at the disposal of the Director of Industries, who considers applications for aid. To avoid duplication and delay in the disposal of applications for aid, I would suggest that everything should be done through the Industrial Finance Corporation.

9-45
a.m.

"As regards Prohibition, the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the people and this Assembly is against it. I am not in favour of repealing Prohibition merely to augment the resources of the Government. The Government want to prevent drinking, but the actual position is that there is widespread illicit distillation of various intoxicating drinks which are injurious to public health and morals. I suggest that a conference be convened and public opinion ascertained. I also suggest that as an experimental measure, the sale of toddy, only in one particular district on a ration basis might be tried. I hear that a similar system is obtaining in Sweden. The Tamil word 'kallu' means only honey. Rajaji is a Physics graduate and he can find out at what stage toddy acquires the quality of intoxicating and spoiling the system of the addicts.

"Coming to local administration, I am in favour of the abolition of district boards. All district boards should be abolished. In their place, an advisory council or a miniature Legislative Assembly composed of officials and representatives of panchayat boards, municipal councils and co-operative institutions should be constituted for each district. For effective local administration, the revival of old taluk boards may be thought of."

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

* SRI V. V. RAMASWAMI:—"Sir, I shall conclude in a minute.

"Ours is an agricultural State and attention must be concentrated on rural areas. Every village must be connected by good roads and every tank must be kept at its full tank level so that it may conserve all the rain water. The Government need not concentrate only on big dams and canals. There are many small rivers. By constructing dams which will also serve as causeways we can impound rain water and this water will be useful for all public purposes. That will relieve water scarcity, the wells and tanks adjoining the water course will have water, and that will also help agriculture.

"As regards co-operation, I am sorry to say that recently party politics have crept in. I request the Government to be firm and see that no room is given for party politics."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"I have received lists of speakers from various parties. About fifty Members more want to take part in the debate. So I reduce the time-limit for each Member to ten minutes."

SRI LAKSHMANA NARAYANA REDDI:—"I rise to a point of order, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I will allow the hon. Member to raise the point of order some time later on."

* SRI SOMASUNDARA GOUNDER:—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நமது மாகாணத்தைச் சேர்ந்த வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் தண்ணீர் பஞ்சம் அதிகமாக இருப்பதால் அதை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதற்காக பல தடவைகளில் கிணறுகள் வெட்டிக் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் நேர்மையிலும் மனுக்கள் மூலமாகவும் ரொல்லிக்கொண்டு வந்தும் இது வரையிலும் ஒன்றும் செய்து கொடுக்கவே இல்லை. அங்கே இப்பொழுது தண்ணீர் பஞ்சம் அதிகமாகி மக்கள் வருந்துகிறார்கள். இது விஷயத்தை அதிகாரிகளுக்கு தெரிவித்துக் கொண்டு அதற்கு வேண்டியதை அரசாங்கம் செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று ரொம்பவும் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

"விவசாய சம்பந்தமாக விவசாயிகளுக்கு அதிகாரிகள் உணவு உற்பத்திக்கு விதைகள் கொடுப்பதில், கொடுக்கும் விதைகள் முனையாமலும் சீர் அழிந்தும் விடுகிறது. இந்த உணவு உற்பத்தி செய்வதில் நல்ல முறையில் விதைகளை காய்ச்சல் செய்து கொடுக்கும்படி கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அத்துடன் விவசாயத்திற்கு என்று கொடுக்கும் கடன் துறைகளைப் பருவ காலத்தில் கொடுக்குபடியாக உத்தரவு அளிக்கவேண்டும். அத்துடன் கிராமங்கள் தோறும் ஐந்து மைல்களுக்குக் குறையாமல் ஒரு ஆஸ்பத்திரி வைக்கும்படியாகவும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

"மற்றும் ஹைஸ்கூல்களில் Headmasterகள், பல ஏழை மக்களுக்கு இடம் தராமல் இருக்கிறார்கள். இன்னும் அவர்களுக்கு ரூம்கள் அமைப்பதற்கு ரூ. 25 கொடுக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் ஹைஸ்கூல் Headmaster சொல்லுகிறார். ஏழை மக்கள் அவ்வளவு ரூபாய் கொடுக்க தகுதி உள்ளவர்களாக இல்லை. இவ்விதம் இல்லாமல் ஏழை மக்களை அனுமதித்து அவர்களை இலவசமாகச் சேர்க்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த ரூ. 25-ஐ பணக்காரர்களிடமிருந்து சலிப்பாக வசூலித்துக் கொள்ளலாம். அவர்களிடமிருந்து வாங்குவதும் கஷ்டம் இல்லை.

"வட ஆற்காடு ஜில்லாவில் பஞ்ச நிவாரணத்திற்கு என்று பஞ்ச நிவாரண வேலைகள் செய்ய ஆரம்பித்திருந்தும் இப்பொழுது சில வேலைகளான, ரஸ்தா டாங்கி முதலியன தடைபட்டு இருக்கின்றன. அந்த வேலைகளை உடனடியாக நடத்தும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது ஸ்பெஷல் கிணர் நிருத்தப்பட்டதை இப்பொழுதும் இன்னும் அதிகமாகக் கொடுத்து உதவியளிக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கை கொண்டு வந்து நடத்துவதற்கு அரசாங்கத்தை நான் பாராட்டுகிறேன். அதை நடத்தும்போது கண்டிப்பான முறையில் நடத்தி வந்தால் மக்கள் சரியாக நடக்கவில்லை என்பது நன்றாகத் தெரியவரும். இதைப்பற்றி மக்கள் நன்றாகத் தெரிந்திருந்தும் இந்தத் தீங்கை அதிகமாகச் செய்கிறார்கள். திருநெல்வேலி மக்கள் இறக்குவதிலும், திருநெல்வேலி மக்கள் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதிலும் மக்கள் அதிகம் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு உடனடியாக நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இப்பொழுது ஒவ்வொரு வீட்டிலும் வீட்டுவாரியாக சமைத்துச் சாப்பிடுவது போல் இவைகளை உற்பத்தி செய்கிறார்கள். இதைத் தடுப்பதற்கு எந்த முறையைக் கையாள வேண்டுமென்பதை அரசாங்கம் யோசித்துச் செய்தால், நாடு நலம் அடையும் என்பதை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

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“உணவு கட்டுப்பாட்டை எடுத்ததற்கு அரசாங்கத்தை ரொம்பவும் வரவேற்கத்தக்கதாக இருந்தாலும் கூட விலைவாசிகளை கூடுமான முறையில் உயரவிடாமல் பார்த்துக் கொள்ளவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது ஒரு படி அரிசி ஒரு ரூபாய் முதல் 1½ ரூபாய் வரை விற்பனை செய்கிறார்கள். அப்படி விடாமல் விலைகள் ஒரேயளவில் விற்கும்படியாக ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“டி.ரெயினிங் ஸ்கூல்களில் ஏழை பிள்ளைகளுக்கு இடம் தராமல் இருந்து வருவதைக் கண்டு வருந்துகிறேன். முக்கியமாக டவுன்ஷீலிருக்கும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் அவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொண்டால் ரொம்பவும் நல்லதாக இருக்கும். மற்றும் ஹை ஸ்கூல்களிலும் அதிகப்படியாக ஏழைப் பிள்ளைகளைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளும்படியாக ஏற்பாடு செய்தால் ரொம்பவும் நல்லதாக இருக்கும் என்று அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“விவசாயத்திற்கு வேண்டி நமது டிபார்ட்மெண்டில் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் தொகைக்கு ஏற்றவாறு எஞ்சின்களையும் மற்ற கருவிகளையும் வாங்கிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று பல இடங்களில் மனுப்போட்டாலும் கூட இரண்டு வருஷம் ஆனாலும் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைப்பது இல்லை. இதில் ஏற்பட்டுவரும் கஷ்டத்தை மக்கள் எடுத்துச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள். இவைகளை சீக்கிரத்தில் கொடுக்கும்படியாக உத்தரவு அளிக்க ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று நான் அரசாங்கத்தைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“விவசாயிகளுக்கு எலக்ட்ரிக் பம்பு செட்டுகளை அதிகம் வாங்கித் தர வேண்டும். இப்பொழுது இந்த எலக்ட்ரிக் பம்பு செட்டுகளை நகரவாசிகள் தான் அதிகமாக உபயோகப்படுத்துவதால் விவசாயத்திற்கு எந்தவிதமான நன்மையும் கிடைக்கவில்லை. ஆகையால் விவசாயிகளுக்கு எந்த விதமான கருவிகளை அவசியம் எவ்வளவு வாங்கிக் கொடுக்க முடியுமோ அவ்வளவு வாங்கிக் கொடுக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன் ஆனால் விவசாயிகளுக்கு எந்தவிதமான உதவி செய்தாலும் அவர்கள் செய்து வரும் தொழிலுக்கு லாபம் என்பது கொஞ்சமும் கிடைக்கவில்லை என்பது நன்றாக தெரிந்த விஷயம். அதற்கு அரசாங்கம் எந்த முறையில் சலுகைகள் செய்தாலும் அது போதாது. “உழவன் கணக்குப் பார்த்தால் உழவு கோலுக்குக் கூட லாபம் கிடையாது” என்பதுபோல் விவசாயிகளுக்கு எந்த விதமான லாபமும் கிடையாது. இது எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம். அவர்களுக்கு அரசாங்கம் எவ்வளவு உதவி செய்ய முடியுமோ அவ்வளவு உதவியும் செய்தால் நமக்கு வேண்டிய உணவு உற்பத்தியாகும் என்ற விஷயத்தை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வெகு பணிவுடன் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த விவசாய வளர்ச்சிக்கு எவ்வளவு செய்யவேண்டுமோ அதை இந்த அரசாங்கம் செய்யவேண்டுமென்பதை பணிவுடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். (At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

“ஒரு இடத்திலிருந்து மற்றொரு இடத்திற்குப் போகும் பஸ்களை போலீஸ்காரர்கள் தங்களுடைய வீட்டுக்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகிறார்கள். அதனால் ஊர்போய் சேருவதற்கு கால் மணி அல்லது அரை மணி நேரம் காலதாமதமாகி விடுகிறது. சப்-மாஜிஸ்ட்ரேட் கோர்ட்டுகளுக்கும் சிலை கோர்ட்டுகளுக்கும் போவதாக இருந்தால் அதற்கு ஏற்பட்ட மண்ணேரத்தில் போக முடியாமல் காலதாமதமாகிவிடுகிறது. அதற்குள் கோர்ட்டுகளில் நடவடிக்கைகள் நடந்து விடுகின்றன. இந்த மாதிரி செய்யவிடாமல் அவர்களுக்கு அரசாங்கம் உத்தரவு அளிக்கும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இன்னும் மேற்கொண்டு விஷயங்களில் அரசாங்கம் என்ன செய்ய வேண்டுமோ அவைகளை உடனடியாக செய்து கொடுப்பார்கள் என்று நான் பணிவுடன் கேட்டுக் கொண்டு என்னுடைய சிறுரையை இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI M. D. THIAGARAJA PILLAY :— “கனம் உப-சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களுடைய தலைமையில் புதிய அரசாங்கம் ஏற்பட்ட சில காலத்திற்குள்ளாகவே மாகாணத்திலுள்ள எல்லா மக்களையும் வாட்டி வந்திருக்கும் உணவுக் கட்டுப்பாட்டை ரத்து செய்தது இந்த மந்திரிசபைக்கும் இந்த மாகாணத்திற்குமே

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ஒரு பெருமையாகும். மற்ற மாகாணங்களுக்கும் இது வழிகாட்டியாக இருக்கிறது. நமது மாகாணத்தில் உணவுக் கட்டுப்பாடு ரத்தானது அகில இந்தியாவிலும் பின்பற்றப்படுகிறது. நமது தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் தைரியமாக இந்த உணவுக் கட்டுப்பாட்டை ரத்து செய்திருக்கிறார். ஆகவே, இம் மாகாண மக்களெல்லோரும் இதை ஆதரிக்கின்றார்கள், சந்தோஷப்படுகின்றார்கள்.

“உணவுக் கட்டுப்பாட்டை ரத்துசெய்ததானது நல்லதொரு காரியம் என்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. ஆனால், உணவுக் கட்டுப்பாடானது மீண்டும் தலைகாட்டாத முறையில் எல்லோரும் பாதுகாக்க முன்வரவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளையும் அரசாங்கம் செய்யவேண்டும். அப்படி, அரசாங்கமும் பொது மக்களும் மற்றும் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட எல்லோரும் சர்வஜனக்கிரகையாக இருந்தால்தான் உணவுக்கட்டுப்பாடு மீண்டும் வராமல் இருக்க வேறுவாகும்.

“தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவானது பல ஆயிரக்கணக்கான டன் தானியங்களை தமிழ்நாட்டிலுள்ள பல ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு அனுப்புகிறது. இப்படி மற்ற ஜில்லாக்களுக்கும் உணவு அனுப்பியரும எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் இப்பொழுது ஒரு மாத காலமாக மேட்டூர் தண்ணீர் வரவில்லை. ஒரு மாத காலம் கடந்துவிட்டது. ஆயிரக்கணக்கான டன்கள் விளையக்கூடிய குறுகியகால குருணைப்பயிர் விதைக்க மிக தாமதமாகி இருக்கிறது. உணவு உற்பத்தியில் மிக மிக முக்கியமான எங்கள் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா இந்த நிலையில் இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், அதிக உணவு உற்பத்தி செய்வதற்காக என்ன காரியங்களை அரசாங்கம் செய்து காடுக்கவேண்டுமோ அதைச் செய்யவேண்டியது அவசியம். நம் மாகாணத்திற்கு வேண்டிய உணவுப் பொருளை மற்ற மாகாணங்களிலிருந்து தருவிக்கும்போதும், வெளி தேசங்களிலிருந்து உணவுதானியங்களை இறக்குமதி செய்யும்போதும், கோடிக்கணக்கான ரூபாய்கள் செலவாகின்றன. அவ்விதம் செலவுசெய்வதைவிட நம் முடைய மாகாணத்தில், குறிப்பாக உபரி ஜில்லாவாகிய தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் என்ன வசதிகளை விவசாயிகளுக்கு செய்துகொடுக்க வேண்டுமோ அதை அரசாங்கம் செய்துகொடுக்கவேண்டியது மிக மிக அவசியமாகும். இவ்வாறு நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தில் உணவு உற்பத்திக்காக வேண்டிய செலவுகளைச் செய்துகொடுத்தால் அநேக ஆயிரக்கணக்கான டன் தானியங்களை நாம் வெகு சுலபமாகவும் குறைந்த செலவிலும் உற்பத்தி செய்து கொடுக்கமுடியும்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக, இம்மாகாணத்தில் பெரிய அணைக்கட்டுகள், சிறிய அணைக்கட்டுகள் கட்டுவதற்கான திட்டங்களுக்கு கோடிக்கணக்கான ரூபாய்கள் செலவு செய்யப்படுகின்றன. ஆனால் எங்கள் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் சில பாசன வசதிகள் செய்துக் கொடுக்கப்படாத காரணத்தினால், பல ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் தரிசாகக் கிடைக்கின்றன. அந்தத் தரிசு நிலங்களைச் சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டுவர முடியாமல் இருக்கிறது. அதற்குப் பெரிய அளவு செலவில் திட்டங்களைக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டியதில்லை. தரிசு நிலங்களை, சாகுபடிக்குக் கொண்டு வருவதற்கு கொஞ்சம் வசதி செய்து கொடுத்தார்களானால் ஆயிரக்கணக்கான டன் தானியங்களை உடனடியாக உற்பத்தி செய்வது வெளி ஜில்லாக்களுக்கு கொடுக்க முடியும். எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் எவ்வளவோ ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ஏக்கர் நிலங்கள் சாகுபடிக்கு கொண்டு வராமல் தரிசாகக் கிடக்கின்றன என்பது அரசாங்கத்தின் புள்ளி விவரங்களைப் பார்த்தாலே தெரியவரும்.

“தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள விவசாயத் தாழிலாளர்களுக்கும் மிராசு தார்களுக்கும் உள்ள உறவு நிலைமை பாதிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுடைய கூலியானது மிகக் குறைவாக இருப்பதால் அவர்களுடைய வாழ்க்கை நிலை மிகவும் குறைந்த நிலையில் இருக்கிறது. அதை அரசாங்கம் கவனித்து அவர்களுக்கு நியாயமான கூலியைச் சரியானபடி கொடுத்து வாரம் குத்தகைக்கு சாகுபடி செய்தால் அவர்களுக்கு என்ன பங்குகள் கொடுக்க வேண்டுமோ அதையும் நிர்ணயம் செய்வது மிக

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அவசியமாகும். இரண்டு மூன்று தினங்களில் தண்ணீர் வந்துவிடும். சாகு படிக்கு ஆரம்பிக்கும் சமயத்தில், விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் மிராசு தாரர்களுக்கும் அங்குள்ள உறவு பாதிக்கப்படாமல் அரசாங்கம் உடனடியாக அதைக் கவனித்து, ஆவன செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கின்றேன்.

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a.m.

“ வெளி ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள சில மிராசுதாரர்கள் எங்கள் ஜில்லா நிலங்களை குத்தகைக்கு எடுத்து அதன் மூலம் பல வருஷங்களாகச் சாகுபடி செய்து வருபவர்களை மாற்றியிருக்கிறார்கள். சாகுபடி செய்ய வெளி ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களையும் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலிருக்கும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு மனக் கசப்பு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதைப்பற்றி விசாரணை செய்வதற்கு கமிட்டி ஒன்று நியமிக்கப்பட்டேண்டும். தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள மிராசுதாரர்களுக்கும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் ஒருவிதமான பாதகமும் ஏற்படாமலும் அவர்களுக்குள் சுமுக நிலை ஏற்படவும், அரசாங்கம் தற்காலிகமாக ஒரு ordinance கொண்டு வந்தாவது இந்தக் காரியத்தைச் செய்யவேண்டும். விவசாய தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு வீடு கட்டி போன்ற அநேக வசதிகளைச் செய்திருந்தபோதிலும் இன்னும் அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டியது மிக அவசியமாகும்.

“ இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் நிலவரி மீது சர்சார் ஜானது, அதிகமாக ஏழை மிராசுதாரர்களையும் பட்டாதாரர்களையும் பாதிக்கிறது கொஞ்சமான நிலங்களை வைத்திருக்கும் பட்டாதாரர்கள் தான் ஜாஸ்தியாக இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த சமயத்தில் சர்சார்ஜ் போடுவது மிகப்பொருத்தமான திட்டம். உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கும் எங்கள் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் மிக ஏழைகளான லக்ஷக்கணக்கான பட்டாதாரர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை சர்சார்ஜ் கொடுக்கச் சொல்வது மிகப் பொருத்தமானதாக இருக்காது. சுப்பிரமணியம் கமிட்டி அறிக்கையில் 150 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் கிஸ்தி செலுத்துபவர்களுக்குத்தான் வரிவிதிக்க வேண்டுமென்று இருக்கிறது, இவ்வாறு செய்வது உசிதம். சுப்பிரமணியம் கமிட்டி அறிக்கை வந்த பிறகு தான் மிராசுதாரர்களுக்கும் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் சுமுக நிலை ஏற்படாமல் இப்போதில் நிலங்கள் சரிவர சாகுபடி செய்யப்படவில்லை. அரசாங்கம் இதற்கு ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வருவதற்கு முன்பாகவே ஏதாவது ஒரு ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன். மேலும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளை செய்து கொடுத்து அவர்கள் திருப்திகரமாக வேலைசெய்வதற்கான சூழ்நிலையை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

“ தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவானது உபரி ஜில்லாவாக இருந்தபோதிலும், 100-க்கு 60 பேர்கள் நியாய விலைக்கடைகளில் அரிசி வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடுகிறார்கள். மூட்டையொன்று ரூ. 13 வீதம் விற்பனையாகிவரும் நெல் இப்பொழுது ரூ. 20க்கு மேல் விலை கொடுத்து வெளி ஜில்லாக்களிலிருந்து வியாபாரிகள் வந்து வாங்கிக்கொண்டு போய்விடுகிறார்கள். ஆகவே மிராசுதாரர்கள் தங்கள் தானியங்களை தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள மக்களுக்குக்கொடுத்துவது முடியாமல் போய்விடுகிறது. ஆகவே 100-க்கு 60 பேர்கள் நியாய விலைக்கடைகளில் அரிசி வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடவேண்டிய நிலை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே, அங்கு நியாய விலைக்கடைகளை அதிகமாக ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கல்வி விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். கல்லூரி வகுப்புகளுக்குத்தான் அட்மிஷன் கிடைப்பது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறதென்றால் இப்பொழுது, முதல் பாரத்திற்கு அட்மிஷன் கிடைப்பது கூட கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அதிலும் இப்பொழுது இடமில்லையென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள், அதிகச் செலவில் பெரிய கட்டிடங்கள் வேண்டும், பெஞ்ச், மேஜை போன்றவைகள் வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு, அட்மிஷன் இல்லை யென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். பிள்ளைகளை சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளும் விதத்தை குறைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். கட்டிட பரீட்சை விதிகளை மாற்றி, இன்னும் அதிகமான பிள்ளைகளை சேர்த்து சுலபமாக எல்லோரும் படிப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்யவேண்டும். அல்லது, ஷிப்ட் முறையில் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை

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நடத்தவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது சட்டசபை எப்படி காலை 8-30 லிருந்து மாலை 1-30 வரை நடக்கின்றதோ அதேமாதிரி ஷிப்ட் முறையில் பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை நடத்த ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் 40 ஹைஸ்கூல்கள் இருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் ஒரே ஒரு கல்லூரி தான் கும்பகோணத்தில் இருக்கிறது. அதனால், கல்லூரியில் சேர்ந்து படிக்க விரும்பும் மாணவர்கள் வெளி ஜில்லாக்களுக்குப் போக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே அதிக சிரமமும் பணச் செலவும் ஏற்படுகிறது. தஞ்சை தலை நகரத்தில் ஒரு கல்லூரி கூட இல்லாமலிருப்பது மிகவும் குறையாக இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா தலைநகரில் மற்றொரு கல்லூரியை ஏற்படுத்துவது மிக அவசியம்.

“ பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டம் ஏழை கிராம மக்களுக்கு மிகவும் அவசியம். எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் அவரவர் தேவைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்து கொள்வதற்கான ஒரு பொருத்தமான சட்டமாகும். ஆனால் அதில் சில குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. நேரடியாக கிராம பஞ்சாயத்துத் தலைவர்களை தேர்ந்தெடுப்பது போன்ற விஷயங்களைக் கவனிப்பதற்கு கமிட்டி ஏற்படுத்தியிருப்பதாக அறிகிறேன். அந்தக் கமிட்டி சீர்திருத்தங்களைச் செய்து பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டம் கிராமந்தோறும் சரிவர நடைபெறும்படி செய்தார்களே யானால் மக்களுக்குப் பிரயோஜனமாக இருக்கும்.

“ கிராம அபிவிருத்தி போன்ற பல இலாக்காக்களை சிருஷ்டி செய்வதை விட ஸ்தல ஸ்தாபன இலாகாவோடு சேர்த்து ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திலும் பஞ்சாயத்து சரியாக நடைபெறும்படிச் செய்தால், எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் நிரந்தரமான செவகரியம் ஏற்பட்டு, அந்தந்த கிராமங்கள் தனக்குத்தானே தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய தேவைகளைச் செய்துக் கொள்வதற்குச் செவகரியமாக இருக்கும். சேவிங்ஸ் பாங்கில் அதிக ரூபாய்கள் பஞ்சாயத்துக்களால் மிதது வைக்கப்பட்டு இருக்கின்றன. நடை முறையில் அந்தப்பணங்களை வாங்கி செலவு செய்வதற்குத் தெரியாமல் இருக்கிறது. இரண்டு அல்லது மூன்று பஞ்சாயத்துக்களைச் சேர்த்து ஒரு கிளார்க்கு போட்டால் தான் அதை நடைமுறையில் நடத்திவர முடியும். அதற்கு அரசாங்கம் பணம் கொடுக்க வேண்டியதில்லை. அந்தக் கிளார்க்குக்கு ரூ. 30, 40 பஞ்சாயத்து நிதிகளிலிருந்தே கொடுக்க முடியும். அதைச்செய்வதற்கு பல மாதங்களாக ஆலோசனையிலிருந்தும், அது நிறைவேற்றமலிருக்கிறது. அல்லது உடனடியாகச் செய்ய அரசாங்கம் உத்தரவு போட்டால் போதுமானது. அரசாங்கம் பிரயோஜனமான பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டத்தை செய்து போதிலும், இதைப் போன்று நடைமுறையில் கொண்டுவர சில விதிகளைச் செய்யாத காரணத்தினால் கிராமந்தோறும் பஞ்சாயத்து சபைகள் அமலுக்கு வந்தும் பிரயோஜனம் இல்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. ஆயிரக் கணக்கான ரூபாய்கள் சேவிங்ஸ் பாங்கில் செலவு செய்யப்படாமல் இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு வேண்டியதைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் 1937-வது வருஷத்தில் பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்த காலத்தில் மதுவிலக்கை கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அகில இந்தியாவும் பின்பற்றக்கூடிய ஒரு திட்டமாகிய இந்த மதுவிலக்கு திட்டமானது நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தில் சரியாக கண்காணிக்கப்படவில்லை. ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திலும் குடிசைத் தொழிலாக வைத்துக்கொண்டு கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் மதுவிலக்கை சரியாக அமல் நடத்த தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டுமாய் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ ஆகவே, இந்த விஷயங்களைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தை ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM:—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Budget that has been presented has not so far received the approval of all sections of this House. Even the Members of the Ministerialist Party have criticised one portion of the Budget or the other. My Friend the Raja of Chettinad, who is now a

[Sri M. D. Thiagaraja Pillay] [8th July 1952]

அவசியமாகும். இரண்டு மூன்று தினங்களில் தண்ணீர் வந்துவிடும். சாகு படிக்கு ஆரம்பிக்கும் சமயத்தில், விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் மிராசு தாரர்களுக்கும் அங்குள்ள உறவு பாதிக்கப்படாமல் அரசாங்கம் உடனடியாக அதைக் கவனித்து, ஆவன செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கின்றேன்.

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a.m.

“ வெளி ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள சில மிராசுதாரர்கள் எங்கள் ஜில்லா நிலங்களை குத்தகைக்கு எடுத்து அதன் மூலம் பல வருஷங்களாகச் சாகுபடி செய்து வருபவர்களை மாற்றியிருக்கிறார்கள். சாகுபடி செய்ய வெளி ஜில்லாவிலிருந்து விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களையும் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலிருக்கும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு மனக் கசப்பு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதைப்பற்றி விசாரணை செய்வதற்கு கமிட்டி ஒன்று நியமிக்கப்பட்டேண்டும். தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள மிராசுதாரர்களுக்கும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கும் ஒருவிதமான பாதகமும் ஏற்படாமலும் அவர்களுக்குள் சுமுக நிலை ஏற்படவும், அரசாங்கம் தற்காலிகமாக ஒரு ordinance கொண்டுவந்தாவது இந்தக் காரியத்தைச் செய்யவேண்டும். விவசாய தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு வீடு கட்டி போன்ற அநேக வசதிகளைச் செய்திருந்தபோதிலும் இன்னும் அவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டியது மிக அவசியமாகும்.

“ இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கும் நிலவரி மீது சர்சார் ஜானது, அதிகமாக ஏழை மிராசுதாரர்களையும் பட்டாதாரர்களையும் பாதிக்கிறது கொஞ்சமான நிலங்களை வைத்திருக்கும் பட்டாதாரர்கள் தான் ஜாஸ்தியாக இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த சமயத்தில் சர்சார்ஜ் போடுவது மிகப்பொருத்தமான திட்டம். உணவு உற்பத்தியைப் பெருக்கும் எங்கள் தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் மிக ஏழைகளான லக்ஷக்கணக்கான பட்டாதாரர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களை சர்சார்ஜ் கொடுக்கச் சொல்வது மிகப் பொருத்தமானதாக இருக்காது. சுப்பிரமணியம் கமிட்டி அறிக்கையில் 150 ரூபாய்க்கு மேல் கிஸ்தி செலுத்துபவர்களுக்குத்தான் வரிவிதிக்க வேண்டுமென்று இருக்கிறது, இவ்வாறு செய்வது உசிதம். சுப்பிரமணியம் கமிட்டி அறிக்கை வந்த பிறகு தான் மிராசுதாரர்களுக்கும் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் சுமுக நிலை ஏற்படாமல் இப்போதில் நிலங்கள் சரிவர சாகுபடி செய்யப்படவில்லை. அரசாங்கம் இதற்கு ஒரு சட்டம் கொண்டு வருவதற்கு முன்பாகவே ஏதாவது ஒரு ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன். மேலும் விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய வசதிகளை செய்து கொடுத்து அவர்கள் திருப்திகரமாக வேலைசெய்வதற்கான சூழ்நிலையை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்கிறேன்.

“ தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவானது உபரி ஜில்லாவாக இருந்தபோதிலும், 100-க்கு 60 பேர்கள் நியாய விலைக்கடைகளில் அரிசி வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடுகிறார்கள். மூட்டையொன்று ரூ. 13 வீதம் விற்பனையாகிவரும் நெல் இப்பொழுது ரூ. 20க்கு மேல் விலை கொடுத்து வெளி ஜில்லாக்களிலிருந்து வியாபாரிகள் வந்து வாங்கிக்கொண்டு போய்விடுகிறார்கள். ஆகவே மிராசுதாரர்கள் தங்கள் தானியங்களை தஞ்சாவூர் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள மக்களுக்குக்கொடுத்துவரு முடியாமல் போய்விடுகிறது. ஆகவே 100-க்கு 60 பேர்கள் நியாய விலைக்கடைகளில் அரிசி வாங்கிச் சாப்பிடவேண்டிய நிலை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே, அங்கு நியாய விலைக்கடைகளை அதிகமாக ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கல்வி விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி சில வார்த்தைகள் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். கல்லூரி வகுப்புகளுக்குத்தான் அட்மிஷன் கிடைப்பது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறதென்றால் இப்பொழுது, முதல் பாரத்திற்கு அட்மிஷன் கிடைப்பது கூட கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அதிலும் இப்பொழுது இடமில்லையென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள், அதிகச் செலவில் பெரிய கட்டிடங்கள் வேண்டும், பெஞ்ச், மேஜை போன்றவைகள் வேண்டும் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு, அட்மிஷன் இல்லை என்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள். பிள்ளைகளை சேர்த்துக்கொள்ளும் விதத்தை குறைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். கட்டிட பரீட்சை விதிகளை மாற்றி, இன்னும் அதிகமான பிள்ளைகளை சேர்த்து சுலபமாக எல்லோரும் படிப்பதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளைச் செய்யவேண்டும். அல்லது, ஷிப்ட் முறையில் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை

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நடத்தவேண்டும். இப்பொழுது சட்டசபை எப்படி காலை 8-30 லிருந்து மாலை 1-30 வரை நடக்கின்றதோ அதேமாதிரி ஷிப்ட் முறையில் பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை நடத்த ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் 40 ஹைஸ்கூல்கள் இருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் ஒரே ஒரு கல்லூரி தான் கும்பகோணத்தில் இருக்கிறது. அதனால், கல்லூரியில் சேர்ந்து படிக்க விரும்பும் மாணவர்கள் வெளி ஜில்லாக்களுக்குப் போக வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஆகவே அதிக சிரமமும் பணச் செலவும் ஏற்படுகிறது. தஞ்சை தலை நகரத்தில் ஒரு கல்லூரி கூட இல்லாமலிருப்பது மிகவும் குறையாக இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் தஞ்சை ஜில்லா தலைநகரில் மற்றொரு கல்லூரியை ஏற்படுத்துவது மிக அவசியம்.

“ பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டம் ஏழை கிராம மக்களுக்கு மிகவும் அவசியம். எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் அவரவர் தேவைகளைப் பூர்த்தி செய்து கொள்வதற்கான ஒரு பொருத்தமான சட்டமாகும். ஆனால் அதில் சில குறைபாடுகள் இருக்கின்றன. நேரடியாக கிராம பஞ்சாயத்துத் தலைவர்களை தேர்ந்தெடுப்பது போன்ற விஷயங்களைக் கவனிப்பதற்கு கமிட்டி ஏற்படுத்தியிருப்பதாக அறிகிறேன். அந்தக் கமிட்டி சீர்திருத்தங்களைச் செய்து பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டம் கிராமந்தோறும் சரிவர நடைபெறும்படி செய்தார்களே யானால் மக்களுக்குப் பிரயோஜனமாக இருக்கும்.

“ கிராம அபிவிருத்தி போன்ற பல இலாக்காக்களை சிருஷ்டி செய்வதை விட ஸ்தலஸ்தாபன இலாகாவோடு சேர்த்து ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திலும் பஞ்சாயத்து சரியாக நடைபெறும்படிச் செய்தால், எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் நிரந்தரமான செவகரியம் ஏற்பட்டு, அந்தந்த கிராமங்கள் தனக்குத்தானே தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய தேவைகளைச் செய்துக் கொள்வதற்குச் செவகரியமாக இருக்கும். சேவிங்ஸ் பாங்கில் அதிக ரூபாய்கள் பஞ்சாயத்துக்களால் மிதது வைக்கப்பட்டு இருக்கின்றன. நடை முறையில் அந்தப்பணங்களை வாங்கி செலவு செய்வதற்குத் தெரியாமல் இருக்கிறது. இரண்டு அல்லது மூன்று பஞ்சாயத்துக்களைச் சேர்த்து ஒரு கிளார்க்கு போட்டால் தான் அதை நடைமுறையில் நடத்திவர முடியும். அதற்கு அரசாங்கம் பணம் கொடுக்க வேண்டியதில்லை. அந்தக் கிளார்க்குக்கு ரூ. 30, 40 பஞ்சாயத்து நிதிகளிலிருந்தே கொடுக்க முடியும். அதைச்செய்வதற்கு பல மாதங்களாக ஆலோசனையிலிருந்தும், அது நிறைவேற்றமலிருக்கிறது. அல்லது உடனடியாகச் செய்ய அரசாங்கம் உத்தரவு போட்டால் போதுமானது. அரசாங்கம் பிரயோஜனமான பஞ்சாயத்துச் சட்டத்தைச் செய்துப் போதிலும், இதைப் போன்று நடைமுறையில் கொண்டுவர சில விதிகளைச் செய்யாத காரணத்தினால் கிராமந்தோறும் பஞ்சாயத்து சபைகள் அமலுக்கு வந்தும் பிரயோஜனம் இல்லாமல் இருக்கிறது. ஆயிரக்கணக்கான ரூபாய்கள் சேவிங்ஸ் பாங்கில் செலவு செய்யப்படாமல் இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு வேண்டியதைச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் 1937-வது வருஷத்தில் பிரதம மந்திரியாக இருந்த காலத்தில் மதுவிலக்கை கொண்டு வந்தார்கள். அகில இந்தியாவும் பின்பற்றக்கூடிய ஒரு திட்டமாகிய இந்த மதுவிலக்கு திட்டமானது நம்முடைய மாகாணத்தில் சரியாக கண்காணிக்கப்படவில்லை. ஒவ்வொரு கிராமத்திலும் குடிசைத் தொழிலாக வைத்துக்கொண்டு கள்ளச்சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். ஆகையால் மதுவிலக்கை சரியாக அமல் நடத்த தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்க வேண்டுமாய் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“ ஆகவே, இந்த விஷயங்களைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தை ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM:—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Budget that has been presented has not so far received the approval of all sections of this House. Even the Members of the Ministerialist Party have criticised one portion of the Budget or the other. My Friend the Raja of Chettinad, who is now a

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doughty champion of those sitting on the Treasury Benches, criticized the taxation policy of the Government. From the time of introduction of prohibition in this State, the financial position of the Government has been greatly affected. To make up for the loss of excise revenue, the sales tax was levied. Even with the enormous revenue derived from sales tax, the financial position has not greatly improved. So much was said about prohibition. Personally I am for prohibition. Though I did not belong to the Congress Party at any time, I was one who admired the introduction of prohibition by the Congress Government because of the moral aspect of it. If only the Government followed a go-slow policy, prohibition would have been a success. All of a sudden they introduced prohibition and they were not able to enforce the Prohibition Act effectively. That is why it failed. Everybody says that illicit distillation is a cottage industry at present. I do not say that. The Members of the party in power themselves say that. Even the very report of the Government furnished to us says that prohibition has been a failure. The report says that the non-official members of the advisory committee do not attend the meetings and that even the subordinate officials, whose duty it is to detect offences, are parties to the commission of offences. When such is the position, is it not high time for the Government to reconsider the prohibition policy and do whatever is necessary?

"The role of the Hon. Finance Minister is a very difficult one. When there is no adequate finance, he must resort to taxation. We find from the Budget that the people in the villages are taxed more than the people in the towns and cities. That is the policy underlying the present Budget.

10-15 a.m. "We find from the Budget that the demand for medical aid and medical institutions is growing more and more. Wherever we go, we find that the number of patients in the hospitals is increasing. What is the reason for this? The Government appointed a committee to report on the sanitary conditions in hotels and restaurants. The Committee says that it can go only into the sanitary conditions in hotels and restaurants and not into the nutritional value of the food or dishes served therein. That food plays an important part in the building up of public health is beyond question. I say that hotels and restaurants are creating and spreading diseases. Everybody will admit that they are there to produce edibles not for use but only for profit. Nobody can deny that when these people are producing edibles for the purpose of profit, they cannot be expected to use very good materials. When they use bad materials, naturally they become the cause of so many diseases. That is exactly the reason why year after year and month after month there is demand for fresh hospitals, and Hon. Ministers also are asked to go and open hospitals. It is not a good sign for a welfare State. I wish to see the day when Minister after Minister will be requested to go out and close down hospital after hospital. Then only we will be in a position to say that we are keeping good health in this country. The hotels are there not only to distribute

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diseases but also to create diseases. Restaurants and hotels should be supervised properly. Or, if they are run by the Government themselves, the Government will get good revenue and at the same time they can preserve the health of the country. The Government can close down many unhealthy hotels, and retrenchment on the medical side of the administration will be possible. This is an important alternative suggestion I am giving. The Government may consider my suggestion notwithstanding the fact that the suggestion is coming from this side of the House. Let Government think over this suggestion, and see whether it is possible and feasible.

"I see in the Budget there is absolutely nothing to give relief to the poor people. There are so many poor people who are not able to help themselves. When we go out of the Assembly, we see a number of beggars near the hotels, bus stand, etc. The beggar problem is a very difficult problem no doubt. It is high time for our State to begin giving relief to the poor beggars. There are able-bodied beggars, and there are beggars who are not able to help themselves. If we can find some industry which would provide employment for the able-bodied beggars, we will be helping the able-bodied beggars greatly. The Government can then give relief to the beggars who are not able-bodied. This beggar problem the Government must immediately pay attention to.

"Regarding Harijan Welfare, we are spending so much money. In so many places in the Tanjore district, plots have been acquired, but the people are not a bit conscious of their rights and duties. Paddy fields have been acquired but for years together, no houses have been built. The houses that have been built are very few. The grow more food campaign has been affected by keeping the lands vacant. The people themselves do not build the houses, and there is no inducement also to build houses at an early date. In the name of the welfare of the people, much more money than what is spent for the benefit of the people, is being swallowed by the officers themselves by way of travelling and other allowances. From the administrative point of view, I say that the staff should be reduced so that the money that goes to benefit the people may be greater. In this connection I may say—the hon. Member Mr. R. V. Swaminathan was reiterating this not only now but also in the previous Ministry—that the Government should pay more attention to the advancement of the backward communities. The backward communities are the backbone of the country. It is not at all a healthy sign in any country where the backward community is very weak. The backward community is a very important community which must be supported by all means. The Hon. Chief Minister was saying that Communists were his enemy No. 1. If the economic position of the people is good, there will not be so many Communists. So, my plea to the Government is that they should do something more for the advancement of the backward communities than they have been doing so far.

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"Regarding retrenchment, Sir, I would say that for a long time now, work in courts has fallen; particularly on the civil side there is not even one hour's work for the District Judge. Yet, I am told that Government are creating new courts. There is no justification for this. I request the Government to take up this matter seriously and abolish some courts which have no work. The Government can thereby save some money. I have already given some suggestions about these to the Hon. Minister for Courts and Prisons, and if those suggestions are adopted, a lot of money can be saved.

"Regarding agriculture, the whole difficulty in the Tanjore district is that we have so far no legislation for agricultural labourers. Minimum wages must be fixed. If we are able to do this at an early date, the trouble between the mirasdars and labourers will be solved in no time. The grow more food campaign will not be affected, and Tanjore district will be producing more than it has been doing so far.

"The Kattalai high level channel in Tanjore district has been there from 1901. When I speak about Tanjore district, everybody may be thinking that Tanjore is a surplus district in food. But there are three firkas in my district which are affected by famine. They are Sengipatti and Vallam (of Tanjore taluk) and Gandarvakottai (of Pattukottai taluk). Anybody can go there and see the conditions. There is not sufficient water there. I do not know how the people are pulling on there for the last so many years. The difficulty is that there are not a sufficient number of persons to represent their grievances. The Kattalai high level channel scheme was ready four years back. I met the then Minister for Public Works (Mr. Bhaktavatsalam) in this behalf. He said four years back that the scheme would be implemented. If this scheme is implemented, 25,000 acres will come under the plough in no time. This has been neglected so far. Even now sufficient water is not available in those areas, and there are periodical famines."

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

SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—"Two more minutes, Sir, and I have done. If the Kattalai High Level channel scheme is executed it will be a great relief to the villagers of these three firkas, who do not have water at present even for their cattle.

"Regarding taxation proposals, Sir, I say that they would affect the poor people. The buses that are running parallel to the railway will be greatly affected. Already in certain routes where buses are running parallel to the railway, bus fares are higher than the train fare. With the increase of the bus fare on account of the proposed surcharge on bus fare, the charge will become still higher. The passengers will not then travel by buses but will wait for the train, and the bus operators will be greatly affected as a result. The proposed tax will affect the poor and the middle class people. So, I request the Government to reconsider this proposal and examine the alternative suggestions I have given and try to

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give relief to the poor people who are living in villages. They should at the same time find a way to tax the people in towns who are greatly benefited by all the beneficial measures of the Government."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is over. He will please sit down. I request hon. Members to adhere to the time-limit set. The hon. Member Mr. Dasaratharamiah will now speak."

*SRI D. DASARATHARAMIAH :—"ఉపాధ్యక్ష, 1952-53 వ సంవత్సరమునకు ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రతిపాదించిన బడ్జెట్ అంచనాలను నేను బలకరముచున్నాను. ఈ సంవత్సరం బడ్జెటులో కొత్తగా పన్నులను విధించుటకు నిశ్చయించినారు. ఈ కొత్త పన్నులను చెల్లించుటకు ప్రజలు సుముఖులుగాలేరని, చెల్లించలేరని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కొత్తగా విధించబడిన ఖామి శిస్తులమీద సర్ చార్జి పన్ను వల్ల సాగుకు ఏకైక రూపాయలకు పెబడి శిస్తు చెల్లించేవారిందరు ఈ సర్ చార్జి కట్టవలసివస్తుంది. ఏకైక రూపాయలు శిస్తుకట్టే రైతు ఏమంత భాగ్యవంతుడు కాదు. డెల్టా ఖామిలలోనివారైతే మూడు, నాలుగు ఎకరముల ఖామి ఉన్న రైతులుకూడా అదనపు పన్ను కట్టవలసివస్తుంది. ఇది అతని తాపాతుకు మించిన పన్ను. అదేవిధంగా మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలోని రైతులుకూడా అదనపు పన్నులను కట్టుకొనలేరని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. వర్షంమీదనే పూర్తిగా ఆధారపడి ఉండే రైతులు అదనపు పన్నులు చెల్లించలేరు. వర్షాలు సరిగా లేకపోయినట్లైతే రైతులకు పెట్టుబడులకే దండగ వస్తుంది. అటువంటి పరిస్థితులలో దైవానుగ్రహంవల్ల కండిన సంవత్సరం అదనపు పన్ను చెల్లించాలంటే మెట్ట ప్రాంతాల రైతులు చాలా బాధలు పడవలసివస్తుందని ప్రభుత్వానికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. సాగుకు ఏకైక రూపాయలు చెల్లించే రైతులకు ఇది వర్తింపజేయవద్దని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఖామి శిస్తుపై సర్ చార్జివేయటం తప్పనిసరి అయినట్లైతే 150 రూపాయలకు పెబడి శిస్తు చెల్లించేవారిపైననే విధించవలసిన మొత్తున్నాను. అయిదు వందల రూపాయలకు మించి శిస్తు చెల్లించేవారిపైన ఇంకా అదనంగా వేయటంవలన చాలా ఆదాయం రాగలదు.

"ఇక బెటర్ మెంటు టాక్సు విషయంలోకూడా పేద రైతులకు చాలా ఇబ్బంది కలుగుతుందనే విషయం గమనించగోరాను. నామాన్య రైతులు ఈ అభివృద్ధి పన్ను చెల్లించలేరనే దానిలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. పెట్టుబడికి, దైనిందిన అవసరాలకు సరిపోయినంత ఆదాయం రాని సన్నకారు వ్యవసాయదారులను ఈ పన్ను విధింపునంది మినహాయించగోరాను. ఇక ఎటువంటి అభివృద్ధి కార్యక్రమాలకు ఈ అభివృద్ధి పన్ను విధించాలనే విషయంలోకూడా ప్రభుత్వంవారు కొంత గ్రహించి చూడవలసినదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. స్థిరమైన జలాధారాలను కల్పించి రైతులకు సక్రమంగా నీటిని అందజేయగల ఆనకట్టలను, కాలువలను నిర్మించినప్పుడు అభివృద్ధి పన్నులను వసూలుచేయడం న్యాయం. అంతేకాని, ఇప్పుడున్న చెరువులను మరమ్మత్తుచేయించి, అటువంటి సందర్భములలోకూడా అభివృద్ధి పన్ను వసూలుచేయరాదని చెబుతున్నాను. సాధారణంగా మెట్ట ప్రాంతాలలో చెరువులు నిండవలసిన వర్షాలు సరిగా ఉండాలి వర్షాభావం ఏర్పడిన సంవత్సరాలలో రైతులు ఈ పన్నులు చెల్లించలేరు. అటువంటి వారి విషయంలో లిబరల్ గా ఉండవలసిన ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అంతే కాకుండా రీ యకరముల ఖామి ఉన్న రైతులపట్లనుంచి ఈ అభివృద్ధి పన్ను వసూలుచేయరాదు. కొత్త నీటివనరులు కల్పించినను వాటి క్రింద సాగు ఆయ్యే

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భూములు వెంటనే మంచి పంటనివ్వదు. మంచి పంటకు ఎచ్చేటప్పుడే నాలుగైదు సంవత్సరములైనను పడుతుంది. కాబట్టి ఆభివృద్ధి కనులు చేసినప్పుడు వాత అయిదు సంవత్సరములు గడచిన పిమ్మటనుంచే ఈ పన్నును ఎన్నులుచేయ ప్రారంభించగోరాలను. మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో P.W.D. చెరువులు, ఇతర జలాశయాలు ముమ్మత్తులు చేయించినా, ఇతర విధాల నిర్మాణములు జరిపినా అక్కడి రైతులనుంచి ఈ అదనపు ఆభివృద్ధి కనులు ఎన్నులుచేయవద్దని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని మరల కోరుచున్నాను. బస్సులలో ప్రయాణముచేయు జనాలమీద మెలుకు ఒక దమ్మిడి చొప్పున సర్ చార్జి విధించినచో, ఆ సర్ చార్జి అజూయిషీ నిమిత్తం ప్రభుత్వం కొంత యష్టాల్ని మెలుకు పెట్టవలసి వస్తుంది. ప్రభుత్వమునకు అదనపు వ్యయమగునేగాని ఆదాయము సరిగలదు. సీటీలను, బస్టీలను మినహాయించి పల్లె ప్రాంతమునకు, పట్టణ ప్రాంతమునకు రేదాలు చూపించుటయేమంత మంచిదికాదు.

“ఇక ప్రయాణీకులవద్దనుంచి మెలుకు ఒక దమ్మిడి అదనంగా ఎన్నులుచేసే ఉద్దేశ్యంతో విధించదలచిన పన్ను కూడా మంచిదికాదని నా అభిప్రాయము. ప్రజలు ఈ పన్నులను ఇవ్వడానికి సిద్ధంగాలేరని, వారు దీనిని వ్యతిరేకించ వచ్చునని కూడా నేను మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. పాసింజర్ల వద్దనుంచి ఒక దమ్మిడి చొప్పున ఎన్నులు చేయవచ్చునని ప్రభుత్వంవారు యజమానులకు అనుజ్ఞయిస్తే వారు ఈ సాకుతో ప్రయాణీకులవద్దనుంచి ఎన్నో దమ్మిడిలు గొంజివేస్తారు, ఎక్కువగా ఓవర్ లోడ్ చేస్తారు, కాని ప్రభుత్వం వారికి చాలా తక్కువగా చెల్లిస్తారు. ఈ పన్నుకల్ల ప్రభుత్వంవారికి అనుకున్నంత ఆదాయం రాదు సరికదా ప్రజలు ప్రభుత్వాన్ని అడ్డంకిస్తారు. ఇటువంటి పన్ను విధించడంవల్ల ప్రజలు జనంలేదు. బస్సులద్వారా ఇంకా హెచ్చు ఆదాయం రావాలంటే బస్ యజమానులవైన నే హెచ్చు పన్ను విధించడం మంచిది. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వమువారు బాగుగా ఆలోచించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“నేను నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని రావూరు నియోజకవర్గంనుంచి ఎన్నికైనాను. ఈ రావూరు తాలూకా తూర్పు కనుమల తూర్పువైపున ఉన్నది. యీ తాలూకా పూర్తిగా మెట్ట ప్రాంతము. తూర్పు కనుమలలో కుగిసిన వర్షము చాలావరకు మా తాలూకాగుండా ప్రవహించిపోతుంది. కాని మా తాలూకా పక్షాకు ఎటువంటి లాభము కలుగుటలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇరువై, ఇరువై అయిదు సంవత్సరముల నుంచి ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధలేనుకొనని కారణంచేత జలాశయములు చాలా వరకు శిథిలమైపోయి రైతులు చాలా ఇబ్బందులు పడుచున్నారు. మా జిల్లా ప్రజలను ఇంతవరకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు చాలా నిరాశరణచేసివారిని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అనేక గ్రామాలలోని చెరువులు మేట వేసిపోయినాయి, గట్లు తెగిపోయినాయి. ముప్పదివేల గుంబాయి, వదివేల గుంబాయిలు, ఇరువదియైదువేల గుంబాయిలు, వంటి వాటిపాటి మొత్తములు ఖర్చుచేసినట్లైతే ఎన్నో గ్రామాలలోని చెరువులను కాగుచేయించవచ్చు. వేలాది ఎకరముల భూములలో వక్కటి పంటలు పండించవచ్చు. ఈ విషయములో కూడా ప్రభుత్వంవారు శ్రద్ధమానకపోవడం విచారకరమైన విషయం. P.W.D. చెరువులకూడా అనేకం ముమ్మత్తులు వేక పాడైపోతున్నాయి. యీ తాలూకా రైతులు సీటీవసతులు యేర్పరచమని తరచు ప్రభుత్వమును మహజరులుద్వారా, రాయవారములుద్వారా అనేకసార్లు కోరియున్నారు. అందులో ముఖ్యముగా (1) పిన్నేరు కాకెట్టు, (2) పెడేరు ప్రాజెక్టు, (3) జువ్వడగుంట వరకకాలువ, (4) శివరాజు చెరువు, (5) కంభంపాడు-చేజ్ల కాలువ, (6) రేగడపల్లి చెరువు, (7) వైదాపురం వరక కాలువ. యిందులో వైదాపురం వరకకాలువ తెగిపోయి 20

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సంవత్సరములు అయినది. పి.డబ్ల్యు.డి. చెరువు యీ కాలువ రివెయిరీ చేయటకు రూ 15,000 లు ఖర్చు అగును. యింకవరకు యీ చెరువుకింద రూ 30,000 లు రిమిక్షన్సు యిచ్చియున్నారగాని కాలువ రివెయిరీ కలపెట్టియుండలేదు. యీ ఒక్క సంవత్సరముచూస్తే ప్రభుత్వం రైతులమీద యంత నిరాశణ చూపుచున్నదో భోధపడుతుంది. వీటి విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ బడ్జెటులోనైనను కొంత మొత్తమును కేటాయించవలెనని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఇక కృష్ణా-వెన్నూరు ప్రాజెక్టు విషయం గమనించండి. దీనివల్ల ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్కానికి ఎంతో నష్టం సంభవిస్తుంది. దీని విషయంలో ఆంధ్రులలో పెద్ద అలజడి రేగింది. ప్రజలు తమకు సంభవించే నష్టాన్ని తెలుసుకోగలిగారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారికి ఖోస్తా కమిషన్ వారికి ఎన్నో మెమోరాండంలు, మహజర్లు పంపుకొన్నారు. కృష్ణా నదికి సమీపంలో ఉన్న గ్రామాలవారి ప్రకృతి సహజమైన హక్కులను తిరస్కరించి, కృష్ణా జలాలను దక్షిణాదికి తీసుకొనిపోవడం న్యాయం కాదని, భర్తంకాదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కృష్ణా-వెన్నూరు ప్రాజెక్టువల్ల లాభం పొందేది ఆంధ్రులుకాదు. ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ లో ఈ ప్రాజెక్టువల్ల దాదాపు 135 గ్రామాలు 1,400,000 యకరములు పంట, తోట భూములు మునిగిపోతాయి. కాని హెచ్చు ఫలితం తమిళ జిల్లాలకు కలుగుతుంది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టువల్ల ఆంధ్ర, తమిళ విభేదాలు మరి హెచ్చిపోతాయి. అవేళ, అగ్రహాలు రెచ్చిపోతాయి. కర్నూలు, కడప, కృష్ణ, గుంటూరు, నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలలో లక్షలాది ఎకరాల భూమి నీరులేక ఊసరక్షితంగా ఉంటే, సమీపాన ఉన్న కృష్ణా జలాలను ఉపయోగించుకొంటానికి ఆ జిల్లాలకు సరైన అవకాశం ఇవ్వకుండా కృష్ణా జలాలు ఆంధ్రుల సొమ్ముకాదని కొందరు రాజకీయవాదులు వాదిస్తున్నారంటే చాలా విచారించవలసిన విషయమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇక ఈ కృష్ణా-వెన్నూరు ప్రాజెక్టువలన ఎంత ఖర్చవుతుందో గమనించండి. దానికి కావలసినది 130 కోట్ల రూపాయలని నేటి చిత్తు అందనా. ఇది ఇంకెన్నో కోట్లు ఎక్కువ అవచ్చునని తెలిసినవారు అంటున్నారు. మిట్టకొండలను దొలచి, ఎంతో వ్యయప్రయాసల కోర్చి, ఈ ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించినా కూడా ఒక్కొక్క ఎకరానికి ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు క్రింద ఖర్చుపెట్టవలసిన మొత్తము కనీసం మూడువందల అరవై రూపాయలుంటుంది. ఇంత హెచ్చు ఖర్చుపెట్టి ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్మించుటకు ఎంతమాత్రము సమంజసము కాదు. రాజకీయ కారణాలవల్లనే ఈ ప్రాజెక్టును తీసుకొన్నారు కాని వేరు కారణంలేదు. దీనికి ప్రత్యామ్నాయంగా సిద్ధేశ్వరంవద్ద, నందికొండవద్ద అనకట్టలు కట్టినట్లైతే కృష్ణా జలాలను చాలావరకు ఉపయోగించుకొనుటకు అవకాశం విర్భుడుతుంది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టుల నన్నింటిని డెల్టై, ఎనల్డై కోట్ల రూపాయలలో నిర్మించవచ్చు. కొత్తగా సాగులోనికివచ్చే భూమికూడా అదనంగా ఉంటుంది. వీటి పెద్ద పెద్ద కొండలను బద్దలుకొట్ట నక్కరలేదు. సాగు క్రిందకు వచ్చే భూమికి ఎకరా రెక్కన ఖర్చుపెట్టే మొత్తముకూడా చాలా తక్కువ. బెటర్ మెంటు పన్ను క్రింద వసూలయ్యే మొత్తము అధికం. కొద్దికాలంలో నిర్మించవచ్చు. వెంటనే లక్షలాది ఎకరముల భూమిలో రెండవ పంట వేసి రాష్ట్రంలో ఉన్న ఆహార కొరతను భర్తీచేసుకొనవచ్చు. ఇన్ని లాభములున్నప్పటికి ఈ చిన్న చిన్న ప్రాజెక్టులకు ప్రత్యామ్నాయంగా కృష్ణా-వెన్నూరు ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మిస్తామని పబ్లిక్ వర్క్సు మంత్రిగారు శలవివ్వడం విచారకరం. నందికొండ రిజర్వాయరుకింద వీ తెలుగు జిల్లాలు సాగులోనికి వచ్చును. శివేశ్వరము రిజర్వాయరు కట్టితే 2 తెలుగు జిల్లాలు సాగులోనికి వచ్చును. మొత్తం 35 లక్షల యకరముల భూమి సాగుయగును. రాష్ట్ర ఆహార కొరత నిర్మూలించవగును. యిన్ని లాభములు, అవకాశములున్నా

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కృష్ణా-వెన్నాడు కట్టుటకు ప్రభుత్వము పట్టుపట్టుట మంచిదిగాదు. గాన ఆసాధ్యమైన ఈ ప్రాజెక్టును నిర్మించి పట్టుదల పట్టువద్దని, ఈ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని, కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వాన్ని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర సమస్య తునాకు చాలా తీవ్ర పరిణామాలు తెచ్చిపెట్టేదిగా తయారైంది. మద్రాసు పట్టణ విషయంలో ఆంధ్రులకు, తమిళులకు చాలా అధి ప్రాయబేధాలు కలిగినాయి. నిజం అలాగేంచి చూచినట్లయితే మద్రాసు ఏ ఒక్కరిది కాదు. అటు తమిళదేశానికి, ఇటు ఆంధ్రదేశానికి అది మధ్యలో ఉన్నది. అది ఏ ఒక్క తెగవారిచేత అధివృద్ధిపరచబడలేదు. మద్రాసుపట్టణం తునీతికి రావటానికి ఆంధ్రులు, తమిళులు, కన్నడిగులు, మళయాళీలు అందరూ సహనంగా పాటుపడ్డారు. ఇది అందరకు చెందవలసిన పట్టణం. ఇది తమిళ దేశానికిగాని, లేక ఆంధ్ర దేశానికి గాని మధ్యలోలేదు. తమిళులకు తిరుచినాపల్లివంటి పట్టణం రాజధానిగా ఉంటే మంచిది; అలాగే ఆంధ్రులకు హైదరాబాదుగాని లేక నెల్లూరువంటి పట్టణంగాని. ముఖ్య పట్టణంగా ఉండవచ్చు. మద్రాసు నగరం అందరియొక్క నగరమై ఉండాలి లేదా అన్ని ప్రాంతాలవారి సమిష్టి రాజధానిగా ఉండాలని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ నగరం మన అందరియొక్క ఉమ్మడి సొత్తు. దీనిని ఏ ఒక్కరు తమవరం చేసుకుంటామనడం సబబుకాదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రభుత్వమునకు వచ్చినతరువాత కంట్రోల్స్ను తొలగించారు. అలాగే ధాన్య నేకరణను తొలగించారు. ఇందువల్ల రైతులు చాలా శుభపడుతున్నారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ విధంగా రైతాంగానికి సహాయపడినందు లకు నేను వారిని రైతుల తరపున అభినందిస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ప్రొసెక్యూటర్ విషయం గమనించవలసియ్యవచ్చు . . .”

10-30 a.m. * SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI :—“Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, speaking in a general way about the Budget, I characterise it as the most oppressive Budget that has ever been introduced in this House, because it does not provide immediate and urgent relief to the people in respect of so many problems facing them now. It does not give adequate relief to the people in the famine-affected areas. It only tries to impose new taxes. So this Budget is going to be opposed by the people. In fact, this Budget was voted down in the general elections. Still the Government do not seem to take any lessons from the general elections. The same Budget and the same sources of revenue and expenditure were placed before the people during the general elections and the people who were very much dissatisfied, voted them down. The Government do not seem to take these things into consideration.

“Now, what do the people want? They want relief from indebtedness, heavy rents and indiscriminate and heavy taxation. They want development of projects and of backward areas like Rayalaseema. But the Government do not provide any funds for the development of projects especially in Rayalaseema. So, I oppose the passing of this Budget in a general way.

“Sir, the people are oppressed by corruption which exists in the administrative machinery. They do not get any relief from the

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Government. We are of opinion that only the common minimum programme chalked out by the United Democratic Front can solve the problems of the people and give them at least partial relief immediately. Otherwise, the people will not derive any benefit from this Budget.

“Sir, I pass on to the question of famine. Famine is not a thing of the past. It has become more and more severe and is assuming alarming proportions. So, when the hon. Members of this House speak about the famine that is prevailing in Rayalaseema and other places, they have in their minds the lives of so many thousands and lakhs of people which are at stake to-day. We now receive reports from every corner of such areas that the famine conditions are growing serious. We get such reports not only from the famine-affected areas of Rayalaseema but from Sattenapalle and Palnad taluks of Guntur district. Evacuees are growing in number. We also find hunger marches of people in Anantapur district. Three hundred or more people have walked up to Kadiri to represent their grievances. Similarly, about 1,000 ryots of Chandragiri have marched to Tirupati and about 500 people of Tadpatri taluk to Tadpatri to represent their difficulties. What does this indicate? Does this indicate that famine is on the downward trend? No, not at all. On the other hand, it is growing. I want to draw the attention of the Government to these things only to indicate that they cannot think of slowing down works and stopping gruel centres.

“Sir, the Hon. the Finance Minister says in his Budget speech that this famine is an unprecedented one. But what funds have the Government provided in the Budget for giving relief to the people? It will be seen that the relief afforded is not at all adequate. So, the assertion made in the Budget speech indicates that there is only a nominal recognition of famine and that it is done only to boost up their efforts. It shows that this Government want to just pass off this problem. I say it is a deliberate attempt on the part of the Hon. the Finance Minister to misrepresent the case. I say the famine in Rayalaseema and other places is unprecedented. I say so for three reasons. Firstly, this famine has been prevailing continuously for three or four years. Secondly, slump is overtaking every industry and there is all-round unemployment. We know, as a matter of fact, that about one lakh of people in Cuddappah district engaged in the handloom industry have been starving since March or April and roaming about in villages. Thirdly, this famine has affected a large portion of Rayalaseema and other places. For these reasons, I say this famine is unprecedented. Even the Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister recognizes it. But nothing is provided in the Budget for giving relief to the people. So, I say this is only an eyewash just to mislead this House and the people outside in the famine-affected areas.

“Now, I want to examine the various relief measures introduced by this Government in the famine-affected areas. First, let

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me take up the question of remission. The policy of the Government has always been to exact as much as possible from the people. The relief sought to be provided by way of remission is restricted in so many ways. Several items are exempted for the purpose of remission. Some people are demanding remission of cesses. But this Government have not lent an ear to their demands. Secondly, the so-called objectionable cases are excluded for the purpose of remission. What are those objectionable cases? Wherever there are tanks in Rayalaseema, the poor peasants and labourers have occupied the tank-beds and cultivated them. But because there were no rains, there was no crop raised even in the tank-beds. But these lands were not exempted from payment of land revenue. These cultivators were taxed at the highest dry rate and they had also to pay penalties. I have got my own experience in Pulivendla and Kamalapuram taluks. There is also the instance of Kamasamudram. The people of Bonala and Intepalli villages were asked to pay about Rs. 1,700 by way of land revenue and penalties. The matter was represented to the Tahsildar and the Deputy Collector but they said that it was an objectionable case and it did not come under 'remission'. After much pleading, they consented to reduce the penalties. We want a reply from the Hon. the Revenue Minister on this point. The sources have been divided as precarious and non-precarious sources. Some of these sources like the K.C. canal, I think come under the latter and the well scheme and the like come under the former. In the Cuddapah district, there are many lands . . ."

10-45
a.m.

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has already exceeded the time-limit. Now hon. Member Sri Muni Reddi will speak."

* SRI M. MUNI REDDI:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, many Members have ventilated their feelings regarding the taxation measures. Some of them have given some constructive suggestions too. As far as the taxation measures are concerned, I would like to point out that the revenue of the State is about Rs. 60 crores. How much of this is being contributed by the rural masses and what is the contribution made by the urban people, like merchants and other classes? For the money that the peasants are paying now, they are not getting any benefit from the Government. For instance, we have got in this State more than 85 lakhs of boys and girls of the school-going age. Out of this number, only 45 lakhs are provided with educational facilities. I do not know what will be the number that comes from the rural areas. Now, peasants owning about 5 to 10 acres of land in delta areas have to pay something like Rs. 150 as land revenue. Again, we have been told that there is going to be a surcharge which may easily come to about Rs. 20. All these taxes cannot be borne by the poor peasants. What are the facilities that are given to them? They do not have any good roads. Nor do they have any good hospitals. For instance, Hosur taluk is a very backward taluk

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which has a population of about 2,40,000. There is no Government hospital in that place. Supposing a patient has to be treated for some disease, we have to rush up to Bangalore or Salem, which will easily be about 100 miles. These poor people in the rural parts pay all these taxes and yet they do not get any benefits from the Government.

"Now coming to the question of production and cost of production, I may state that the cost of production of sugarcane including rental values per acre is Rs. 1,225. The total sale value of 25 tons comes to Rs. 1,350. The net profit is Rs. 225 per acre. Even if a man possesses ten acres of land, the total income will only be about Rs. 2,000. He has to borrow money for paying the taxes, as he has to pay something like Rs. 300 by way of taxes. Now, what is the money that is paid by the urban classes?"

"I would like to give some concrete suggestions regarding the taxation proposals. The basis of taxation must be reorganized. Even if progressive agricultural income-tax is introduced, it will be better. If that is done, people having 5 to 15 acres of dry land will not be asked to pay heavy amounts as tax and will be asked to pay only a small tax. This will be a great measure of relief to the peasantry. As far as the urban areas are concerned, people who own big buildings are not paying any tax. Again the merchants in cities and towns and those who get a salary of over Rs. 200 are not paying any heavy tax. We are told that the Centre is imposing taxes on the richer classes of people. These people in the urban areas are now paying only a small amount as income-tax. Quite a few of them are paying the taxes imposed on them. Besides these things, the richer classes in the urban areas are not paying any tax to the State Government. The greater part of the revenue of the State is being paid by the peasantry, but no beneficial measures are bestowed on them. On the other hand, the urban people who do not pay anything substantial to the Government are getting all the benefits from the Government, like schools, colleges, roads, hospitals, etc.

"Coming to the other fields of taxation, I suggest that a capital levy may be imposed on those owning big houses. Those who are living in towns and who own big houses worth Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 40,000 get something like Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per month by way of rent. They are not paying any substantial tax to the State Government. But they are given all the facilities. Again, those who are serving the Government are given certain educational concessions. For this purpose, I understand that the Government are going to spend a crore of rupees. Now, all these taxes are paid by the peasantry and I feel that the money received from them must be earmarked for affording some substantial beneficial measures for them. It is very necessary that this sum should be earmarked for that specific purpose.

"Apart from the capital levy on buildings, taxes on petty shops, sundry shops and other shops that are dealing in luxury

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goods are quite welcome. If these shops are taxed, the State Government will be able to get a revenue of about Rs. 12 crores. If this is done, they can even remove the sales-tax, which is at present hitting the consumer very much. At present the merchants are shifting this tax to the consumers. I think there must be a direct tax on the petty shops, sundry shops and other shops dealing in luxury goods.

" Even taxes on entertainment and absentee-landlordism will be very welcome. If the tax on petrol is increased to six annas, the common man in the street is not going to be hit. But, the other measures proposed by the Government at present, if imposed on the people, will certainly be a great hardship to the peasantry. They will not be able to bear the heavy burden of taxation.

" I come from the Hosur constituency which is a very backward one and which has a population of 240,000. Regarding supply of electricity to this place, we have been demanding for its early supply. We have been presenting memoranda after memoranda to the Government on this matter. Nothing has been done so far. Now, I am told that the Government have prepared estimates to the tune of Rs. 20 lakhs for the supply of electricity from Karimangalam in Dharmapuri taluk. I request the Minister concerned to take immediate steps to provide electricity to that place. Again, we do not have any good Government hospital there. There are three or four hospitals run by the district board. While we are paying heavy taxes to the Government, we must be given facilities like good roads, hospitals, etc. The entire basis of taxation must be reorganized and I think progressive agricultural income-tax is the only measure by which the Government can relieve the small peasants from the heavy taxation burden.

" Regarding agricultural problems, the Hon. Finance Minister stated that he is not going to consider any fresh schemes. This is a difficult problem. In our State, during 1946 our agricultural production was about 7,111,000 tons of foodgrains and we had to import about 254,000 tons of foodgrains whereas in 1951 our production was only 6,111,000 tons and our imports were 7,22,272 tons. We must pay greater attention to improve our methods of agriculture. How can it be done? We have at present, what is called, the well-subsidy scheme. The Government have spent about eight crores of rupees on this scheme. What is the outcome of this? In my opinion, it is a mere waste of money, as the poor agriculturists have not at all received any assistance under this scheme. In this connexion, I would like to recall the remarks made by hon. Member Sri Swaminathan about conditions obtaining in his district of Ramanathapuram. In such places, where the peasants have to spend about Rs. 3,000 for digging a well, the Government's assistance in this regard was very poor. They sanctioned only a sum of Rs. 750 or so for digging a well. With this amount, it is not at all possible to dig a well. Even this amount did not properly reach the poor peasants. If they were lucky

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enough to get this amount, they had to borrow money from others to dig the well as it was not possible to do the work with the money that they received from the Government. So, only rich people came forward to take away the grants made by the Government under this head and they took to commercial crops instead of food crops. Even after spending this Rs. 8 crores on this scheme, we are not told whether there has been an increase in the production of foodcrops. Further, more than 3 to 4 crores of rupees might have been pocketed by the village officers and even some of the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars. That was the result. So, this scheme is a failure. If this amount had been utilized for effecting some improvements to some of the tanks that are under repair, it would have been much better. There are about 35,000 tanks and if this eight crores of rupees had been diverted to the improvement of these tanks, I am sure more than 30,000 to 40,000 tons of foodgrains could have been produced.

" The Government must pay more attention to Research stations. We have got a Research station in Hosur. I think the Government must take early steps to have more such stations. They must maintain these in a satisfactory manner. Coming to the question of supplying seedlings to the agriculturists, I wish to stress that seedling is the most important thing that should be considered carefully by the Government. It is said that if we have good seedlings, it is possible to increase our production by over 12½ per cent. At present, the Government are supplying these seedlings through peasants. I think it is very wrong. The Government should arrange to distribute these things themselves. They have a number of agricultural research stations. They can earmark some 1,500 acres and cultivate the land themselves and thus supply good seedlings to the agriculturists."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member has already exceeded his time-limit."

* SRI M. MUNI REDDI :—" One more minute, Sir. The Government must themselves take steps to supply good seedlings to the peasants. I think that is the method adopted in countries like Denmark. Apart from that . . ."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—" Order, order. Hon. Member Sri Ramasami Mudaliar will now speak."

* SRI V. K. RAMASAMI MUDALIAR :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for having given me an opportunity to take part in the deliberations of this House to-day. First of all, I would support the Budget, giving at the same time certain suggestions and alterations. Secondly, I thank the Government for the abolition of controls and also for showing educational concessions to the children of non-gazetted officers and the children of the employees of the local boards.

" Coming to the surcharge on land revenue, according to the proposed sliding scale, it is seen that the rate goes above the income-tax level adopted by the Central Government. Already,

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the land-owners are suffering a lot under heavy taxation, as they are paying at the rate of five annas in the rupee both by way of education and land-cesses. It will not at all be justifiable to tax them more. On the other hand, I would suggest that with a view to augmenting the revenues of the State, a tax on commercial crops like sugarcane, pepper, plantains and coffee and tea will be a very good thing. I hope the Government will adopt this policy which will bring in more revenue. I would request the Government to adopt the recommendations of the Subramaniam Committee of which the Hon. Ministers for Public Works and Finance were members. Our morning contemporary, 'The Hindu', has pointed out that measures of this kind may have a contrary effect, especially as the atmosphere is thick with rumours of revolutionary changes in regard to ownership, tenures, etc., which the Government of India, the Planning Commission and the Congress party are said to be contemplating jointly. Again, Sir, I am not in favour of preventing genuine partitions or alienations for a period of three years and I am of opinion that *bona fide* transactions should be allowed.

"Regarding the surcharge on bus fares, I feel it will hit the poor passengers hard who will be asked to pay at the rate of one pie per mile. As 'the Mail' has pointed out, apart from the fact that there will be scarcity of pies, if this surcharge is levied the bus owners will have to be at the tender mercy of the officials. There should not be any discrimination regarding the levy of the one pie surcharge on each passenger ticket. This will hit the poor passengers very hard. Further, as one of the hon. Members has just now pointed out, buses which are running on parallel routes to the railway will also be hit hard. Again, I am also not in favour of showing any concession whatsoever to the City passengers. Our idea is to help the rural population and as such there cannot be any discrimination whatsoever. If preference is to be shown to the Government Transport in the City, I am for showing the same kind of concession to cities like Kancheepuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli and other places. Then, I must point out that it will be very difficult to collect these taxes because, as I have already pointed out, not only the poor classes, but the middle classes will also be hit hard. Instead of this, a surcharge on seats may be levied. The rich can always manage to pay and the poor and the labouring classes may adjust themselves to the changed circumstances. It is the misfortune of the middle class at all times to bear all these taxes indirectly or directly.

"Regarding Prohibition, Sir, we cannot go back on it. I am not also for its abolition completely. I am of the opinion that inasmuch as it has become a part of law, the whole work can be entrusted to the Police department by withdrawing the entire Prohibition staff employed at present. If, however, it is not practicable, the Prohibition staff may be retrenched at least to the extent of about 50 per cent. If that is done, we will have a saving of not less than 50 lakhs of rupees.

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"I would like to make another suggestion and that is with regard to hotels. I suggest that hotels may be auctioned as was done in the case of toddy shops. This will bring in a huge revenue and we can thus augment our resources.

"If retrenchment is made properly in the existing administration, we can effect much savings in almost all the Departments of the Government. To quote one example, originally there were three Deputy Directors in the Education Department. Now there are four. Besides, there are several gazetted officers, such as Adult Education Officer, Library Special Officer, Audio-Visual Education Officer, Technical Education Officer, etc., and it is not known whether there is enough work for each one of these officers in that Department. Similarly, in the Revenue Department, there are the Efficiency Officers and innumerable Tahsildars, Deputy Tahsildars, etc., on special work. God alone knows what they do. Some of the Collectors have told me that there are supernumerary posts in the Revenue Department.

"I next come to the question of treatment of local board employees. It is true that the non-gazetted Government officers and the employees of local boards enjoy some concessions. But the local board employees do not enjoy the same concessions as the non-gazetted Government officers. Hence it will be a relief to them if the local board employees are given the same concessions as the Government servants are getting. The Government have always created differences between their servants and the servants of local bodies in the matter of scales of pay, though the volume and quality of work done by both are almost the same. Qualifications and other conditions of appointment are practically the same and I would request the Government to treat the employees of local bodies on a par with their own servants.

"I would also like to say something about the existing condition of the district boards. In my capacity as President of a District Board, I have been experiencing lot of difficulties in the day-to-day administration. There is a good lot of restrictions on the district boards which have to be removed. The powers of these non-official bodies should be enlarged. The Chamber of District Boards has been repeatedly pointing out the various difficulties experienced by these bodies in their day-to-day administration. Even for sinking a well we have no powers. To start a dispensary, we have no powers. We have to address the different Departments of the Government with the result that the request is either turned down or there is protracted correspondence which amounts to negating it. They go on putting all sorts of questions with the result that we are unable to do anything.

"People have become road-minded. The Government must come to our rescue and give us grants during the first half-year. Now they give grants at a very late period with the result that we are unable to spend them in time and many of the district boards have been asked to spend from their own funds and then draw from

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the Government. This is not possible and the result is that the amount sanctioned at a later period lapses and we are unable to do any useful work and we incur the odium of the public.

“ Regarding the levy of betterment tax, the Government have been pleased to spend so much of the tax-payers' money on big projects and it is but right that the landholding classes who grow more crops must pay this tax, if not at the rate now suggested, at least at some other rate. Therefore, I am for the levy of a betterment tax.

“ As regards extension of electricity schemes, Chingleput has been given a step-motherly treatment from the very beginning in all directions. Take for instance, roads. We are not given as much money as we ought to be given. All the people in the Presidency use our roads. We are given a step-motherly treatment regarding electricity. Almost all the districts have been given electric connexion. Though we are part and parcel of Madras, we are so many centuries behind and the projects said to have been sanctioned have not yet been taken up. The southern portion of the district—Chingleput, Madurantakam and Kancheepuram—has not been given extension of electricity. I would request the Government to pay earnest attention to this question and take up the work at an early date.

“ Finally, I want to impress upon this House that there are no facilities in Chingleput for providing drinking water for the people and ponds for the animals. We must, therefore, launch a scheme for deepening all the existing tanks and wells for this purpose. As has been suggested by the hon. Member, the Raja of Chettinad, I would request the Government to move the Central Government to give us more money since they are taking away a lot of our money by way of taxes on income and Excise duties like that on tobacco, etc.

“ With these words, Sir, I support the Budget proposals.”

* SRI N. PARAMASIVAN :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on this occasion to ventilate the grievances of the agriculturists. The new Bills introduced are against the interests of the middle classes and the lower income groups. In presenting the Budget, the Hon. the Finance Minister has pointed out that the Bills were introduced only to cover the deficit in the Budget. Sir, the surcharge on land revenue and the surcharge on bus fares mostly fall on the middle classes and the lower income groups. I feel the surcharge on land revenue is most ill-timed. The Hon. the Minister for Revenue in giving the reasons for this Bill has pointed out that land tax is not distributed equally among all sections of the people and therefore, he has brought in this Bill. He also said that the rich do not pay the same assessment as the smaller peasants. I think, Sir, this surcharge will hit the middle classes hard. In fixing the limit of exemption at Rs. 50 the Government have not done anything good. This tax is worse than the agricultural income-tax in its scope. In the opinion of the public, the exemption

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limit should be at Rs. 200 or Rs. 250. Then only the middle-class joint families will not be affected by this tax. This surcharge will not affect people paying Rs. 50 and less. Do the Government then feel that people who pay more than Rs. 50 by way of land revenue are having larger holdings? Certainly not. Such measures as this at this juncture will only aggravate the grievances of the middle classes who are hit hard.

“ Again, Sir, in presenting the Budget, the Hon. the Finance Minister has referred to the grant of remission to the agriculturists. In Vriddhachalam taluk, in Pennadam firka, subordinate Revenue officials have imposed a penalty of Rs. 30,000. That is a place where remission has been granted to the poor agriculturists. Then again, Sir, in the same firka a new tank has been brought under construction with great difficulty at Konur village. I know of a particular gentleman who is owning about 200 acres trying to get lands from the poor ryots in compensation for an area of 25 to 30 acres of his which fall within the new tank limit. The subordinate Revenue officials are trying to take away lands from poor people who are cultivating lands for the past fifteen or twenty years. With regard to the provision of irrigation facilities for this area, the main source of irrigation is the Willingdon Reservoir. It was opened for the first time in the year 1921 and for the past one decade it has not even been filled once a year. Under the old scheme this was to be filled twice in a year so that it might irrigate the 28,000 acres which come under this project. The Government have not taken any steps to see that this reservoir irrigates the lands which fall under this project. Again, Sir, the people of this area have appealed to the Government for extension of electricity so that they could bring the lands under cultivation by means of lift irrigation. This may be attended to. In regard to road works, the district board is not taking up roads according to the areas which need them most, but roads are taken up where they are required by influential Members of the Board. With regard to transfers of elementary school teachers they are often transferred to different and distant places. I would request the Government to look into this and also grant them adequate allowances. The fire service stations also are not properly distributed and I request the Government to station these fire service personnel at proper centres. Lump sums are allotted for Grow More Food schemes for the various districts. South Arcot has received only Rs. 15,000 whereas some others have received more than Rs. 11 lakhs. I request Government to make an equitable distribution of these grants.

“ Sir, this Budget is not in favour of the lower and middle income groups who form the vast majority of the people of the State and it is not in the interests of agriculturists who are the backbone of the country.”

SRI CH. S. R. MURTHI RAJU :—“ అధ్యక్షా, నేను రాదేళ్ల నూడము నియోజకవర్గపు ప్రజల తరపున ఆభ్యర్థిగా ఎన్నుకోబడి వారియొక్క ఉద్దేశాలను ఆసెంట్లలో తెలియపరచడానికి నుండినాను. కనుక వారి ఉద్దేశాలను ఇక్కడ సభలో చెప్పడానికివచ్చాను. ప్రస్తుతము ఈ సంవత్సరము ప్రభుత్వ

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ప్రభుత్వము విర్వడినతరువాత, శ్రీమంతుల రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు కంట్రాక్టు లీసీ చేశారు. అంతే ప్రజలు ఈనాడు చాలా సంతోషముగా ఉన్నారు. ఆ విధముగా వారికి కన్నుల పండుగగడన్నటువంటి ఈ సమయములో ప్రభుత్వము రైతులకు కొన్ని కొత్తపన్నులను విధిస్తున్నారని తెలుసుకొని ఈ విషయములో రైతుల కష్టాలను వారి ఉద్దేశాలను ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలియపరచవలసిందిగా నాకు అక్కడనుంచి కిబర్లురాగా ఈ విషయాలన్నింటిని ఈ సభలో తెలియజేస్తున్నాను.

“ప్రస్తుతము మా నియోజకవర్గములో కొల్లేరు భూములు, మెరక భూములుకూడా ఉన్నాయి. కొల్లేరు భూములు ముంపుడువల్ల పంటలుచాలా నష్టమైపోతున్నాయి. తరువాత వర్షములేకుండా మెరకభూములు పండడములేదు. ఈ విధంగా పంట లేకుండా వాడపడుతున్న రైతులపైన ఇంకా ఎక్కువపన్నుల వేయడంతో చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంటుంది. ఈ సందర్భంలో మా పశ్చిమ గోదావరి జిల్లాలో వ్యవసాయము కొరకై రైతులు ఎంత ఖర్చు చేయవలసియుంటుందో, వారి ఖర్చులుపోను వారికి ఎంత ఆదాయము ఉంటుందో సూక్ష్మముగా తెలియజేస్తాను. సాధారణముగా 20 ఎకరములగల రైతు వ్యవసాయముచేయడానికి ఒక సంవత్సరమునకు అగ. ఖర్చు ఈ క్రింది విధముగా ఉంటుంది.

“ఇకపై ఎకరములగల రైతుకు వ్యవసాయముచేయడానికి రాను పాలేళ్లుఉండవలసి ఉంటుంది. ఒక పాలేరుకు 20 బస్తాలచొప్పున, బస్తా ఒకటింటికి 16 చొప్పున 2 పాలేళ్లుకు సంవత్సరానికి రూ 640 లు అవుతుంది. మరొక చిన్న పాలేరుకు 10 బస్తాల చొప్పున రూ 160 లు అవుతుంది. పోతుల ఖరీదు—ఇది 5 సంవత్సరముల కంటే ఎక్కువ జీవించవు. జత ఒకటింటికి రూ 200 లు చొప్పున, 5 జతలపోతులకు 5 సంవత్సరములకు రూ 1,000 లు ప్రకారము, సంవత్సరమునకు రూ 200 అవుతుంది. ఇక ఎడ్ల ఖరీదు—ఇది 6 సంవత్సరములకంటే ఎక్కువ జీవితము కలిగియుండవు. ఒక జత ఎడ్లకు 6 సంవత్సరములకు రూ 1,200 లు ప్రకారము, సంవత్సరమునకు రూ 200 లు అవుతుంది. భూమి మరమ్మత్తుకుగాను సంవత్సరమునకు రూ 400 లు కావలసి ఉంటుంది. ఊడ్చుకుగాను ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి రూ 15 లు ప్రకారము 20 ఎకరాలకు రూ 300 లు అవుతుంది. కలుపురీతకు, ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి రూ 12 లు చొప్పున 20 ఎకరాలకు రూ 240 లు అవుతుంది. కోపకు ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి రూ 12 లు ప్రకారము రూ 240 అవుతుంది. కట్టివేతకు ఎకరాకు రూ 8 లు ప్రకారము రూ 160 లు అవుతుంది. కుప్పనూర్చుకు ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి రూ 10 లు ప్రకారము రూ 200 లు అవుతుంది. తరువాత పుల్లర 5 జతలపోతులకు, జత ఒకటింటికి రూ 8 లు ప్రకారము, రూ 40 లు అవుతుంది. మయ జత ఎడ్లకు పుల్లర రూ 30 లు అవుతుంది. ఇంక 5 జతలపోతులకు 1 జత ఎడ్లకు మేతకుగాను రూ 300 లు వడుతుంది. తరువాత భూములకున్న ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి రూ 10 లు ప్రకారము 20 ఎకరాలకు రూ 200 లు అవుతుంది. మొత్తము 20 ఎకరాల వ్యవసాయానికి రూ 3,810 లు ఖర్చుచేయవలసి ఉంటుంది. ఇప్పుడు ఈ ఎకరా నుండి వచ్చే ఆదాయము చూచినట్లయితే, ఎకరా ఒకటింటికి 12 బస్తాలచొప్పున, 20 ఎకరాలకు 240 బస్తాలయితే, బస్తా ఒకటింటికి రూ 16 లు ప్రకారము, రూ 3,840 లు వస్తుంది. ఇందులో వ్యవసాయపు ఖర్చుపోను, పాడి పశువుల, కుటుంబ ఖర్చులుగాక, వచ్చే ఆదాయము రూ 530 లు. తరువాత పంటలపైన ఇండ్లపైన పన్ను మరోనూరు రూపాయలుపోగా చివరకు రూ 430 లో దిగుతుంది. కనుక ఒక 20 ఎకరాలగల రైతు, సంవత్సరమునకు రూ 430 ల ఆదాయముతో ప్రతుకవలసి

[8th July 1952] [Sri Ch. S. R. Murthi Raju]

ఉంటుంది. ఇన్ని ఖర్చులతోను, కష్టాలతోను రైతులు ప్రతికడము చాలాకష్టము. ఇప్పుడు రైతులకు చాలా ఆప్యాయకంగా ఉన్నది. ఈ సంగతి ప్రభుత్వానికికూడా తెలిసియు ఉంటుంది. ప్రభుత్వమువారు బీద రైతులకు భూములకు మెన్యూర్ మొదలగు నవి కొనడానికిగాను మొత్తము 2 కోట్ల రూపాయలవరకు ఆప్యాయము ఇస్తున్నారు. కాని ఇప్పుడు అన్ని వస్తువులు ధరలు తగ్గిపోవడంవల్ల రైతులకు ఇతరత్రా ఎక్కడా ఆప్యాయ పుట్టడంలేదు. కనుక వారికి ఆప్యాయము ఇచ్చటకు ఇంకా అధిక మొత్తము కేటాయించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. అంతేకాకుండా ఇకముందు పన్నుల అధికముగా వేయడమువల్ల వ్యవసాయముపైన నిరత్యాహము ఎక్కిపై పడుతున్నా చాలా తగ్గిపోతుంది. 20 ఎకరాలరైతుకు సంవత్సరమునకు రూ 430 లు రాబడిఉంటే వంద ఎకరాలు గలవారికి సుమారు రూ 2,000 లు వస్తుంది. దేశము మొత్తము మీద సగటు ఆదాయము ఎకరాకు 6 బస్తాలని, మన మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రముయొక్క సగటు ఆదాయము ఎకరాకు 7 బస్తాలని తెలుస్తున్నది. ఒకవేళ ఎకరాకు 12 బస్తాల ప్రకారము చెట్టుకొన్నప్పటికినికూడా, ఆ వచ్చే ఆదాయము రైతులయొక్క నిత్యజీవితానికి సరిపోదు. కనుక ప్రస్తుతమువేసే పన్నులనుకూడా తగ్గించవలసిన ప్రజలు కోరుతున్నారు. మెరక భూములవిషయంలో ఇవి కొన్ని సంవత్సరములు పంటకు వస్తాయి, కొన్ని సంవత్సరములకు పంటకురావు. కొల్లేరుభూములపై 3 సంవత్సరములకొక సర్కారుము మాత్రము పంట తాయి. పండ్ల సంవత్సరములలో వాటికి అవసరపు ఖర్చులు అవసరపు పన్నులు చెల్లించవలసియుంటుంది. దీనివల్ల రైతులకు విచిత్ర నష్టము ఏర్పడుతుంది. ఇంక పశుగ్రాసముకొరత అయినందువల్ల పశువుల నష్టము కూడ ఉన్నది. కనుక ఈ ప్రాంతాలలో రైతులు అధిక పన్నులు విమాత్రము భరించలేరు. కనుక ప్రస్తుత పన్నుల విధానములో కొంత మార్పుచేసి బీద రైతులకు పన్నుల భారాన్ని తగ్గించవలసిన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజలు కోరుతున్నారు.

“తరువాత కొల్లేరులో చేపలు పట్టుకొనేవార్లు ఉన్నారు. వారికి పెద్దరు మాపులు అట్లుకొనుటకుగాను అడవి లీగ కావలసి ఉంటుంది. నూలు కొనుటకుగాను ప్రభుత్వము ఆప్యాయము ఇస్తున్నారు. వారికి ఈ నూలు సరైన చేనేటిటువంటి కోఆపరేటివ్ స్టోన్ టీలు వీరికి నూలు సరిగా సరైన చేయలేకపోతున్నవి. కనుక వాటికి పెద్దరు లీగకు కూడా సబ్సిడీలు ఇప్పించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను.

“తరువాత మా నియోజకవర్గములో రోడ్లు ఎక్కడా సరిగా లేవు. రోడ్లు లేనందువల్ల గ్రామాలకు రాకపోకలు చాలా కష్టముగా ఉన్నవి. కనుక అక్కడ రోడ్లు వేయడానికిగాను ఈ బడ్జెట్లో ఎక్కడా అలాట్ మెంట్ ఉన్నట్లులేదు. కొల్లేరులో ఒక రోడ్డు వేయడానికి జిల్లా బోర్డు 7 లక్షల రూపాయల ఎస్టిమేటుతో propose చేసింది. అందుకుగాను ప్రభుత్వమువారు కొంత మొత్తాన్ని అలాటుకూడా చేశారు. కాని తరువాత దానిని 5 సంవత్సరముల ప్రోగ్రాములో వేసినామని చెప్పి ఇప్పుడు ఆసలు రోడ్లీ లేకుండాపోయింది. ఇది చాలా శోచనీయంగా ఉంది.

“ఇక ఇరిగేషన్ విషయములో, ఎర్రకాళవ, బడమేరు, కొల్లేరు, నీటి ముంపుడువల్ల భూములంతా పాడై పంట చాలా నష్టమౌతుంది. కొల్లేరువల్ల సుమారు 40 వేల ఎకరాల భూమి మునిగిపోతున్నది. ఎర్రకాళువవల్ల 20 వేల ఎకరాల భూమి మునిగిపోతున్నది. దానికిగాను కలిగి సంవత్సరము ప్రభుత్వము రైతులకు రమిషను ఇస్తున్నది. ఆ భూములకంటే మొత్తము సంవత్సరమునకు 2 లక్షల రూపాయలు రమిషను ఇస్తున్నది. కాని ఆ ఎర్రకాళువ బడలగువాటికి గనుక అసకట్టులు.

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కట్టనట్లయితే 60 వేల ఎకరాల యామి సాగుకు వస్తుంది. దానికల్లా 10 లక్షల బస్తాల ధాన్యము పండుతుంది. ఇంకొకటి లక్షల యామియలు మాత్రము ప్రభుత్వము ఖర్చు పెట్టిన చాలును. కనుక బెంటునే ఈ ఎకరాలపై, బడమేరు, కొల్లేరు స్కీములు అన్నీ తీసుకొనవలెనని ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను.

SRI M. VENKATASUBBA REDDI:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret very much to state that the present Budget is not in conformity with the Constitution of India in that it does not adhere to the directive principles laid down in the Constitution. It is specifically stated in the directive principles of the Constitution that before the year 1960, that is within ten years, every citizen of India shall have the right to get himself educated. Now according to the allotment made in the Budget, I fear it may not be possible to give education to every adult even within half a century.

“ Sir, Government have not made any provision for the supply of drinking water in rural areas, in Rayalaseema. We have sufficiently seen people there suffer for want of drinking water. The Indian Military had to be brought in all the way from Delhi to dig wells and provide drinking water to the people. From January onwards the people had to suffer for drinking water in some taluks in Cuddapah district. I had been there during the elections. In January itself people had to purchase water. For four to five months, till the advent of rains in the latter half of May, people were actually purchasing water. In Koilkuntla and some other firkas people even now are suffering for want of drinking water. So it is the bounden duty of the Government to look to the physical needs of the people and to see that this facility is provided. Even the amount that is allotted now is not spent by the district authorities. In some years the amount could not be spent because the wells were not dug. This only shows how the Government had ignored the necessity of providing drinking water facilities.

11-30
a.m.

“ In my constituency of Koilkuntla, there are irrigation schemes like the Paleru river project, the Golleru tank and Thimmaraju tank schemes which will irrigate thousands of acres and when their waters are properly utilized, my taluk may become self-sufficient in food. Speaking of the projects undertaken by the Government, I ask whether the Government have a land policy at all, whether the landholders are prevented from purchasing hundreds and hundreds of acres under the proposed irrigation projects, whether any arrangement is made for providing water to all middle class and poor ryots owning 2 to 5 acres of land and whether the Government have put any restrictions on the landholders getting water for hundreds of acres owned by them under a particular project. If a specific policy is not laid down when the Government undertake irrigation projects, some complicated problems will arise and there is no meaning in appointing Committees and Commissions later to solve them.

“ Then, Sir, this Government, I am sorry to say, is indulging in top-heavy administration. There is a Welfare Department with a Welfare Officer to look to the development of our villages. Th

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are already Firka Development Schemes undertaken by the previous Government which provide employment for their group men in order to maintain their leadership. If only proper provision is made for the Rural Welfare Department, there will be no necessity for separate Firka Development Schemes. There are already Panchayat Boards functioning in almost all big villages and it is the duty of the Panchayat Boards and the Panchayat Officers to undertake all the development works respecting their villages. Side by side, the Government can also improve the co-operative system. My contention is that it is absolutely unnecessary to create so many departments. In order to avoid too much expenditure, the Government can give all the powers to one department and see that the development works in the villages are carried out by that department.”

* SRI Y. AUDINARAYANA REDDI:—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose this Budget as it is not a poor man's budget. It is a Budget of the old autocracy and bureaucracy which has been presented to us, of course, in the name of the new Cabinet. Sir, I would like to confine myself to the Rayalaseema area which is suffering from the worst famine conditions that it has ever witnessed. The relief given to the people is very meagre when compared to the magnitude of the situation that exists to-day. Most of the people have left their villages and migrated to other districts. Many more are almost on the starvation level to-day. It is the gruel centres on which the people are depending now and even the middle class peasantry owning 25 to 30 acres of land flock to them. Still the relief is not sufficient. The Hon. Finance Minister in his budget speech said: ‘ Work was provided by opening up a large number of irrigation, road and well works in all parts of the affected areas and the only limit set to this activity, was the demand for employment.’ I would like to say that there are thousands and thousands of people in my constituency who are unemployed and without food. In this connexion, I may say that the Kanchalamma tank in Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah district is still unrepaired for the last sixty years and our veteran statesman Chief Minister Sri Rajagopalachari also knows this tank from 1937. When he was touring Rayalaseema last month, he was informed about this work, and also told that 20 to 30 gruel centres could be closed if this work was started, for thousands of people could be employed in repairing the tank. But, such works are not being taken up for the simple reason that the Public Works Department gives some reason or other and obstructs them. I learn from the district authorities that the work on the Kanchalamma tank has been given up.

“ Then, in regard to famine conditions, every Member from Rayalaseema has been speaking about them in this House. Till recently there were no rains and the people were afraid that they would die for want of drinking water. Of course, the water famine has been relieved to a certain extent due to rains. In the name of digging wells, takkavi and subsistence loans are being given to the ryots; but they are very meagre when compared to the needs of

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the people. Another distressing feature of the recent rains was that nearly 50 per cent of the cattle were washed away. In my district we represented this to the district authorities and to the Hon. Chief Minister when he visited our area recently. I understand that the Tahsildar concerned has reported that only 2,000 cattle died, but I can give instances where more than 2,000 cattle died in a single village. If the Government are to base their relief measures on such false reports from their officers, they are not going to solve the problem. Rains have come and agricultural operations have to be started, but the people have no wherewithal to begin the seedling and other normal agricultural operations. We are told that the ryots are going to be given agricultural loans. It is already two months since rains came and still no relief is given.

"Then, Sir, in Rayalaseema, famine is a recurring problem for the last one century. Still the Government have thought fit to levy surcharge on land revenue, surcharge on bus fares, etc. I would like to point out to the Government that these taxation proposals are 'anti-people' and they are not going to be supported by the people. Every Member of this House is opposing these taxation proposals and yet I understand the Government are persisting in their taxation proposals.

"Then, I would like to say a few words about the decontrol of foodgrains. I am one of those who support the decontrol policy of the Government, and every section of the Opposition has supported the decontrol policy but with the warning that prices may go up again. I request the Government to be firm against blackmarketers so far as food is concerned.

"In conclusion, Sir, I wish to say that the Government have not thought much of Rayalaseema in framing this Budget. The Government may claim that they have given four seats in the Cabinet to Rayalaseema. So far as the grants under Medical and Public Health are concerned, only about Rs. 7.0 lakhs is provided under postwar reconstruction schemes and very little goes to the Rayalaseema area where there is need. To-day epidemics like cholera and small-pox are prevalent and hundreds of people are succumbing to them. With these few words, Sir, I oppose the Budget."

11-45 P.M. * SRI P. VENKATASUBBAYYA :—"Sir, the proposals for taxation, viz., the surcharge on land revenue and the betterment levy are both well-conceived and I support them. But I want to point out that the enhancement of bus fares by one pie per mile hits the poor man who travels by it as it is his only conveyance. As such that proposal should be abandoned and new ways of finding the required revenue discovered.

"Next coming to the Budget estimates, I wish to point out that the improvement of Rayalaseema has been relegated to the background and proper attention has not been paid to the same. I wish to point out to this august Assembly that the worst-affected districts during the recent famine is the Cuddapah district. Unless proper attention is paid to Cuddapah, there will be no

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escaping for us from the clutches of famine. The cry of the people of Cuddapah for projects like the Badanagadda Project in Rajampet taluk, Kanchalammagandi Project in Rayachoti taluk and Gandikota Project in Jammalamadugu taluk has not at all been heard. Besides these, there are many minor irrigation projects which could be pushed through without much cost and they are :

(1) Vagety Kona Project (near Kodur-Rajampet taluk). The river Gunjana taking its supply of water from the tributaries which flow from Tirupati hills is passing through Munakarlaguttu and Kurimgattu. The distance between the two hills is only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile. If an anicut is raised in between the two hills, a big tank with a capacity for irrigating some 30,000 acres of land could be formed. Two canals can be dug, one on the eastern side of the proposed tank and the other on the western side. The ayacut that could be brought under cultivation is nearly 25,000 acres. On account of this project, no cultivable land is going to be merged. The cost to the Government will not be much and the benefit that will accrue to the people will be great.

(2) Athivalamadugu Project in Rajampet taluk, and

(3) Construction of a dam across the Vagala Vagu to supply water to Bakarapet, Kotlur and Thuvvarapalli villages. On completion, this scheme would irrigate about 600 acres of land. In this connexion a memorandum was presented to the Hon. Minister for Public Works during his recent visit to Cuddapah.

"If the above projects are brought into existence there will be no famine in Cuddapah district. Perhaps the Government may think, here is a man who comes with a list of grievances like friends in the Opposition, without suggesting ways and means of getting the required revenue. I submit, Sir, in view of the poverty which the people of Cuddapah district are suffering from and in view of the fact that other parts of our State are on a better footing when compared to us, a part of the expenditure meant to be expended on other parts may be diverted for the betterment of this district. It is also possible to find additional money by nationalizing certain industries like Mica industry in Gudur and Sugar industry in the Circars which are certainly profitable.

"Coming to the Budget proper, I find that under the head '50. b. Civil Works (Communications)' the Government have estimated to spend Rs. 5,95,000, out of the total demand under this head of Rs. 80,27,000. This is not really bad. I think the Government for this. I would like the Government to construct a bridge over the Pennar river near Chennur on the Chittoor-Kurnool road at the 109th mile between the 6th and 8th furlongs. This is quite essential because the Pennar river while in floods blocks all traffic. A provision to this effect can be made in the Budget.

"Regarding Demand XXIII—Harijan Uplift, it is shown that a sum of Rs. 74,00,000 is proposed to be spent under this head. For establishment charges, a sum of Rs. 45,26,000 is provided and so in reality only Rs. 28,73,700 is meant for Harijan uplift. Thus a major portion is eaten away by the officials. Hence it is better to abolish the Director, Deputy Director and

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other staff and entrust the work to the District Collectors with more powers. The charges on Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors working under the Collectors should be met from general funds and not charged to 'Village Reconstruction and Harijan Uplift Fund'. To guard the interests of the Harijans, the present low balance of Rs. 5.44 lakhs in the 'Village Reconstruction and Harijan Uplift Fund' should be raised to a higher figure. The number of Harijan hostels in Cuddapah district should be increased. There are at present only two boys' hostels and one girls' hostel, that are managed by private people and one hostel for boys managed by Government. The request of the boarders of the hostel to enhance their strength from 30 to 40 has been turned down as seen from the Budget. This should be set right. The proposals to start colonization societies on a co-operative basis at Gadila and Ananthayegaripalle, Rajampet taluk, should be looked into.

"The Harijans could be allowed to cultivate lands which are lying fallow in Cuddapah district. In the following villages there are vast tracts of land which are now lying uncultivated :—

(1) *Peddalabaka Harijanawada* (Kamalapuram taluk).—Eighty Harijan families live in this village. A river called Papagni is flowing on the northern side of the village. On either side of the river there are shrubs. These have been classified as reserved forests by the Government. A demarcation line has been put up. The Harijans could be easily allowed to settle on these 200 acres of land. A colonization society could be organized with Government aid.

(2) *Appayipalli and Jangampalli* (Kamalapuram taluk).—There are fifty houses in the village. On the western side of the river Papagni there is a plot of 50 acres of land. There are some shrubs nearby and the land is classified as reserved forest. This belongs to Muddanur range. The landless Harijans could be settled on them.

(3) *Koppolu Harijanawada* (Kamalapuram taluk).—There is a tank near Koppolu village which had gone dry since many years. The poramboke lands extending to about 100 acres may be given in patta to the landless Harijans.

(4) *Sayapet Harijanawada* (Cuddapah taluk).—The Harijans who were in possession of the poramboke lands adjoining the tank have been evicted. The Harijans should be allowed to re-settle on these lands.

"Coming to the head '42. Co-operation' I suggest the following :—

(1) The co-operative movement as it exists to-day has become unwieldy and requires reorganization on workable lines. There is now one Deputy Registrar and one Special Development Officer for every district. There are five Co-operative Sub-Registrars, two under the Development Officer and three under the Deputy Registrar. There are a number of senior inspectors and junior inspectors. At the taluk headquarters there is one territorial inspector,

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one auditor and one supervisor. As per the present arrangements there is no cohesion among all the three. Each thinks it beneath his dignity to approach the other to enlighten himself on matters which need clarification. When the new inspector takes charge he lives under a delusion and the work suffers. He finds it difficult to run to headquarters and know things. Hence if the district is divided into as many groups as there are co-operative sub-registrars and each is put in charge of a group and all the inspectors are made his subordinates with an office attached, the movement will work very well. All the societies in that group will have an easy access to the office and that will avoid unnecessary expenditure which they are incurring at present by often going to the headquarters. Further any defect in the working of the societies can be detected earlier.

By this arrangement the Government will not be incurring additional expenditure. Hence the proposition may be considered.

(2) The audit of the societies is not efficient at present. Why is it? The audit of the societies is not infusing any fear into the minds of the managing directors, the reason being that the auditor has no powers to surcharge the culprit. Even serious irregularities when taken to the notice of the authorities are likely to be overlooked in view of heavy work. The man on the spot must have some powers to create a deterrent effect on the culprit. This will eliminate a lot of scope that is now available for the miscreants.

(3) The audit work should be separated from the administrative work. The present arrangement of interdependence of the audit on the administrative side and *vice versa* is not feasible. The auditor fearing for the administrative head will not disclose all the defects. He must be independent of anybody and perform his duties effectively. Therefore the audit must be separated.

(4) Every weaver society with 300 looms invariably should have a Government servant as paid secretary. The non-officials as they have not understood the principles of co-operation always mismanage the affairs of the society.

(5) The students in elementary schools should be made to read a lot about co-operation. From fourth form onwards, co-operation must be made a subject of study.

(6) The Registrar and the Deputy Registrar of the department must be those who are reputed for selfless work and sterling character. I therefore suggest that the Ramakrishna Mission may be requested to spare some of the eminent people of their math. The Ramakrishna Mission has taken an active part in the famine relief works in Rayalaseema and earned for itself an undying reputation. I thank the Mission on behalf of Rayalaseema and on behalf of my constituency. These selfless workers will be well fitted for serving through this department and if such people head the department, the co-operative movement will thrive.

"With these words, I shall stop."

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* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, the speech of the Hon. Finance Minister was mild, simple and sincere, bright and green in some places and dark and dismal in some others. The Budget has aroused mixed feelings in me. The steps taken by the Government to relieve the distress in the famine-stricken areas of Rayalaseema and the drought areas of other parts of the State and the help given to the handloom weavers are all praise-worthy. On the other hand, the taxation proposals which would hit the agriculturist hard are wholly unwelcome and unpleasant. Before I refer to the Budget in detail, it is my first duty to make some reference to the constituency from which I come.

“ I represent the Pudukkottai constituency of the former Pudukkottai State which is no more. Four and half years have rolled by since that day of the tragic merger—a merger black, cruel and foul and forcibly one-sided, a merger which would do no credit to its authors, a merger that would never brighten the pages of Indian history of Indian administrative integration under Sardar Patel if the historian is allowed to write the truth and nothing but the truth about the merger of Pudukkottai.

“ Pudukkottai State was a small State presided over by a young Tamil prince who governed the State but never ruled it. The administration of the State was one of which every Tamilian of South India should be proud. It is well-nigh impossible for me within the limited time at my disposal to compare our glorious past with the woes and sorrows of the present period after the merger has been brought about. We were told that the State had been integrated for the general purpose of democratizing the administration and for the betterment of the living conditions of its inhabitants. History will show the truth if we compare the previous composition and constitution of the former Pudukkottai State with the present set-up. Was a thorough change? In spite of the fact autocratic as to was insulting enough, it did become injurious that the merger of the State taking advantage of the absence when Hon. Ministers in the Assembly of this State, made of any of our people about us. The people of Pudukkottai were disparaging and suffering from an oppressive rule. Far from it, due referred to me at my command I cannot refer in detail to the to want to us by the Government of this State. What was wrong of the Ministers to us? The ex-Finance Minister referred to our State as a liability when in reality that State brings to a revenue of over 60 lakhs of rupees.

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con. “ Again, it was wrong to say that merger brought in freedom for the State people; it was freedom to the black-marketer; it was freedom to the bribe-giver; it was freedom to the lawless and brought freedom to the man who was looking for the downfall of the State and for the people to suffer. I shall presently show happy we were and what a glorious administration we had. I shall take it department by department. Taking agriculture agriculture was a gamble in the Pudukkottai State, being

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dependent upon a precarious rainfall. It was well-known that Pudukkottai State was always subject to famines and famine conditions; and in recognition of that fact, the Pudukkottai State Government had levied very low assessment of land revenue on its people. Not only was the revenue assessment low, but people were given ample opportunities to pay their land-tax in instalments and the periods of payment were extended from time to time. At the slightest approach or visibility of drought, ample remissions were announced to the people. After merger, however, the very first act of Government was to levy a cess of five annas in the rupee. Not only was it based on the ryotwari tax so far as the ordinary ryots were concerned, but even the inamdars who were paying reduced revenue assessments were asked to work up and pay their tax on the ryotwari basis. Every man who formerly was enabled to transfer patta for the mere asking of it, had to pay Rs. 2 for getting the patta transferred.

“ Now taking another nation-building department, Education, education was plenty in those days. We had about 450 schools at the rate of one school for every village and for villages within a radius of two miles; but today we have got only 250 schools. There was compulsory elementary education in 40 schools, but today there is no compulsory education at all in the whole of the State. Libraries and itinerant libraries we had in plenty throughout the State; we have only a few now. The education of women was specially looked after, and education of women up to the high school standard was free until recently. Poor children and women were provided with books free, and again children were taken from home to the schools and back to their homes. Pupils belonging to the backward classes and backward communities were given special facilities for education. Provision was made for scholarships and various kinds of concessions were given. At one time there was such a great demand and desire on the part of students of agriculturist families and there was such a need in the State to encourage agriculturists that when it came to the question of appointment to Government service, even the qualifications prescribed were revised, so as to give preference to sons of agriculturists in order to enable them to play their full part in the administrative set-up of the State. And what happened after the merger? All these concessions were taken away; education has become impossible; it is not possible for the poor and the needy, for a man of ordinary agricultural means, to aspire to high school education. School fees have been increased by a hundred per cent. For example, formerly we had to pay Rs. 15 for the Intermediate, we have to pay Rs. 25 today. Every item of taxation has been increased by cent per cent and in some cases even by 200 per cent. Whereas we were formerly paying only a total revenue of Rs. 40 lakhs, today we are paying one crore of rupees, if not more. New taxes have been levied; the sales tax, the income-tax, the commercial taxes—all these are being levied. Every item of tax has been increased, as I said, and new taxes have been introduced, with the result that we are being bled white in that small area of the former

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Pudukkottai State. Again, there are certain grievances, genuine grievances of the previous employees of the State, and they still remain unattended to. Four and a half years have rolled by; repeated representations have been made to all the Ministers who visited Pudukkottai. All the Ministers who visited Pudukkottai were given a right-royal welcome and all the grievances of the officials and the people were duly placed before those Ministers; but not one of the Ministers has yet cared to look into the grievances of the people or the affairs of Pudukkottai although arrogantly enough they have referred to Pudukkottai in the most disparaging and hurtful terms. The elementary school teachers who formerly belonged to the State service were subsequently handed over to the district board; their scales of pay have not been fixed and no weightages, etc., have been given. For the interim period between the date of merger and the date of their being handed over to the district board, the difference in pay has not been given to them. Similarly, high school teachers in a number of schools have not had any fixation of their pay. Again, policemen who were formerly working for a small sum in the State—because the cost of living was then very low, for instance whereas in Madras you cannot get fuel even for Rs. 40 per ton, Pudukkottai was supplied with jungle fuel for Rs. 4 and casuarina for Rs. 9 per ton—all the old policemen have now been sent out of Pudukkottai without being absorbed into the Madras Police department, without even being paid the difference in pay which was promised to be given to them solemnly when the merger took place. The Government of India stipulated and stipulated rightly, that the members of the Pudukkottai State service should be absorbed in the corresponding Madras Government Service and should not be put in a disadvantageous position. But what has happened in the four and a half years that have rolled by? The grievances of those who were able to have their voices heard, were remedied; but the petty clerks were driven from pillar to post; they were driven from one place to another without their legitimate grievances being attended to. Things are really so bad in Pudukkottai today that I think it will be dangerous to allow them to continue. I would appeal to the Ministers to look upon Pudukkottai in a friendly way; not with the arrogant eyes of a conqueror. Let them remember that we had a great past. Pudukkottai had given a Satyamurthi for your politics; we from Pudukkottai have given a Muthulakshmi Reddi for social service; in the world of arts, we have given a Rukmini Arundale, and to the stage of drama we have given a Chinnappa and in the field of Music—Mridangam a Dakshinamurthi. I would, therefore, appeal to the Ministers to do their duty by us, in which case, we shall stand by them. If, however, they do not do their duty by us, let me inform the Ministers that they will be creating trouble for themselves and inviting opposition from the people of Pudukkottai."

* SRI K. V. RAMASWAMI :—"மதிப்பிற்குரிய கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை சட்டசபையில் சமர்ப்பித்த கனம் சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் மந்திரிப் பதவிக்கு எப்படிப் புதியவரோ அப்படியே கனம் இந்த சட்டசபைக்குப் புதியவன். இருந்தபோதிலும் நான் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை என்னுடைய அறிவிற்கு எட்டிய வரையில் ஆராய்ந்தேன்.

[Sri K. V. Ramaswami]

எதிர் கட்சியில் இருக்கிறவன் பட்ஜெட்டின் மீது ஏதாவது குறைகூறி ஆக வேண்டும், இது சொத்தை அது சொன்னே என்று ஏதாவது கூற வேண்டும் என்கின்ற எண்ணத்துடன் நான் இதைப் பார்க்கவில்லை. ராஜாஜியின் ஒண்ணும் நெம்பர் எதிரிகளில் ஒருவன் என்கிற முறையிலும் நான் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை அணுகவில்லை. ஆனால் பட்ஜெட்டை தயாரிப்பதில் சர்க்காருக்கு ஏற்படும் நெருக்கடிகளையும் அந்த நெருக்கடியை சமாளிப்பதில் உள்ள கஷ்டங்களையும் மனதிற்கொண்டு நடு நிலைமையில் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை ஆராய்ந்தேன். அவ்விதம் ஆராய்ந்தபோது இந்த பட்ஜெட் எந்த விதத்திலும் முற்போக்கானதாக இல்லை என்பதை அறிந்தேன். கூடந்த ஐந்து வருஷ கால சரித்திரத்தைப் பார்த்தால் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்காரின் பாரம்பரியம் தெரியும். பற்றாக்குறை பட்ஜெட்டையே சமர்ப்பிப்பது காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்காரின் பரம்பரையமாக இருந்து வருகிறது. அதைப் பாலவே இந்த வருஷமும் கூட நம்முடைய சர்க்கார் ஒரு பற்றாக்குறை பட்ஜெட்டையே சமர்ப்பித்திருக்கிறது. இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் பற்றாக்குறையைப் போக்குவதற்கு பல புதிய வரிகள் போடப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நாலு பூராவும் ஒரு பிரசாரம் நடந்தது. ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் பொறுப்பை ஏற்றுக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார், இனி இந்த மாகாணத்தின் மக்கள் வாழ்வில் மறுமலர்ச்சி ஏற்படும், தொல்லைகள் தொலையும், வாழ்க்கை வளம் பெறும், வரிகள் குறையும், என்றெல்லாம் பிரசாரம் நடைபெற்று வந்து ஆனால் இந்த பட்ஜெட் அதை பொய்ப்பிக்கிறது. பிரசாரம் செய்தது தவறானது என்பதையும் இது எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறது. பற்றாக்குறையை ஈடு செய்வதற்கென்று புதிய வரிகள் போட்டிருப்பதாக கனம் சுப்பிரமணியம் தன்னுடைய பட்ஜெட் பிரசங்கத்தில் சொல்லியதை இங்கு குறிப்பிட விரும்புகிறேன். இனிமேல் பஸ்வலில் பிரயாணம் செய்கிறவர்கள் மைலுக்கு ஒரு பைசா வரி செலுத்த வேண்டும். பொருளாதார நெருக்கடிச் சமூகத்தில் சிக்கி அதை சமாளிக்க முடியாமல் ரத்தக் கண்ணீர் வடிக்கும் மக்களுக்கு இந்த சமயத்தில் புதிய வரி விதித்தால் அதை அவர்களால் சமாளிக்க முடியாது. மேலும், நிலவார்க்கு சர் சார்ஜ் போடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. மத்தியதர விவசாயிகளை இது வெகுவாக பாதிக்கிறது. இம் மாதிரியாக பல புதிய வரிகள் மக்களின் தலை மீது சுமத்தப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன.

"கனம் சுப்பிரமணியம் தனது பட்ஜெட் பிரசங்கத்தில் சென்ற வருடத்தில் சர்க்கார் எதிர்பார்த்ததைவிட குறைவாகவே விற்பனை வரி கிடைத்திருக்கிறது என்று சொன்னதை இந்த சமயத்தில் நான் சர்க்காருக்கு ஞாபகப் படுத்துகிறேன். விற்பனை வரியில் குறைவு ஏற்பட்டதற்குக் காரணம் என்னவென்று கேட்கிறேன். உண்மையில் நாட்டில் வியாபார மந்தம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஜவுளிக் கடையில் பார்த்தால் துணிகள் விற்பனை ஆகவில்லை. காப்பிக் கடையில் பார்த்தால் வியாபாரம் முன்போல் நடைபெறுவதில்லை. மார்க்கட்டுகளில் சரக்குகள் வாங்கப்படாமல் தேங்கிக் கிடக்கின்றன. மக்களின் வாங்கும் சக்தி மிகமிகக் குறைந்துவிட்டது. மக்களின் வாங்கும் சக்தி உயர்ந்தால்தான் வியாபாரம் ஓங்கும்.

"மக்களில் நூறுக்கு 80 பேர்கள் விவசாயிகள். இந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு வாங்கும் சக்தி இப்பொழுது கிடையாது. அவர்களின் வாங்கும் சக்தியை அதிகரிக்க இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் ஏதாவது வழி செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். நூறுக்கு 80 பேர்கள் இருக்கும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு இந்த பட்ஜெட் வாழ்வளிக்கவில்லை. ஆம்! நிச்சயமாக இது வாழ்வளிக்கவில்லை என்பதை நான் சொல்லித்தான் வேண்டும். ஆனால் வேறு எவ்வளவோ செலவுகள் செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

"நாட்டில் இன்னொரு தப்பான பிரசாரம் நடைபெறுகிறது. எதற்கெடுத்தாலும் மழை இல்லை என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இந்தக் கஷ்டத்திற்கெல்லாம் மழை இல்லாததுதான் காரணம் என்று சொல்லப் படுகிறது. மழை பெய்து விட்டால் இந்த கஷ்டங்கள் எல்லாம் தீர்ந்து விடுமா என்பதை யோசிக்கவேண்டும். மழை இல்லாததால் ஒரு விதத்தில் மக்களுக்கு, கஷ்டம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்பதை நான் மறுக்கவில்லை. ஆனால் மழை இல்லாததுதான் கஷ்டத்துக்கெல்லாம் காரண மென்பதை நான் ஒத்துக் கொள்ள முடியாது. மழை பெய்தாலும் கிராமங்களில் கஷ்டங்கள்

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dependent upon a precarious rainfall. It was well-known that Pudukkottai State was always subject to famines and famine conditions; and in recognition of that fact, the Pudukkottai State Government had levied very low assessment of land revenue on its people. Not only was the revenue assessment low, but people were given ample opportunities to pay their land-tax in instalments and the periods of payment were extended from time to time. At the slightest approach or visibility of drought, ample remissions were announced to the people. After merger, however, the very first act of Government was to levy a cess of five annas in the rupee. Not only was it based on the ryotwari tax so far as the ordinary ryots were concerned, but even the inamdars who were paying reduced revenue assessments were asked to work up and pay their tax on the ryotwari basis. Every man who formerly was enabled to transfer patta for the mere asking of it, had to pay Rs. 2 for getting the patta transferred.

“ Now taking another nation-building department, Education, education was plenty in those days. We had about 450 schools at the rate of one school for every village and for villages within a radius of two miles; but today we have got only 250 schools. There was compulsory elementary education in 40 schools, but today there is no compulsory education at all in the whole of the State. Libraries and itinerant libraries we had in plenty throughout the State; we have only a few now. The education of women was specially looked after, and education of women up to the high school standard was free until recently. Poor children and women were provided with books free, and again children were taken from home to the schools and back to their homes. Pupils belonging to the backward classes and backward communities were given special facilities for education. Provision was made for scholarships and various kinds of concessions were given. At one time there was such a great demand and desire on the part of students of agriculturist families and there was such a need in the State to encourage agriculturists that when it came to the question of appointment to Government service, even the qualifications prescribed were revised, so as to give preference to sons of agriculturists in order to enable them to play their full part in the administrative set-up of the State. And what happened after the merger? All these concessions were taken away; education has become impossible; it is not possible for the poor and the needy, for a man of ordinary agricultural means, to aspire to high school education. School fees have been increased by a hundred per cent. For example, formerly we had to pay Rs. 15 for the Intermediate, we have to pay Rs. 25 today. Every item of taxation has been increased by cent per cent and in some cases even by 200 per cent. Whereas we were formerly paying only a total revenue of Rs. 40 lakhs, today we are paying one crore of rupees, if not more. New taxes have been levied; the sales tax, the income-tax, the commercial taxes—all these are being levied. Every item of tax has been increased, as I said, and new taxes have been introduced, with the result that we are being bled white in that small area of the former

[Sri K. V. Ramaswami]

[8th July 1952]

ஏற்படும் நிலைமை இருக்கிறது. கிராமங்களில் இருக்கக்கூடிய வரிசைகளும், குளங்களும், கணமாய்களும், பழுதடைந்திருக்கின்றன. பல ஸ்டோக்களாக அவைகள் சீர்திருத்தப்படவில்லை. கிராமங்களுக்குச் சென்று பார்க்கதால் அவைகள் நன்றாகத் தெரிய வரும். சுமார் 60, 70 வருஷங்களாகவே கிராமங்களிலுள்ள ஏரிகளையும், குளங்களையும், கணமாய்களையும், சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யவில்லை. என்னுடைய தொகுதியில் ஒரு குருகுடி தாத்தாவைக் கேட்டேன், எப்பொழுதாவதும் இந்த ஏரிக் குளம், பழுது பார்க்கப்பட்டதாவென்று. அதற்கு அவர் பதில் சொன்னார், தனக்கு தெரிந்த வகைக்கும் அது பழுது பார்க்கவேயில்லை என்று. குளங்களெல்லாம் தூர்ந்து போய் இருக்கின்றன. அவற்றின் கரங்கள் பஞ்சையாக உள்ளன. வாய்க்கால்களில் தண்ணீர் ஓட முடியாதபடி மண் மேட்டிட்டுக் கிறது. இந்த நிலைமையில் மழை பெய்தாலும் கரையை மொத்தமாகக் கொண்டு உடைப்பெடுத்து கரையோரத்திலுள்ள நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஹீல் நிலங்கள் சாகுபடியற்றுப் போகும் ஆபத்தான நிலைமை இருக்கிறது என்று எச்சரிக்கை செய்கிறேன். இந்த ஏரிகளும், குளங்களும், கணமாய்களும் உடனடியாக மராமத்து செய்யப்படுவது அவசியம். இதற்கு பட்ஜெட்டில் எவ்வளவு தொகை ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது என்று கேட்கிறேன்? அதனால் தான் இந்த பட்ஜெட் விவசாயிகளுக்கு வாழ்வு அளிக்கக்கூடிய பட்ஜெட் அல்ல என்று சொல்லுகிறேன். கிராமங்களில் உள்ள விவசாயிகள் பாப்பராஜி விட்டார்கள். ஆயிரக் கணக்கான விவசாயிகள் வேலையில்லாமல் தங்களுடைய நாட்டை விட்டு மனைவி மக்களுடன் மலேயாவிற்குப் புறப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். என்னுடைய தொகுதியான நாமக்கல் தாலுகாவில் நடைபெற்று வரும் கோய்க் காட்சி இப்பொழுது என்னுடைய ஆபத்திற்கு வருகிறது. மலேயாவிற்குச் செல்ல பாஸ்போர்ட் வாங்குவதற்கு தாலுகா ஆபீசில் மக்கள் நூற்றுக்கணக்கில் தவங் கிடக்கிறார்கள். தான் பிறந்து வளர்ந்து வாழ்ந்த ஊரில் பிழைப்பதற்கு வக்கு டில்லாமல், கூலி வேலை செய்து பிழைப்பதற்காக ஏராளமான விவசாயிகள் மலேயாவிற்குப் புறப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு வாழ்வு அளிப்பதற்கு இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் இடம் இருக்கிறதா? நிச்சயமாக இல்லை. எனவே இது விவசாயிகளுக்கு விரோதமான பட்ஜெட் என்று சொல்லுகிறேன்.

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P.M.

“தேசத்திலேயே இரண்டாவது பெரிய அணைக்கட்டு சேலம் ஜில்லாவில் இருக்கிறது. அதுதான் மேட்டூர் அணைக்கட்டு. சேலம் ஜில்லாவின் எல்லை யாக காவேரி நதி ஓடுகிறது. எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் காவேரியாறு ஓடியும், மேட்டூர் அணையில் தண்ணீர் தேங்கி இருந்தும், ஆற்றிலும் அணையிலும் முள்ள தண்ணீரை உபயோகிப்பதற்கான நிலைமை விவசாயிகளுக்கு இல்லை. மேட்டூர் தண்ணீரை அதற்குப் பக்கத்திலுள்ள ஓமலூர் தாலுகாவில் கருப்பூர் போன்ற கிராமங்களுக்குக் கொடுத்தால் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஏக்கர் நிலங்களுக்கு நீர் பாய்ச்ச முடியும். அதனால் பல நூறு பேருக்கு வாழ்க்கை அளிக்க முடியும். அதைப்போலவே காவேரியில் வரும் தண்ணீரைக்கொண்டு கரையோரத்திலுள்ள கிராமங்களுக்குப் பாசன வசதி அளிக்கலாம். என்னுடைய தொகுதியில் கரசப்பாளையம் கிராமத்தில், சர்க்கார் தனது பொறுப்பை நிறைவேற்றத் தவறியதால் விவசாயிகள் தாங்களாகவே முயற்சி எடுத்து சுமார் பதினெட்டாயிரம் ரூபாய் வசூல் செய்து, 55 ஏக்கர் நிலங்களுக்குத் தண்ணீர் பாய்ச்சும். ஆக்க வேலையை ஆரம்பித்தார்கள். அதற்கு சர்க்கார் அனுமதி கொடுக்க மறுக்கிறது. (மணி அடிக்கப்பட்டது.)

“கனம் ஸ்பீக்கர் எனக்கு நேரமாகிவிட்டது என்று சொல்வதால் சில வார்த்தைகளை மட்டும் சொல்லிக்கொண்டு முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். சேலம் ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள கைத்தறி நெய்தலாளர்கள் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு சர்க்கார் உடனே நிவாரணம் அளிக்க வேண்டும். இன்னொரு முக்கியமான விஷயம், இப்பொழுது ஜனநாயக சர்க்கார் நடக்கிறது. சுதந்திர சர்க்கார் நடக்கிறது. பொறுப்புள்ள சர்க்கார் நடக்கிறது என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இந்த அரசாங்கத்தில் சேலம் சிறையில் தூலியான் வர்லாபாக் நடந்து மனித ரத்தம் பெருக்கெடுத்ததை நாம் அறிவோம். அந்த சிறையில் இன்னும் தர்பார் நடக்கிறது. அதைத்

8th July 1952]

[Sri K. V. Ramaswami]

தடுத்து நிறுத்த சேலம் சிறை அதிகாரி ரகுநாதனை உடனே மாற்ற வேண்டும். சேலத்தில் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான மாணவர்கள் படிப்பதற்கு வசதி இல்லாமல் திண்டாடிக்கொண்டு இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, அவர்களுக்கு அங்கே இன்னும் ஒரு ஆர்ட்ஸ் காலேஜும், ஒரு தொழில் காலேஜும் (அஞ்சினியரிங் காலேஜும்) கட்டிக்கொடுக்க ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் நான் முடித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்.”

SRI K. H. BOMMAN :—“மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் அவர்களே : கனம் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் இந்தச் சபை மூன்று கொண்டு வந்திருக்கும் பட்ஜெட்டை நான் ஆதரித்து அதில் சில விஷயங்களை குறிப்பாகக் கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன். எங்கள் ஜில்லா மற்ற ஜில்லாக்களை விட மிக சிறியது. அதிலுள்ள மூன்று தாலுக்காக்களான உதகமண்டலம், குன்னூர், கூடலூர் ஆகிய இவைகள் பிரிட்டிஷ் அரசாங்க காலத்தில் ஒரு சுகவாசஸ்தலமாக ஆக்கிக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது. பிரிட்டிஷ் அரசாங்கத்தாரால் இந்த ஜில்லாவிற்கு எவ்வளவு பிரதானம் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டுமோ அவ்வளவு பிரதானமும் கொடுத்திருந்தார்கள். அவர்களுக்குப் பிற்பாடு இந்த ஜில்லா புறக்கணிக்கப்பட்டது. அதைக் கண்டு நான் ஒன்றும் வருத்தப்படவில்லை. இருப்பினும், இப்போது இந்த ஜில்லாவிலுள்ள மொத்த ஜனத் தொகையில் 100-க்கு 70 பேர்களுக்கு மேல் ஹரிஜனங்கள், பிற்பட்ட வகுப்பார்கள், மலைவாசிகளாகத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைச் சொல்ல வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. வெள்ளையர்கள் காலத்தில் வெள்ளையர்களிடத்தில் மனைத் தொழிலாளர்களாகப் பலர் இருந்தார்கள். அவர்கள் வெள்ளையர்கள் வெளியேறிவிட்ட பிறகு இப்போது கடந்த 6, 7 வருஷங்களாக வேலையில்லாமல் மிகவும் அவதிப்படுகிறார்கள். இந்த விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி சர்க்காரிடத்தில் பல முறைகள் representation செய்தும் கூட அதற்குத் தகுந்த ஏற்பாட்டைச் செய்வதாகச் சொன்னார்களே தவிர இதுவரை ஒன்றும் செய்யப்படவில்லை. கடந்த முன்று வருஷங்களாக பருவ மழை தவறியதால் அவர்கள் கூலி வேலை கிடைக்காமல் ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள்.

“தவிர ஏழை விவசாயிகள் விதைகள், உரம் போன்றவைகள் வாங்க முடியாமல் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். ஏழை விவசாயிகளுக்கு சர்க்கார் அவர்கள் விவசாயம் செய்வதற்காக ஏதேனும் பணம் கடனாகக் கொடுத்து உதவி செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். விவசாய மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் கொஞ்சம் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக உபதேர்தல் நடந்த காலத்தில் நான் கடலூர் தாலுக்காவில் வேலை செய்து கொண்டிருந்தேன். அப்போது வீடு வீடாக நான் போகக் கூடிய சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டது. ஒவ்வொரு வீட்டிலும் வசிப்பவர்கள் யாரும் எந்த மனிதனும் சுகமாக இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்ல முடியாது. எல்லா மக்களும் மலேரியாவால் பீடிக்கப்பட்டு ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். மலேரியாவை தடுப்பதற்கு சர்க்கார் இப்போது ஏதோ ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள் என்றாலும் இன்னும் அதிகமாகச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டியது அவர்களுடைய கடமையாகும். குன்னச்சாலை என்ற ஊரிலிருந்து ஒரு ஆஸ்பத்திரிக்குப் போகவேண்டுமென்றால் எந்தப் பக்கம் போனாலும் ஒரு முப்பது மைல்கள் போகவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. அப்படியே போகலாம் என்றால் அதற்குச் சரியான ரோடு வசதியோ, மோட்டார் வசதிகளோ எதுவும் கிடையாது. ஆகையால் இந்த இடத்தில் உடனே ஒரு ஆஸ்பத்திரியை அவசியம் ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்களைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“மற்றும் ரோடு வசதிக்கு ஏதோ ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்து கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். இந்த விஷயத்தில் இன்னும் சர்க்கார் துரிதமாக பல ரோடுகளைப் போடகவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஏழை ஹரிஜனங்கள் வெள்ளாளம் செய்து கொண்டிருந்த பூமிகள் இருக்க

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[8th July 1952]

கின்றன. இப்போது பவானி சாகரில் மண் மேட்டிட்டு, மண் அரிப்பு வந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற தென்னும் அதனால் அந்த பூமிகளைப் பயிரிடவேண்டாமென்றும் உத்திரவு போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு 10 வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாகவே அட்வைசர் கவர்ன்மெண்டு இருந்த காலத்திலேயே உணவுபெருக்கு திட்டத்தின் கீழ் இந்த பூமிகள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நூற்றுக்கு 5 பேர்கள் தான் அம்மாதிரி ஹரிஜனங்கள் நிலம் வாங்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்போது அவர்களும் அந்த பூமிபலிருந்து அப்பால் போகவேண்டுமென்று சர்க்கார் உத்திரவு ஒன்று சொல்லுகிறது. அந்த ஹரிஜனங்கள் தங்கள் கைகளிலிருந்து கொஞ்ச நஞ்சு பணத்தையும் அந்த பூமியில் போட்டுவிட்டு இப்போது தவிர்க்கிறார்கள். அப்படி இவர்கள் அப்புறம் அகற்றப்பட்டால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை இன்னும் ரொம்பவும் மோசமாகிவிடும். ஆகவே இந்த விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் கொஞ்சம் கவனம் செலுத்தி அவர்கள் அப்புறப்படுத்தப்படாமல் இருக்கும்படி ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குச் சலுகை காட்ட வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“கடந்த வருஷத்தில் சர்க்கார் உதகமண்டலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். அந்த வருஷம் 16 மாணவர்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இப்போது இந்த வருஷம் 4 மாணவர்களுக்குத் தான் இடமிருக்கிறதென சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் ஏராளமான ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி அங்கேயுள்ள ஹரிஜன் சேஷமநல ஆபீசரைப் பற்றிக் கேட்ட போது ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு வேண்டிய இடமில்லை. அதனால் தான் அதிக மாணவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையென்று சொல்லிவிட்டார். அந்த ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு அருகில் ஒரு மெயின் கட்டடம் இருக்கிறது. அது சர்க்காருக்குத் தான் சொந்தம். அதை ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு ஒதுக்கிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் ஹரிஜன மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் மிகத் தாழ்மையுடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மேல்சபையில் ஒரு மெம்பர் கேள்வி கேட்டதற்கு சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நல்ல முறையில் நடப்பதில்லை என்ற கின்று உதக மண்டலம் நகர சபை செய்த தீர்மானத்தை யொட்டி விசாரணை செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பராமரிப்புச் செய்வதில்லை. அந்த இடத்தில் இப்போது ஒரு தாற்காலிகமாக ஒரு கண் வைத்தியரை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த கண் வைத்தியரை தாற்காலிகமாக வைப்பதை விட ஸ்திரீமாக அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அதுவும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலே உருளைக் கிழங்கைத் தவிர வேறு எதுவும் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது. அதுவும் சென்ற இரு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாது போய் விட்டத்தின் காரணமாக அது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு வேறு ஒன்றும் விவசாயம் செய்யவும் தெரியாது. மழை இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை ரொம்பவும் மோசமாக இருக்கிறது. சர்க்கார் இது விஷயத்தில் கொஞ்சம் கருணையோடு நடந்து இவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய அனுசூலங்களைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி பேசும்போது அதை எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்றும் அதை எதிர்ப்பவன் நான் என்றும் நினைத்து விடாதீர்கள். அதை பரிபூரணமாக நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். ஆனால் அனாதை இன்னும் செம்மையாக அடல் நடத்த வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சில யோசனைகளைக் கூறப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் எங்கள் ஊருக்கு வந்திருந்த போது கூட்பத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசியபோதும் எப்படி களவச்சாராயம் காச்சப் படுகிறது என்பதை எடுத்து அவர்களுக்கு விளக்கியதோடு கல்லுனரி என்ற போதைப் பொருளையும் அவர்களிடம் கொண்டு வந்து காட்டினார்கள். அதை இப்போது பல கடைகளில் விற்கிறார்கள். அவைகளை உடனே தடை செய்ய

8th July 1952]

[Sri K. H. Bomman]

வேண்டும். கள்ளுக்கடைகள் இருந்தபோது மொத்தம் 30 கடைகள் எங்கள் ஊரில் இருந்ததென்றால் இப்போது கல்லுனரி என்ற எஸன்ஸ் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் விற்கப்படுகிறது. அதைக் குடித்து விட்டுத்தான் போகட்டும் என்றாலும் கூட அதைக் குடிக்கிறவர்கள் ஒரு மூன்று, நான்கு மாதங்களுக்குள் இறந்து போய்விடுகிறார்கள். அதனால் அதை உடனடியாக வியாபாரம் செய்யாமல் தடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் மது விலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த பட்ஜெட் வருஷத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக 74 ஷேக்ஸ் ஈபாய்கள் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டது. அதில் இப்போது 10 ஷேக்ஸ் பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தாரின் நலனுக்கு ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. கனம் ஸ்ரீ வெங்கடசுப் பையா சொன்னதைப் போல இதில் பெரும்பகுதி ஆபீசர்களின் சம்பளத்திற்கே போய்விடுவதால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்று ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பணம் கொஞ்சம் கூட போதாது. இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் பணம் அதிகமாக ஒதுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இத்துடன் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை மனம் பூர்வமாக வரவேற்று என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

SRI BOJJA APPALASWAMI:—

“அத்யக்ஷ, இப்போது சர்க்கார் உதகமண்டலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். அந்த வருஷம் 16 மாணவர்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இப்போது இந்த வருஷம் 4 மாணவர்களுக்குத் தான் இடமிருக்கிறதென சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் ஏராளமான ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி அங்கேயுள்ள ஹரிஜன் சேஷமநல ஆபீசரைப் பற்றிக் கேட்ட போது ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு வேண்டிய இடமில்லை. அதனால் தான் அதிக மாணவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையென்று சொல்லிவிட்டார். அந்த ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு அருகில் ஒரு மெயின் கட்டடம் இருக்கிறது. அது சர்க்காருக்குத் தான் சொந்தம். அதை ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு ஒதுக்கிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் ஹரிஜன மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் மிகத் தாழ்மையுடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மேல்சபையில் ஒரு மெம்பர் கேள்வி கேட்டதற்கு சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நல்ல முறையில் நடப்பதில்லை என்ற கின்று உதக மண்டலம் நகர சபை செய்த தீர்மானத்தை யொட்டி விசாரணை செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பராமரிப்புச் செய்வதில்லை. அந்த இடத்தில் இப்போது ஒரு தாற்காலிகமாக ஒரு கண் வைத்தியரை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த கண் வைத்தியரை தாற்காலிகமாக வைப்பதை விட ஸ்திரீமாக அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அதுவும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலே உருளைக் கிழங்கைத் தவிர வேறு எதுவும் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது. அதுவும் சென்ற இரு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாது போய் விட்டத்தின் காரணமாக அது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு வேறு ஒன்றும் விவசாயம் செய்யவும் தெரியாது. மழை இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை ரொம்பவும் மோசமாக இருக்கிறது. சர்க்கார் இது விஷயத்தில் கொஞ்சம் கருணையோடு நடந்து இவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய அனுசூலங்களைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி பேசும்போது அதை எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்றும் அதை எதிர்ப்பவன் நான் என்றும் நினைத்து விடாதீர்கள். அதை பரிபூரணமாக நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். ஆனால் அனாதை இன்னும் செம்மையாக அடல் நடத்த வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சில யோசனைகளைக் கூறப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் எங்கள் ஊருக்கு வந்திருந்த போது கூட்பத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசியபோதும் எப்படி களவச்சாராயம் காச்சப் படுகிறது என்பதை எடுத்து அவர்களுக்கு விளக்கியதோடு கல்லுனரி என்ற போதைப் பொருளையும் அவர்களிடம் கொண்டு வந்து காட்டினார்கள். அதை இப்போது பல கடைகளில் விற்கிறார்கள். அவைகளை உடனே தடை செய்ய

[Sri K. H. Bomman]

[8th July 1952]

கின்றன. இப்போது பவானி சாகரில் மண் மேட்டிட்டு, மண் அரிப்பு வந்து கொண்டிருக்கிற தென்றும் அதனால் அந்த பூமிகளைப் பயிரிடவேண்டா மென்றும் உத்திரவு போட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு 10 வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாகவே அட்வைசர் கவர்ன்மெண்டு இருந்த காலத்திலேயே உணவுபெருக்கு திட்டத்தின் கீழ் இந்த பூமிகள் கொடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. நூற்றுக்கு 5 பேர்கள் தான் அம்மாதிரி ஹரிஜனங்கள் நிலம் வாங்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். இப்போது அவர்களும் அந்த பூமிமலிருந்து அப்பால் போகவேண்டுமென்று சர்க்கார் உத்திரவு ஒன்று சொல்லுகிறது. அந்த ஹரிஜனங்கள் தங்கள் கைகளிலிருந்து கொஞ்ச நஞ்சு பணத்தையும் அந்த பூமியில் போட்டுவிட்டு இப்போது தவிக்கிறார்கள். அப்படி இவர்கள் அப்புறம் அகற்றப்பட்டால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை இன்னும் ரொம்பவும் மோசமாகிவிடும். ஆகவே இந்த விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் கொஞ்சம் கவனம் செலுத்தி அவர்கள் அப்புறப்படுத்தப்படாமல் இருக்கும்படி ஹரிஜனங்களுக்குச் சலுகை காட்ட வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“கடந்த வருஷத்தில் சர்க்கார் உதகமண்டலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். அந்த வருஷம் 16 மாணவர்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இப்போது இந்த வருஷம் 4 மாணவர்களுக்குத் தான் இடமிருக்கிறதென சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் ஏராளமான ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி அங்கேயுள்ள ஹரிஜன் கேஷமந்தல ஆபீசரைப் பற்றிக் கேட்ட போது ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு வேண்டிய இடமில்லை. அதனால் தான் அதிக மாணவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையென்று சொல்லிவிட்டார். அந்த ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு அருகில் ஒரு மெயின் கட்டடம் இருக்கிறது. அது சர்க்காருக்குத் தான் சொந்தம். அதை ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு ஒதுக்கிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் ஹரிஜன மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் மிகத் தாழ்மையுடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மேல்சபையில் ஒரு மெம்பர் கேள்வி கேட்டதற்கு சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நல்ல முறையில் நடப்பதில்லை என்ற கிளர் உதக மண்டலம் நகர சபை செய்த தீர்மானத்தை யொட்டி விசாரணை செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பராமரிப்புச் செய்வதில்லை. அந்த இடத்தில் இப்போது ஒரு தாற்காலிகமாக ஒரு கண் வைத்தியரை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த கண் வைத்தியரை தாற்காலிகமாக வைப்பதை விட ஸ்திரீமாக அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அதுவும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலே உருளைக் கிழங்கைத் தவிர வேறு எதுவும் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது. அதுவும் சென்ற இரு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாது போய் விட்டத்தின் காரணமாக அது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு வேறு ஒன்றும் விவசாயம் செய்யவும் தெரியாது. மழை இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை ரொம்பவும் மோசமாக இருக்கிறது. சர்க்கார் இது விஷயத்தில் கொஞ்சம் கருணையோடு நடந்து இவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய அனுசூலங்களைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி பேசும்போது அதை எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்றும் அதை எதிர்ப்பவன் நான் என்றும் நினைத்து விடாதீர்கள். அதை பரிபூரணமாக நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். ஆனால் அனாதை இன்னும் செம்மையாக அடூல் நடத்த வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சில யோசனைகளைக் கூறப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் எங்கள் ஊருக்கு வந்திருந்த போது கூப்பத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசியபோதும் எப்படி களவச்சாராயம் காச்சப் படுகிறது என்பதை எடுத்து அவர்களுக்கு விளக்கியதோடு கல்லுனரி என்ற போதைப் பொருளையும் அவர்களிடம் கொண்டு வந்து காட்டினார்கள். அதை இப்போது பல கடைகளில் விற்கிறார்கள். அவைகளை உடனே தடை செய்ய

8th July 1952]

[Sri K. H. Bomman]

வேண்டும். கள்ளுக்கடைகள் இருந்தபோது மொத்தம் 30 கடைகள் எங்கள் ஊரில் இருந்ததென்றால் இப்போது கல்லுனரி என்ற எஸன்ஸ் எல்லா இடங்களிலும் விற்கப்படுகிறது. அதைக் குடித்து விட்டுத்தான் போகட்டும் என்றாலும் கூட அதைக் குடிக்கிறவர்கள் ஒரு மூன்று, நான்கு மாதங்களுக்குள் இறந்து போய்விடுகிறார்கள். அதனால் அதை உடனடியாக வியாபாரம் செய்யாமல் தடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் மது விலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தபடியாக இந்த பட்ஜெட் வருஷத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக 74 ஷேக்ஸ் ஈபாய்கள் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டது. அதில் இப்போது 10 ஷேக்ஸ் பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தாரின் நலனுக்கு ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. கனம் ஸ்ரீ வெங்கடசுப்பையா சொன்னதைப் போல இதில் பெரும்பகுதி ஆபீசர்களின் சம்பளத்திற்கே போய்விடுவதால் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு என்று ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் பணம் கொஞ்சம் கூட போதாது. இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் பணம் அதிகமாக ஒதுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சர்க்காரைக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இத்துடன் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை மனம் பூர்வமாக வரவேற்று என்னுடைய பேச்சை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

SRI BOJJA APPALASWAMI:—

“அத்யக்ஷ, இப்போது சர்க்கார் உதகமண்டலத்தில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்காக ஒரு ஹாஸ்டல் ஏற்படுத்தினார்கள். அந்த வருஷம் 16 மாணவர்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டார்கள். இப்போது இந்த வருஷம் 4 மாணவர்களுக்குத் தான் இடமிருக்கிறதென சொல்லிவிட்டார்கள். ஆனால் ஏராளமான ஹரிஜன மாணவர்கள் படிக்க வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப் பற்றி அங்கேயுள்ள ஹரிஜன் கேஷமந்தல ஆபீசரைப் பற்றிக் கேட்ட போது ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு வேண்டிய இடமில்லை. அதனால் தான் அதிக மாணவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையென்று சொல்லிவிட்டார். அந்த ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு அருகில் ஒரு மெயின் கட்டடம் இருக்கிறது. அது சர்க்காருக்குத் தான் சொந்தம். அதை ஹரிஜன ஹாஸ்டலுக்கு ஒதுக்கிக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் ஹரிஜன மந்திரி அவர்கள் இதில் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் மிகத் தாழ்மையுடன் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மேல்சபையில் ஒரு மெம்பர் கேள்வி கேட்டதற்கு சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் ஆஸ்பத்திரி நல்ல முறையில் நடப்பதில்லை என்ற கிளர் உதக மண்டலம் நகர சபை செய்த தீர்மானத்தை யொட்டி விசாரணை செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொன்னார்கள். அங்கே ஆஸ்பத்திரி இருக்கிறது. ஆனால் பராமரிப்புச் செய்வதில்லை. அந்த இடத்தில் இப்போது ஒரு தாற்காலிகமாக ஒரு கண் வைத்தியரை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள். அந்த கண் வைத்தியரை தாற்காலிகமாக வைப்பதை விட ஸ்திரீமாக அமைக்க வேண்டுமென்று சுகாதார மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன்.

“அதுவும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலே உருளைக் கிழங்கைத் தவிர வேறு எதுவும் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது. அதுவும் சென்ற இரு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாது போய் விட்டத்தின் காரணமாக அது மிகவும் கஷ்டமாக இருக்கிறது. அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு வேறு ஒன்றும் விவசாயம் செய்யவும் தெரியாது. மழை இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் நிலைமை ரொம்பவும் மோசமாக இருக்கிறது. சர்க்கார் இது விஷயத்தில் கொஞ்சம் கருணையோடு நடந்து இவர்களுக்கு வேண்டிய அனுசூலங்களைச் செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“எங்கள் ஜில்லாவில் மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக் கொள்ளுங்கள். மது விலக்கைப் பற்றி பேசும்போது அதை எடுத்துவிடவேண்டுமென்றும் அதை எதிர்ப்பவன் நான் என்றும் நினைத்து விடாதீர்கள். அதை பரிபூரணமாக நான் வரவேற்கிறேன். ஆனால் அனாதை இன்னும் செம்மையாக அடூல் நடத்த வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சில யோசனைகளைக் கூறப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். மதுவிலக்கு மந்திரி அவர்கள் எங்கள் ஊருக்கு வந்திருந்த போது கூப்பத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசியபோதும் எப்படி களவச்சாராயம் காச்சப் படுகிறது என்பதை எடுத்து அவர்களுக்கு விளக்கியதோடு கல்லுனரி என்ற போதைப் பொருளையும் அவர்களிடம் கொண்டு வந்து காட்டினார்கள். அதை இப்போது பல கடைகளில் விற்கிறார்கள். அவைகளை உடனே தடை செய்ய

[Sri Bojja Appalaswami]

[8th July 1952]

ప్రశ్నించగా ఒక హరిజనునిగూడా పట్టాలు యివ్వలేదని చెబుతున్నారు. ఇంత నిర్ణయం, నిర్ణయభావం ఈ హరిజనులమీద ప్రభుత్వం వలె చూపుతున్నారో నాకర్థం కావడంలేదు. రాక్షసిలోనున్న వేదప్రజానీకానికి చెందిన ఈ హరిజనులకు భూములకుగాను, పట్టాలు యిచ్చేందుకు యింతవరకు 'proposals' గవర్నమెంటువారికి పంపబడలేదు. నూరు సంవత్సరములకు పైగా కాపురమున్న హరిజనులను తమ నివేశన స్థలములనుండి లేచిపోయి ప్రభుత్వవారు భుక్త్యులు యిచ్చారంటే చాల అక్రమము, అధర్మముగావున్నది. ఈ పట్టాలు యిచ్చే విషయములో ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు యింతకాలయాపన చేస్తున్నారో తెలియజడలేదు. హరిజనులకు కొంతమంది కట్టిపాసుని ప్రకటించియున్నారు. ఇప్పుడు కొంతమంది హరిజనులకు ఉంటే అదే పదివేల. ఈ వేదప్రజానీకానికి త్రాగుటకు మంచి నీటి బస్తికి ఒక కావిగూడాలేదు. ఈ వేద హరిజన కుటుంబాలు బతుకదానికి భూమి, నివసించడానికి యిల్లు, త్రాగడానికి మంచి నీళ్లు కావి మొదలగు సౌకర్యాలును విచ్చాటుచేయుట చాలా అవసరం. ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ నిరుపేదలైన హరిజనులకు, ఈ మాత్రం సహాయం చేస్తుండని విశ్వసిస్తున్నాను. ఎలక్ట్రిసిటీ క్రింద ప్రభుత్వంవారు కోట్లకొలది డబ్బు ఖర్చు చేస్తోంది. కాని ఏ హరిజనుని యింట్లో ఎలక్ట్రిసిటీ ఉంది? గూర్కుడు వండుకు నక్షత్రములు తప్ప అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ బడ్జెటులో రైతులకు వ్యవసాయ సౌకర్యాలక్రింద కూడు, నాలుగు కోట్లు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఖర్చుపెట్టడంవారు. యిందులో హరిజనులకు ఎంత కేటాయిస్తారు, ఎంత ఎరువుయిస్తారు, ఎంత అప్పుయిస్తారు. యివిగో ముందేమువంటి ఖర్చు అంతయు వివరముగా రెఖిచేసిందాస్తే, ఈ సొమ్ము చాలావోలేదో గమనించగోరుతాను. నిజానికి ఈ బడ్జెటును నేను బలపరచ విలులేకుండాయున్నది. ఈ సొమ్ములో కొంత బంజరు భూములు సాగులోనికి తీసుకొనిరావలసిమిత్తం ప్రభుత్వం 'వారెంటి కంట్రీబ్యూషన్' గా యిస్తే ఈ వేద రైతాంగానికి చాలా సహాయం చేసినట్లువుతుంది. మా జిల్లాలో డెబ్బా ప్రాంతంలో గాకుండా యితర చోట్ల లంకలు వగైరా, యింకా బంజరు భూములు సాగుకు పనికివచ్చేవి చాలవస్తవి. జిల్లాలోని యానత్తు బంజరు భూములు లంకలు మొదలైనవాటిని సాగుపడిగోగాను వేద హరిజనులకు మాత్రం పట్టాలకు త్వరలో యిప్పించవలసిందని గవర్నమెంటు వారిని కోరుతున్నాను. నేను ముఖ్యముగా కూడు విషయములలో గవర్నమెంటు వారిని సహాయపడమని గోరుచున్నాను. మొదటిది హరిజనులకు విద్య, ఆరోగ్యము ఈ హరిజనులలో అనేక సమస్యలు ఏర్పడివున్నవి. విద్యాకోశా మంత్రిగారికి శ్రీ యం. వి. కృష్ణారావుగారు ఈ జిల్లాలో పర్యటించినప్పుడు ఈ హరిజనుల సలహాల కొలకుగాను, హరిజన విద్యాభివృద్ధిగాను డెబ్బది నాలుగు లక్షలు ఖర్చుపెట్ట వచ్చునని ఏ సంఘం ఖర్చు ఆ సంఘం వేరుగా భరించవలసినన్ని నెలవిచ్చినట్లు నాకు తెలిసింది. యింకను ఈ సొమ్ములో యిరువై లక్షల రూపాయలు హరిజన విద్యాభివృద్ధికొలకున్న, హస్తలు ఖర్చులకున్న, తత్పరంబైన ఉద్యోగులకొలకున్న ప్రభుత్వం ఖర్చు పెట్టవలసిందని విన్నాను. అయితే హరిజన సమస్యలకుగాను, విద్యకుగాను యిచ్చే డెబ్బది నాలుగు లక్షల రూపాయలలో ఉద్యోగులకింద ఎక్కువ ఖర్చు పెట్టుతున్నారు, గాబట్టి యీ హరిజన దిశాబ్దుమెంటులో సాధ్యమైనంతవరకు హరిజన ఉద్యోగులను నియమించమని నా ప్రార్థన. హరిజన 'welfare' స్క్రీము క్రింద వేరే సొమ్ము కేటాయించితే కాగుంటుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“రెండవది అంటరానితనం. ఈ అంటరానితనం విషయంలో గవర్నమెంటు వారు ఒక చట్టాన్ని అమలుకు తెచ్చారు. కాని ఈ చట్టం పూర్తిగా అమలు జరుగ

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డంలేదనిన్ని, యింకా అమలుకు తరుణంగా రాలేదనిన్ని మంత్రిగారుకూడా నెల విచ్చారు. ఇది చాల విచారకరమైన విషయమే. గవర్నమెంటువారు ఈ చట్టాన్ని అమలులోనికి తీసుకొనిరావేక పోయిందంటే దేశంలో యింకా విద్యరానివాళ్లు, ప్రపంచవర్సిఫితుల కనుగుణంగా నడుచుకోలేనివాళ్లు చాలామందివున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వాధికారులుగాని, శాసనసభ్యులుగాని, ఈవిషయంలో తగిన శ్రద్ధ తీసికొని పర్యటన చేస్తూ ప్రజలకు బోధించినట్లయితే, చాలామందికు పరిస్థితులు మారగలవనిన్ని యీ అంటరాని తనము చాలమందికు పోతుందని నేను గట్టిగాచెప్పగలను. ఈ చట్టమును పూర్తిగా అమలు పరచాలంటే ప్రజలలో హృదయ పరివర్తనం రావాలి. అంతే గాని ప్రజలను నిర్బంధించి ఈ చట్టాన్ని అమలులోకి తీసుకోరాలేము అని నేను చెబుతున్నాను. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈవిషయంలో ఒక నిర్దిష్టమైన విచ్చాటు తో ఈ అంటరానితనము పొమ్మేట్లు ప్రజలకు బోధించి, హృదయపరివర్తనం గలుగ చేసినప్పుడే, ఈ చట్టమును అమలులోకి తీసుకోరాగలమని నా యభిప్రాయము వెల్లడించుచున్నాను.

“మూడవది మధ్యపాక నిషేధము. ఈ మధ్యపాకనిషేధ చట్టాన్ని అమలు లోకితెచ్చుట చాలా మహనీయమైన కార్యమేనని నేను చెప్పగలను. దేశంలో ఈ చట్టమురాకముందు, మధ్యపాకమునకు అలవాటుపడినవారు చాలామంది ఉన్నారు. వీరందరు సాధారణముగా విద్యావంతులు కానివారు, కార్మిక తరగతికి చెందినవారై ఉన్నారు. ఈ చట్టము రాకముందు ఈ మధ్యపాకానికి అలవాటుపడినవారు వారి కుటుంబాలను పోషించుకోలేని స్థితికితెచ్చుకొని చాలా బీదస్థితి ఆనభవించారు. ఇప్పుడు యీ మధ్యపాక నిషేధ చట్టమును ప్రభుత్వంవారు అమలులోకి తెచ్చిన తరువాత గూడా బహిరంగంగా త్రాగకపోయినను చాటునచాటున యింకాత్రాగుచున్నారు. అయినను సంపాదించుకొన్న కొద్ది సొమ్ముయినను యింటికితెచ్చుకొని వారి కుటుంబాలను కష్టపడకుండా పోషించుకోవలగుతున్నారు. ఈ మధ్యపాకంవలన దేశరోగ్య అరికట్టడం చాలా కష్టతరం గనుక ఈవిషయంలో ప్రజలకు ఈ మధ్యపాకం యొక్క చెడుగుణములు వీరికి పర్యటనలద్వారా బోధచేస్తేనే తప్ప ఈ చట్టముయొక్క ప్రయోజనం ఏమీ కనబడటంలేదు. ఈ విషయంలోగూడా ప్రజలలో త్రాగుడుకు అలవాటు పడినవారికి హృదయపరివర్తనం కలగాలంటే ప్రభుత్వంవారు యిట్టి బోధన కొరకు కొంతడబ్బు వ్యయంచేసి ప్రజలకు బోధపరచి ఈ చట్టాన్ని అమలులోకి తెచ్చే నని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అంతేగాని నిర్బంధమీద ఆమలుకు తీసికోరాలేదని నా ఆభిప్రాయమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“యికపోలే మా ఆమలాపురం తాలూకాకుచేరిన ఆలమూరు వంశెన విషయంలో నేనొక విషయం చెప్పడలచుకున్నాను. నేను కూర్చు గోదావరి జిల్లా, ఆమలాపురం తాలూకాలో ఒక నియోజకవర్గంనుండి ప్రజలచే ఎన్నుకోబడినవాను. మా ఆమలాపురం గ్రామనివాసి అయినటువంటిన్ని, అఖిల భారత కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రధాన కార్యదర్శిగా పనిచేసిన శ్రీ కళావంకటాచార్యగారికి ఈ వంశెన అవసరమునుగూర్చి పూర్తిగా తెలిసి వీరు ఈవిషయంలో కృషిచేకారని ప్రజలు విశ్వసించియున్నారు, కాని యీ వంశెన నిర్మాణం విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వం యింకను ఏమీ కృషిచేయక డెబ్బా తాలూకాల సౌకర్యాలు పోగొట్టుచున్నదనిన్ని త్వరలో వంశెన నిర్మాణం ప్రారంభించమనిన్ని ప్రభుత్వమును కోరుచున్నాను.”

[8th July 1952]

SRI RAJA SAGI SURYANARAYANA RAJU:—“అధ్యక్ష, మా దురదృష్టవశాత్తూ, ఇప్పుడు ఉపన్యాసాలకు 10 నిమిషాలు మాత్రమే కాలవ్యవధిగా నియమించారు. కాని మా పేర్లు నాలుగు దినముల క్రిందటనే ఇచ్చి ఉండినాడా మాకు ఇంకా 15 నిమిషాలు లేకుండా, ముందు పెద్ద పెద్దవారికి, వరుసగా వారికి ఆరగంట 20 నిమిషాలు 15 నిమిషాలు మాట్లాడుటకు అవకాశమిచ్చి, ఎక్కువమంది సభ్యులు మాట్లాడటానికి అవకాశం లేక కాలవ్యవధిని క్రమముగా తగ్గించి మనకు ఇప్పుడు మాకు 10 నిమిషాలు మాత్రమే నియమించారు. ఇది న్యాయముగా కన్పించదు మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇట్లుగాకుండా శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ముందుగానే మాట్లాడటానికి అవకాశం వేర్పర్చి తీసుకొని మొత్తము ఎంతమంది మాట్లాడవలసివచ్చినా వారికి ఆ ప్రకారము కాలవ్యవధిని అందరికీ సమంగా నియమించి అందరికీ సమాన అవకాశము ఇస్తే బాగుంటుందని కోరుతున్నాను.

“మొట్టమొదట కంట్రోల్ విషయంలో, శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఈ విషయంలో చాలా దూరము ఆలోచించి ప్రజలు ఇష్టప్రకారము కంట్రోల్లను సవరించుటకు మా విశేషశక్తిని ప్రజలు చాలా సంతోషిస్తున్నారు. అందుకు మా ప్రజలు తరఫున ముఖ్యమంత్రి గారిని అభినందిస్తున్నాను. కాని ఈ నాడు decontrol విషయము గురించి అనేకమంది విమర్శిస్తూ ఈ decontrol పల్ల ధరలు పెరిగిపోతాయని, ధనవంతులు ధాన్యాన్ని ప్రోత్సహించుకొంటారని అనేక రకాలుగా దుష్ప్రచారము చేస్తున్నారు. అయితే ప్రజలు కంట్రోల్ల ఉన్నప్పుడు ఏ దురలవాట్లు, అవినీతి, మామూలు యాలు నేర్చుకొన్నారో, అదురలవాట్లనే నేడు నాడుకూడా పాగిస్తే తప్ప ధరలు పెరిగవని మరేమీ చిక్కులు రావని, దెబ్బను గ్రహముపల్ల నష్టంగా కంటుంటుంటే ఈ కంట్రోల్ల బాధ ఇంక మనకు రాదని నేను మనఃఫూర్వకముగా మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇప్పుడు మన మంత్రి వర్గము ఏర్పాటు చేసినటువంటి బడ్జెటు ప్రకారము అందులో 3 కోట్లు రూపాయలు లోటుపెచ్చిందనే కారణముచేత 0-0-1 ప్రకారము తప్పులు వేస్తున్నారు; మరియు బడ్జెట్ చార్జీలలో మొత్తము 0-0-1 ప్రకారము హెచ్చించడంవల్ల, దీనివల్ల చాలామంది వీడ ప్రజానీకము దెబ్బతింటుంది. చిన్న వాళ్ళకు చిన్న నష్టము, పెద్ద వాళ్ళకు పెద్ద నష్టము అన్నట్లు, అందరికీ ఎవరెవరి స్థితి గతులనుబట్టి వారికి ఆ చిక్కులు ఉంటాయి. కనుక ఈ విధంగా పెదవారికి ఒక్క చార్జీ హెచ్చింపు మొదలగునవి వేయకుంటే మరోవిధముగా ఈ డబ్బును రాబట్టడానికి ప్రయత్నించి ఆ విధంగా బడ్జెటును సవరించితే బాగుంటుందని నా ఉద్దేశము.

“తరువాత ప్రోహిబిట్ విషయములో, ఇది ఆమెలు ఉన్న జిల్లాలలోని వారు అనేకమంది దీనిని గురించి విమర్శించారు. మొత్తము 375 సభ్యులలో, 310 కంటేగా ప్రోహిబిట్ తీసివేయాలనిందని చెప్పారు. నేనుకూడా ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ అనేది ఆమెలు జరగలేదని అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నాను. ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ పల్ల ముఖ్యంగా ప్రజలలోని ప్రజలు కొంక సారాయి చేస్తూ చాలా దురదృష్టవశాత్తూ అవినీతి పాలైనారు. దీనివల్ల ఆనగా ప్రోహిబిట్ లేకప్పుడు సరాసరి ఒక ఇంటిలో ఒకరు త్రాగుచుండగా ఇప్పుడు ఒక ఇంటికి నలుగురైదుగురు త్రాగుతున్నారు. ఈ కొంక సారాయి చేయడంవల్ల దానికి సరియైనటువంటి సామానులు కొరతకపోవడంవల్ల వాళ్ళకు చిన్న నష్టము వస్తుంది అది ప్రజలకు చాలా అనారోగ్యకరమై అందువల్ల ప్రజలు అనేక రోగాలతో బాధపడుతున్నారు. తరువాత ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ పల్ల ప్రభుత్వ ఆర్థికస్థితి కూడా బాగా తగ్గిపోయింది. ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ పల్ల ప్రజలు ఎక్కువ దురదృష్టము నేర్చుకుంటున్నారని దీనినుండి ప్రజలకుగాని ప్రభుత్వానికిగాని ఏమీ ప్రయోజనంలేదు.

[8th July 1952] [Sri Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju]

అయితే శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు “నేనే ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ ను ఇక్కడ తీసుకొనివచ్చి నది. మరియు నేనే దీనిని ఎట్లు తీసివేయగలను.” అనే ప్రస్థావన చేసి దీనిని తీసివేయటము ఇష్టము లేకుండా ఉండవచ్చును. కాని ముందు మనదేశవిభజన అద్యక్షుడు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మనదేశాన్ని విభజించమని అందరికీకన్నను మాండుగా, చెప్పినప్పుడు మిగతావారు వివక ఆధురుకు దీనివల్ల లాభము లేదనే ప్రస్థావన చేసి ఉన్నప్పుడు చాలామంది దేశవిభజన అవసరమని తరువాత రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి మార్గమును ఓక్కొని దేశవిభజనకు ప్రోహదము చేశారు. కనుక ప్రస్థావన ఆనేది ఎప్పుడు కూడా ఒక వ్యక్తికిగాని ప్రజాప్రభుత్వమునకు వర్తించదు అనే ఉద్దేశముతో ఉంటుంది. కాబట్టి ముందు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ఏ ప్రజల మేలుకొరకు అని చెప్పి ఈ ప్రోహిబిట్ తీసుకువచ్చారో ఇప్పుడు ఆ ప్రజలే ప్రోహిబిట్ పల్ల దురలవాట్లు నేర్చుకొని చెప్పిపోతున్నారు కాబట్టి వారి మేలు కొరకే ఇప్పుడు ఆప్రిస్థావన మార్పుకొనిపెట్టియితే అందులో ఏమీ తప్పులేదు. అంతేకాకుండా ప్రజాపరిపాలన వచ్చింది కాబట్టి ప్రజల అభిప్రాయానుగుణంగా విధానాలు మార్చవలసిన అవసరమున్నది.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయములో నేను కొంత మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం సమస్య ఎంత ఆలశ్యము చేస్తే అంత పరస్పర విరోధాలు అవరోధాలు ఏర్పడుటకు అవకాశము ఏర్పడుంది. ముందు దేశవిభజన ఆలశ్యము చేసినందువలన విలాంటి పరస్పర విరోధాలు పెరిగాయో ఈ ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రం సమస్యలోనూ ఆలశ్యము చేసినట్లయితే విలాంటి విరోధాలు ఆటంకాలు కలగడానికి వీలుంటుంది. కనుక సాధ్యమైనంత త్వరలో విదో విధముగా ఒక సులభమైన మార్గము ఆలోచించి మాకు ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రము ఇచ్చుట చాలా సబబుగా ఉంటుంది. ఇందువల్ల ఆంధ్రుల చిరకాల వాంఛ తీర్చవారవుతారు; కనుక మన ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారైన శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రధాన మంత్రి పండిత్ నెహ్రూగారితో ఈ విషయమున సంప్రదింపులు జరిపి దీనిని విదో విధముగా పరిష్కరించి ఆంధ్రులకు త్వరగా స్వరాష్ట్రము ఇప్పించవలసిన ప్రార్థిస్తున్నాను.

“తరువాత రోడ్లు విషయము గురించి, దెవలపు మెంతు తిపార్డు మెంతువారు గ్రామాలలో మట్టిరోడ్లు వేస్తున్నారు. ఈ మట్టి రోడ్లను మరియు హైవేస్ దిపార్డు మెంతు వారు తీసుకోవడంవల్ల ఆరోడ్లు త్వరలో పాడైపోయి రాకపోకలకు పనికిరాకుండా అగుచున్నది. కనుక ఈ రోడ్లను వేసిన ఒకటి, రెండు సంవత్సరాలలో హైవేస్ వారు తీసుకొని మెలింగు రోడ్లను వేసినట్లయితే ఇవి ప్రజలకు ఉపయోగకరముగా ఉంటాయి, లేకపోయిన ఆరోడ్లను అట్లానే విడిచివెట్టినట్లయితే అవి ఏమీ ప్రయోజనముండదు.

“తరువాత మా నియోజక వర్గములో ఎన్నేట్లు తాబాకు చెరువులు, కాలువలు మరమ్మత్తు చేసేటప్పుడు, అక్కడ చెరువు మరమ్మత్తు చేస్తే, కాలువ మరమ్మత్తు చేయకపోవడము లేక కాలువ మరమ్మత్తు చేస్తే, చెరువు మరమ్మత్తు చేయక పోవడమొకరినొకరు తప్పు. ఈ కాలువలలో ఎక్కువ నీళ్లు ఉంటుంది. అది తీసివేస్తే నీరు సరిగా పారదు చెరువు మరమ్మత్తు చేసినాడా ప్రయోజనముండదు. కనుక చెరువులు మరమ్మత్తు చేసేటప్పుడు కాలువలు చేయకపోవడంవల్ల నీరు సరిగా రాక రైతులు చాలా బాధపడుతున్నారు. గోపాలా పట్నంలో ఒక పెద్ద కాలువ ఉన్నది. ఈ కాలువను మరమ్మత్తు చేయకపోవడంవల్ల రైతులు చాలా బాధపడుతున్నారు కనుక నీటిని మరమ్మత్తు చేసేటప్పుడు సక్రమంగా చేయకపోవడం కోరుతున్నాను.

[Sri Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju][8th July 1952]

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P.M.

“ రాయలసీమ వెనుకబడిన ప్రదేశమని కారణం చేత ఒక డెవలప్ మెంట్ బోర్డు ఏర్పాటు చేశారు. అదే మాదిరి, మా కృతాకుళం, విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలు గూడా వెనుక బడిన జిల్లాలు కనుక వీటికూడ ఒక డెవలప్ మెంట్ బోర్డు ఏర్పాటు చేయవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో 77 ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు ప్రభుత్వమునకు స్థూచించబడినవి అని కలెక్టరుగారు చెప్పారు కాని ఈ బడ్జెటులో అవి ఏదీ లీసుకోవ్వట్లు కనిపించదు. కనుక ఈ స్కీములు గూడా ప్రభుత్వం లీసుకోవలసినవి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ మా విశాఖపట్నంలో పెరుకు మూతం ఒకే ఒక అక్కట్ల కయారు అగుచున్నదని బడ్జెటులో చూపారు. కాని ఇది ఇదివరకే నాలుగు సంవత్సరాల క్రిందనే శాంక్షా అయినప్పటికీ సరిగా జరగడంలేదు. ఈ నాడు దానికి రెండు లక్షల రూపాయలు శాంక్షను చేశారు. కాని పని అంతవరకే చేస్తూ దాన్ని పొడిగించడం విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. కనుక దీన్ని త్వరలో ముగించవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను. ప్రస్తుతం ఈ స్కీము ఒక్కటే బడ్జెటులో కనిపించుచున్నది.

“ ఇక కొత్త పనులు ఏదీ తలపెట్టుకుంటూ పాత పనులు మూతం చేస్తూ బడ్జెటు ఆ మాదిరి సవరించబడ్డది అని చెప్పారు. కాని కొత్త పనులు ఏదీ లీసుకోవడానికి పనికిరాని అనేక కొత్త పనులు వేయడం చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉన్నది. కనుక ఈ కొత్త పనులు, బిల్లు చార్జీ హచ్చింపు ఇవన్నీ కూడా లీసేనే ప్రాచీనికా సడలిం చిన ట్రైయిన్ నిజంగా కాంగ్రెసుకు ఇప్పటికంటే ఎక్కువగా ఆదాయం ఎక్స్ ట్రెయిట్టు బలము వికాసము చేపూరుతుందని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. లేకపోతే వ్యతిరేక పార్టీల వారికి ఆవకాశమిచ్చి దుష్ప్రచారానికి దారితీస్తారని మనవి చేస్తూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

SRI T. POTHARAJU:—“ అభ్యుదయ, ఇదివరకు ఉన్నటువంటి విశేష ప్రభుత్వమువారు, కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రతిపాదించుచున్నటువంటి బడ్జెటులకు, ఈ బడ్జెటుకు ప్రభావ విషయాలలో ఎంతమాత్రం లేదా లేదు. ఒక విధంగా చూచి నట్లయితే ఈ బడ్జెటు వెనుకటి బడ్జెటులకన్న కూడా ప్రజలపట్ల నిర్ణయ ప్రకటించేదిగా ఉన్నది. ఈ బడ్జెటులో ఉన్నది ఒక్కటిమాత్రమే. అది ప్రజాసామాన్యంపై హెచ్చుతప్పులు విధించి, వారిపై మాయలేసంతటయైనా రుద్దడం. గత అయిదు సంవత్సరాలు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు నిర్వాక్షిణ్యంగా, నిరంకుశంగా ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని పరిపాలించారు. వారిపాలన అంటే ప్రజలకు ముగ్గులు ముట్టిపోయింది. గత ఎన్నికలలో ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెస్ ఓడించారు. అయినప్పటికీ బిరో ఒక విధంగా కాంగ్రెస్ ను కాజీగోపాలాచారిగారు తిరిగి అధికారంలోనికి తీసుకొనివచ్చారు. ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం విర్బడడమే తదత్రా ప్రజలపై మరీ నాలుగుకోట్ల రూపాయల వస్తుధారాన్ని విధించి మూసింది. ఇందుకల్లానే సామాన్య ప్రజలు కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వమంటే భయపడుతున్నారని గుర్తించగోర్తాను. ఎన్నికలముందు కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ప్రజలకు ఎన్నో తీయటి కుబ్బులు చెప్పారు. ఎన్నో వాగ్దానాలుచేశారు. కాని వారివాటన్నీ నీటిలో మూటలైపోయాయి. తైగా హెచ్చుతప్పులపై హెచ్చుతప్పు ధారాన్ని రుద్దటానికి ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం సాహసించింది. ఈ పన్నులపై వీ తరగతి ప్రజలపై విధించడమకున్నదో సభ్యులు గమనించగోర్తాను. ఈ పన్నులలో అధికభాగం సామాన్య ప్రజలమీద, మధ్య తరగతివారిపై పడుతుంది. విద్యుదాదాయం మించి ఇండ్లు పెట్టించేరకున్న పన్ను, బస్ లో ప్రయాణించేనే సామాన్య జనంపై పన్ను.

8th July 1952]

[Sri T. Potharaju]

విద్యుదాదాయం ఏర్పాటుచేస్తే అక్కడ ఉన్న రైతులపై పన్ను, ఈ పన్నులన్నీ ఇచ్చుకొనేదెవరు? గ్రామాలలో ఉండే రైతులు, మాలినాలి చేసుకొని బ్రతికేవారు. కాంగ్రెస్ వారి ప్రజాస్వామ్యమంటే ఇదే. ఈ కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ఎన్నికలముందు ఏమి చెప్పారు? వర్గరహిత సమాజాన్ని సృష్టించమని, కలిగిఉన్న వారినుంచి హెచ్చుతప్పులు వసూలుచేసి వేదవారి సొక ర్యాలకొరకు ఖర్చుపెడతామని, ఇంకా ఏవేవో ఒక రకబెడతా మని చెప్పారు. కాని ఈనాడు వారు చేయదలచినదేమిటి? వేదవాడి జేబులోనుంచి ఇంకా ఎక్కువ లాభదానికేవారు ప్రయత్నంచేస్తున్నారు. రాష్ట్రంలో పెద్దపెద్ద ఖాస్వాములున్నారు; లక్షధికారులున్నారు; పెట్టుబడిదారులున్నారు; పెద్దపెద్ద మిల్లు యజమానులున్నారు; ఈదేశంనుంచి లక్షలాది కోట్లాది రూపాయలు లాభంగా సంపాదించుకొని పోతున్న విదేశ పారిశ్రామికులున్నారు; వారిదగ్గర నుంచా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు పన్నులు వసూలుచేయదలచినది. కాదు; వారంటే ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి భయం. వీరికి లాభమగా ఉండేవారెవరు? గ్రామాలలోని నిరుపేద రైత, అమాయకురైత, రైతు, మాల్ ప్రజలు. వారి నే ఈ ప్రభుత్వం నెత్తిమీద మొత్త నుద్దమిస్తోంది. ఈ పన్నులు విధించడం కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ప్రజలకిచ్చిన వాగ్దా నాలను భంగంచేయడం కాదా అని ఈ మర్రివర్గంవారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఈ పన్నులు విధించి తిరిగి కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ఏ విధంగా ప్రజలకదిక్కు పోగలరని అడుగు తున్నాను. ఈ పన్నులను విధించి వారు తిరిగి ఎన్నికలకు రాగలరా అని అడుగు తున్నాను. ఈనాడు కారణంతరాల గెలచిన ఈ 152 మంది కాంగ్రెస్ వారిలో తిరిగి ఎన్నికలుపెట్టినట్లయితే అధమం నూరుమంది ఓడి పోతారనడంలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు.

“ పోతే ఈ బడ్జెటులో ప్రజల జీవనప్రమాణాన్ని పెంచటానికి, జాతీయ ఆదా యాన్ని అభివృద్ధి పరచటానికి ఏమైనా కృషి జరిగిందా అంటే అదీ లేదు. వుద్ధపాత పద్ధతులలో బ్రిటిష్ సామ్రాజ్యవాదుల అడుగుజాడలలో ప్రజాభిమతాన్ని అంకాంక్షించే వారమని చెప్పుకొనే కాంగ్రెస్ వారేనా ఈ బడ్జెటును తయారుచేసినదనే సందేహం కలుగుతోంది. అటు వ్యవసాయరంగంలోగాని, ఇటు పారిశ్రామిక రంగంలోగాని ఎటువంటి విప్లవాత్మకమైన మార్పులను తెచ్చేదిగా లేదీ బడ్జెటు. వైసెచ్చ సామాన్య ప్రజలకు కీల్చీ పిండి పన్నుల విధింపు ఈ బడ్జెటు ప్రసింగంలో తెలుపబడింది. ఈ అదనపు పన్నులను విధించుటకు కారణములను తెలుపుచు ఆర్థిక శాఖామంత్రులు ఈ సందర్భం వస్తువుల ధరలు తగ్గగలవని అందుచేత కేంద్రప్రభుత్వానికి, ఈ రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వంవారికివచ్చే ఆదాయపుపన్ను (Income-tax), అమ్మకపు పన్ను (Sales tax) లలో గత సంవత్సరం వచ్చినదానికన్న తక్కువ రావచ్చునని అన్నారు. ధరలు తగ్గుతవని, తగ్గుచున్నవిని ప్రభుత్వం ప్రతినిధులు అంటున్నారంటే చాలా ఆశ్చర్యం కలుగుతోంది. ధరలు తగ్గింపు ఏమన్నా జరిగితే అది కాగితాలమీదనే కనపిస్తోంది కాని ఏ కొనుగోలుదారు తక్కువ ధరలకు నిత్యావసరవస్తువులను సేకరించుకొనేలేక పోతున్నాడు. ధరల తగ్గుదల అనేది వ్యాపారస్తులు, పెట్టుబడిదారులు, దొంగచాటుగా అధిక లాభాలు అర్జించుటకు చేస్తున్న ప్రచారము కాని వేరేమీకాదు. ఈ ప్రచారానికి లాంఛనం ప్రభుత్వంవారు కంట్రీలోను తొలగిస్తే దొంగచాటులలో చాలా లాభం సంపాదించుకోవచ్చును కదా అనే ఆశయే దీనికి కారణం.

“ ఆదాయపుపన్ను వసూలులవారేనే అమ్మకపుపన్ను వసూలు చేయడంలో కూడా చాలా అవకతవకలున్నాయి. ఎంతోమంది వర్తకులు అధికారులతో వాటాదీ తడి తక్కువ పన్నులు తెల్లస్తున్నారు. ఈ పన్ను విషయంలో ఎగవేతలు లేకుండా స్వేచ్ఛగా వసూలుచేసినట్లే మరీ తడికోట్ల రూపాయలవరకు హెచ్చు ఆదాయం

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రాగలదనడంలా ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. కాని వ్యాపారస్తులవద్దనుంచి ఈ ప్రభుత్వం వస్తులను సరిగా వసూలు చేయటంలేదు. అప్పుకపు వస్తును వసూలుచేయటం వలన వర్తకులకే లాభంకాని వేరు కాదు. అనేక సందర్భాలలో వర్తకులు తప్పు, అంకనాలను ఇస్తున్నారు. ఈ లోటుపాట్లను సవరించుటకు బడులు పెడరైతులమీద వస్తులు విధించడం అన్యాయమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ప్రభుత్వపరిపాలనా ఖర్చులనుకూడా చాలావరకు తగ్గించుకోవచ్చు. ఉదాహరణగా గవర్నరుకింద దాదాపు ఎనిమిది లక్షల రూపాయలవరకు ఖర్చు అవుతోంది. జీతం క్రింద 60 వేలు, భత్యం క్రింద 50 వేలు, సిబ్బందికింద మొత్తం, కయాలకు ఇంకెంతో ఈ విధంగా లక్షలాదిరూపాయలు అంతర్రాజ్యమైన గవర్నరుమీద ఖర్చుపెట్టడం న్యాయంకాదు. భారత దేశంలోని మీద ప్రజలు ఇంత హెచ్చు ఖర్చులను ఇచ్చుకోలేరని ప్రభుత్వం గుర్తించాలి. ఈ మొత్తంలో సగం తగ్గించినాకూడా ప్రతి సంవత్సరం వందలాది ఎకరాలభూమిని కొత్తగా పాగులానికి తీసుకొని రాగలవని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఇదేవిధంగా పోలీసు డిపార్టుమెంట్లోకూడా చాలా అవకాశం ఖర్చులు చేస్తున్నారు. వారు సీరితోనే కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ప్రజలను పాలించడం కోసం గర్వింపవలసిన విషయం. ఇటువంటి రాజనీతిలో ఏ ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలను సలను పొందలేదు. గత అయిదేండ్లుగా జరిపిన దౌర్జన్యాలవలననే ఆంధ్రదేశంలో కాంగ్రెస్ కు పట్టినగతిని ప్రభుత్వం మరచిపోయినారా అని అడుగుతున్నాను. ప్రజాధిపత్యమేమో గుర్తించడం నిరంకుశంగా పాలించడం న్యాయంకాదు. రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు ప్రజలను బెడంచి రాజ్యపాలన చేయలేరని వారికి సవినయంగా మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ప్రజలు తిన్నతొడి, కట్టుకుట్ట లేకుండా రాధకడుకూంటే, ఇంకా వారిపైన హెచ్చుతక్కు చాచాన్ని వేయడంవలన మానవజాతిని కలగొని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను. భూమి విస్తీర్ణం సర్వార్థ విధియటలో ప్రభుత్వము వారు కొంత ఉదారబుద్ధితో ఉండవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. 50 రూపాయలు చెల్లించే రైతుపైన సర్వార్థ వేయ మూడం న్యాయంకాదు. అటువంటి చిన్న రైతులకు కూడా పాపాలలో భూమిని చాలా తక్కువగా ఉంటుంది. ఏ మాడు, నాలుగు ఎకరముల భూమిని కలగొనినా కూడా ఈ వస్తు భారంకడుతుంది. కాబట్టి భూమి విస్తీర్ణం సర్వార్థ విధించే కనీస మొత్తము 150 రూపాయలుగాని, 200 రూపాయలుగాని ఉండునట్లు పరిమితి పెంచవలసిన ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇదేవిధంగా బెటర్ మెంటు వస్తు విధించినను పెడరైతులకు చాలా నష్టం సంత విస్తుంది. పెద్ద భూమిని కలిపి భూమిలవద్దనుంచి ఈ వస్తు వసూలుచేసినట్లయితే ఒక సబబు సందర్భంగా ఉంటుందికాని, కొద్దిపాటి భూమి ఉన్నవారిమీద హెచ్చుతక్కు విధించినట్లైతే వారు చెల్లించుకోలేరు. ఇంత హెచ్చుతక్కు ఇచ్చుకొనే కన్న తమకు వివిధమైన పోకర్లములు కలుగజేయ వలసరంలేదని రైతులకనిపించుటకే ఈ వస్తు విధించే ఉద్దేశం ప్రభుత్వంవారికి కలిగినదా అని ప్రజలు అనుకొంటున్నారు. ఈ వస్తు అభివృద్ధిపన్నుగాక అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకవస్తుగా మారిపోవడంవలననే సందేహము నాకు కలుగుతోంది. అంతేకాకుండా కేవలం వర్తకులమీద ఆధారపడి ఉండే మొట్ట పాపాలలోని పెరుగుదలను, ఇతర విలాసాలను రాగుచేయించి నచ్చుడు అక్కడి రైతులపై ఈ వస్తును విధించరాదని కోరుతున్నాను. పెడరైతులను అనేక కష్టనష్టాలకు గురికావించేవస్తు అనేకారణంచేత నేను ఈ బెటర్ మెంటు టాక్సును విధించుటను వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నాను. రైతులపైన, బస్ ప్రయాణీకులపైన వస్తులు విధించవలసినది నేను విచారణము. ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇప్పుడు వసూలుచేస్తున్న

[8th July 1952]

[Sri T. Potharaju]

వస్తులనే ఎక్కువతరహాలోనూ, జాకరాలతోనూ వసూలు చేసినట్లైతే ఆదాయంలో ఎటువంటి తగ్గుదల ఉండదు. అదేవిధంగా మధ్యపానంవంటి ప్రజాదరణలేని కార్యకలాపాలను మానుకొన్నచో ఎంతో ఆదాయంవచ్చును. ఈ నాడు ఆదాయంలో వచ్చినది ఎంతవరకును లోటు ఎన్నడూరాదు.

“ఇక ఇరిగేషన్ వసతుల విషయంలో ఆంధ్రదేశం చాలా వెనుకబడి ఉన్న 1 p.m. విషయం అందరకు తెలిసినటువంటిది. ముఖ్యంగా రాయలసీమ జిల్లాలలో నీటి వనరులులేక దాదాపు ప్రతిసంవత్సరం ట్రామ పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడుతున్నాయి. ఈ సందర్భం రాయలసీమలోను, గుంటూరు, నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలలోని మెట్ట తాలూకాలోను ట్రామం నిలయ తాండవం చేస్తున్నదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలిసినప్పటికీ ఆయా ప్రాంతాలలో నీటి వనరులను వివ్వాలు చేయడానికి వెళ్ళుకోదగ్గ ప్రయత్నమేమీ జరుగుట లేదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేస్తున్నాను. ఇరిగేషన్ వసతులను కలుగజేయుటలోను, విద్యుత్తుకీ స్త్రీములను అమలు జరుపుటలోను ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారు గత అయిదేండ్లనుంచి ఉన్న కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు అంధులవట్ల సరితల్లి ప్రేమతో వర్తించుచున్నారని గుర్తించగోరాను. ప్రజలను ఈవిధంగా పాక్షికదృష్టితో చూడడంవల్ల కాంగ్రెస్ వారు ప్రజలకు దూరమైపోతారని, వారిగ్రహానికి గురికావలసిన వారపుతారని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ఆంధ్రదేశంలోని మునిసిపాలిటీలకు ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారుచేయుచున్న సహాయాన్ని గురించి ఆలోచించినట్లైతే చాలాని రాగ జనకంగాఉన్నదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆంధ్రదేశంలోఉన్న మునిసిపాలిటీలలో నీటి అని చెప్పతగినదేదైనా సగరముంటే అది ఒక్క బెజవాడేనని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. బెజవాడ సగరంలో రెండులక్షల జనాభా ఉన్నది. అయినప్పటికీ అసగరంలో సరిఅయిన మంచినీటి సరఫరా సిస్టమ్ గాని, మురుగునీరుపోయే డ్రైనేజీగాని లేవు. అనేక పర్యాయాలు ఈ లోపములను గురించి ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మునిసిపాలిటీవారు, ప్రజలు తెలియజేసుకొన్నారు. అయినప్పటికీ ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎటువంటి సహాయము చేయలేదు. ఇదివరకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ సమస్యను కలుగజేయడానికి ఒక కమిటీని వేసినారు. ఆ కమిటీవారు ఒక రిపోర్టును తయారుచేసి ప్రభుత్వంవారికి అందజేశారు. కాని ఆ ప్రభుత్వం కమిటీవారికి రిపోర్టులో సూచించినట్లు బెజవాడ మునిసిపాలిటీగురించి ఏమియుచేయలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఆంధ్రదేశంలోని మునిసిపాలిటీలవల్ల మరలాను ప్రభుత్వం కూపించుచున్న అశ్రద్ధవల్ల ప్రజలు వారిని ద్వేషిస్తారని ఎంత త్వరగాగుర్తించే అంతమంచిది. అదేవిధంగా కృష్ణానదిపైన బెజవాడవద్ద చిన్నకంటేన కట్టుకుకు అనేక పర్యాయాలు ప్రభుత్వం ప్రయత్నించుచున్నట్లు తెలియజేస్తూ ఉండేవారు. నాకుముందు బెజవాడ ఐరొజకవర్గాన్ని గత ఆగెస్టులో రైతులకు చేసినటువంటి ప్రకాశకర్త రావు వంతులుగారు ఈవిషయంగురించి అనేకపర్యాయములు అప్పటి ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియజేశారు. ఎక్కి తర్జనకర్జనలు జరిగినప్పటికీ ఇంతవరకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ వంటైన విషయమై ఎటువంటిచర్య తీసుకొనలేదు. బెజవాడసగరంవల్ల మరలాను ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ విధమైన అశ్రద్ధచూపడంమంచిదికాదని తెలియజేస్తున్నాను.

“ఈ బడ్జెటులో ప్రజాసామాన్యంయొక్క జీవనప్రమాణాన్ని పెంచే కార్యకలాపాలేమీ సూచించ బడలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థ భూమి సంస్కరణగురించి ఇంతవరకు తీర్మానాలతోనే సంతృప్తి పడినదిగాని, వాటిని కార్యరూపంలో పెట్టలేదు. మేము ఏదైనా సంస్కరణలుచేయమంటే కమ్యూనిస్టులకు, రష్యా, చైనా

[Sri T. Potharaju]

[8th July 1952]

లే కనిపిస్తాయని, అదేకాల్లోని పద్ధతులను అనాలోచితంగా అనుసరించ జూస్తారని నిందించవచ్చు. అందుకల్లానే నేను ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారిని ఏమైనా, చెనా దేశాలలోని భూ సంస్కరణల విధానాలను కాక, ఈ దేశంలోని ఒకభాగమైనటువంటి కాష్మీరులో ఈనాడు షేక్ అబ్దుల్లా అనుబంధించిన సంస్కరణలైనా ఈ ప్రభుత్వం అవరణాన్ని పెట్టగలదా అని అడుగుతున్నాను.

“ హరిజనోద్ధరణ విషయంలో కూడా కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారు విశేషమైన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవడంలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఎంతమంది హరిజనులకు ఇంతవరకు ఇండ్ల స్థలాలు ఇచ్చినారని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. ఇదివరలో హరిజనులు సాగు చేసుకొనుచున్న భూములను గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు రాజీయ బాధితులకు ఛామిని ఇవ్వడ మనే ముఠతో తీసివేసుకొని వాటిని తమంతటానూ సాగుచేసుకొనడమువంటి వారికి ఇచ్చినారు. ఇటువంటి విధానాలవల్ల అధిక ఆహారోత్పత్తి వివిధంగా బయటకుంట్లో ప్రభుత్వంవారు గమనించగోరారు.

“ ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కమ్యూనిష్టులు దేశంలో అరాచకాన్ని కలుగజేస్తారని అంటున్నది. అందులో ఎంతమాత్రం సబబు లేదు. ప్రజలలో అసంతృప్తి కలిగించేది ప్రభుత్వమే కాని కమ్యూనిష్టులుకాదు. ప్రజాస్వామ్యానికి విరుద్ధంగా ప్రవర్తించు చున్నందువలన కాంగ్రెస్ వారిని వారు విర్రాటుచేసిన ప్రభుత్వములను ప్రజలు ద్వేషిస్తున్నారు. దేశంలో అరాచకం అసంతృప్తి ప్రబలిపోతున్నాయంటే వాటికి కారణం కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారేకాని ఇతరులకారని మనవిచేస్తూ, ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI H. B. ARI GOWDER :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I regret I am unable to find myself in agreement with the Budget. There are quite a number of reasons for that, of which I may mention a few. There is no proposal for retrenchment. There is no persuasion brought to bear on the Government of India to part with larger amounts of contribution to this State. The iniquitous imposition of further taxation is another burden. Steps have not been taken to decentralise powers. The allotment made for the Backward Classes is too small. There is no attempt to put a check upon corruption that is widespread in the State.

“ Getting back to these points in the order mentioned, I may bring to the notice of the Government the imperative necessity for using the axe. It is true that departments or establishments tend to grow out of size, beyond control, but this Government, as every other Government, should have the axe ready to be applied to pare down the expenditure periodically. No such attempt seems to have been made for some years past; probably no Minister thought it was his responsibility. It is time that something is done to bring down the expenditure, as it is scandalously talked about throughout the State. Many members have criticized it as shocking wastage and some as colossal wastage.

“ Now, Sir, regarding the attempts made by the Government of the State to get more funds for the State out of allocations made under income-tax contributions and also out of the subventions that are expected by the States from the Government of India,

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[Sri H. B. Ari Gowder]

I do not think, this Government used its persuasive powers, as was mentioned this morning, sufficiently well. If only the Government had retrenched expenditure and obtained more funds from the Government of India, there would not have been any necessity for additional taxation. As it is, I think, they are putting the last straw on the camel's back.

“ Regarding decentralization of powers, everybody expected, before we attained Independence, that the people would have more freedom, more powers and real Independence. But, now it is worse than ever before. More powers should have been given or transferred to the district or local bodies, or some new bodies—liaison bodies—should have been created, for the transfer of powers from the State to the districts. (At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair.) During the British period, States had to be as large as they were for autonomous administration, but there is no such necessity for continuing the size of the autonomous States as they were before. Smaller units would be much better.

“ In regard to the allotment for the Backward Classes, I regret very much to point out that the allotment has been far too small. This should be raised to a crore, if not more, and if that is not raised, I am afraid, the Government will not have smooth-sailing in this House. I have heard many members from every side of the House belonging to the Backward Classes supporting the move for bigger allotment being made for the amelioration of the Backward Classes.

“ Then, Sir, as regards corruption, I think every one knows that there is a parallel Government run by the gentlemen of the underworld. Usually regarding corruption, the law lays emphasis on the wrong side. It means bribery or giving some gratification to somebody in authority for small favours. But actually the emphasis should be on the correct side, that is, using every possible means of extorting money from the poor public by intimidation, victimization, blackmail and a hundred and one different ways. These are the people that are actually ruling the country now and the States also. Everybody knows it but nobody seems to take any interest in it. It is not impossible to bring it under control or at least a considerable measure of control. I cannot say it can be checked cent per cent, but it can certainly be checked to a very large extent by bringing in a Bill called the anti-Corruption Bill. Such a Bill is absolutely necessary, for framing rules and regulations for making it very difficult for the gentlemen of the underworld to have their own way. Sir, I have a few more remarks to offer, but I am afraid, it is getting rather late.”

* SRI P. RANGA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. the Finance Minister in presenting the Budget has rightly claimed it to be a privilege for him to present this Budget to this newly elected House. I for one rightly feel that it is equally the privilege of every Member of this House to take part in the discussion. I have been watching the speeches of

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on this side and on the other side of the House for the last three days and it appears to me that the discussion on the Budget is found to be the right occasion to discuss everything, not only of this State, but of the entire country and the continent. Sir, I for one wish to confine myself to the problems facing Rayalaseema, the area from which I come. When I speak of problems relating to Rayalaseema, naturally I feel that it is my duty to refer to the famine, the grimmest of its type and the worst of its type, that we have undergone during the last six or seven months. When I think of the various relief measures and the relief we got not only from the Government but also from various other non-official organizations and other individuals, I feel it is my duty to express my grateful thanks particularly to the Press which has correctly depicted the gruesome tales of the sufferings of the Rayalaseema people. They were mostly responsible to let the world know what type of famine was there. So, Sir, we are really very grateful to those who have come to our aid during this period of distress. I should thank not only this Government but also the previous Government for having realized the gravity of the famine situation at the right time and for having taken various steps for according relief to the people of Rayalaseema. First of all, the Hon. Finance Minister has pointed out, that in giving this relief the Government have not followed the principles laid down in the Famine Code which are generally applied to these areas, under similar adverse seasonal conditions. That was really a very good step. Had they merely followed the usual Famine Code and granted the relief according to that Code, I think, in the present circumstances, there would have been a greater famine and the Government would have done the greatest injustice to the people of Rayalaseema.

"Now, Sir, as regards the relief measures themselves, many minor irrigation works and road works were taken up and subsistence loans were granted; also for relieving drinking water scarcity, new wells were sunk where there was need and old wells were deepened wherever it was found an immediate necessity. I should really congratulate the Government on having come forward and taken these various steps. But the actual difficulty and the trouble arose with the people who were put in charge of conducting these relief measures. In every aspect of these relief measures—let it be irrigation work, or road work, or the grant of subsistence loans, or loans for sinking wells—great injustice was done and I am sorry to say that the Government have failed to prevent injustice being done. In this connexion, I would like to mention one or two instances. In regard to minor irrigation works the Government ordered that estimates should be prepared. Naturally, the Collector should have asked the Tahsildar to prepare the estimate for a particular irrigation work. The Tahsildar without going to the spot, or considering what kind of work should be immediately taken up, ordered that the bund of a small tank—we call it a kunta—should be strengthened. The name of that tank is Kalanarasukunta. The bund of that kunta was converted into a pucca metalled road a few years ago and there was

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no bund for strengthening. The Tahsildar without actually going to the spot—I cannot say exactly whether it was the Tahsildar—ordered an estimate to be prepared to strengthen the bund of the kunta. Accordingly, an estimate was prepared for Rs. 2,000 or more and the work was entrusted to a particular contractor. Fortunately, the Revenue Board Member was to visit that place during the course of the week and the Tahsildar asked the contractor to go there and start the work immediately; but when the contractor went to the workspot, he actually found the bund to be a pucca metalled trunk road and there was no work for him to carry on as mentioned in the contract. Still it was a work which was ordered to be completed and it was intended to give relief to the coolies! So, the contractor was compelled to take up the work and ultimately he had to dig up some mud from the bed of the kunta and put it on the trunk road. What happened was, it became a nuisance to cart and motor traffic, so much so that the Highways Engineer went to the extent of giving a notice to the contractor to remove the mud from the road and put it back into the bed of the kunta. I am merely pointing out that such things have happened. If really some other tank which really needed repair, was taken up, it would have really been a great relief.

"Again, Sir, in the matter of roads also, similar things happened. They should have taken up better and more useful village roads for giving relief to the people. Of course, I have to thank the Government for what little they have done and I have no objection to the road works. What I wish to impress on the Government is, had the local officials taken care to take the co-operation of non-officials in the matter of selection of these minor irrigation or road works, the Government would have done better and the relief would have gone to the people who really deserved and needed relief.

"Then, Sir, with regard to subsistence loans, I must say that these loans were really very helpful to the ryots. It is said that these loans are granted free of interest. But, I have to state real facts. The people who took these loans have paid not simple interest, but compound interest. In fact, even this compound interest had to be paid in advance by the people who took the loans. What actually happened was this. The ryot was made to approach the village officer, then the revenue inspector and then some other officer, with the result that he had to spend a small sum of Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 at every stage. That means that at least 75 per cent of the people who got these loans have paid at least 10 per cent of the amount they actually received by way of loans. This is the sort of corruption that is going on and the Government could have easily prevented it. Had really the district authorities cared to bring these facts to the notice of the Government at the proper time, such things could have been prevented. But this was not done. In spite of all these things, I should say that the relief given by the Government was really commendable and they have done their best in giving relief to the people of Rayalaseema. But, I do not know how long we should go on depending on such relief."

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1-15 * SRI VADIVELU :—“ கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்த வரவு
p.m. செலவு திட்டம் பொறுத்த வரையில் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு எந்த விதமான
நன்மையும் காணப்படவில்லை. குறிப்பாக தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் இருக்கக்
கூடிய ஹரிஜனங்கள் பெரிய பெரிய மிராசுதாரர்களைய மனைக்கட்டுகளில்
குடியிருந்து வருகிறார்கள். அவர்கள் வசிக்கும் பிரதேசம் மிகவும் பள்
ளத்தாக்கான இடங்கள். அப்படி இருந்தும் எந்தவிதமான வசதியும்
அவர்களுக்கு இதுவரையிலும் செய்து கொடுத்தது இல்லை. மகாத்மா
காந்தி வழி வந்ததாகச் சொல்லப்படும் இந்த சர்க்கார் ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு
ஒன்றும் செய்யாததால் அவர்கள் றாரம்பவும் தவித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறா
ர்கள். அவர்கள் வருஷம் பூராவும் வயலில் வேலை செய்து காலம் தள்ளவேண்
டியதாக இருக்கிறது. சாகுபடி முடிந்த பிறகு அறுவடை காலங்களில் அவர்
களுடைய உழைப்பிற்குத் தக்க ஊதியம் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைத்ததாக இல்லை.
ஒரு நாளைக்கு வேலைக்குப் போகவில்லை யென்றால் அவர்கள் வாழ்க்கையை
நடத்த முடியாமல் பட்டினியாகக் கிடக்கும் பஞ்ச நிலை ஏற்படுகிறது. அவர்
களுக்கு சர்க்கார் அளித்திருக்கும் கல்வி வசதியோ மிக மிகக் குறைவு. ஹரி
ஜனங்களை பள்ளிகளுக்கு அனுப்பக்கூட வசதி இல்லாமல் மாடு மேய்த்து
பதற்கு திட்டங்கள் இருந்தம்கூட அவர்கள் கஷ்டம் அனுபவித்துக் கொண்
டிருக்கிறார்கள். இதை பயன் படுத்திக்கொண்டு அவர்கள் தலைமுறை தலை
முறையாக அனுபவித்துக்கொண்டு வந்த மனைக்கட்டுகளை தஞ்சை மிராசு
தார்கள் அவர்களிடமிருந்து பரித்துக்கொண்டு விடுகிறார்கள். அவ்விதம்
பரிக்கப்படுவதால் பல ஆண்டுகளாக அனுபவித்து வந்த ஹரிஜனங்கள் இப்
பொழுது தெருவில் நின்று தவிக்கிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் 15 இடங்களில் அவ்
விதம் தவித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். குறிப்பாக அவ்விதம் நாகப்பட்டி
ணத்தில் பரிக்கப்பட்டு இன்றைக்கு ஹரிஜனங்கள் அங்கே தெருநெருவாக
அலைக்கூடிய நிலையிலிருக்கிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் பல தாலுகாக்களில் நடந்து
கொண்டுவருகின்றன. ஏதோ அவசர சட்டம் போடப்படுகிறது என்று சொல்
லுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் இந்த ஹரிஜனங்கள் குடியிருக்கும் வீட்டை பிரிக்கக்
கூடாது என்று ஒரு அவசரச் சட்டம் கொண்டு வரக்கூடாது என்பதை இந்த
சபையின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகிறேன். உணவு உற்பத்திக்காக
சர்க்கார் பல லட்சக்கணக்கான ரூபாய்களை செலவழிக்கிறார்கள். அவ்விதம்
செலவு செய்தும் இந்த விவசாய ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு தகுந்த ஊதியம் கிடை
ப்பதாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அவர்களுக்கு வேலையில்லா திண்டாட்டமும்
பஞ்சமும் பட்டினியும்தான் இருக்கிறது. அவர்கள் வேலை செய்காலும் கூட
சரியானபடி அவர்களுக்குக் கூலி கிடைப்பதும் இல்லை. அப்படி கூலி கேட்க
போலீஸ் படையை வைத்துக் கொண்டு தெருக்களில் புகுந்து அடித்து
துன்பப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். இவ்விதம் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான ஹரிஜனங்கள்
கஷ்டம் அனுபவித்து வருகிறார்கள். வேலை செய்து வரும்போதுகூட
போலீஸ் படையினர் வைத்து வேலை வாக்கி வருகிறார்கள். சில கிராமங்களில்
இவ்விதம் இப்பொழுதும் நடந்துவருகிறது. ராஜாஜி மந்திரி சபை ஏற்பட்ட
பிறகு கூட ஹரிஜனங்கள் தங்களுடைய வாழ்க்கையை சுமுகமான முறையில்
நடத்த முடியவில்லை. இன்றைக்கு கிராமங்களில் பார்த்தாலும் மிராசுதார்கள்
ஹரிஜனங்களை கட்டி வைத்து அடிக்கிறார்கள். செருப்பால் அடிக்கிறார்கள். அந்
தியாயம் நடந்து வருகிறது. இன்றும் சப்-இன்ஸ்பெக்டர், D.S.P. கலெக்டர்
முதலிய அதிகாரிகளிடத்தில் போய் முறையிட்டாலும் அவர்களும் கவனிப்
பது இல்லை. அவர்கள் இந்தப் பணக்காரர்கள் சார்பாகத்தான் நடந்து
கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். அதனால் பல முதலாளிகளால் ஹரிஜனங்கள் பல
துன்பங்களை அனுபவித்துக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். எந்த விதமான
நன்மையையும் அவர்களுக்குச் செய்யவில்லை. கீழ் ஈசலூரில் சுமார் 16
ஹரிஜனங்களுடைய வீடுகளை பிரித்து எரிந்து அவர்களை வெளியேற்றி இருக்
கிறார்கள். அரசாங்கத்திற்கு இந்த ஹரிஜனங்கள் தகவல் கொடுத்தும்
என் அவர்கள் மீது இன்னும் நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுக்கவில்லை என்று கேட்கி
றேன்? இப்பொழுது நானுக்கு நான் ஹரிஜன விவசாயிகளும் தெய்மிளா
ளர்களும் அதிகமாக பாதிக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறார்கள். நடக்கும் நடவடிக்கை
களைப் பார்த்தால் இப்பொழுது இருக்கும் சர்க்கார் பெரிய நில சுவாந்தார
களுக்கும் பணக்காரர்களுக்கும் தான் நன்மை செய்யக் கூடியவர்களாக

[8th July 1952]

[Sri Vadivelu]

இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று தோன்றுகிறதே யொழிய ஏழை விவசாயிகளுக்கு
செளரியம் செய்யக்கூடியவர்களாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. இதை இந்த
சபையின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருகிறேன்.

“ 1946-ம் ஆண்டு தஞ்சை ஜில்லாவில் விவசாயிகளுக்கு இன்ன கூலிதான்
கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஒரு ஒப்பந்தம் விவசாயிகளுக்கும் மிராசுதார்
களுக்கும் ஏற்பட்டது. அந்த ஒப்பந்தப்படி இன்றைக்கு அங்கே கூலி
கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை. கூலி கேட்டால் பல ஹிம்சைகள் செய்து கொண்டு
வருகிறார்கள். இதை இந்த சபையின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவருகிறேன்.
இந்த நிலையில் பலர் பலவிதமாக பேசிக்கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள். இப்
பொழுது ஹரிஜன வெல்பேர் டிபார்ட்மெண்டு என்று ஒன்று வேலை செய்து
வருவதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இன்றைக்குப் பார்த்தால் அவர்கள் எந்த
விதமான நன்மையையும் செய்யவில்லை. இந்த சர்க்கார் விவசாயிகளுக்கு
சட்ட பூர்வமான எந்த உதவியையும் இதுவரையிலும் செய்யவில்லை.

“ இப்பொழுது பார்த்தால் பல இடங்களில் ஹரிஜனங்களை விவசாயியத்
திற்கு வைத்துக்கொள்ளவில்லை. இப்பொழுது தண்ணீர் வந்து விட்டது.
பல்லாயிரக்கணக்கான விவசாயிகளை இன்றைக்கு வேலையை விட்டு நீக்கி
இருக்கிறார்கள். அதன் காரணமாக உணவு உற்பத்தி தடைபடும் என்பதை
இந்த சபையின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வர விரும்புகிறேன். நிதி
மந்திரி அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது விவசாய சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யப் போவதாக
உத்தேசம் இருக்கிறது என்றும் அது தங்களுடைய கவனத்தில் இருக்
கிறது என்றும் சொன்னார். அவ்விதம் விவசாய சீர்திருத்தம் செய்யும்
போது அது ஏழை விவசாயிகளை பாதிக்காமல் இருக்கும்படியாக இருக்க
வேண்டும். இதில் நிதி மந்திரி அவர்கள் கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும்.
இப்பொழுது ஜமீந்தாரி சட்டம் வந்திருக்கிறது. பல இடங்களில் ஜமீந்தார்
கள் வரிப்பணத்தை வசூலித்து வருகிறார்கள். இன்னும் விவசாயிகள்
தாங்கள் சாகுபடி செய்யும் நிலங்களை ஜமீந்தாரர்கள் தங்களுடைய பெயருக்கு
எழுதி வாங்கி வைத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். கிராமங்களிலுள்ள பொது
வான நிலங்களையும் அவர்கள் விற்பிறுக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் இந்த ஜமீந்
தாரர்களுக்கும் இனாம்தாரர்களுக்கும் ஏழைகளுக்கும் நூற்றுக்கணக்கான
கேஸ்கள் நடக்கின்றன. இந்த ஜமீந்தார் ஒழிப்பு சட்டம் வந்ததால் உண்
மையில் ஏழை விவசாயிகளுக்கு நன்மை ஏற்படவில்லை. ஒரு பலனையும்
அவர்கள் அடையவில்லை.

“ இப்பொழுது வரப்போகும் புதிய பட்ஜெட்டில் பஸ்ஸுக்கு புதிய வரி
போடப்போவதாக சொல்லப்படுகிறது. அதுவும் ஏழைகளைத்தான் பாதிக்க
கும். முதலாளிகளையும் நிலச் சுவாந்தாரர்களையும் அது பாதிக்காது
என்பதை இந்த சபையின் கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறேன். நில
வரி சம்பந்தப்பட்ட வரையில் இப்பொழுது முப்பது ரூபாய்க்குக் குறைவாக
வரி செலுத்தும் விவசாயிகளுக்கு இந்த வரியைக் குறைக்க வேண்டும் என்
பதை இந்த சபையை வெகு தாழ்மையுடன் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.
ஏனென்றால் அவர்கள் செறை ஆறு வருஷங்களாக மழை இல்லாமல்
பசி, பஞ்சம், பட்டினி, வேலை இல்லா திண்டாட்டம் இவைகளில் அடிபட்டு
துன்பப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மறுபடியும் அவர்களுக்கு வரி விதித்
தால் அவர்களால் பொறுக்கமுடியாது. முப்பது ரூபாய்க்குக் கீழ் வரி
செலுத்திறவர்களுக்கு வரி இருக்கக்கூடாது என்று இருக்கவேண்டும்.
அதனால் கவர்ன்பெண்ணுக்கு நஷ்டம் 3½ கோடி ரூபாய் தான் ஏற்படும்.
அரசாங்கத்திற்கு அவ்விதம் ஏற்படும் நஷ்டத்தை பெரிய மிராசுதாரர்களிட
மிருந்து வசூலித்து விடலாம் என்பதை இந்த சபைக்கு முன்பாக
சொல்லிக்கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.”

Sri H. RAMALINGA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, during
these three days I have been watching with gratefulness the kind
references made to Rayalaseema by several members. Rayala
seema has come into prominence on account of famine, if on no,

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other account. The Government have spent about five to six crores of rupees on famine relief measures and so they have to present a deficit Budget and proposals for levying new taxes. As was suggested by the Raja of Chettinad, this Government must induce the Central Government to bear the entire expenditure on famine relief. The present is the most inopportune time to levy a surcharge on land revenue. There is a downward trend in the market. The prices of agricultural produce have gone down very much. A bale of cotton which was selling at about Rs. 450 two months ago is now selling at about Rs. 250. The price of groundnut has decreased by about fifty per cent. The levy of a surcharge at this time will hit the ryots very hard.

" Rayalaseema has been considered as a black spot in this State, and unless it is developed, I am afraid there will be famines recurring for ever. The Tungabhadra scheme has been in the offing for the past one hundred years. A beginning has been made in 1945. Work is proceeding apace and the first stage of the scheme will be completed shortly. But the entire scheme is not going to be executed now. If the high level canal is taken up, it will provide water for raising a second crop in the area which will be irrigated by the low level canal. It will irrigate some lands in Bellary district and a portion of Anantapur taluk. There is an urgent need to take up the High Level Canal. There is an impression that this Government are not putting sufficient pressure on the Government of India to take up this work.

" Electric current has been taken to Bellary district from the Jog Falls. High-tension wire has been drawn from the Jog Falls to Adoni, a distance of about three hundred miles. Villages *en route* have not been supplied with electric current, even though there is an incessant demand for it. It does not involve any large expenditure. All that is necessary to supply electric current to those villages is the installation of a small transformer for each village or a group of villages.

" I find that no provision has been made in the Budget for rural water supply. Scarcity of drinking water is very acute in Bellary district. The magnitude of the scarcity can be imagined when I say that teachers and doctors in local board service refuse to serve in some villages of that district due to the acute scarcity of drinking water. Many villages depend upon rain-fed tanks for supply of drinking water. There is water in the tanks only for a few months. For the rest of the year, the villagers have to travel a distance of three to five miles to fetch a pot of water. This problem has been neglected and no provision has been made for it in this Budget. I earnestly request the Government to give some relief in this direction.

" For the Bhairavanitippa project in the Rayadrug taluk, only Rs. 3 lakhs has been provided in the Budget, whereas the project is estimated to cost about Rs. 1 crore. I submit that the provision is meagre. Under the Budget heads also, the allotment for Rayalaseema is very meagre. Out of 66 works that have been sanctioned

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for the whole State, only 9 are in Rayalaseema. In every respect there is a good case for giving preference to the development of Rayalaseema over other places. So long as this area remains undeveloped, we cannot eradicate famine and I am afraid the State Budget will always be a deficit one."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I adjourn the House to meet again at 8-30 a.m. on Wednesday, 9th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 9th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

The Visakhapatnam Co-operative Metal and Timber Works, Limited, Kapprada.

* 59 Q.—SRI M. VEERABHADRAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that “ the Visakhapatnam Co-operative Metal and Timber Works, Limited, Kapprada ” was closed by the Government from 22nd May 1952; and

(b) if so, what are the reasons?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“(a) & (b) Sir, the Visakhapatnam Co-operative Metal and Timber Works, Limited, Kapprada, for ex-servicemen, were not closed by order of Government. The directors of the two workshops in view of financial difficulties, decided to stop production with effect from 22nd May 1952. The reason for this decision appears to be that their entire capital has been locked up in finished goods and ready moneys advanced to workmen. Secondly, they had no funds to carry on further production. The workshops are now concentrating on the disposal of finished goods, collection of bills, recovery of ready moneys advance, etc. After realizing sufficient money, the directors have decided to commence production again.”

SRI M. VEERABHADRAM :—“ Sir, was the decision of the directors endorsed by the general body? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I am not aware of that fact. I will furnish that information if notice is given. So far as my records go, the directors have decided to stop production.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know, Sir, whether it is wise policy for the society, which was running the business, to stop production altogether until finished goods are sold? If capital is wanting, will not the Government give the financial assistance as it is one of the societies sponsored by the Government themselves? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ May I inform the hon. Member, Sir, that the Government have already guaranteed to the Indian Bank to the tune of Rs. 90,000—Rs. 63,000 to the timber workshop and Rs. 27,000 to the metal workshop. The directors this time did not approach the Government for any financial aid, but have come to the decision to stop production from 22nd May 1952.”

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" In view of the fact that this matter has come up to the Government, will the Government be pleased to advance money to the society and keep the society running so that the finished goods also may find a market? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Yes, Sir. If any application comes, we shall certainly consider it favourably."

SRI PRAGADA KOTIAH :—" May I know, Sir, what is the maximum borrowing capacity of that society? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Notice."

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" May I know, Sir, who is responsible for the financial crash of this society? Is it the mismanagement of the executive or is it the fault of the workers? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Notice."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" In view of the fact that the Government are stating in season and out of season that there is great need for increasing production, will the Government take the initiative in the matter themselves and render financial assistance to this society? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" The Government will consider this point."

SRI M. VEERABHADRAM :—" Sir, who is in charge of securing orders and arranging for the sale of the goods that are produced in the factory? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" The works manager, Sir."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—" Sir, is it a question of finance that led the directors to suspend production or was it due to lack of demand for the finished products? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" It is also true that the demand for the finished products was poor."

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" Is it a fact, Sir, that under the bye-laws of the society, no worker can be elected, and that the whole executive should be nominated by the Government? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Notice."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Who are the directors of this co-operative organization, Sir, and have the Government made themselves sure that these gentlemen are carrying on their work in a responsible way? "

HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" The nominated directors are—

1. Sri P. V. Narasinga Rao Naidu, Public Prosecutor.

2. Rev. Father R. Joseph.

3. Sri Balasundar, Assistant Director of Industries and Commerce (Visakhapatnam).

Sri D. Ramamurthi Pantulu, B.A., B.L.

Sri Ommi Ramamurthi.

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" According to the information of the Government, these gentlemen are working in a responsible manner."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, will the Government advise the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies to change the rules of the society so that the members of the society can have their elected directors, and there will be no trouble between the directors and the members? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Apart from these five nominated directors, two directors are elected by the workers also."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies is on the Board of Directors, and, if so, what is his advice? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" He has advised. I have nothing more to add to what I have already said."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, as the factory has been closed now, will the Government send for the records and examine the whole matter, and take over the factory themselves? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I can assure the hon. Member that the Government will send for the records. As for taking over the factory, it is a matter of policy, and I require notice."

Repair works of Kanchalamma tank in Rayachoti taluk.

* 60 Q.—SRI Y. AUDINARAYANA REDDI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Public Works be pleased to state—

(a) whether the Government have given up the execution of the repair works of Kanchalamma tank in Rayachoti taluk; and

(b) if so, why?

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" (a) The answer is in the negative. The scheme is being examined.

" (b) Does not arise."

SRI Y. AUDINARAYANA REDDI :—" Will the Government take it up as a famine work, Sir? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" The question whether it could be taken up as a famine work was considered. Inasmuch as skilled labour was necessary for the completion of the project, this question was given up, and it could not be taken up as a famine work."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, the reasons why after considering the whole question, it was given up? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" As a famine work, it was given up."

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SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" We have been informed that because of some technical personnel not being available the work has not been executed. Will the Government give us an assurance that in the famine affected areas, they will employ many more people so that the works could be finished soon? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" Sir, it is not for want of technical personnel that the work was given up. We can employ unskilled, but not skilled labour on famine relief work. It is for that reason that the work was not taken up as a famine relief work."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—" This particular work was engaging the attention of the Government for the last 50 years. How long will it take the Government to examine whether it is feasible or not? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" I may tell the hon. Member that this Kanchalamma tank was examined in 1933 and was given up for the following reasons. The reasons are : (1) the availability of supply of water for storage was doubtful in many years; (2) there was the possibility of the tank prejudicially affecting supply to the spring channels lower down and also Matearaju tank; (3) the return anticipated was poor; (4) the ryots were not keen on the restoration of the tank; and (5) the foundations for the bund in the river portion was also not quite good. Again this scheme was examined in 1951. The cost of the scheme went up to Rs. 7 lakhs. The increase in the estimate was attributed to non-availability of suitable soil near the dam site for forming the dam, and the extra labour involved in bringing soil from a greater distance and also the additional work necessitated for forming a strong bund. Provision was also included in the revised estimate for special tools and plant. Therefore the cost of the work increased to Rs. 7 lakhs. Very recently, Sir, about the 12th June 1952, the Deputy Famine Commissioner sent a report that this work might be taken up on the ground that all the road works in the Rayachoti taluk had been completed. This point is under the consideration of the Government."

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—" Sir, the reports of the technical officers regarding non-availability of water in the upland districts of Rayalaseema is always a sort of excuse for not taking up any work there. Will the Government see that breaches of tanks in Rayalaseema are repaired always irrespective of the report whether water is available or not? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" This is a general question. The present question relates to the repairs to the Kanchalamma tank only."

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—" I am making a suggestion that in the upland districts of the State, repairs to tanks should be undertaken. I know it is always stated that supply of water is doubtful. So, I am suggesting to the Government."

MR. SPEAKER :—" A separate question may be put."

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SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—" Sir, the Hon. Minister is reading the answers provided by the Secretariat. But then there is a point for consideration. In the report of the investigation in 1933, it has been stated that if the bund is made all right, the spring channels lower down will be affected. How is this possible, Sir? When there is a reservoir above there will always be water in the spring channels downstream."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member is making a speech."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—" Sir, when the point is not clear, it has to be explained to the Hon. Minister."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, is it because the estimate has gone up and because there will be no return to Government from this work if it is taken up as a famine relief work that the work was given up? "

8-45 a.m.

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" I have already said that this work will not be taken up as a famine relief work because it involves the employment of skilled labour."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, my question was not at all answered. I asked if it was because the estimate had gone up and because there was not a good return, the Government gave up this work. That was not answered at all."

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" Sir, the hon. Member put a question whether it was given up by the Government because it could not be taken up as a famine relief work. I have already answered it. The question whether this work could not be taken up as an ordinary irrigation project was considered and it was decided by the Government that it could not be so taken up."

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—" Will the Government tell us whether the cessation of such important works follows the reasons or whether reasons follow the cessation of the works? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" Cessation of works follows the reasons."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Is it the policy of the Government that in the famine-affected areas, those works which do not give them any return, should not be taken up? If so, do the Government believe that they can at any time see that famine is eradicated from those areas? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" I am afraid the hon. Gentleman is confusing the issue. In the case of famine works, there is no question of return at all; it is a question of providing work. But in the case of ordinary works, which are irrigation works, the question of return will be considered."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—" May I know when this tank was originally formed and when it will be repaired? "

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" I have no information on that point."

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SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ అయ్యో, ఈ స్కీముల విషయములూ ఎస్టిమేట్లూ ఒకదాన్ని పోల్చించి, ఇంకొకదాన్ని తగ్గించి, ఆయా స్కీములను పనిపూర్వక పరిశీలించేటప్పుడు ఎస్టిమేట్లను ప్రతిమాటా పెంచుతూ సరియైన ప్రతిఫలం రాదని స్కీమును మానివేయడం ప్రభుత్వం విధానమా? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ వెనుక 1927 వ సంవత్సరంలో పరిశీలించినపుడు స్కీముకు మూడు లక్షల రూపాయలుకు ఎస్టిమేటు వేయబడింది. 1949 వ సంవత్సరం ఎస్టిమేటు సహజంగానే విడు లక్షల రూపాయలవరకూ పెచ్చింది. ఎస్టిమేటు ఎక్కువ అయిందనే కారణంతో స్కీమును మానివేయడం ప్రభుత్వం పద్ధతి కాదు.”

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—“ Sir, the question was put in Telugu and the answer was also given in Telugu. Many of the Members did not understand them nor did many of the Hon. Ministers. How could supplementary questions be put and answered in Telugu? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Chair is in the same position.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Do the Government realize that, if the criterion that irrigation works must yield a certain return if they are to be taken up is applied to the famine-affected areas—I am not referring to areas where there is famine to-day only but to areas where there is perpetual famine—it will mean that they will never be able to eradicate famine from those areas? ”

THE HON. SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I may inform the hon. Gentleman that there is no criterion of a fixed percentage of return for taking up irrigation projects in famine-affected areas.”

Relief to weavers weaving higher counts of yarn.

* 61 Q.—**SRI P. NARASIMHA REDDI** : Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the scheme of contemplated relief (which the Governor mentioned in his Address, dated 6th May 1952 to the State Legislature) to the handloom weavers applies only to the weavers weaving the lower counts of yarn; and

(b) if so, whether the Government propose to extend it to the weavers weaving higher counts, i.e., 60, 80 and 100 counts, who are equally suffering?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ (a) No.

“ (b) Does not arise.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ Sir, since the wage of six annas fixed under the relief scheme is a starvation wage and since the 40 knots of yarn proposed to be supplied in a month per loom will fetch only Rs. 15 for four people depending on the loom, will the Government consider the suggestion to increase the wage level to eight annas per knot and supply 80 knots of yarn in a month to a loom? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ May I ask, Sir, how this is a supplementary question on the main question? ”

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SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—“ Sir, the answer to clause (a) was No and the answer to clause (b) was ‘ Does not arise ’. I do not exactly understand whether the Government propose to say ‘ No ’ to the second clause of the question.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I am sorry, Sir, if I was not clear. The idea of the Government is not to limit the beneficial scheme to those weaving counts of 40 and below only. Therefore, the answer to clause (b) is that it shall also apply to those cases where weavers weave higher counts like 60, 80 and 100.”

Reforms in the Jails.

* 62 Q.—**SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR** : Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state whether the Government are considering reforms in the jails including reform of the dress to be worn by the inmates?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ Yes.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“ Will the Hon. Minister give us details about the reforms that he has in view? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ It is not possible for me to do so since it covers about 500 pages of printed matter.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Will the Government supply us with copies of those proposals before they put them into effect? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ I will consider that suggestion.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Will the Hon. Minister at least explain to us the reforms which he proposes to introduce? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ It will take about an hour if I were to explain them.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ The Hon. Minister can explain one or two important points.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—“ Will the Hon. Minister tell us, in connection with the reforms proposed, whether the degrading conditions of the undertrial prisoners in sub-jails have been brought to the notice of the Government? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ I want notice of that question.”

AN HON. MEMBER :—“ May I know whether the undertrial prisoners for food offences are given separate treatment as compared with Communist undertrial prisoners? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ That question does not arise out of the main question? A separate question may be put.”

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SRI MANJAYA SHETTY :—“ Will the Government consider the suggestion to reduce the strength of the jails in the State in view of the fact that almost all the leading Communists are out of jail? ”

Removal of control over distribution of yarn.

* 63 Q.—SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state whether the Government have any proposal to remove control over distribution of yarn?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Control over distribution of yarn by retailers to consumers has been removed for a period of three months. It is also being considered, if with a view to reduce the price to the consumers, mills should not be allowed to sell half of the yarn allocated to handlooms directly to consumers at ex-mill prices.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ May I know Sir, whether arrangements have been made by the Government to enable the Madras State Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society to get as usual 36 per cent of the total quantity of yarn allotted to this State? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, at present the mills are permitted to sell a portion of the yarn to their own consumers. As a result, proportionate distribution to the handloom weavers and other agencies dealing in yarn will naturally be reduced to less than the usual quota.”

SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH :—“ In view of the decision taken by the Government, permitting the mills to sell yarn to consumers of their choice, may I know whether the Government are aware of the fact that the handloom weavers' co-operative societies are being starved of yarn, and what arrangements do they propose to make to supply adequate quantities of yarn to the co-operative societies? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ At the present moment, my information is that no co-operative society is suffering from want of yarn, but if the hon. Member will give a specific instance or will categorically tell me that yarn is deficient, I shall certainly make enquiries and do the needful.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the fact that the fishermen co-operative societies of Waltair are suffering from want of yarn and that their nets have been in disrepair for a very long time? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Notice, Sir.”

SRI D. K. RAJU :—“ Are the Government aware that in spite of controls and restrictions, black-market is still raging in the mill area? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I thank the hon. Member for his information.”

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SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—“ May I know whether the Government are aware that the yarn supplied to the Laveru Co-operative Society of Cheepurapalli taluk sometimes contains stones, hay and so many other things? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ If the hon. Member brings any instance to my notice, I shall consider and investigate the matter.”

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH :—“ *శోలపరేట్ వాస్తవములు యిస్తున్నాయని నూతన ఎక్స్‌టెన్షన్ ప్రత్యేకించి యిస్తారు?* (What is the portion of yarn allotted to the co-operative societies?) ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ It will be a little less than the original 36 per cent they were getting. The other day the hon. Gentleman Sri Kotaiah was working out the percentage with me. It comes to about 24 per cent.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Why was it reduced? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The hon. Member is aware of the fact that the Government of India have permitted the mills to give a portion of their yarn production to consumers directly and, therefore, the quota set apart specially for distribution in the States gets reduced. Proportionately that amount to which the handloom weavers are entitled will be reduced. But I can tell the hon. Member that so far as my information goes, there is plenty of yarn available in the market and, therefore, there is no difficulty experienced by weavers.”

Lease of the right of collection of tolls at ferries.

* 64 Q.—SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Local Administration be pleased to state why the right of collecting tolls at Ponumudy ferry which has been granted to the Ponumudi Fishermen Co-operative Society in 1951-52, was denied to them and put in public auction in 1952-53?

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ The general question whether leases of the right of collecting tolls at ferries need be given to the co-operative societies without conducting public auction is under the consideration of the Government. Before a decision could be arrived at on the question, the District Board had sold the lease in public auction in accordance with the normal procedure.”

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—“ Was there not a Government Order allowing the fishermen co-operative societies, wherever they existed, the privilege of running the ferries for a definite annual lease amount? ”

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THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ In this particular case somehow the District Board had auctioned the right before the intimation was given to them. So it was confirmed and it could not be cancelled.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“ Will the Government take steps to set right the wrong committed by the District Board and allow the *status quo ante* to be continued till the Government take a decision on this question as a matter of policy? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ The question is still under the consideration of the Government and only after a decision is taken, action can be taken.”

DR. K. B. MENON :—“ Are the Government aware that those who take ferries in auction continue to collect tolls even if the river is fordable? It has happened in some cases, and in those cases, there is no provision in the contract to prosecute the auctioneer. Will the Government take note of this? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ When the river is fordable, people simply wade through it; they need not pay any tolls.”

DR. K. B. MENON :—“ My own experience is that I had to pay toll even when the river was fordable.”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ If anybody is harassed like that, he could prefer a complaint.”

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—“ Are the Government aware that this Government Order was cancelled by the interim Government, in spite of the repeated representations made by the concerned co-operative society? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ Notice, Sir.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ As the District Board has auctioned the ferry against the Government Order in force, will the Government consider the suggestion to take steps to set right the wrong? ”

THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—“ After a decision is taken, they will be informed.”

Officials of the Co-operative Department working in co-operative societies.

* 65 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO : Will the Hon. the Minister for Co-operation be pleased to state the number of men from the Co-operative Department of Government whose services are lent to co-operative societies to work as secretaries, managers, executive officers and auditors in the co-operative institutions as on 31st March 1952?

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THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ The number of officers of the Co-operative Department whose services have been lent to co-operative societies in the State as secretaries, managers, executive officers, etc., as on 31st March 1952 is as follows :—

(1) Deputy Registrars	...	...	...	20
(2) Co-operative Sub-Registrars	...	...	...	114
(3) Senior Inspectors	...	...	...	307
(4) Junior Inspectors	...	...	...	34
(5) Accountants, clerks, etc.	...	...	...	46
Total				521

“ The particulars of officers who were deputed as auditors as on 31st March 1952 are as follows :—

(1) Co-operative Sub-Registrars	...	...	25
(2) Senior Inspectors	...	...	317
(3) Junior Inspectors	...	...	28
	Total	...	370

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ May I know whether these societies have voluntarily asked for the services of the officers? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ The answer is in the affirmative.”

SRI V. CHIDANANDAM :—“ Will it not be better if the information read out by the Hon. Minister just now is placed on the table of the House, as it is very long and it is difficult for hon. Members to remember all the facts? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ The answer given on the floor of the House will be placed in the Library and the hon. Member can go there and see the same.”

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Is it a fact that grants are given to co-operative institutions on condition that they will take departmental officers? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ Not at all.”

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ Is it a fact that the Government are treating the co-operative movement in a step-motherly fashion? ”

THE HON. SRI D. SANJIVAYYA :—“ On the other hand, the Government are taking ample interest to spread the movement.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ In reply to a question put by the hon. Member Sri Chidanandam, the Hon. Minister stated that the answer will be placed in the Library and he could go there and see the same. Whenever answers were long in the past, you were good enough to advise Hon. Ministers to place the same on the table of the House for the benefit of hon. Members. The present answer

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given by The Hon. Minister contains so many figures relating to the several officers, and it is not possible to remember all those figures. That is the difficulty of not only Sri Chidanandam, but also of others who have not expressed it. I wonder if the Hon. Speaker was able to follow all the figures. So, may I request you, Sir, to advise the present Ministers also to place such long answers on the table of the House?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"I know that it is the practice to place long answers on the table of the House for the benefit of hon. Members. I think the present answer is only a small one, and so there may not be any necessity to place the same on the table of the House."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"If you would permit me, Sir, I wish to state that I entirely agree with the suggestion that long answers and long statements containing figures, etc., must be placed on the table of the House, as we can save time and also give good opportunities to the Members to study the same. I shall certainly advise my colleagues to place such long answers on the table of the House and give a brief answer in the House."

Relief for the unemployed handloom workers.

* 66 Q.—SRI K. P. GOPALAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state what steps the Government propose to take to give immediate relief to the unemployed handloom workers who mainly depend upon this industry?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"The Government have recently sanctioned a scheme for the relief of distress among handloom weavers in the State who have been thrown out of employment due to the slump in the handloom cloth trade. The scheme will be worked through the agency of co-operative societies and will be introduced in all districts. The scheme will assure the weavers of a subsistence wage and continuous employment and also relieve them from the burden of marketing cloth as far as possible. The Government are also considering other steps to stabilize the industry and to enlarge the market for handloom cloth."

SRI K. P. GOPALAN:—"Are the Government aware that the scheme will not be applicable to Malabar, as the handloom factories are run there on a factory basis? In view of this, may I know what steps the Government have taken regarding Malabar?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"I go further and state that we are aware that Malabar is peculiarly situated with respect to so many matters. It is true that those factories come under the Factories Act. We therefore sent two Deputy Registrars to get in touch with the Collector of Malabar and to find out from the owners of factories if, firstly they will be agreeable to become members of co-operative societies and secondly, if they are not willing, whether, if

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given all the facilities that the co-operative societies are given, they will be willing to work under the Collector of the District, and help the weavers. I cannot give a final answer, as the matter is still under negotiation."

SRI N. MAHALINGAM:—"Is it a fact that the handloom weavers are in great difficulty in view of the fact that the number of power looms in textile mills has increased very greatly?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"Notice, Sir."

SRI K. P. GOPALAN:—"In view of the peculiar conditions obtaining in Malabar, will the Government be pleased to give unemployment allowances to the handloom weavers in order to enable them to purchase their rations, as, at present, they are not able to purchase their rations and are starving?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"As I have already said, the policy of the Government at the present moment is to work the scheme through the Registrar of Co-operative Societies so that the suffering weavers may be assured of a subsistence wage."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—"As a measure of relief, will the Hon. Minister consider the question of exporting the handloom cloth to foreign countries through the co-operative societies of the handloom weavers, rather than through individuals?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"The question with regard to the possibility of exporting our cloth to foreign countries is being examined; it is not through co-operative societies, but through other agencies."

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM:—"Do these relief measures include those engaged in spinning yarn also?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"Notice, Sir."

SRI N. MAHALINGAM:—"Will the Government restrict certain varieties of cloth for the handloom trade alone?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"That is also being examined. At the present moment we are considering what are the varieties that the handlooms must manufacture and what are those that should be reserved for mill manufacture."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"In view of the fact that a large number of people in Malabar are without employment and are in great distress, and in view of the fact that it will take several months for the Government to give any aid to these suffering people in the normal course, may I know whether the Government will consider the suggestion to give immediate relief to these poor people by way of cash loans or free rations?"

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—"The present policy of the Government is to encourage handloom weavers working through co-operative societies. The question of Malabar is being specially examined. I have nothing more to add to what I have said already."

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ May I know what steps have been taken by the Government to dispose of the existing accumulated stocks? The scheme of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies is only in respect of future production through co-operative societies.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I would like to tell the hon. Member that the present scheme of the Government is only to sell or help the sale of future production. The Government do not at the present moment wish to meddle with the existing stocks.”

AN HON. MEMBER :—“ May I know whether the present scheme does not apply to master-weavers? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ We are not concerned with master-weavers. Our present scheme is intended to help the poor weavers who are suffering now.”

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—“ May I know whether new co-operative societies will be established in rural areas? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Yes, Sir. Wherever there are no primary co-operative societies, we have asked the Registrar to form new societies and all those who want to join the existing or new societies for the purpose of working the scheme will be advanced Rs. 25 each to meet their share capital which will be recovered in easy instalments.”

SRI S. S. KOLKEBAIL :—“ May I know whether the Government have collected the names of unemployed workers in the handloom factories? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Notice, Sir.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ May I know what the other agencies contemplated by the Government with regard to the export of handloom cloth to foreign countries are? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ The normal agencies, business and commercial enterprises that have been in the trade for centuries and which, for some reason or other, were not able to do the business till now.”

SRI C. V. K. RAO :—“ Are the Government aware that due to unemployment and starvation, there are many cases of suicide among the handloom weavers? I can give instances where these occurred in Uppada.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I thank the hon. Member for the information. However regrettable it may be, it has nothing to do with the present question.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“ In respect of these co-operative societies, may I know whether the Government have fixed any maximum number of members for any district? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ It was originally suggested that Salem should have 2,000 members and the

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rest of the districts should have 1,000 each. Now that there are many weavers, there will be no restriction on the number that should be admitted to these societies.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ In his Budget speech, the Hon. the Finance Minister stated that the entire capital required to be paid by the handloom weavers would be advanced by the Government, whereas the Hon. the Industries Minister now tells us that 50 per cent of the capital will have to be met by the weavers. May I know which statement—either the Hon. the Finance Minister's or the Hon. the Industries Minister's—are we to believe? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ With regard to the existing societies we said that the share capital will be met by the Government. But with regard to the new societies we said that the new members must pay 50 per cent of the share capital and the remaining portion of the share capital could be covered on loan basis.”

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“ Are the Government making a general survey of the situation and affording relief wherever necessary and wherever people are starving, or are the Government giving relief only to areas where there is strong agitation? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ On the introduction of this scheme, we have circularised all the co-operative societies in this State and asked them to tell us if they required our assistance immediately.”

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—“ Will the Hon. the Labour Minister be pleased to state whether the Government are prepared to appoint official or non-official committees to give immediate relief to the handloom workers in Malabar? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I would like to know what will be the functions of these committees, before I give an answer.”

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—“ The function of these committees will be to see that the workers do not die of starvation and to offer such assistance as is necessary to enable them to live.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ I want notice.”

SRI B. SANKARAYYA :—“ ఈ స్కీములన్నీ ఆవరణలోకి వచ్చేటందు చేసేత కార్మికులను ఎదుర్కొని నిరుద్యోగ సమస్య పరిష్కరించుటగల ప్రభుత్వం ఏమైనా ఏర్పాట్లు చేస్తుందా? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Yes, Sir, it is only to relieve unemployment that we have brought this new scheme.”

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—“ Are the Government aware that there are relief committees in Malabar and in various other places (relief committees meaning committees which are to see that the weavers are not in distress) and will the Government consider the question of making grants or subventions to these committees so that they may do their work efficiently? ”

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THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" As I have stated, the present policy of the Government is only to help the weavers by giving them subsistence wages wherever they are suffering. If the relief committees are going to be of any value at all, we shall certainly consider the suggestion from this point of view."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" In view of the statement of the Hon. the Minister for Industries that it is only in respect of the existing co-operative societies the Government will supply the full capital, may I ask whether the Government are aware that nearly 60 per cent of the handloom weavers are not today in the co-operative societies and, therefore, the contemplated help is not going to reach even half of them? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, out of 8 lakhs of handloom weavers, nearly 3 lakhs are in the co-operative fold, and when this scheme is extended, we will get another 3 or 4 lakhs more so that there will be nearly 6 lakhs or 7 lakhs of people in the co-operative fold. We shall examine the question, however, again if it is brought to our notice that this does not give adequate relief to the weavers."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know when the Government are going to put this scheme into operation? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" Already, Sir, in 15 districts—Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar, Chingleput, Madurai, South Arcot, North Arcot, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and the Ceded Districts—the scheme has come into operation."

SRI G. LATCHANNA :—" May I know whether the Government have, with reference to the suggestion of the Hon. the Finance Minister in his Budget speech, issued orders to all the departments to use handloom cloth and whether it will not be desirable to find out if there is any market for handloom products in foreign countries so that the large stocks accumulated by co-operative societies may be released? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" With regard to the Government orders, I may tell the hon. Member that we have circularised all the departments and asked them to let us know their requirements so that we can supply handloom cloth as early as possible. With regard to the second part of the question, we are also in correspondence with our trade delegates in other countries to see what the possibility is of increasing the export of our products, by participating in exhibitions in those countries and by exhibiting the products in the embassies themselves."

SRI A. RAMASWAMY THEVAR :—" Will the Government issue similar circulars to local bodies also to use handloom cloth? "

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO :—" I accept the valuable suggestion of the hon. Member and shall do the needful."

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

II.—ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE HON. SPEAKER.

(1) ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE REORGANIZED MADRAS AND SOUTHERN MAHRATTA RAILWAY LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that the following persons were nominated as candidates for election by the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly to fill a seat on the Reorganized Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Local Advisory Committee :—

- (1) Sri Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju,
- (2) ,, Pragada Kotaiah,
- (3) ,, P. Suryachandra Rao, and
- (4) ,, M. Kalyanasundaram.

" Sri Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju, Sri Pragada Kotaiah and Sri M. Kalyanasundaram have since withdrawn their candidature.

" As the number of candidates validly nominated is equal to the number of vacancies to be filled, namely one, I hereby declare Sri P. Suryachandra Rao to have been duly elected to the Reorganized Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Local Advisory Committee."

(2) ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE STATE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that Sri M. R. Appa Rao is the only candidate validly nominated to fill a seat in the State Library Committee. I hereby declare him duly elected."

(3) ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE REORGANIZED SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have to announce to the House that Sri P. T. Rajan is the only candidate validly nominated to fill a seat in the Reorganized South Indian Railway Local Advisory Committee. I hereby declare him duly elected."

III.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53—cont.

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, after going through an exciting and long debate on the Motion of Confidence, we had not enough time to go through this Budget carefully and that is the reason why most of the Members on this side of the House could not take part in the discussion on the Budget all these days. This very particular instance has given us a very valuable suggestion for the future, namely, that Budget proposals in future years should not be placed before the House in this way but must be placed in such a way as to give us enough time to go through them and study them properly so that we may give concrete suggestions to the Government for the welfare of the State. The Budget is not an ordinary thing. It is a thing which almost decides the fate of the State for a long time to come. Yet it so happens always that we find ourselves in such a position that we are unable to study it properly or to go through it properly. We have been

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given quite a number of volumes full of statistics, numbers and, as Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari would say, G.C.Ms. and L.C.Ms. and all that, and we find it troublesome to go through them. The whole Budget is divided into different portions and we are not able to locate what we want easily. I would, therefore, request the Government not to adopt this method at least in future.

" I would like to tell the Government that the very form of the Budget is not the form that should be adopted in the preparation of a Budget. This form is so very complicated, complex and cumbersome that an ordinary man is not capable of understanding the very intricate problems of revenue and expenditure. For instance, it is very difficult to find out the capital outlay on irrigation. It has become so very troublesome for us to go through these huge volumes that even today, after spending nearly seven days on it, I am unable to find out what is to be spent on irrigation, education and medicine. You will find in one place mention about the Anantapur College, in another place about the Madurai College and in a third place—on the 300th or the 400th page—you will see mention about the Bapatla College. The point is that the statement regarding capital outlay should be in one place. So also as regards irrigation, the figures must be in one place. This will enable us to form an idea as to what is to be spent on the general administration and to study the subject easily and carefully. This will enable ordinary men like me to offer constructive suggestions to the Government. But this is not being done now. Probably the Government do not intend that the Members should study the proposals carefully, because the form in which it is presented cannot be understood by anybody, leave alone ordinary men.

" Then, Sir, as regards the method of presenting the budget, I would suggest that our budget should be studied not only by the Members of the Legislature but by the ordinary public also. The proposals must be made available to them earlier than they are presented here and discussed. This has to be done so that people may come forward with their criticisms and their suggestions for the purpose of enabling the Government to remodel the budget according to their wishes. The budget must be framed after taking into consideration the actual conditions that exist in the State. What the actual position to-day is should be enumerated. What is the present state in regard to education? What is the present state in regard to irrigation and medicine? All these must be taken into account. How far we have progressed in the last five years must also be indicated in the budget. Then only we must plan out the actual work that we will have to do this year. In the absence of these details, we find to-day that we are not in a position to know how many more hurdles we are to cross. We cross one after another thinking that, that is all we have to cross, but many more follow. We are kept blind to the actual realities of the situation; we are kept blind to the plans and programmes for the future. What we see here is that the people of the State are called upon to make more sacrifices for the sake of rehabilitation and reconstruction of the State. We do not know to what extent

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we have gone in the last five years in this process. They do not explain what has been done and what is to be done. They merely say, 'Here is your chance for making sacrifices to create better conditions of living.' What sacrifices the Government have made, the people must be told. When this is not the case, when we are not being told what the programme for the next five years is and what actually is to be done this year, there will be no enthusiasm for the people to make the necessary sacrifices. This budget gives no incentive to the people to work for the rehabilitation or reconstruction of the State.

" Then, Sir, we have been told that our country is a poor country and hence our budgets are always deficit. We are also told that there is not enough revenue in our State. I would say that there have been cases and instances of very poor countries who have framed their budget in such a way as to rehabilitate their economy within a short period of two or three years. Let not the Government feel that this suggestion is made in a mood of carping criticism. I am suggesting very seriously that the Government should study the budgets of States which have an example to give us. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'Are they independent States?') Yes, they are independent States; they are not slave States where people are dying. They are States where people eat more now than they were eating three years back. We must study how they have rehabilitated their economy. That will enable us to cut down unnecessary expenditure and slash every piece of extravagance and bring forward programmes of rehabilitation. Sir, I have not had enough time to go through the budget in detail and so I can give only one or two instances to show the items of extravagance which the Government of this poor country have indulged in. We have been told that there is something like a deficit of three crores of rupees. I would say that without taxing the people, we can reduce this deficit considerably by adopting other means. I have not gone into the additions and subtractions completely. All the same, I feel that about fifty lakhs of rupees could be saved which is earmarked for capital outlay on cement concreting the roads. A poor country can wait for some ten years for cement concrete roads. I would suggest to the Hon. Chief Minister that this Rs. 50 lakhs can be given to the famine affected areas either in the south or in the north for the rehabilitation of the rural areas. In the same way the general administration expenses have not been put in one place. I have not had the time to collect all these figures, and show how much is spent on this. Much of this expenditure can be slashed not by removing the low-paid clerks or the chaprasis, but by cutting down the high salaries paid to our Secretaries, Members of the Board of Revenue—these posts can very well be abolished—and many other similar posts. A poor country must have a poor man's budget. It must have money for rehabilitation and not for spending on extravagances, such as electric lifts for Governors and Judges. We are told day in and day out that we must sacrifice our comforts for the sake of rehabilitation of the

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country. This being the Government policy we expect them to come forward with such schemes as would cut extravagant expenditure and help rehabilitation.

"Sir, we have always been told and the Hon. the Finance Minister has referred to it in his budget speech, that our State is facing one of the worst famines that we have ever experienced in living memory. True. We are part and parcel of it. That is why we have been suggesting to Government that they should take action on certain of the schemes recommended by various enquiry committees so that in future at least there may not be famines. I went through budget after budget to find out actually what is being done for the rehabilitation of the famine-affected areas whether in the south or in the north. What I find is the Government have no plan. It is simply a blind man's work. So far as this Government are concerned, they have no plan to rehabilitate the famine-affected areas, and the result would be they would be faced with similar famines in the future also. I am sure if the Rajaji Government were to continue for the coming five years, they will have to face another famine very soon, and in the very same place, simply because they are not coming forward now with schemes which would rehabilitate that area, and the Government will then have to spend much more than they have spent now, on famine relief. That is the fate of Rayalaseema and it will continue to be so till Government come forward with schemes to rehabilitate the people there and put them on their feet. There was an Economic Development Committee which recommended certain schemes, and made certain suggestions for the rehabilitation of this area. When the Hon. the Chief Minister was in Anantapur, we presented a memorandum and had a talk with him. He asked us casually during the course of the talk whether it would be possible for the Government to take up certain projects which would not give a certain return to Government. Of course it would be a troublesome thing for the Government to undertake unremunerative projects. I do not say 'no' to it. But we are faced with certain realities. There is a part of the country where we find people are denied the ordinary facilities to live. What is to be done with that area? There are two things that the Government could do. Rayalaseema has a greater industrial potential than all the other parts of the State put together. It produces a good amount of raw materials like groundnut, cotton and other things. Government could develop the industrial potential of this area. But they are not moving in that direction. There is another side also for the Government to take up and develop the area. We have been told that this area is rich in coal and other minerals. The Government must take up a geological survey of the area, prepare a definite plan and put it into execution. If Government take up these things, they will not only solve the famine problem but they will get good returns on their outlay. This is the manner in which Government should act and not merely spend crores and crores of rupees every time there is a famine in that area.

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"Then, Sir, there are the electricity and irrigation projects. Whether they be for Rayalaseema, Visakhapatnam, South Arcot, Salem or Chingleput, they should not be treated as schemes to get a return for the Government but as a matter of Government policy towards the development of areas which are backward from where no returns could be expected. These schemes are all the same necessary to enable the people to live properly at least as human beings. People in Rayalaseema are starving and even die of starvation. I say even a half-starving man is a dead man. Let not Government believe in the reports of the Communists. I hope they will at least believe the reports which have appeared in the 'Indian Express' and 'Andhra Prabha'. In previous months there have been deaths due to starvation. How are the Government going to stop this? If they want to solve this problem are they to be afraid of a deficit budget? If we take up the programmes of greater production and rehabilitation of famine-affected areas, we might get loans or even print currency notes, many more currency notes. Inflation and deficit in the budget need not be a terror to us, if we take up schemes for rehabilitation and greater production. I can give an example. Of course it might be said that I am quoting examples from only one part of the world, namely, China. The Communists when they came to power in China found the country in confusion and chaos. They immediately increased the issue of currency notes. For what? They said very plainly: 'the increased issue of notes will lead to inflation if we do not rehabilitate the State in a year and increase production. It will not lead to inflation but will lead to deflation the next year if we are successful in our rehabilitation and reconstruction.' That was a bold step to take. They took that step and came forward with plans and explained them to the people. The whole mass of the people came forward and helped in the construction of projects, railways, industries and agriculture that were necessary for the State. We should take such a step. That is the manner in which we should proceed with our budgeting.

"Lastly I would say, the most important thing for the Government to deal with immediately is the land reforms, if they want to increase either industrial or agricultural production. As a matter of fact the whole country is facing a grave crisis. This has been referred to by the Hon. the Finance Minister. What form has the crisis taken to-day? It is the lack of purchasing power of the people. That is the reason why we are faced with a crisis in the handloom industry. That is why we are faced with a crisis in the famine-affected areas. That is why we are faced with a crisis in every part of our State. How are we going to increase this purchasing power? The first and the most important task of the Government to-day is to increase the purchasing power of the people in the villages. How can that be done? That can be done only if the Government adopt the plans that were adopted by some other countries. That has been accepted by the Central Government, and the Hon. the Finance Minister has told us that he is thinking of some land reforms. The distribution of land to the

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people as a first step towards greater and increased production is the accepted formula of all States, of all the economists and statesmen and of anyone who wants to increase the agricultural and industrial production of the country. This has been accepted by capitalists like Mr. Nanavathi, by Socialist friends on the other side and by the Communists on this side. This is the first step towards the rehabilitation of a nation and towards the industrialisation of the nation; and people will have the purchasing power to purchase the goods produced now lying in stock for want of purchasing power. That is the way in which we should progress. Then alone can the economy of the State be built up on proper lines, then alone can the Budget be prepared on a better form and then alone we will be able to say that taxation proposals need not be taken into consideration, in any form, whether they are betterment taxes, surcharge on bus fares, or surcharge on land revenue.

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

"These, Sir, are generally my suggestions, and I hope the Government will consider them and see that the taxes are not placed on the heads and backs of the people. I also believe that changes in the form of presentation of the Budget would be made and the Government will place before the people very soon the Budget in the new form."

* DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, I wish to say only a few words regarding taxation, food and clothing. Let me take food first. I was happy when the hon. Member Mr. Swayamprakasam referred to the fact that there was a committee which went into the question of sanitation in hotels and said that it should have gone further into the food values of the food served in the hotels. I would like to go a step forward. Only a few, comparatively a few especially in cities go and take their food regularly in hotels. What about the homes where we eat every day? I agree with the principle that if we want our nation to be healthy we must bring down the expenditure on curative medicines. We must adopt a rational diet in our own homes. I wish to suggest, Sir, to solve the problem of unemployment in villages, it is very necessary that food processing should be made the monopoly of the cottage industry. I shall explain it. Now take rice, the staple food of Indians, South Indians anyway. Hand pounding of rice was one of the main cottage industries in our villages. I have investigated in many villages regarding this. One family out of every five to eight families was sustained, as far as women were concerned by pounding rice and getting one to two measures of rice every day which was sufficient for their home consumption. I do not want to go further into details. We can have a discussion on that later on when we come to that particular subject. Now the food deficit, as far as the south is concerned, is supposed to be 10 per cent. We have calculated this again and again and dietitians and experts on the subject have come to the

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conclusion that if hand pounding of rice is done, we can save at least 6 to 12 per cent. Because the form of hand pounding varies in different parts, at least 6 to 10 per cent, in some cases even 12 per cent, of the deficit could be made up by closing the rice mills and taking to hand pounding of rice. This is no novel measure because in Travancore this is an accomplished fact, in spite of the vested interests trying again and again to bring back the rice mills. The popular support there is so great that this is not allowed. Now hand pounded rice only is supplied everywhere in Travancore. In Vedaranyam an experiment was made by Sri Vedaratnam Pillai. They were supplying only hand pounded rice—that too only boiled rice—and this gave work to hundreds of families. So I would suggest in all seriousness that this may be taken up at once. It will solve the great problem of village unemployment and will also give us nourishing food. Thereby we can do away with 'B' complex and all sorts of vitamin products, and we can really save the money spent on curative medicines, that is curative side of the medical department, and use that money for better purposes and for promoting health.

"Now coming to rural development, of course, I am one of those rural faddists. I shall try to be brief in my remarks, as I have been given only 10 or 15 minutes. Rural development to be effective and to bring in relief and development as early as possible should be done in a more extensive form and more money must be found for rural development. In this connection I wish to refer to the small farmers in the villages. Our farmers and villagers can pay this surcharge on land revenue and much more if only they are helped in two ways. The other day some hon. Members pleaded that paddy must be available at much lower price, etc. Did they ever think who was selling paddy to the city people? I would make a distinction between the industrial labourer and the agricultural labourer. The industrial labourer comparatively gets more than the agricultural labourer and there are many who plead for the industrial labourer. But, I wish to suggest that we must fix the price of paddy in such a way that the village farmer or labourer gets a minimum wage of at least Rs. 35 per mensem. We have worked out the cost of production and if one bag of 48 Madras measures of paddy is to be sold for Rs. 12, the present procurement price, the farmer will not get more than Rs. 20 per mensem. Those people from the cities who agitate for low prices must really examine their own statement and revise their policy. I want to plead on behalf of the villagers that the minimum price must be fixed between Rs. 16 and Rs. 18 per bag in the canal-irrigated area and between Rs. 18 and Rs. 20 per bag in the well-irrigated area provided no cattle disease carries away their bulls. A minimum return should be guaranteed to the villagers for paddy and other essential articles of diet.

"Another burden which is keeping the villagers down is their debts. I have extensively travelled in the Tamil districts and have investigated their present economic condition. I can say with

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certainly that it is the debts that are pressing them down and harassing them much more than anything else. I know from personal experience, Sir, they borrow thousands of rupees every year paying 10 to 12 per cent interest or an interest of one-anna or two annas in the rupee, as they cannot get loans quickly from the Co-operative Banks and other Credit Societies. It is very difficult for them to get credit adequately and in time. Providing long term loan facilities repayable in fifteen to twenty years in small instalments must be one of the most important items in the Government rural development schemes. Then I can guarantee that their economic condition will improve so much that they will be able to pay even four annas or six annas surcharge on a rupee.

"Then, Sir, it must be the policy of the Government that colleges and high schools, if started, should be started only in the taluk headquarters or in big villages so that the drift of able men and women with initiative to cities can be stopped and they can sit back in the villages and fight for the betterment of the villages.

"I would also like to say a few words in regard to handloom cloth. I was hearing this morning questions and supplementary questions and answers about handloom cloth. Only when we create a market in our own area, the question of unemployment of handloom weavers can be solved. I come from a handloom weavers' village where thousands of handlooms are working. But, all the saris and dhotis are sent outside and the villagers are wearing mill saris and mill dhotis. This anomaly must go and I request all my friends in this House to use handloom cloth, if not khadi, and when asking the Government to propagate the use of handloom cloth, let us also use it and not depend on the foreign market but on our own market.

"In regard to the taxation proposals, Sir, I wish to say that our villagers will gladly pay this surcharge on land revenue if only they are made to feel that the benefits would come to them in some form or other and that other facilities would be afforded to them in the matter of enabling them to get out of their debts and fixing minimum price for their produce. I also hope that the surcharge on bus fares is to be borne by the bus owners and not the passengers.

"Sir, I went through the budget very quickly and I plead guilty that I have not made an exhaustive study of the same as yet. Being a medical practitioner myself, I went through the provisions under 'Medical' and 'Public Health'. I am very happy to find that great improvements have been proposed in the present Budget. Changing the designation 'Surgeon-General' to 'Director of Medical Services' is the first step in the right direction. I would also like to suggest that our objective must be positive health and not disease. Therefore, the head of the department must be styled 'The Director of Health Services' and there must be two branches, one preventive medicine or public health and the other curative medicine. More medical facilities should be provided in the villages to promote public health, as cholera and other diseases spread from the villages to the cities. I am not afraid of the

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death rate—in fact, that will solve our problem of over-population also, but those who live must live healthily and the unhealthy should not be a national burden on us. Therefore, Sir, public health measures should be effective and should reach the villages. We must make adequate arrangements and find out ways and means of extending these public health measures to the villages.

(At this stage Mr. Speaker occupied the Chair.)

Regarding Prohibition I wish to say a few words. How can I forget it, Sir? The population of women is about 51 per cent according to Government records and most of us live in the villages. I would like to ask those Members who oppose Prohibition, to go to the villages and enquire from the womenfolk whether they want Prohibition to go. Unfortunately women were not able to come here in large numbers to plead our case. We need no sympathy. We want only our rights and no women would agree to be beaten by drunken husbands hereafter. I put Prohibition as one of the ideals in my election speeches and women are ready to march to Madras in protest if Prohibition is given up. Prohibition has come to stay and we must plead for its strict enforcement. In fact women in the villages who were wearing rags 3 or 4 years ago are prosperous today. And I hope men will not snatch away that happiness from the village women. Let us advocate Prohibition; let us find out ways and means of enforcing it effectively. When we are convinced of its good, why should we give up Prohibition? If it is not successful, we should find out the reasons why it has failed. I request hon. Members to view it from the positive aspect that it has brought happiness to womenfolk in the villages. Prohibition is an accomplished fact so far as women are concerned and in future when we have to face the women electorate, let us show our sympathy for them and help the Government to enforce Prohibition effectively. Thank you, Sir."

SHRI M. CHADAYAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, 1952-53 ലെ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ സ്റ്റേറ്റിന്റെ ഹരിജൻ വെൽഫെയർ ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റിന് 74 ലക്ഷം രൂപയുടെ അധിക വരുമാനം ഉറപ്പാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. സ്റ്റേറ്റിന്റെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസ സ്കീം വഴി grant മുതലായ ഇനങ്ങളിലെ നിക്ഷേപം സംഖ്യ മതിയായതായി ഏകദേശം എൺപത് അടിപ്രായം. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് ഗവണ്മെന്റിനോടു് ആൻ അക്ട് ക്ലിപ്തമായി അത് 1½ കോടി രൂപയിൽ അകണമെന്ന്. എന്നു മാത്രമല്ല മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു കേരളം ഹരിജന പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാരെ 50 ലക്ഷം രൂപയിൽ കൂടിയ നിക്ഷേപം ക്ലിപ്തമായി അകണമെന്ന് കൂടി ആൻ അക്ട് ക്ലിപ്തമായി."

"സർ, മലബാറിൽ എല്ലാ ഗ്രാമങ്ങളിലും ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പുറമ്പോക്ക് സ്ഥലങ്ങളുണ്ട്. എങ്കിലും അത് റവന്യൂ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ അധീനതയിൽ പതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുകയും അത് യാതൊരു ചെലവിനുമില്ല. എന്നുമാത്രമല്ല ഹരിജനങ്ങൾ തിങ്ങിപ്പോകുന്ന സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ 10-ം 20-ം 30-ം റീട്ടുകളുള്ള സ്ഥലത്തു് വെള്ളം കടിക്കുകയും കിണറുകൾ ഇതുവരെ വെൽഫെയർ ഡിപ്പാർട്ട്മെന്റ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ കഴിച്ചുകൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് മലബാറിന്റെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥിതി നന്നാകണമെങ്കിൽ, 10 ശതമാനം മാത്രം വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ള ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്ക് മറ്റുള്ള സ്കൂളുകളിലും കോളേജുകളിലും പഠിക്കുന്ന ഹരിജനങ്ങൾക്ക് സ്പെഷ്യൽ ക്ലിപ്തം ബോർഡിന് ഇൻസ്പെക്ഷൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ന്യായമായ നിധിയിൽ കൊടുത്താൽ മാത്രമേ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിന് അഭിവൃദ്ധി ലഭിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ. ഇതുവരെ ഹരിജനങ്ങളുടെ രക്ഷി

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Visakhapatnam district is one. This dam is intended to impound the waters of the river 'Sarada'. Some years ago the dam was completed but due to the subsequent cyclone the whole construction was washed away. If the dam is completed again it would prevent the water from going waste into the sea. The surplus water if properly utilised would irrigate about 20,000 acres. In spite of representations to the Government to take up that scheme and thus benefit the people of Visakhapatnam district, the Government have not yet taken it up. Even though they promised at first, subsequently the promise was not implemented. In this connexion I plead for the early construction of the Arandel dam which would facilitate the production of commercial crops.

"There is one other major irrigation scheme, viz., the Budderu scheme near Konam in Veeravalli taluk. The surplus water that goes to the sea can be utilised for irrigating 20,000 acres of land. The Government should immediately take the two major schemes which I have mentioned and thus increase the fertility of our area. If these two schemes are completed our food problem will be nearly solved.

"Coming to the facilities provided for the upliftment of Harijans the Government say that they have done this and that. According to the rules in force, Sir, the Government have allowed Harijans to cultivate banjar lands themselves. There is a village in Veeravalli taluk called Kalikota. There is a big tank called the Nook Naidu tank. The poramboke lands are being cultivated by the Harijans. But the village munsif of that place in spite of the fact that he owns about 250 acres of land is trying to evict these Harijans from these lands. With the help of the President of the District Congress Committee the village munsif got orders from the officers to evict the poor Harijans. The District Collector who did not inspect the spot, confirmed that order. The poor Harijans are now on the verge of eviction. Is this the way the Government are helping the Harijans?

"I shall now pass on to the proposals for taxation that are embodied in the Budget. Before going into the question of taxation let us examine whether the economic position of the people in Visakhapatnam district is sound enough to bear the additional tax burden. The economic condition of the masses is very low. The income of the ryots is mainly dependent on two factors, viz., the seasonal conditions and the stability of the prices that they could get for the produce of their lands. We have to examine these two factors first and foremost before embarking on any measure of taxation.

10-15 "Before I go into it, I wish to submit a few words about the
economic condition of the people in the Visakhapatnam district. It may be that the ryots produce sufficient paddy, fodder and commercial crops, but the prices have gone down this year. At the beginning of the agricultural operations in the fields, the ryots have to take loans from money-lenders and after the harvest is over, they find that they are able to realise only a fourth or fifth of the

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cost incurred by them for the purpose of production. Thus, they are not able to discharge their loans taken from the money-lenders, with the result that a large number of suits are being filed in the court by the money-lenders for the recovery of the amounts due to them on pro-notes executed in their favour. In this way, the ryots are suffering very much; and that is generally the economic condition of the tenant population in the district. What I submit is this. It is true there is a deficit in the Budget, but it can be made up by other methods, without having recourse to new taxes. For instance, although Prohibition was introduced with good intentions with a view to better the condition of the poor people how far has the condition of the people been improved, we must find out. If you go to the villages, everywhere you will find that illicit arrack is being produced and sold. Thus, the purpose of the Act, the spirit of the Act is gone, and it is not necessary therefore to retain still that law on the Statute Book. By scrapping that law and auctioning toddy and arrack shops, I am sure the Government will get back Rs. 17 crores which can be utilized for the carrying out of irrigation schemes. I submit therefore that the new taxes proposed are unjust, inequitable, unreasonable and opposed to all canons of social justice. I oppose the new taxation proposals; not only I, but the people who elected me, the people of my constituency, the people of my taluk and of my district—all of them certainly oppose these new taxation proposals."

* Sri K. S. LAKSHMIPATHY NAICKER :—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இந்த சட்ட மன்றத்தின் முன் கனம் நிதிமந்திரி அவர்களால் வைக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிற வரவுசெலவுத் திட்டத்திலே காணப்படுகிற விஷயங்களை சர்ச்சை செய்து பார்ப்பதற்குப் போது, விவசாயிகள் முன்னுக்கு வருவதற்கான எந்தவிதமான உபயோகமான விஷயங்களும் அதில் காணப்படவில்லை என்ற முடிவுக்கு வரவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. மேலும் எங்கள் தாலுகாவிலே இருக்கக்கூடிய விவசாயிகள் பெரும்பாலும் கொஞ்ச நிலமுள்ள விவசாயிகளாகத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். அதிலும் அவர்களுக்கு மின்சார வசதியோ, நீர்ப்பாசன வசதியோ செய்து கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை. அவர்கள் முக்கியமாக கிணறுகளிலிருந்துதான் தண்ணீரை இறைத்து விவசாயம் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். அவர்களுடைய நிலைமை இன்று எப்படியிருந்து வருகிறதென்பது இன்று அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்துகிறவர்களுக்கும், அரசாங்கத்தின் சார்பில் இருக்கிறவர்களுக்கும் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். அவர்கள் மிகவும் சீர்கேட்டை அடைந்து, குடிக்கக்கூட தண்ணீர் வசதியின்றி மிகவும் அல்லலுற்றுக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். விவசாயத்திற்கு மிகவும் உபயோகமான அவர்களது கால்நடைகளின் சேஷமத்தை கவனிப்பதற்காக இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்திலே ஏதாவது குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறதாவென்றால் இல்லை யென்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டியிருக்கிறது. அந்தக் கால்நடைகளின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு ஏதாவது பணம் ஒதுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதாயென்றால் ஒன்றாமேயில்லை. அவர்களுடைய நிலைமையை உயர்த்தவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, குடிதண்ணீர் வசதியின்றி கஷ்டப்படுகிற அவை நிலையை சீர்படுத்தவேண்டுமென்பதற்காக எவ்வளவோ மனுக்கள் சர்க்காரிடம் அனுப்பப்பட்டும் இதுவரையில் எதுவும் கவனிக்கப்படவேயில்லை. இப்படிப்பட்ட நிலையில் சர்க்கார் உண்மையில் விவசாயிகளின் கால்நடைகளை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கு ஏதாவது ஏற்பாடுகள் செய்யாமற் போனால் இத்த மாகாணத்தில் கால்நடைகளே இல்லாமல் மறைந்து போய்விடுமென்பதில் சந்தேகமேயில்லை.

"கால்நடைகள் சேறிந்து வரும் காலத்தில் சென்னை நகரங்கள் போன்ற இடங்களில் எப்படி கறவைப் பசுக்களை வைத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதைக்

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கொஞ்சம் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். பசுக்களின் கன்றுகளைக் கொண்டு அதன் உடலில் பஞ்சையோ, வைக்கோலையோ திணித்து பசுக்களைக் கறக்க தெருக்களில் கொண்டு வருவதை நாம் எல்லோரும் பார்க்கிறோம். அவர்கள் ஏன் அப்படி செய்கிறார்கள்? அவர்களுக்கு அதிக போஷாக்கு அற்றதான் மாடுகளிடம் இருக்கும் கொஞ்ச பாலையும் கன்றுக்கு விட்டுவிட்டால் அதனால் தங்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய லாபம் குறைந்துவிடுமென்றுதான் அம்மாதிரி கன்றுகளைக் கொண்டுவிடுகிறார்கள். இதைப் பார்க்கும்போது கால்நடைச் செல்வங்கள் இந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து அழிந்து போய்விடுமோயென்று அஞ்ச வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. விவசாயிகளுடைய செல்வம் கால்நடைகள்தான். அது அழிந்தால் இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்கள், விவசாயத் தொழில் யாவும் அழிந்து போய்விடுமென்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. அவைகளின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு சர்க்கார் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் போதுமான பணம் ஒதுக்கவில்லை.

“இப்படி இருக்கிறபோது கால்நடை வைத்திய வசதிகளையாவது செய்து கொடுக்க முன் வரவேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால்தான் விவசாயிகளுக்கு ரொம்பவும் உபகாரமாக இருக்கும்.

“குறிப்பாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். பால் சப்ளை செய்யக்கூடிய சிறந்த பசுக்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் ரொம்பவும் குறைந்துவிட்டது. இதற்கு முன் பாகிஸ்தான் பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து வந்துகொண்டிருந்தது. பிரிவினைக்குப் பின்னால் இப்போது சிறந்த பசுக்கள் வாங்க முடிவதில்லை. வேறாகூறில் சில சிறந்த பால்பசுக்கள் வளர்க்கப்படுகின்றன. ஆகவே சர்க்கார் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் அதிகமான பால்பசுக்களை அபிவிருத்தி செய்ய உபகாரம் செய்ய வேண்டும். இப்போது மழையின்மையால் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாமல் பயிர்கள் நாசமாகிவிட்ட பிரதேசங்களில் சர்க்கார் கிஸ்தி ஷஜா செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப்போல அந்தப் பிரதேசங்களிலுள்ள கால்நடைகளைப் பராமரிப்பதிலும் அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு சர்க்கார் “கால்நடைப் பாதுகாப்புக் கடனாக”, நிறைவு பணம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதற்காக இப்போது ஒரு லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்தான் ஒதுக்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். அது மிகக் குறைந்தது என்பதில் சந்தேகமேயில்லை. விவசாயிகள் கால்நடைகளை விருத்தி செய்தால்தான் அதிகமாக விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியுமென்பதை யாரும் மறக்கக்கூடாது. இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தில் அவ்வாறு செய்யப்படவில்லை என்பதுதான் நான் இப்போது சொல்ற குற்றச்சாட்டு. இப்பொழுது போட உத்தேசித்திருக்கிற வரி எதுவும் விவசாயிகளை ஒருநாளும் பாதுகாக்காது. பஸ் வரியை எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும், சர்சார்ஜ் வரியை எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும் இவைகள் முதலாளிகள் யாரையும் பாதிப்பதில்லை. ஆனால் சாதாரண ஏழை விவசாய மக்களைத் தான் இது மிகவும் பாதிக்கிறது. நகரங்களில் லைசன்சு வரி கிடையாது. ஆனால் ஏழை விவசாய மக்கள் செல்லக்கூட கிராம பஸ்களுக்கு அதிக வரி என்றால் அது மறுபடியும் அங்கேயுள்ள விவசாய மக்களைப் பாதிக்கவில்லையா என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்.

“50 ரூபாய் வரையிலும் கிஸ்தி செலுத்துகிறவர்களுக்கு வரி கிடையாது. ஆனால் அதற்கு மேற்பட்டு கிஸ்தி கொடுக்கிறவர்களுக்கு வரி அதிகம் போடப் படுமென்பதாக இப்போது வரித் திட்டம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இது எப்படி ஏழை மக்களை பாதிக்கிறதென்பதைப்பற்றிச் சொல்லுகிறேன்.

“சாதாரணமாக ஒரு விவசாயிக்கு ஐந்து ஏக்கர் நிலமிருந்தால் இன்றைக்கு அவன் 50 ரூபாய்க்குமேல் வரி செலுத்திக்கொண்டிருக்கிறான். ஆகவே இப்போது கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கிற இந்தத்திட்டம் இன்னும் அவர்களை ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. புகையிலை வரிபோன்ற வரிகளையும் அவர்கள்தான் இன்று கொடுக்கிறார்கள். இப்போது நகரங்களில் நடத்தக்கூடிய பெரிய வியாபாரத் தொழிலின்பேரிலும், மூலையை உபயோகித்து நிறைய சம்பாதித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறவர்கள் பேரிலும் வரி போடலாம். அப்படி எந்தவிதமான வரியையும் இந்த சர்க்கார் போடுவதில்லை. அதைவிட்டு இம்மாதிரி ஏழை விவசாயிகளின் பேரிலேயே வரி போடுவது கொஞ்சம்கூட சரியாகாது. இம்மாதிரி அவர்கள் பேரில் பெட்டர் மெண்டு-வரி போடுவதானது அவர்களது நிலத்தை கிராம வாங்குவது

[9th July 1952] [Sri K. S. Lakshmipathy Naicker]

போலானுமே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுமாகாது. ஏனெனில் இன்று அவர்களுக்கு நிலத்திலிருந்து வரும் வருமானம் இப்போது இருக்கக்கூடிய வரியையே கொடுக்க முடியாத அளவிலிருக்கிறது. பார்க்கப்போனால் 30 வருஷத்து வருமானத்தை பகுதியாகப் பிரித்து 20 வருஷத்தில் கட்டவேண்டும். அதில் ஒரு பகுதியான 375 ரூபாயை வருடம்வாரி செலுத்த முடியாத நிலைமைக்கு அவன் வந்திருக்கிறான். இம்மாதிரியான வரித் திட்டங்களையெல்லாம் சர்க்கார் விவசாயிகள் அழிந்துபோவதற்காகக் கொண்டுவருவதுபோல் இருக்கிறதே தவிர, இப்போது நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கும் விவசாயத்திற்கே முற்றுப் புள்ளி வைத்து விடுவதைப்போல இந்த வரிகளைக் கொண்டு வந்திருப்பதாக இருக்கிறதே தவிர, விவசாயிகள் வாழவேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் இதைக் கொண்டுவரவில்லை யென்பதை நான் சொல்லிக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். மதுவிலக்கினால் யாரிடமிருந்து சர்க்காருக்குப் பணம் வந்துகொண்டிருந்தது? யார் குடி காரர்களோ, யார் எல்லோராலும் வெறுக்கப்படக்கூடிய தீயவர்களோ அவர்களிடமிருந்துதான் மதுவிலக்கு இருந்தபோது பணம் வந்துகொண்டிருந்ததே தவிர நியாயமாக நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று பயபத்தியோடு நடக்கிற விவசாயிகள் யாரிடமிருந்தும் வரி வாங்கிவை, ஆனால் இன்றையதினம் கடவுளின் கிருபையினால், அதிலும் ஆண்டவனை அடிக்கடி மழைக்காக தியானம் செய்யக்கூடிய ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜ்யைப்போலவே கடவுளை நம்பி, விவசாயம் செய்ய எப்போது மழை வரும் என ஆகாயத்தைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும், தெய்வ பக்தியுள்ள, கெட்ட குணம் எதுவும் இல்லாத, ஏழை எளிய வாழ்க்கையை நடத்திவரும் ஏழை விவசாயிகளைத்தான் வரித்திட்டங்கள் பெரிதும் பாதிக்கிறது. தாங்கள் கட்டிவரும் விவசாய நிலவரிகள் போதாதென்று நான் வாங்கும் பொருள்களுக்கெல்லாம் மூன்று நான்கு இடங்களில் சென்ஸ் டாக்ஸ் வேறு கட்டிக்கொண்டு வருகிறான். மதுவிலக்குத்திட்டமான சரியாக அமுல் நடத்தப்படுகிறதாவென்றால் அதுவும் இல்லை. எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். இப்படி இருக்கும்போது விவசாயிகளுக்கு மேலும் வரிபோடாமல் எப்படி வேறு விதத்தில் வருமானத்தை அதிகப்படுத்திக் கொள்ளாமென்பதை வேண்டுமானால், சர்க்கார் யோசிக்கவேண்டும். என்டேட் அபாலிஷன் ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு சில ஜமீன்தார்கள், அவர்களுடைய ஸ்டேட்டுக்குள்ளிருந்த பண குளங்களை மராமத்து செய்யாமல் விட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்தக் குளங்களை இப்போது சர்க்கார் மராமத்து செய்யவேண்டும். அதனால் விவசாயம் செய்யப்படும் பிரதேசங்களுக்கு பெட்டர்மெண்டு-வரி போடக்கூடிய வகையில் சுட்டத்தை திருத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் இவர்கள் வரி போடுவார்களேயானால் விவசாயிகள் நிறைந்த இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள ஒவ்வொருவரும் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை எதிர்க்காமல் இருக்கமுடியாது. ஏழை விவசாயிகளை பாதிக்கக்கூடிய வகையில் இந்த வரி திட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வருவதைக்காட்டிலும், பெரிய பெரிய வெள்ளையர்களுக்குச் சொந்தமான என்டேட்டுக்களுக்கு அதிகமான வரி போடக்கூடிய ஒரு திட்டத்தைக்கொண்டு வரலாம். அதுவும் பின்னால் வாக்கூடிய திட்டத்திலே வெளிநாட்டிலிருந்து கொண்டுவரும் ‘liquor’ களுக்கு ‘லைசென்ஸ்’ பெற்றுக்கொண்டு அதை அதிகப்படியாக விற்கலாம். அதனால் வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தை சரிக்கட்ட முடியுமென்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன்.

“இந்த பட்ஜெட்டிலே விவசாயிகளுடைய நலனைப் பாதுகாக்கவோ, அவர்களுடைய கால்நடைச் செல்வங்களைப் பாதுகாக்கவோ, அவர்களுடைய தொழிலுக்கு உதவியாக பாசன வசதிகளை அதிகப்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கவோ எந்தவிதமான திட்டமும் இல்லாது அவர்கள்மேல் அதிக வரியைப் போடக்கூடிய வகையில் பலதிட்டங்கள் அமைந்திருப்பதால் இதை நான் மனப் பூர்வமாக எதிர்க்கிறேன் என்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

* SRI L. LAKSHMAN DAS :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 10-30 I take this as a proud privilege to speak on the first Budget a.m.

[Sri K. S. Lakshminipathy Naicker] [9th July 1952]

கொஞ்சம் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். பசுக்களின் கன்றுகளைக் கொண்டு அதன் உடலில் பஞ்சையோ, வைக்கோலையோ திணித்து பசுக்களைக் கறக்க தெருக்களில் கொண்டுவருவதை நாம் எல்லோரும் பார்க்கிறோம். அவர்கள் ஏன் அப்படி செய்கிறார்கள்? அவர்களுக்கு அதிக போஷாக்கு அற்றதான் மாடுகளிடம் இருக்கும் கொஞ்ச பாலையும் கன்றுக்கு விட்டுவிட்டால் அதனால் தங்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கக்கூடிய லாபம் குறைந்துவிடுமென்றுதான் அம்மாதிரி கன்றுகளைக் கொண்டுவிடுகிறார்கள். இதைப் பார்க்கும்போது கால்நடைச் செல்வங்கள் இந்த நாட்டிலிருந்து அழிந்து போய்விடுமோயென்று அஞ்ச வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. விவசாயிகளுடைய செல்வம் கால்நடைகள்தான். அது அழிந்தால் இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள விவசாயத் தொழிலாளர்கள், விவசாயத் தொழில் யாவும் அழிந்து போய்விடுமென்பதில் சந்தேகமில்லை. அவைகளின் அபிவிருத்திக்கு சர்க்கார் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டில் போதுமான பணம் ஒதுக்கவில்லை.

“இப்படி இருக்கிறபோது கால்நடை வைத்திய வசதிகளையாவது செய்து கொடுக்க முன் வரவேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால்தான் விவசாயிகளுக்கு ரொம்பவும் உபகாரமாக இருக்கும்.

“குறிப்பாக ஒன்றைச் சொல்லுகிறேன். பால் சப்ளை செய்யக்கூடிய சிறுபசுக்கள் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் ரொம்பவும் குறைந்துவிட்டன. இதற்கு முன் பாகிஸ்தான் பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து வந்துகொண்டிருந்தது. பிரிவினைக்குப் பின்னால் இப்போது சிந்தி பசுக்கள் வாங்க முடிவதில்லை. ஹோசூரில் சில சிந்தி பால்பசுக்கள் வளர்க்கப்படுகின்றன. ஆகவே சர்க்கார் இந்த மாகாணத்தில் அதிகமான பால்பசுக்களை அபிவிருத்திசெய்ய உபகாரம் செய்ய வேண்டும். இப்போது மழையின்மையால் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாமல் பயிர்கள் நாசமாகிவிட்ட பிரதேசங்களில் சர்க்கார் கிஸ்தி ஐஜா செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப்போல அந்தப் பிரதேசங்களிலுள்ள கால்நடைகளைப் பராமரிப்பதிலும் அந்த விவசாயிகளுக்கு சர்க்கார் கால்நடைப் பாதுகாப்புக் கடனாக, நிறைய பணம் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்கிறேன். அதற்காக இப்போது ஒரு லக்ஷம் ரூபாய்தான் ஒதுக்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். அது மிகக் குறைந்தது என்பதில் சந்தேகமேயில்லை. விவசாயிகள் கால்நடைகளை விருத்தி செய்தால்தான் அதிகமாக விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியுமென்பதை யாரும் மறக்கக்கூடாது. இந்த வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தில் அவ்வாறு செய்யப்படவில்லை என்பதுதான் நான் இப்போது சொல்வது குறைச்சாட்டு. இப்பொழுது போட உத்தேசித்திருக்கிற வரி எதுவும் விவசாயிகளை ஒருநாளும் பாதுகாக்காது. பஸ் வரியை எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும், சர்சார்ஜ் வரியை எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும் இவைகள் முதலாளிகள் யாரையும் பாதிப்பதில்லை. ஆனால் சாதாரண ஏழை விவசாய மக்களைத் தான் இது மிகவும் பாதிக்கிறது. நகரங்களில் ஸ்கூல்களுக்கு வரி கிடையாது. ஆனால் ஏழை விவசாய மக்கள் செல்லக்கூட கிராம பஸ்களுக்கு அதிக வரி என்றால் அது மறுபடியும் அங்கியுள்ள விவசாய மக்களைப் பாதிக்கவில்லை என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன்.

“50 ரூபாய் வரையிலும் கிஸ்தி செலுத்துகிறவர்களுக்கு வரி கிடையாது. ஆனால் அதற்கு மேற்பட்டு கிஸ்தி கொடுக்கிறவர்களுக்கு வரி அதிகம் போடப் படுமென்பதாக இப்போது வரித் திட்டம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இது எப்படி ஏழை மக்களை பாதிக்கிறதென்பதைப்பற்றிச் சொல்லுகிறேன்.

“சாதாரணமாக ஒரு விவசாயிக்கு ஐந்து ஏக்கர் நிலமிருந்தால் இன்றைக்கு அவன் 50 ரூபாய்க்குமேல் வரி செலுத்திக்கொண்டிருக்கிறான். ஆகவே இப்போது கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருக்கிற இந்தத்திட்டம் இன்னும் அவர்களை ரொம்பவும் கஷ்டப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. புகையிலை வரிபோன்ற வரிகளையும் அவர்கள்தான் இன்று கொடுக்கிறார்கள். இப்போது நகரங்களில் நடத்தக்கூடிய பெரிய வியாபாரத் தொழிலின்பேரிலும், மூலையை உபயோகித்து நிறைய சம்பாதித்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறவர்கள் பேரிலும் வரி போடலாம். அப்படி எந்தவிதமான வரியையும் இந்த சர்க்கார் போடுவதில்லை. அதைவிட்டு இம்மாதிரி ஏழை விவசாயிகளின் பேரிலேயே வரி போடுவது கொஞ்சம்கூட சரியாகாது. இம்மாதிரி அவர்கள் பேரில் பெட்டர் மெண்டு-வரி போடுவதானது அவர்களது நிலத்தை கிரயம் வாங்குவது

[9th July 1952] [Sri K. S. Lakshminipathy Naicker]

போலாகுமே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுமாகாது. ஏனெனில் இன்று அவர்களுக்கு நிலத்திலிருந்து வரும் வரமானம் இப்போது இருக்கக்கூடிய வரியையே கொடுக்க முடியாத அளவிலிருக்கிறது. பார்க்கப்போனால் 30 வருஷத்து வருமானத்தை பகுதியாகப் பிரித்து 20 வருஷத்தில் கட்டவேண்டும். அதில் ஒரு பகுதியான 375 ரூபாயை வருடம்வாரி செலுத்த முடியாத நிலைமைக்கு அவன் வந்திருக்கிறான். இம்மாதிரியான வரித் திட்டங்களையெல்லாம் சர்க்கார் விவசாயிகள் அழிந்துபோவதற்காகக் கொண்டுவருவதுபோல் இருக்கிறதே தவிர, இப்போது நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கும் விவசாயத்திற்கே முற்றுப் புள்ளி வைத்து விடுவதைப்போல இந்த வரிகளைக் கொண்டு வந்திருப்பதாக இருக்கிறதே தவிர, விவசாயிகள் வாழவேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் இதைக் கொண்டுவரவில்லை என்பதை நான் சொல்லிக் கொள்ள விரும்புகிறேன்.

“இப்போது மதுவிலக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்ளுங்கள். மதுவிலக்கினால் யாரிடமிருந்து சர்க்காருக்குப் பணம் வந்துகொண்டிருந்தது? யார் குடி காரர்களோ, யார் எல்லோராலும் வெறுக்கப்படக்கூடிய தீயவர்களோ அவர்களிடமிருந்துதான் மதுவிலக்கு இருந்தபோது பணம் வந்துகொண்டிருந்ததே தவிர நியாயமாக நடக்கவேண்டுமென்று பயபத்தியோடு நடக்கிற விவசாயிகள் யாரிடமிருந்தும் வரி வாங்கவில்லை. ஆனால் இன்றையதினம் கடவுளின் கிருபையினால், அதிலும் ஆண்டவனை அடிக்கடி மழைக்காக தியானம் செய்யக்கூடிய ஸ்ரீ ராஜாஜியைப்போலவே கடவுளை நம்பி, விவசாயம் செய்ய எப்போது மழை வரும் என ஆகாயத்தைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருக்கும், தெய்வ பக்தியுள்ள, கெட்ட குணம் எதுவும் இல்லாத, ஏழை எளிய வாழ்க்கையை நடத்திவரும் ஏழை விவசாயிகளைத்தான் வரித்திட்டங்கள் பெரிதும் பாதிக்கிறது. தாங்கள் கட்டிவரும் விவசாய நிலவரிகள் போதாதென்று நான் வாங்கும் பொருள்களுக்கெல்லாம் மூன்று நான்கு இடங்களில் சேன்ஸ் டாக்ஸ் வேறு கட்டிக்கொண்டு வருகிறான். மதுவிலக்குத்திட்டத்தான் சரியாக அமுல் நடத்தப்படுகிறதாவென்றால் அதுவும் இல்லை. எல்லா கிராமங்களிலும் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சுகிறார்கள். இப்படி இருக்கும்போது விவசாயிகளுக்கு மேலும் வரிபோடாமல் எப்படி வேறு விதத்தில் வருமானத்தை அதிகப்படுத்திக் கொள்ளாமென்பதை வேண்டுமானால், சர்க்கார் யோசிக்கவேண்டும். என்டேட் அபாலிஷன் ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு சில ஜமீன்தார்கள், அவர்களுடைய ஸ்டேட்டுக்குள்ளிருந்த பல குளங்களை மராமத்து செய்யாமல் விட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அந்தக் குளங்களை இப்போது சர்க்கார் மராமத்து செய்யவேண்டும். அதனால் விவசாயம் செய்யப்படும் பிரதேசங்களுக்கு பெட்டர்மெண்டு-வரி போடக்கூடிய வகையில் சுட்டத்தை திருத்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த நிலைமையில் இவர்கள் வரி போடுவார்களேயானால் விவசாயிகள் நிறைந்த இந்த நாட்டிலுள்ள ஓவ்வொருவரும் இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை எதிர்க்காமல் இருக்கமுடியாது. ஏழை விவசாயிகளை பாதிக்கக்கூடிய வகையில் இந்த வரி திட்டத்தைக் கொண்டு வருவதைக்காட்டிலும், பெரிய பெரிய வெள்ளையர்களுக்குச் சொந்தமான என்டேட்டுக்களுக்கு அதிகமான வரி போடக்கூடிய ஒரு திட்டத்தைக்கொண்டு வரலாம். அதுவும் பின்னால் வாக்கூடிய திட்டத்திலே வெளிநாட்டிலிருந்து கொண்டுவரும் ‘liquor களுக்கு’ லைசென்ஸ் பெற்றுக்கொண்டு அதை அதிகப்படியாக விற்கலாம். அதனால் வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்தை சரிக்கட்ட முடியுமென்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன்.

“இந்த பட்ஜெட்டிலே விவசாயிகளுடைய நலனைப் பாதுகாக்கவோ, அவர்களுடைய கால்நடைச் செல்வங்களைப் பாதுகாக்கவோ, அவர்களுடைய தொழிலுக்கு உதவியாக பாசன வசதிகளை அதிகப்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கவோ எந்தவிதமான திட்டமும் இல்லாது அவர்கள்மேல் அதிக வரியைப் போடக்கூடிய வகையில் பலதிட்டங்கள் அமைந்திருப்பதால் இதை நான் மனப் பூர்வமாக எதிர்க்கிறேன் என்று தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

(At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

* SRI L. LAKSHMAN DAS :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, 10-30 I take this as a proud privilege to speak on the first Budget a.m.

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presented to the House. If one goes through the Budget carefully without any prejudice in one's mind, one can see some special features in it. It deals with the problems of kisans, weavers, Harijans and the hill tribes. Of course the amount allotted to these items are not quite sufficient, but the Hon. Mr. Subrahmanyam gives us to understand that the Government are eager to improve these four classes of people. Therefore, I congratulate Mr. Subrahmanyam on the hope he has created in us.

" I wish to submit that all these four classes of people were being ignored all these 150 or 200 years. When we prepare the Budget for our family, we see the income first and then adjust our expenditure. But when preparing the Budget for a State, it is essential that we should first look into the expenditure and then prepare the Budget. If we wish progress in the country, it is but natural that we should have more of expenditure, and a deficit Budget is not therefore anything out of the ordinary. The Hon. Mr. Subrahmanyam has now presented a deficit Budget: he could have avoided the new taxes if only he wanted the appreciation of every one of us, but he never wanted cheap popularity; he rightly asks us that we should sanction the new taxes.

" So far as the new taxation proposals are concerned, I feel that the tax on the agriculturists is not a welcome move, not on sentiment only, but because the poor ryot is already carrying a heavy load and any extra load will break his back. I want to suggest, if I may, an alternative. At present the commission agents are exempted from paying sales tax: they are actually doing regular business, they are purchasing, selling, advancing and doing all sorts of business; and yet they style themselves as commission wet ayacut and concentrate their attention more on the cultivation of dry lands. Due to failure of monsoons and the drying up of tanks, wet lands have been practically left uncultivated; and so far as dry lands are concerned, it is well-known that the people have work only for about four months in the year and they have to sit idle for the other eight months. I therefore submit that unless steps are taken immediately to improve the irrigation facilities in the taluk, people will continue to suffer. The supply channels to some of the big tanks have silted up and do not allow the easy flow of water except on occasions when the taluk receives more than 25 inches of rain. Moreover, some of the supply channels which breached some fifty or sixty years ago have not been repaired at all. The area is a hilly tract and if only the supply channels are repaired and the breaches found here and there are closed up, rain water is bound to be conserved in the tanks and it can be used for purposes of irrigation whenever required. The Agali and Madhudi tanks which have the largest ayacut under them have their supply channels flowing from the Mysore State; it is understood they have been some time ago bungled up and water has been diverted to some other tanks in agents only with a view to avoid paying sales-tax. I request the Government to consider this matter carefully.

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" Again, as regards the collection of sales tax, in certain areas it is not effectively done. I request the Government to see that collection work is done more regularly and effectively, so that we can have an increase in the receipts under this head.

" As regards distribution of money under the various heads, I find some injustice has been done to the undeveloped areas. In order to avoid any charge of discrimination, I would submit that the Government should divide the State into developed areas and undeveloped areas, distribute all the moneys to the undeveloped areas, making the developed areas wait for some time till the undeveloped areas come to the level of the developed areas. For instance, in the districts of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam, the population is nearly 40 lakhs and an area, 200 miles in length, has been neglected all these years. Even in the present Budget, we find this area has been neglected and nothing is provided in the Budget for the development of this area. I request that the Government should take into account the distress now prevailing in those districts and see that something is done to relieve the sufferings of the people. So far as my district is concerned, God has given us good rivers, important rivers like Vamsadhara, Nagavalli, Bahuda, Mahendra Tanaya, etc., and we also have hundreds of big tanks; but it is only due to lack of human efforts that we have not been able to improve the conditions of irrigation there. If things are allowed to go on like this for any length of time, I may warn the Government that the people will not tolerate any negligence on the part of the Government.

" Coming now to the Public Works Department, I say it is a Public Waste Department so far as my district is concerned. I shall give you an instance where we have been deceived, or neglected by the department. We were long agitating for the Vamsadhara Project, it won't cost more than Rs. 8 crores, and it would give us an ayacut of about 3 lakhs of acres, double crop; and again, according to official estimates, it will give a return of 2.5 per cent on the investment. It is well-known that most of the present-day projects are not expected to yield even 1½ per cent. We were told that this project would be included in the five-year plan, but it was not. After the recent elections, some of the leaders in our district representing all parties, including Mr. V. V. Giri who is now the Labour Minister in the Central Government, waited on the then Public Works Minister Mr. Sitarama Reddi; but we were greatly surprised when he revealed to us that the official estimates would not be completed for another two years, i.e., not until the year 1954. Only this morning I received a wire from my taluk and its contents are:

" We learn investigation of Vamsadhara scheme is stopped. Three-fourths of investigation has already been completed. Remaining works may take only two months; stoppage of work is great loss to public funds and local people pray issue orders for completion of the investigation.

So, if the investigation has been stopped, I submit it is a great injustice done to our area.

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"Taking up the question of inams, there are already 1,100 inams in our district and the half-hearted inam legislation has created a lot of confusion in the district. Unless some amendment is made immediately in view of the judgments given by the High Court and the Supreme Court, terrible results will follow for the people and also for the Government. I will refer to one instance which happened recently. Last month an inamdar with about 500 people went to the field, and wonderfully enough, the Sub-Inspector of Police had the audacity to go along with the inamdar and open fire on the people there. We are now waiting to see how the Government will react so far as this incident is concerned.

"Before I resume my seat, I must say that the Government are doing great injustice to the rural area." (At this stage, the Deputy Speaker sounded the gong to indicate that the hon. Members time is up and the Member resumed his seat.)

* SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I come from the constituency of a backward tract in the backward district of Anantapur in Rayalaseema, i.e., Madakasira, which is like a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the progressive State of Mysore. We have had occasions to visit the border villages of that State with good approaches and a welcome appearance on all sides, besides being provided with good roads, efficient and well-organized medical and educational institutions, and last but not least, with electric power. We feel envious of the good fortune of our brethren across the border and sorry at our own fate that we are not destined to have the same benefits on this side, though both of us now form an integral part of the same Indian Union. We are eagerly looking forward to the day when the Andhra Province will be formed, so that we can then at least claim to be integrated with the Mysore State, not only on the basis of geographical and contiguous position but also on the basis of language affinity, in case the formation of the Andhra Province is not immediately followed by the formation of the Karnataka Province. Whatever it may be, we now request the Government to negotiate with the State of Mysore and see to it that we are provided with electric power as expeditiously as possible. Our taluk was once called the 'garden' of the Anantapur district, on account of its extensive coconut, areca, plantain and jack-fruit gardens covering thousands of acres. Unfortunately, however, that area has now become a Sahara to us. The gardens have disappeared and the agriculturists have become heavily indebted and impoverished, mostly on account of the financial strain to which they were put, by having to deepen old wells and sink more and more new wells in order to save their gardens and by having to purchase bullocks for lifting up water from deep wells, etc. I remember in the year 1926, the Government, realizing the bad condition of the people there, were pleased to remit a large sum of money due from the agriculturists under the Land Improvements Act and the Agriculturists' Loans Act. The situation has

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not improved since those days; the ryots have had to neglect the wet ayacut and concentrate their attention more on the cultivation of dry lands. Due to failure of monsoons and the drying up of tanks, wet lands have been practically left uncultivated; and so far as dry lands are concerned, it is well-known that the people have work only for about four months in the year and they have to sit idle for the other eight months. I therefore submit that unless steps are taken immediately to improve the irrigation facilities in the taluk, people will continue to suffer. The supply channels to some of the big tanks have silted up and do not allow the easy flow of water except on occasions when the taluk receives more than 25 inches of rain. Moreover, some of the supply channels which breached some fifty or sixty years ago have not been repaired at all. The area is a hilly tract and if only the supply channels are repaired and the breaches found here and there are closed up, rain water is bound to be conserved in the tanks and it can be used for purposes of irrigation whenever required. The Agali and Madhudi tanks which have the largest ayacut under them have their supply channels flowing from the Mysore State; it is understood they have been some time ago bunded up and water has been diverted to some other tanks in Mysore, to the detriment of our rights to our share of water. It is regrettable that our representations to the Government in regard to this matter have fallen on deaf ears. I am exceedingly sorry to bring to the notice of this House that the authorities in the Mysore State promulgated an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, when our people proceeded to the spot in order to protect their water rights. Our Government have not done anything in the matter so far, though it was brought to the notice of the then Chief Minister during his visit to our taluk in 1950. It is this neglect of the chief sources of supply, the non-restoration of breached tanks and the non-repair of the supply channels that has brought about the ruin of our gardens and the ruin of our people economically. May I, therefore, with all the earnestness at my command, request the Hon. the Chief Minister now, to order an investigation into this matter and make due provision for the improvement of irrigation facilities in the next year's Budget? Let me submit that these tanks are the chief sources of water-supply to the reservoirs, wells and spring channels lower down the tanks, and the receipt of at least two months' supply in alternate years will restore the past glory of our taluk, besides creating enormous savings to the Government of money now being lost in the shape of remissions in the case of wet lands granted to us year after year.

"Let me also tell the Hon. the Chief Minister that we are so broken down by chronic indebtedness that we will not be able to contribute our share of expenditure as envisaged in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister.

"I see in the Budget Memorandum supplied to us that larger amounts have been spent year after year for the restoration of

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a.m.

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works in other areas for conserving the waters of the rivers, but none of the projects taken up in our district, or proposed to be taken up in future, will be of any help to us. Tanks are the only sources of supply to us either now or in the future and therefore it becomes necessary that the suggestions and proposals made by me should be investigated and works taken up as expeditiously as possible. I made a suggestion to Mr. Kudva, Member of the Board of Revenue, when he visited the district during March last that before starting famine relief measures, the tank works referred to by me should be taken up first, because they would help the Grow More Food campaign. It is regrettable to note that not one of the supply channels which would be of lasting benefit to us was taken up, but only works of little or no value at all, like the raising or widening of tank bunds, were taken up."

SRI RAJA V. V. KRISHNAN RAJU :—"ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ప్రస్తుతం ప్రతిపాదించిన ఈ బడ్జెటును నేను ఆమోదిస్తున్నాను. బడ్జెటు విషయంలో కొన్ని సలహాలు ఇవ్వడం చిన్నాను. మా కూర్పు గోదావరి జిల్లాలో జిల్లా ప్రాంతము కాని రాజమండ్రి, పెద్దాపురం, పిఠాపురం, తుని, తాలూకాలు మెట్ట తాలూకాలై యున్నవి. ఈ తాలూకాలలో సరియైన ఇరిగేషను వనరులు గత ఏటకే గవర్నమెంటువారుగాని, నేటివరకూ మన గవర్నమెంటువారుగాని చేయించియుండలేదు. ఈ తాలూకాలలో (ఏలేరు) వంశా, తాండవా, నమల:గలవు. ఈవడలలో ప్రవహించే నీరు సూటికి అయిదు వంతులుకూడా వ్యవసాయమునకు వినియోగించబడుట లేదు. ఏటవై అనకట్టలు కట్టినవడల వేలకొలది ఎకరాల భూమి తుక్కులంగా పంతుకు అవకాశములు గలవు. తక్కువ పెట్టుబడితో స్వల్పకాలములో పూర్తి కాగల ఈలాంటి కట్టడమాలనే ప్రభుత్వంవారు ముందుగా చేయించి ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో గల వీడ ప్రజలను పోషించగలరని ఆశించుచున్నాను. ఏటిని గురించి, ఇదివరలో గవర్నమెంటుకు అనేకసార్లు తెలియజేసినప్పటికీ నేటివరకూ ఏమిదీమైన వ్యవస్థ తీసుకొనలేదు. రైతు వండించే పంటవల్లనే దేశము నుభిత్తుం కావలసియున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క జీవిత పరిమాణం పెరగాలంటే రైతు హెచ్చుగా పండించుటకు వీలగు సదుపాయములు ప్రభుత్వం కలుగజేయాలి. సరియైన నీటి వనరులు కల్పించనప్పడు రైతు తన కష్టమునకు సరియైన ఫలితం గాండలేడు. రైతు వండించగలిగిననాడే రైతు కూలీలకు కూడా పోకర్తం చేకూర్చకలడు. రైతుయొక్క డ్రైముమువైన నే కూలీల డ్రైము అధారపడియున్నది. అందుచేత ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో యున్న చిన్న నదులపైని నీటి పారుదల పంపిన ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్మించాలని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అధికాశురోపిత్తి చేయవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారు రైతు ప్రజాసేవకును హెచ్చుగొన్నారు. కాని రైతుకు కావలసిన నీటి సదుపాయం కల్పించనిదే అధికాశురోపిత్తి ఎట్లు కొనసాగుకో అర్థంకావడం లేదు. నా విశేషక వర్గము తుని తాలూకాయున్న, పెద్దాపురం తాలూకాలలోని కాకుపూడి ఫిర్కాగూడా చేర్చియున్నది. సడరు నియోజక వర్గము కొండప్రాంతము అగుటచే వర్షాధారము లిల్లి పండించే వీడరైతులను నీటి పారుదల కట్టడముల ద్వారా ఉద్ధరించవలసిందని గవర్నమెంటువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ ప్రదేశములయూలోగడ జమీందారీ పరిపాలనలో ఉన్నది. రైతులను ఉద్ధరించుటకు జమీందారీలను రద్దుచేసినారు. జమీందారీలైతములో వైన చెప్పిన సడరు సమలకు నీటి పారుదల కాలువలు నిర్మించి వాటి ద్వారా సాగుబడి జరిగించెడివారు. వారి హయాములో సడరు కాలువలు మరలుతు చేయబడువల్ల వంటలు పంతుకునే ఉండెడివి. ప్రస్తుతం

[9th July 1952] [Sri Raja V. V. Krishnan Raju]

కాలువలకు వీటా జరుగవలసిన సామాన్య మరమ్మతులకూడా చేయకపోతుంటే రైతులకు చాలా అన్యాయం జరుగుతున్నదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. జమీందారులు వేసే ట్యాక్సూ తగ్గించుటకు ఇస్తు తగ్గింపు వట్టుకువల్ల తగ్గించిన మొత్తము కంటే ఇటీవల గవర్నమెంటు విధించిన సెస్సులు రెండవ వంటకు అర్థ రేటు వసూలు చేయుట ఇదివరలో చిరకాలం కల్లుములుగా సాగయ్యే భూములకు అడంగు రెక్కలలో మెరక అని ప్రాసెయిస్తుండున గవర్నమెంటు నీటితీరువాయి వసూలుచేయుచున్నాను. ఇదివరకు జమీందార్లకు కట్టిన వస్తు కంటే ప్రస్తుతం గవర్నమెంటు వసూలుచేయు మొత్తం రెండింతలుగా ఉన్నది. రైతులకు 1939 వ సంవత్సరంకంటే ఇప్పుడు కూలి చార్జీ చాలా హెచ్చయినది. ఎరువులు ఖరీదు చాలా వాసీగా ఉన్నది. గాన ఎరువుల ఖరీదు కంట్రీలు చేయించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నాను. ఇట్టి పరిస్థితులలో రైతుకు మిగిలేది విమిలేదు. ఈలాంటి వీడరైతులకు ఖర్చులు హెచ్చయిన రోజులలో భూమి ఇస్తు సర్ చార్జీ, బెటర్ మెంటు ట్యాక్సు వగైరా వస్తులు వేయటం న్యాయంకాదు. ఇదివరలో కొన్ని నదీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఇరిగేషన్ వనరులకు బెటర్ మెంటుట్యాక్సు వసూలుచేయలేదు. ఇప్పుడు మెరక ప్రాంతములలో వీడ ప్రజలకు జరిగే చిన్న వనరులకు అభివృద్ధి వస్తు అడుగుట న్యాయంకాదు. ప్రస్తుత పరిస్థితులవల్ల ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో ఈ సంవత్సరము రాయలసీమవంటి కరువు వచ్చే ప్రమాదంకలదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. జమీందారీ రద్దు చేసేముందు చేసిన వాగ్దానం ప్రకారం రామరాజ్యం రాలేదు సరిగదా, రైతు లోకాన్ని త్రొక్కి స్వర్గంలో ఉంచినట్లుగా తోచుచున్నది. మా తాలూకాలలో తుని పెద్ద వర్షకేంద్రం. విశాఖవద్దను జిల్లాలోని ఎలమంచిలి, నర్సపట్నం తాలూకాలలోను గోదావరి జిల్లాలోని, రాజమండ్రి, పెద్దాపురం, పిఠాపురం తాలూకాలలో వండి వంటలు, గూడెం, ఎల్లవరం విజెస్సీల సరకులు, తుని మార్కెట్టుకు వస్తు యుండును. ముమూరు ట్రైవైవేల ప్రజలు జనాభా ఉన్న ఈ తుని గత 1928, 1949 వ సంవత్సరములలో తాండవనది జల ప్రవాహానికి అమాతి అయి తీరలేని నష్టము కలిగించినది. గత వరదలో రెండు ఎద్దులు జల ప్రవాహములో కొట్టుకొనిపోయి తునిలో ఒక చాచామీద వాటి ప్రాణములు కాపాడుకున్న సంగతి విదితమే. గనుక తుని వట్టులముకు తాండవ నది వల్ల కలిగే వరద నష్టము కలుగకుండా రివర్ బండు వేయించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నాను. తుని తాలూకాలలో కాకులపూడి, కొండ ప్రాంతమున గల నుమారు ఒక లక్ష జనాభాకు మార్కెటులేక చాలా బాధ పడుచున్నారు. వీడ ప్రజాసేవానికి కత్తిపూడినుంచి కాకులపూడి మీదుగా కోటసంధ్యుకు 1936 వ సంవత్సరములో బిల్లాజోద్ధుల శాంక్షనుచేసి నేటి వరకు అమలు జరుగని ఈరోడ్డును వేయించినదాడల చాలా ఉత్సాహముగా ఉండునని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. తుని తాలూకాలలో సముద్రప్రాంతమున నివసించే పల్లెలలనులకు రోడ్డు పోకర్తాలుగాని, విద్యుత్తవ్వ పోకర్తాలుగాని లేక చాలా అభ్యాన్న స్థితిలో ఉన్నాయి. వెనుకబడ్డ ఈ జాతివానికి తగిన సదుపాయములు చేయించవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను. కొండ ప్రాంతంలో నివసించే ప్రజాసేవానికి విద్యుత్తవ్వ ముద్రాస పోకర్తాలు చేయించవలెను. కనుక తాండవ నది, వంశానది నీరును సద్వినియోగం చేయించి సడరు తాలూకాలలోగల వీడ రైతులకు అభివృద్ధి కారణమైన నీటి పోకర్తాలు చేయించవలసినదిగా ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఇట్టి పరిస్థితులలో రైతుల దుస్థితిని యాచించి రైతులపై అదనంగా సర్ చార్జీ వేసినట్లయిన రైతు వి విధంగా వ్యవసాయం కొనసాగించగలడో ప్రభుత్వం యాచించవలసియున్నది. మా మెట్ట తాలూకా వర్షాధారం కాబట్టి, అతివృష్టి, అనావృష్టి దోషములకు గురియైన రైతులకు చూడు కోట్ల

[Sri R. Siddanna Gowd]

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works in other areas for conserving the waters of the rivers, but none of the projects taken up in our district, or proposed to be taken up in future, will be of any help to us. Tanks are the only sources of supply to us either now or in the future and therefore it becomes necessary that the suggestions and proposals made by me should be investigated and works taken up as expeditiously as possible. I made a suggestion to Mr. Kudva, Member of the Board of Revenue, when he visited the district during March last that before starting famine relief measures, the tank works referred to by me should be taken up first, because they would help the Grow More Food campaign. It is regrettable to note that not one of the supply channels which would be of lasting benefit to us was taken up, but only works of little or no value at all, like the raising or widening of tank bunds, were taken up."

SRI RAJA V. V. KRISHNAN RAJU :—"ఉపాధ్యక్ష, ప్రస్తుతం ప్రతిపాదించిన ఈ బడ్జెటును నేను ఆమోదిస్తున్నాను. బడ్జెటు విషయంలో కొన్ని సలహాలు ఇవ్వడం చిన్నాను. మా కూర్పు గోదావరి జిల్లాలో జిల్లా ప్రాంతము కాని రాజమండ్రి, పెద్దాపురం, పిఠాపురం, తుని, తాలూకాలు మెట్ట తాలూకాలై యున్నవి. ఈ తాలూకాలలో సరియైన ఇరిగేషను వనరులు గత ఏటకే గవర్నమెంటువారుగాని, నేటివరకూ మన గవర్నమెంటువారుగాని చేయించియుండలేదు. ఈ తాలూకాలలో (ఏలేరు) వంశా, తాండవా, నమల:గలవు. ఈవడలలో ప్రవహించే నీరు సూటికి అయిదు వంతులుకూడా వ్యవసాయమునకు వినియోగించబడుట లేదు. ఏటవై అనకట్టలు కట్టినవడల వేలకొంది ఎకరాల భూమి తుక్కులంగా పంతుకు అవకాశములు గలవు. తక్కువ పెట్టుబడితో స్వల్పకాలములో పూర్తి కాగల ఈలాంటి కట్టడమాలనే ప్రభుత్వంవారు ముందుగా చేయించి ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో గల వీడ ప్రజలను పోషించగలరని ఆశించుచున్నాను. ఏటిని గురించి, ఇదివరలో గవర్నమెంటుకు అనేకసార్లు తెలియజేసినప్పటికీ నేటివరకూ ఏమిదీమైన వ్యవస్థ తీసుకొనలేదు. రైతు వంటించే పంటవల్లనే దేశము నుభిత్తుం కావలసియున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క జీవిత పరిమాణం పెరగాలంటే రైతు హెచ్చుగా పండించుటకు వీలగు సదుపాయములు ప్రభుత్వం కలుగజేయాలి. సరియైన నీటి వనరులు కల్పించనప్పడు రైతు తన కష్టమునకు సరియైన ఫలితం గాండలేడు. రైతు పండించగలిగిననాడే రైతు కూలీలకు కూడా పోకర్తం చేకూర్చకలడు. రైతుయొక్క డ్రైముమువైన నే కూలీల డ్రైము అధారపడియున్నది. అందుచేత ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో యున్న చిన్న నదులపైని నీటి పారుదల పంపిన ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్మించాలని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను. అధికాశురోపిత్తి చేయవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వంవారు రైతు ప్రజాసేవకును హెచ్చుగొన్నారు. కాని రైతుకు కావలసిన నీటి సదుపాయం కల్పించనిదే అధికాశురోపిత్తి ఎట్లు కొనసాగునో అర్థంకావడం లేదు. నా విశేషక వర్గము తుని తాలూకాయున్న, పెద్దాపురం తాలూకాలలోని కాకుపూడి ఫిర్కాగూడా చేర్చియున్నది. సడరు నియోజక వర్గము కొండప్రాంతము అగుటచే వర్షాధారము లిల్లి పండించే వీడరైతులను నీటి పారుదల కట్టడముల ద్వారా ఉద్ధరించవలసిందని గవర్నమెంటువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ ప్రదేశములయూలోగడ జమీందారీ పరిపాలనలో ఉన్నది. రైతులను ఉద్ధరించుటకు జమీందారీలను రద్దుచేసినారు. జమీందారీలైతములో వైన చెప్పిన సడరు సమలకు నీటి పారుదల కాలువలు నిర్మించి వాటి ద్వారా సాగుబడి జరిగించెడివారు. వారి హయాములో సడరు కాలువలు మరలుతు చేయబడువల్ల వంటలు పంతుకునే ఉండెడివి. ప్రస్తుతం

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కాలువలకు వీటా జరుగవలసిన సామాన్య మరమ్మతులకూడా చేయకపోతుంటే రైతులకు చాలా అన్యాయం జరుగుతున్నదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. జమీందారులు వేసే ట్యాక్సూ తగ్గించుటకు ఇస్తు తగ్గింపు వట్టుకువల్ల తగ్గించిన మొత్తము కంటే ఇటీవల గవర్నమెంటు విధించిన సెస్సులు పెండ్లవ వంటకు అర్థ రేటు వసూలు చేయుట ఇదివరలో చిరకాలం వట్టుకులుగా సాగయ్యే భూములకు అడంగు రెక్కలలో మెరక అని ప్రాసెయిస్తుండున గవర్నమెంటు నీటితీరువాయి వసూలుచేయుచున్నారు. ఇదివరకు జమీందార్లకు కట్టిన వస్తు కంటే ప్రస్తుతం గవర్నమెంటు వసూలుచేయు మొత్తం పెండించుకొనున్నది. రైతులకు 1939 వ సంవత్సరంకంటే ఇప్పుడు కూలి చార్జీ చాలా హెచ్చయినది. ఎరువులు ఖరీదు చాలా వాసిగాయన్నది. గాన ఎరువుల ఖరీదు కంట్రోలు చేయించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నాను. ఇట్టి పరిస్థితులలో రైతుకు మిగిలేది విమిలేదు. ఈలాంటి వీడరైతులకు ఖర్చులు హెచ్చయిన రోజులలో భూమి ఇస్తు సర్చార్జీ, బెటర్ మెంటు ట్యాక్సు వగైరా వస్తులు వేయటం న్యాయంకాదు. ఇదివరలో కొన్ని నదీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఇరిగేషన్ వనరులకు బెటర్ మెంటుట్యాక్సు వసూలుచేయలేదు. ఇప్పుడు మెరక ప్రాంతములలో వీడ ప్రజలకు జరిగే చిన్న వనరులకు అభివృద్ధి వస్తు అడుగుట న్యాయంకాదు. ప్రస్తుత పరిస్థితులవల్ల ఈ మెట్ట తాలూకాలలో ఈ సంవత్సరము రాయలసీమవంటి కరువు వచ్చే ప్రమాదంకలదని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. జమీందారీ రద్దు చేసేముందు చేసిన వాగ్దానం ప్రకారం రామరాజ్యం రాలేదు సరిగదా, రైతు లోకాన్ని త్రొక్కి స్వర్గంలో ఉంచినట్లుగా తోచుచున్నది. మా తాలూకాలలో తుని పెద్ద వర్షకేంద్రం. విశాఖవట్టుం జిల్లాలోని ఎలమంచిలి, నర్సపట్టుం తాలూకాలలోను గోదావరి జిల్లాలోని, రాజమండ్రి, పెద్దాపురం, పిఠాపురం తాలూకాలలో పండి వంటలు, గూడెం, ఎల్లవరం విజెస్సీల సరకులు, తుని మార్కెట్టుకు వస్తు యుండును. సుమారు ఐదవైవేల ప్రజలు జనాభా ఉన్న ఈ తుని గత 1928, 1949 వ సంవత్సరములలో తాండవనది జల ప్రవాహానికి అమాతి అయి తీరలేని నష్టము కలిగించినది. గత వరదలో పెండు ఎద్దులు జల ప్రవాహములో కొట్టుకొనిపోయి తునిలో ఒక చాచామీద వాటి ప్రాణములు కాపాడుకున్న సంగతి విదితమే. గనుక తుని వట్టుకులకు తాండవ నది వల్ల కలిగే వరద నష్టము కలుగకుండా రివర్ బండు వేయించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నాను. తుని తాలూకాలలో కాకులపూడి, కొండ ప్రాంతమున గల సుమారు ఒక లక్ష జనాభాకు మార్కెటులేక చాలా బాధ పడుచున్నారు. వీడ ప్రజాసేవానికి కత్తిపూడినంచి కాకులపూడి మీదుగా కోటసంధూరుకు 1936 వ సంవత్సరములో జిల్లాలోద్ధుల శాంక్షనుచేసి నేటి వరకు అడులు జరుగని ఈరోడ్డును వేయించినదాడల చాలా ఉత్సాహముగా ఉండునని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. తుని తాలూకాలలో సముద్రప్రాంతమున నివసించే వల్లకులనులకు రోడ్డు పోకర్తాలుగాని, విద్య, వైద్య పోకర్తాలుగాని లేక చాలా అభ్యాన్న స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. వెనుకబడ్డ ఈ జాతివానికి తగిన సదుపాయములు చేయించవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను. కొండ ప్రాంతంలో నివసించే ప్రజాసేవానికి విద్య, వైద్యము మొదలైన పోకర్తాలు చేయించవలెను. కనుక తాండవ నది, పంపానది నీరును సద్వినియోగం చేయించి సడరు తాలూకాలలోగల వీడ రైతులకు అభివృద్ధి కారణమైన నీటి పోకర్తాలు చేయించవలసినదిగా ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఇట్టి పరిస్థితులలో రైతుల దుస్థితిని యోచించి రైతులపై అదనంగా సర్చార్జీ వేసినట్లయిన రైతు వివిధంగా వ్యవసాయం కొనసాగించగలడో ప్రభుత్వం యోచించవలసియున్నది. మా మెట్ట తాలూకా వర్షాధారం కాబట్టి, అతివృష్టి, అనావృష్టి దోషములకు గురియైన రైతులకు చూడు కోట్ల

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హాసాయం బట్టబోతున్నాను. పూర్తి చేయటమనే ప్రయత్నం చేయాలనే విధించడం నేనీ చాలా అన్యాయమనిపిస్తోంది. ప్రజలకు ఈ పేదరైతులపైన పన్ను భారం పెంచక, వేరొక రీతిలో ఆలోచించి, భర్తీ చేయవలసిందిగా ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతూ ఈ నా ఆశ్చర్యంను తెలియజేస్తున్నాను."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all, let me congratulate the Hon. the Finance Minister for his lucid exposition of the Budget. In this connexion, let me make a suggestion to him, namely, that in future when the Budget speech is printed and circulated to Members, it should be printed and circulated not only in the English language, but also in the Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam languages because a large number of members of this House are proficient only in their mother-tongue.

“ Sir, let me also congratulate the Hon. the Chief Minister for realizing that full democracy can only function if the electorate is encouraged to take an informed interest in the public finances of this State. In pursuance of that general attitude, may I also make a suggestion to the Hon. the Finance Minister that a popular compendium of the Budget proposals and the implications thereof, may also be published, as is done, say, in the Corporation of Madras. If such a compendium is published, may I make a suggestion that in the pictorial depicting of the implications of the Budget, the Hon. the Finance Minister may be represented as a modern Robinhood receiving offerings of jewels from the womenfolk of the State and distributing them to the several Ministers for being transmuted into irrigation projects, river training schemes, and so on and so forth. That compendium may well be entitled, ‘An intelligent Women’s Guide to Congress Capitalism.’

“ Sir, since you have allotted me only a few minutes, I can only offer a few general remarks with regard to the Budget. A Budget is the acid test as to whether a party in power is translating its election promises into actual executive performance. Let us apply this acid test to the Budget. I submit, Sir, that there has been once again a betrayal of the confidence of the masses who have voted for the Congress. I say advisedly ‘once again’ for this reason. In 1946 too the people of the State were exhorted to cast their votes for the Congress and the people of the State were told that if they voted for the Congress their vote would imply that there would be the ushering in of *Ramarajya*. But the bitter experience of the people of the State is this. During the last five years, they did not experience *Ramarajya*, but, if I may say so, they experienced the rule of *Ramarajya*. The policies, the practices and the misrule of these five years are sought to be perpetuated in this particular Budget under discussion.

“ Let us take some of the important election pledges made by the Congress Party to the electorate in the recent elections. I will read from the Election Manifesto of the Congress. It is said

[9th July 1952] [Sri S. C. C. Anthony Pillai]

that ‘the objective of the Congress is the attainment of a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity, of political and economic social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.’ The manifesto frankly confesses ‘Inequalities have been accentuated during recent years largely in consequence of illegitimate gains from blackmarketing, tax evasion, certain forms of speculation and other anti-social activities.’

“ The manifesto then goes on to give the categorical promise that ‘the tax structure should be examined and other methods explored for bringing about a reasonable relationship between the minimum and maximum incomes, both in the private and the public sectors in keeping with the economic condition of the country.’

“ If we examine the taxation proposals placed before the House by the Hon. the Finance Minister, we find that this particular election promise, viz., that taxation would be so adjusted as to be an instrument of levelling up incomes in this country has not been fulfilled. Far from levelling up incomes, the taxation proposals are so framed as to enrich the wealthy and pauperise the poverty-stricken. That is the main criticism that I would like to level against this Budget. It is usual to refer to the two calamities of the twentieth century as World War I and World War II. I submit that any future writer on public finance in this country will refer to the periods when the greatest amount of suffering through taxation was inflicted upon the people of the State of Madras as Rajaji Regime 1 and Rajaji Regime 2. It was during the Rajaji Regime 1, that the sales tax, a venomous method of exploiting the people, and the calamity of prohibition which reduced the revenues of the State were introduced. The people of this State who had long suffered under the sales tax expected a lightening of their burden as a result of the fall in prices. Instead of allowing the natural process of falling prices to reduce the burden of taxation on the poor, this Ministry comes forward to devise new and heinous methods for taxing the poor. Up till now, the sales tax has been levied on intangible commodities. Now we are treated to a new form of Sales Tax, namely sales tax on services. The proposed surcharge of one pie per mile on bus fares is but another form of sales tax on transport services. Even a commercially prosperous State like Bombay levied the sales tax only as a single point tax. It was left to the Congress Ministry of this State to levy sales tax as a multi-point tax. The revenue derived from the tax soared from Rs. 34 lakhs in 1939 to something like Rs. 15½ crores in 1952. Not satisfied with this Rs. 15½ crores by this method of exploitation, another Rs. 2 crores is sought to be realized from the poverty-stricken people of this State by the levy of a surcharge on bus fares.

“ There is another reason why I oppose the levy of a surcharge on bus fares. The Government of India set up the Motor Vehicles Taxation Enquiry Committee. The report of that Committee is now available to the public. It will be remembered that the committee pointed out that the tax on motor vehicles in India is

[Sri Raja V. V. Krishnan Raju] [9th July 1952]

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the highest in the world and that the tax on motor vehicles in the Madras State is the highest among all the States of the Indian Union. Despite these glaring facts, this Ministry wants to impose further taxes on motor vehicles. We understand that the recommendations of the Motor Vehicles Taxation Enquiry Committee are still under the consideration of the Government of India. Therefore, I suggest that the fair and honourable course of action for this Government to take is to postpone, if not altogether give up, the present taxation proposal."

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member has got only two more minutes."

* SRI S. C. C. ANTHONY PILLAI :—"It is very difficult, Sir, to offer my remarks on the whole Budget within ten minutes."

"Let me briefly refer to the major lapses from the promises made to the electorate during the recent General Elections. In its election manifesto, the Congress pledged itself to nationalization of transport services. We do not see any such proposal in this Budget. We have heard from the lips of the Hon. Minister himself during question time that there will be no extension of nationalization of transport services. This again is a gross betrayal of an election pledge."

"Let us take education. It has been promised in the Congress election manifesto that illiteracy will be completely wiped out within ten years. But is there any proposal in this Budget to give larger grants or subsidies to local boards and educational institutions to wipe out illiteracy? Far from that being the case, the Government are trying to pass on the burden to local authorities and private educational institutions. It is stated in the Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister that there are about 4 lakhs of public servants who are eligible for educational concessions and that a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs has been provided for additional educational grants. This works out to about eight annas per month for each child of a public servant. Does each public servant spend only eight annas per month on the education of his children? Who, then, is going to bear the excess expenditure? I submit that the poor local boards are going to be burdened for the educational concessions announced by the Government."

"Let us take the revenue derived from the tax on motor vehicles. In 1939, out of Rs. 80 lakhs of revenue derived through the tax on motor vehicles, Rs. 75 lakhs was given to local authorities as compensation for loss of tolls. To-day the total revenue from the motor vehicles tax is in the neighbourhood Rs. 385 lakhs. Of this amount how much does this Ministry propose to give to local bodies? A bare Rs. 90 lakhs. If the local authorities are going to be starved of funds, they will be hard put to implement the educational concessions given to employees of local bodies."

"Let us take another Congress election promise. It was said that the standard of living of the employees would be improved as

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soon as a Congress Ministry came into power." (The Deputy Speaker sounded the gong to indicate that the hon. Member's time is up, and the hon. Member resumed his seat.)

* SRI C. PRABHAKARA CHOWDARY :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in discussing the Budget, the first and the most important thing is the food problem. Fifty lakh tons of food are imported into India from foreign countries, and Madras State gets 2 lakh tons from the Central Government. Each ton costs Rs. 400. Thus, Rs. 200 crores from our country of which Rs. 8 crores is from our State is going out to foreign countries every year. The other day an hon. Member belonging to the Ministerialist Party said that it worked out to Rs. 200 per acre for the construction of projects in Rayalaseema. In other words, if we spend at the rate of Rs. 200 per acre, we can construct the projects. Each acre will produce nearly three-fourths ton of rice. If we spend Rs. 250 per acre, we can produce one ton of rice. But now we are paying Rs. 400 per ton for imported rice. If we spend on the construction of irrigation projects the amount that we spend on the import of foodgrains in one year, our State will become self-sufficient. There are many irrigation schemes which, if implemented, will bring about increased production of food. This Budget does not provide for the execution of any irrigation schemes to develop food production. Instead of spending on the proper conservation and distribution of our water resources, the Government wasted huge sums on *vanamahotsava* and other things during the last five years."

"They have not made the country self-sufficient. Even now 11-15 a.m. they indulge in tall-talk about Vanamahotsava and that they want to make Madras State self-sufficient in food. But they have not taken positive steps to increase the food production in our parts. They pray for rains. They want more rains. But the rains that have already fallen have not been properly used. Only 7 per cent of the Godavari water is being utilized by the people now. The remaining 93 per cent goes waste into the sea. If this water could be properly utilized, we can make our State a surplus State in food. Only Godavari water can make the whole of Madras State self-sufficient in regard to food. The schemes and projects that have already been executed are not being attended to properly. Huge sand deposits are there in the Godavari river. The Godavari water, therefore, is not quite sufficient for irrigating lands. Gradually, less and less water is going to the fields. If big projects are not executed now, the Government can do certain other things immediately. Now electricity is supplied to our places. With the aid of electric power, they can pump out water from Godavari river to either side of the river and irrigate lands. This can be easily done. For instance in Purushothapatnam there is a pumping station. They are spending nearly Rs. 20 lakhs on this station. With the help of this pumping station, we can irrigate about 15,000 acres. For each acre it does not cost more than Rs. 2. But what is the yield? The yield is high. On an average 15 bags of paddy can be got from an acre. One bag of paddy

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will give half a bag of rice. That means we get three-fourths ton of rice from an acre. There are some more profitable schemes. At Alamuru, below the Godavari Anicut, water is accumulated. From there if we pump out water into the canal that is going by the side of the river, we could supply water for the second crop for at least 10,000 acres. The Government need not dig a canal. The canal is there already. They need not get water from any other source. After the Godavari floods, water is going to the ocean. It does not help anybody in any way. So, I say that the water below the anicut can be pumped out into the canal. This costs very little to the Government, because near that place there is a pumping station. This supplies water only for the first crop. The use of that pump set is only up to November. But afterwards it is useless. That pump set can be taken in the month of March or April for supplying water for the second crop. The Government need not invest any capital on this. They have only to take the pump from one place to another. The cost of removing pump from one place to another is not much. The Government have not paid attention to even these small schemes. The Government do not pay any attention to the execution of projects to produce more food. In Rajahmundry taluk, there is a huge area where fresh water is not supplied to the people. If the Government should spend some Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 lakhs, they can supply fresh water, and they can also irrigate about 10,000 acres of land. The Government may pump out water from Kadayam . . ." (The hon. Member had not concluded his speech when the Deputy Speaker called on Mr. Ramasamy Thevar to speak.)

* SRI A. RAMASAMY THEVAR:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support heartily the cautious Budget prepared with much care and diligence by the Finance Minister Sri C. Subramaniam. While doing so, I wish to place before the Government the following matters which require urgent attention on their part:—

(1) The execution of the Kattalai High Level Channel Extension Scheme up to Vallam in the Tanjore district which will enable the Government to bring under cultivation thousands of acres in the course of three or four years.

(2) Most of the villages in my constituency are to be supplied with electricity exclusively for the installation of pumps for agricultural purposes.

(3) Most of the tanks in Manikandam and Thogamalai areas should be repaired urgently and made fit for irrigation. These tanks have not been cared for for many years past.

(4) Mobile medical units should be introduced as an experimental measure, as most of the villages have no hospitals closeby.

(5) The comprehensive water-works and drainage scheme in the Tiruchirappalli town should be expedited. The water-works scheme was designed some 50 years ago for one lakh of people.

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Now the population has gone up to 2½ lakhs. I wish to bring to the notice of the Government that the above scheme on completion will do immense good to the people of the town.

(6) In view of the increasing population of the town, medical facilities already provided in the Gandhi Memorial Headquarters Hospital, Tiruchirappalli, are inadequate. The Government should take immediate steps to push through the schemes.

(7) At present, Tiruchirappalli town has no good public playground. When Sri C. Rajagopalachariar was Chief Minister in 1937, he had the kindness—by the persuasion of the late Mr. Ratnavelu Thevar, M.L.A., an ardent lover of games—to lease out for 30 years a playground in the Puttur maidan. Subsequently the lease period has been changed to five years. In the meantime the playground has been taken over by the Government for the construction of the headquarters hospital. The Hon. the Chief Minister knows the whole state of affairs. In a sporting manner, I request the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue to allot the Government land in the Cantonment area, adjacent to the Union Club for the playground, for which act of gratitude, the public of Tiruchirappalli will be ever thankful.

"Lastly, Sir, the bus service should be extended in some of the taluks, namely, Manaparai, Musiri, etc. In Tiruchirappalli district for want of proper roads, buses are not plying in some places, and in the interest of the public, I request the Hon. Minister for Transport to refer the matter to the Road Traffic Board, Tiruchirappalli, to find out the exact position and introduce more buses to ply in places where buses are very urgently required.

"As regards the decontrol policy, Sir, I really congratulate the Hon. the Chief Minister on the bold step of ordering decontrol of foodgrains. As one in touch with the rural population, I make bold to say that the defeat of the Congress in the recent elections was mainly due to the food policy of the Government, and the Chief Minister has rightly decontrolled foodgrains, which was long overdue.

"Sir, the critics of the Prohibition policy of the Government forget the benefits conferred on the poor class of people previously addicted to drink. Mahatma Gandhi was always stressing this aspect of the question. Whatever people may say of illicit drinking and loss of revenue to the Government, I may point out that backward communities like mine stand to benefit by this Prohibition. The Hon. Chief Minister introduced Prohibition in Salem in the year 1937, and I would earnestly request him to take effective steps to put down illicit distillation and drinking by ordering the infliction of severer punishments in these cases.

"Sir, I am in duty bound to say, in this connexion that the long neglected Mukkulathur community, to which I have the honour to belong, is numerically strong and is spread all over South India. They are there from time immemorial. They are socially, economically and educationally backward. Some of the

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tourists have also written that they were nomadic tribes in South India. They have nothing to fall back upon. They are poor agricultural labourers and are really in a very sad plight. Some of the hon. Members, Sri R. V. Swaminathan and the Raja of Chettinad, have clearly pointed out their deplorable conditions at present. Our Chief Minister knows this community very well. They want only facilities to do agriculture peacefully, good roads in their villages, etc. This community is entirely counting on the Raja of Ramnad for their betterment and improvement in all directions. I hope the Raja Sahib will readily concede my earnest request, with the assistance of his colleagues. With folded arms, I appeal to Sri C. Rajagopalachariar most fervently in the name of God to devote attention to the uplift of my Mukkulathur community.

"Before I conclude, I would like to place on record my humble appreciation of the services of the ablest and wisest statesman, Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, who has been sent by God himself to save this State. He is too well known for his ready wit and humour. Also his language is full of metaphors and similes. The newly elected Members of this House should be thankful for his able guidance in the parliamentary debates. One hon. Member in the Opposition said that the Budget is a Clerk's Budget, but, Sir, if one carefully looks into the Budget, one will see that it has been prepared under the Hon. the Chief Minister's able supervision.

"In fine, I may say here that our Agriculture Minister, Dr. R. Nagana Gowd is a kind and sympathetic gentleman. As a practical tiller of the soil, he is evincing keen interest in the improvement of food production throughout this State, and I am sure he will keep it up for the sake of this poor country.

"Once again I would like to congratulate the Hon. the Finance Minister and other Ministers on this Budget which satisfies the requirements of the poor man. Thank you, Sir."

11-30 a.m. * SRI S. RADHAKRISHNAN :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, after all these troubles, the Hon. the Finance Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam has presented a famine budget—rather a famine-stricken budget. As usual, and as before, we, in the Opposition are opposing this Budget on reasonable grounds. In the very beginning, I oppose this Budget, Sir. The very foundations of the Budget are not acceptable to us. This Budget has been prepared just like the one presented by the old British East India Company. This has not been adjusted to the existing conditions. This does not take note of the famine conditions and illiteracy prevailing in this State. I would like to point out to the notorious Members of the other side who are working under the notorious leadership of an extraordinary leader a quotation of a notorious author, Bernard Shaw! He says, 'Organized as States . . . they not only commit the worst atrocities but claim the right to commit them on principle and glorify them as national triumphs.' So, cutting of telegraphic wires was considered a national triumph, burning of

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post-offices was considered a national triumph and removing fish-plates and murdering thousands of mothers of children was considered a national triumph. But I leave the matter to the other side for consideration. Democracy should be maintained for the benefit of all the classes impartially and without discrimination and not for a few privileged classes, not for a few landowners of Tanjore, not for a few businessmen of Chettinad, not for the mill-owners of Coimbatore and not for a few Rajas and Kumararajas. But that is not the case with regard to this Budget. This Budget aims at taxing the poor and feeding the rich, exploiting the honest and the innocent and encouraging the black-marketer. Two great mistakes have been committed in preparing this Budget, one on the revenue side and the other on the expenditure side. On the revenue side, the Hon. the Finance Minister has decided to squeeze the last drop of blood from the toiling millions, and on the expenditure side, he has planned not for equitable distribution but for spending money as uselessly and wastefully as a spendthrift would do.

"The Hon. the Finance Minister has shed tears, rather crocodile tears, in explaining the famine conditions and the relief measures adopted in that connection. But when you see the relief measures put into practice, you will find that they are not suitable for the occasion. There are proposals to levy a surcharge on land revenue and levy a betterment contribution. Is it the way of growing more food and improving agriculture? No. In the name of democracy and in the name of People's Government, I charge the Hon. the Finance Minister with inefficiency or incapacity to produce a balanced Budget. He has produced a Budget which exploits the poor. We may even call it 'Congress autocracy'. I oppose the Budget on these grounds and I conclude my speech."

* SRI S. VENKATARAMA AYYAR :—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a matter of just pride, and our Hon. the Finance Minister certainly deserves our congratulations on the well-thought out and cautious Budget which he has presented to this House. Any amount of criticism can be showered on it, but I say none can improve upon it. It was prepared at a time when there were trying conditions in the wake of famine and when we had to spend several lakhs of rupees on a number of relief measures. It was clearly unexpected expenditure. I do not think the Hon. the Finance Minister could have prepared a better Budget than the one presented to us. Of course, it closes with a deficit of Rs. 3.5 crores. Therein comes a little bit of difficulty. How are we to make up that deficiency and find funds for ameliorative measures and for the normal running of the administration of the State? I can pride myself on having something to do with the Budget preparation and the inner working of such administrations, of course, on a modest scale in connection with the premier District Board, the Tanjore District Board, which deals with about Rs. 70 lakhs every year. So, I say it is easy to criticise but we must look at it from a constructive point of view. I would submit to the House that the Budget as presented is certainly a well-thought out one. Of course, it is a conservative Budget. As it is the Hon. the Finance

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Minister seeks to impose on us some additional burden. Inevitably perhaps he has to do it, considering the fact that there is a great demand for various measures like irrigation projects, expansion of medical institutions and educational buildings, development of roads and communications, etc. These works cannot be stopped. Sufficient funds have to be found for meeting normal expenditure, if not for any extra expenditure. So, the Hon. the Finance Minister has come forward with certain taxation proposals. I would confine myself to the surcharge on land revenue and make some concrete suggestions. I come from the Tanjore district. It consists of two deltas. One is the old Cauvery delta and the other is the Cauvery-Mettur Project area, the new delta. Coming as I do from the new Cauvery-Mettur Project area, I would say that there are a lot of representations made by the Tanjore mirasdars. When I refer to Tanjore district, I have to submit that there is a misconception that the mirasdars are all rich landlords. But I may submit for the information of this House that there are only a handful of rich mirasdars who own several thousands of acres of land. We have to deal with the small landlords and mirasdars who own 3, 5 and 10 acres of land, and there is a considerable number of such mirasdars. It will certainly be a very heavy burden on them if the taxable minimum is fixed at Rs. 50. I would respectfully submit to the Government that the minimum should be suitably enhanced to at least Rs. 150, if the levy of a surcharge on land revenue is inevitable.

"As for the betterment contribution, the year 1948 is taken as the basis for giving retrospective effect. That is rather too early a period. We can just put it at the date of the Bill itself or somewhere about 1950. Then, thirty times the net increase in income is taken as the basis for the levy. That is rather heavy. Twenty times the net income is usually taken as the basis for awarding compensation in land acquisition cases. I think that rate will be the safest basis for assessing the betterment contribution.

"As far as the Cauvery-Mettur Project area is concerned, I wish to offer three or four concrete suggestions. Firstly, the supply of water to the tail end villages is meagre, scanty and belated. It should be immediately attended to. Then there are about 3 lakhs of acres of land in that area. Out of that, 2 lakhs of acres have been brought under cultivation. About 50,000 acres of cultivable land still remain to be brought under cultivation. I would submit for the information of the Government that there was a special Department under a special Deputy Collector for this purpose. Now it seems to have been abolished. It may be revived. Some concrete proposals have already been put forward to bring these 50,000 acres of land under cultivation. Now that the zamins and the inams have been abolished, there is no question of dispute over the ownership of these lands. They can be easily brought under cultivation. Plans have been designed for this purpose and brought into effect in Pattukottai taluk. If there is earnestness and interest, these 50,000 acres of land can be brought under cultivation.

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"There is a loud complaint about the land revenue assessment in the recently abolished inam and zamin villages. Now, on account of the recent orders, the land revenue works out to Rs. 16-10-0 per acre. That is the highest rate prevailing in the Tanjore district, for the most fertile lands (only 42 acres) as a special wet rate. There is absolutely no ground for taking that rate as the basis. The ryots of the area and the Congress organizations have made several representations in this matter to the Hon. the Revenue Minister and the Hon. the Chief Minister. I would only request the Government not to take into consideration the highest rate prevailing in the old delta, Nadu Cauvery and Tirukkattupalli, consistent with the fundamental object of the Rent Reduction Act and the Estates Abolition Act, the rents prevailing in the inam and zamin villages must be reduced to the level of the ryotwari assessment in the neighbourhood. The highest rate in Pattukkottai taluk works out to Rs. 8 per acre for ryotwari lands. In these circumstances, the rate of Rs. 16-10-0 per acre is unjust and inequitable. I request the Hon. the Revenue Minister and the Hon. the Chief Minister to consider our representations and give us suitable relief.

"Sir, there are now three different rates in our area. But the soil of all lands is of the same tharam. In the Pattukkottai taluk, inam and zamin villages have been recently abolished and taken over by the Government. The Government should place the new ryotwari pattadar in the recently abolished zamin and inam villages on the same level as the ryot in the old ryotwari tract. The tenants in the old ryotwari tract pay at the rate of Rs. 8 per acre of land, including water-cess. But the ryots in the new ryotwari villages who paid cash rent are asked to pay Rs. 5 per acre plus water-cess of Rs. 10. So, it works out to Rs. 15 per acre. Ryots in the recently converted inam villages who have acquired the status of ryotwari pattadars (who paid grain rent or *amani*) are asked to pay Rs. 16-10-0 per acre plus water cess of Rs. 10. So it works out to Rs. 26-10-0 per acre. This sort of disparity should not be allowed to continue. Therefore, I request the Government to treat all the ryots equally and place them on an equal level.

"With reference to private lands, ownership rests with the inamdar. The relationship between the landlord and the man who actually tills the soil is getting strained. There must be some sort of legislation to confer the right of ownership on the man who actually cultivates the land and to give some compensation to the inamdar. In this nebulous state of affairs, the relationship between the poor inamdar who owns 5 or 10 acres and the actual cultivator is getting strained. There must be some sort of effective legislation so as to make the inamdar and the tenants lead a contented and peaceful life. If a man who has been actually cultivating the land is to be given some right, that right must be conferred on him without any further delay, so that the relationship between the landlord and the actual cultivator may be cordial.

"I would like to make one more suggestion to the Government though it is not within the purview of this Government. With a

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view to increase food production and give greater facilities for moving grains from our surplus district to other places, for example, from Pattukkottai to Ramanathapuram and other places, I would request the Government to recommend to the Central Government to take up the formation of the railway line from Tanjore to Pattukkottai at an early date. The guarantee required has already been given by the Madras Government to the Central Government and the latter have deferred taking up the question in view of the Karaikudi line. But now that the Karaikudi-Arattangi line has been completed, I would like the Madras Government to impress on the Government of India the necessity of taking up the Tanjore-Pattukkottai line so that paddy and other grains may be moved easily from this surplus district to the neighbouring deficit districts."

11-45 a.m. * SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is a great pleasure to me to participate in the budget discussion. I want to state that the backward communities as a whole are not at all taken care of. The amount allotted for the uplift of the backward communities is too small. Most of them are in the villages and are working for the improvement of the fields and other things. They are not at all cared for. Even during the regime of the last Ministry this matter was brought to the notice of the House by hon. Members Sri R. V. Swaminathan and Sri A. Subramaniam. But nothing has taken place till now. I would like to urge upon the Government to form a separate Department like the Harijan Welfare Department and do something for the betterment of these people. So far as the Harijans are concerned, the amount allotted to them is also insufficient. The two communities are working hand in hand in the villages. But the present Government did not take any measures to uplift either the Harijans or the backward communities as a whole. The backward communities have been allotted Rs. 10 lakhs which is not at all sufficient. At least Rs. 50 lakhs must be allotted for the uplift of the backward communities as a whole. So far as the Harijans are concerned, at least one crore of rupees should be allotted. Then only we can at least improve the conditions of the agriculturists. If we do something for the backward communities as a whole and the Harijans, it will mean that we are improving the lot of the agriculturists as a whole. So far as the urban people are concerned, they are mainly depending upon the agriculturists. But, what we have done for the agriculturists as a whole is very little. Even when the Britishers were here, they did not do anything for the uplift of the agriculturists. They have no proper roads and they have no elementary schools. Yet, the Government are not coming forward to do something to improve their condition. If the Government do not face the problem properly, I fear that a day will come when the agriculturists as a whole would unite together and start a non-co-operation movement just like what they did in France. Because, they are downtrodden and nobody is taking care of them.

" So far as the Education policy is concerned, adequate provision has not been made in this Budget. Even during the election

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time, the Congress people as well as the non-Congress people spoke a lot about education and other things. We quoted the songs of Bharathiar also which said,

‘ நாடு தோறும் உள்ளன ஊர்கள் நகர்களுக்கும்
பல பல பள்ளி.

தேடு கல்வி இலாதோர் ஊரைத் தீயினுக்கு
இரையாக மடுத்தல்.

What steps have been taken by the Government so far? We are not in a position to open either schools or colleges. The Government are not only not able to open more schools and colleges themselves, but they are not allowing others also to open these, by insisting on an endowment of Rs. 35,000. Is this the way of educating the masses? Most of the people are uneducated here. When the Britishers were here only 7 per cent of the population were educated. Thanks to the Christian missionaries, they tried in the name of religion to do something for the uplift of the masses as a whole. Now, after five years the percentage of educated people has risen to 13. Still, 87 per cent of the population are uneducated. That is why, during election time, we followed the system of having symbols on the ballot boxes. If by chance a foreigner had visited our place during the elections, he would at once have said that here in India human-beings were not contesting the elections, but only animals were contesting the elections. Most of the people are uneducated and that is why we had to resort to the symbol system. We must try hard to educate the masses, by encouraging those who come forward to start schools and colleges. The poor managers of the aided schools are forced to give Rs. 3 for a teacher as the management grant. So most of the people are not coming forward to run schools. Once, the King of Japan in one of his speeches said that there must not be a single uneducated man in his country. In that way they achieved their object. But, in India sufficient money is not spent on education. There are not sufficient number of schools and colleges for the students. If there is shortage of teachers, why not some more training schools and colleges be started in some of the districts? If the pay of the teachers is increased, more people will come to work as teachers. At present, their pay is very low and that is why many people are not coming forward to work as teachers. In order to save money on big buildings, we can change the University education rules in such a way as to allow those students who study privately to appear for the examination after paying a nominal fee for the examination and other things and get a certificate. By adopting this method, the Government as well as the students can save time and money. People must be allowed to study privately and appear for examinations even while they are working in workshops and firms.

" So far as Prohibition is concerned, it is unconstitutional. The individual privilege is affected by it. Every man is entitled to drink. Even during the Vedic period, people were allowed to drink what was called *soma juice*. Even in the *puranas*, we come across angels and Gods who were addicted to drink. This privilege is being denied to us now. So far as the Americans are concerned,

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most of them are educated. Yet, they are not in a position to follow the principle of Prohibition. In one of his speeches, Mr. G. D. H. Cole praises the way in which they removed the salt tax, but when he deals with Prohibition policy, he criticises it. He considers toddy as the poor man's food. He does not consider it as liquor. In Malaya, a kind of control is brought into force by which they allow the sale of fresh toddy alone and in the evenings all the remaining unsold toddy will be destroyed. We can also follow some such method. With these few words, I oppose the Budget."

* SRI B. VAIKUNTA BALIGA :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Budget. Let me say a few words by way of introduction. The Budget is not a thing that has grown overnight. It is a continuation, a chronological continuation of what has been done, attempted to be done and was being done by the previous Government. To that extent, the Government of to-day are bound by what has been undertaken before. In addition to that, there are other basic facts which control the Budget to a very large extent. Certain extraordinary events that have happened during the year are very, very important. The expenditure of Rs. 41 lakhs in connection with the last elections has some part to play as an influencing consideration in framing this Budget. The relief granted to the Non-Gazetted Officers will cost about Rs. 50 lakhs. Furthermore, we have got the burden of the Rayalaseema famine that will cost something like six crores of rupees. After the presentation of the Budget, there has been plenty of criticism in this House by Members of all parties. There have been critical articles written in the Press. Furthermore, conferences and study circles have been formed. All these have given us a wealth of information which is really very instructive. If we analyse all these criticisms, and compare this Budget with the Budgets of previous years, we will find that all these criticisms resolve themselves into four categories. The first is the ideological criticism, arising from ideological differences. In this respect, I find that there has been much expenditure of powder and shot in attacking approach roads without being able to put even a single bombshell in the citadel of the Budget. The next category is informative criticism conveying to the Government information on various subjects which is very useful. The third is the kind of criticism that arises out of a grievances-enter-taining complex which makes one find fault at any cost and under any circumstances with everything and try to put the Government always in the wrong. The fourth is the criticism arising out of procedural differences. If possible, I shall try to answer all these things to the extent time will permit me. Having mentioned the basic facts and having perused over a thousand pages of printed Budget matter and over thirty pages of the Budget speech and taking into account all that has been said, I find that the Budget is well-balanced, judicious and cautious. It cannot be bettered by anybody. So far as the expenditure is concerned, I think that not a single head could be omitted. Last year, we spent Rs. 64 crores and this year we are going to spend about Rs. 71 crores under

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Part A, items 1 to 33, under Revenue Expenditure including Capital Outlay. Having regard to the increase in the population and having regard to the amenities that have to be provided in the fields of education, public health, sanitation and others, this increase in the expenditure to the extent of Rs. 7 crores cannot be said to be excessive. It would be difficult, nay impossible to reduce this amount to any extent.

" If we analyse these items from 1 to 33, I can prove beyond a shadow of doubt that not one of the heads that have been selected can be cut down. You are aware that our population is 56,800,000 and if we analyse the Budget we will find that we spend about 71 crores of rupees on them every year. It comes to about fourteen rupees per head per year which means Re. 1-4-0 per month per head. The whole criticism that has been levelled against the Government should be viewed from this background. Let me now take up Capital Outlay outside revenue expenditure on which 19 crores of rupees is proposed to be spent—eight crores of which will go for electricity and another eight crores for agriculture. Now may I ask hon. Members whether there is any item covered by this 16 crores which can be omitted? They are all productive schemes which will augment the resources of the State in the years to come and help us to tide over many a crisis. Then, there is provision in the Budget for the repayment of loans borrowed in 1937 or 1940, a debt which was contracted for our own good, and therefore, it cannot be touched. Having mentioned all these so far as items of expenditure are concerned, let me now apply my mind to some other aspects of the income side of the Budget.

" It was suggested, on account of ideological differences, that certain things could be omitted. Very many hon. Members were offering pin-point criticisms with regard to individual instances. We know individual instances were cited without their being correlated to any principle. I have got in my mind the criticism that was levelled against the non-enforcement of awards in the case of individual companies or, for example, the payment of 30 per cent dividend by a company. These are, Sir, very good ideas but the principle involved in them is something I cannot understand except labour relations. It was also said that cement concreting of certain roads could wait. On the face of it, it may appear that there is something in it. But let me mention four points in favour of the proposal to cement-concrete roads. Roads are built to a large extent from out of the taxes collected from the owners of vehicles which ply on the road. There is nothing that has been spent on the roads which is beyond that amount. What is more, you are aware, Sir, that all these days we have had to depend upon foreign countries for spares. We have invested on the purchase of spare parts something which is eternally lost to the country. If the roads are not kept in good repair, to what extent the health of the people will suffer. I need not say. I come from the district of South Kanara where the roads are so dirty and dusty that it is impossible to maintain the health of the people there. A good road besides lengthening the life of the vehicles that ply on the road, helps in,

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maintaining the health of the people as well. Are we or are we not bound to give a good road to the public? Our district deserves and claims rightly special consideration by the Government in the matter of provision of good roads. In this district there is not a single mile of cement road. Sir, as I have said, I have several matters to refer to but as my time is limited, I would refer in brief to the measures of taxation, and conclude.

"A surplus budget is undoubtedly out of the question. Taxation has to be resorted to. Then the question resolves itself to this. What is the mode of taxation? All the heads of expenditure that have been taken up are those which have been taken up after mature and deliberate study. It is not easy at this stage to change or modify the Budget proposals. The Budget proposals are prepared well in advance. Schemes are prepared beforehand so that they are included chronologically in the Budget. They are prepared long before the Budget is presented and then embodied in it for presentation. Therefore, any change in the schemes that might be suggested now will only be for the next year's Budget and not for this year's. This does not necessarily follow that the principles enunciated by hon. Members should be accepted in their entirety. They will have to be considered, procedural details will have to be worked out and then decisions taken. Now, Sir, if taxation has to be resorted to, let it fall on those who can bear it. Let it not be made to fall on the poor.

"I may in conclusion state that the huge amounts that have been spent by our State all these years—from 1944 onwards up till now on nation building activities and the present provision of nearly Rs. 43 crores covering nine heads as against Rs. 3 crores or so some years ago, all these are now going to yield results so that whatever deficit balance we might have now may be carried forward."

SRI M. GANGAPPA :—"అధ్యక్ష, నేను బళ్లారి జిల్లా, బళ్లారి నియోజకవర్గ ప్రజలచే శాసనసభ్యునిగా ఎన్నుకోబడి అక్కడనుండి వచ్చాను. ప్రస్తుతము నేను బళ్లారి మునిసిపల్ కౌన్సిల్ చైర్మన్ గా కూడా ఉన్నాను. కనుక మా బళ్లారిలోని ఇబ్బందులను ప్రజావసరాలను మార్చి ప్రభుత్వానికి కొంత మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. బళ్లారి పట్టణములో ముఖ్యంగా నీటి వసతి లేకుండా ప్రజలు చాలా కష్టపడుచున్నారు. ఇప్పటికీ చాలా సంవత్సరములుగా ఈ ఊరికి నీటి వసతి కలుగజేయవలసిన ప్రభుత్వానికి ఎన్నో విన్నపములు, మొమరేండములు పెట్టుకొన్నాము; మరియు మంత్రిలు అక్కడికి వచ్చినప్పుడు కూడా వారికి ఆ విషయము గురించి విజ్ఞాపనలు చేశాము. కాని ప్రభుత్వము ఇప్పటివరకు ఏమి శ్రద్ధ దూపకుండుట విచారకరముగా యున్నది. ప్రస్తుతము బళ్లారిలో ఉన్న టువంటి నీటి కొళాయిలు మొదట అనగా ఆ ఊరియొక్క జనాభా, 30, 35 వేలు మాత్రమే ఉండినప్పుడు వేసినటువంటివి. అయితే ఇప్పుడు ఆ పట్టణపు జనాభా 70 వేలకు పైగా నున్నది. కనుక దాదాపు రెండింతలు జనాభా పెరిగియుండిన ప్రస్తుతపు స్థితిలో ఇప్పుడున్న టువంటి కొళాయిలలో సరైన చేస్తున్న నీరు చాలదు. ఈ కొళాయిలలో దినమునకు రెండు, మూడు గంటలసేపు మాత్రమే నీరు ఇస్తున్నారు. ఈ కొద్ది నీరు ప్రజలకు ఏ మాత్రము చాలడములేదు. ఒక్కొక్క కొళాయి దగ్గర ఇమ్మారు, ముమ్మారు కడవలు ఉండి ప్రజలు చాలాసేపు

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అక్కడ కామకొని కష్టముతో నీరు తీసుకొనిపోతాయంటారు. ఈ విధముగా అక్కడ నీటికొరత విపరీతముగా నున్నది. కనుక ఈ పట్టణపు వాటర్ స్కీమును త్వరగా తీసుకొని అమలు జరుపవలసని కోరుచున్నాను.

"తరువాత బళ్లారిలో ఉన్న మునిసిపాలిటీ ఫస్ట్ గ్రేడు మునిసిపాలిటీ. కాని మునిసిపల్ ఆఫీసుకు ఇదివరకు సొంత బిల్డింగు లేదు. ఈ విషయము గురించి బళ్లారికి మంత్రిలు వచ్చినప్పుడు వారికి విజ్ఞాపనలు చేసుకొన్నాము. అందుకు వారు ఈ విషయము వచ్చే సంవత్సరము చూస్తామని అని చెప్పతూ ప్రతిసారి ఈ మాదిరి తెలుపుతూ వచ్చారు. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము వారు ఇప్పటికైనా శ్రద్ధవహించి ఆ బిల్డింగుకుగాను గ్రాంటు మరియు అప్పుఇచ్చి మునిసిపల్ ఆఫీసుకు బిల్డింగు కట్టుకొనుటకు సహాయము చేయవలసిన మనవిచేయుచున్నాను.

"తరువాత బళ్లారిలో సరియైన డ్రైనేజ్ అనుకూలము లేకుండా ఉన్నది. ఆ ఊరిలో ముఖ్యముగా రెండు పెద్ద కాలువలు ఉన్నవి. వీటిలో సరిగా నీరు పోక చాలా అసహ్యంగా అనారోగ్యకరంగా ఉంది. గౌరవనీయులైన మంత్రి సంచేవయ్యగారు అక్కడకు వచ్చినప్పుడు వారికి కూడా ఇది దూపించాము. వారు కూడా తప్పకుండా ఈ డ్రైనేజ్ సరిచేయవలసియున్నదని ఒప్పుకొన్నారు. అందువల్ల ఈ డ్రైనేజ్ కాలువల వసతి ప్రభుత్వము త్వరగా తీసుకొనవలసని కోరుచున్నాను.

"ఇంక, బళ్లారి జిల్లాలోని పల్లెల్లో కూడా నీటి వసతి లేకుండా ప్రజలు చాలా అవస్థ పడుచున్నారు. చాలాచోట్ల భావులు లేవు. హరిజనులు మొదలగు పేద ప్రజలు గ్రామాలనుంచి మూడు, నాలుగు మైళ్ళ దూరముపోయి నీరు తెచ్చుకోవలసియుంటుంది. ఈ జిల్లాలో అన్ని పల్లెల్లో కూడా నీటి కొరత ఉన్నది. కనుక ఈ జిల్లాలో ప్రతి గ్రామములోను భావులు త్రవ్వించి ప్రజలకు నీటి వసతి కలుగజేయవలసని కోరుచున్నాను.

"అంతేకాకుండా గ్రామాలకు రోడ్లు సరిగాలేకుండా వారికి రాకపోకలు చాలా కష్టముగా ఉన్నాయి, మరియు గ్రామాలనుంచి ప్రజలు బళ్లారికి రావలసి వస్తే కూడా వారికి సరియైన రోడ్లు లేవు. కనుక ఈ జిల్లాలో గ్రామాలన్నిటికి సరియైన రోడ్లువేసి ప్రజలకు రాకపోకల సౌకర్యాలు కలుగజేయవలసని మనవి చేయుచున్నాను. మరియు గ్రామాలలో ప్రజలు ఆరోగ్యవంతంగా ఉండవలసిన ఆ ప్రదేశాలలో ఆరోగ్య కరియైన వసతులు కల్పించుటకుగాను ఫిర్యాకు ఒక నేనిటరీ ఇన్ స్పెక్టరును నియమించ వలసిన అవసరమున్నది. కనుక జిల్లా బోర్డు ప్రతి ఒక ఫిర్యాకు ఒక నేనిటరీ ఇన్ స్పెక్టరును నియమించునట్లు ఏర్పాటు చేయవలసని కోరుచున్నాను. ఈ జిల్లాలో ప్రతి ఒక ఫిర్యాకు 10 వేలకు తక్కువ లేకుండా జనాభాయున్నది గనుక ఒక ఫిర్యాకు ఒక నేనిటరీ ఇన్ స్పెక్టరునా ఉండవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. తరువాత గ్రామాలలో అడవాల్స్ కాన్సుల విషయములో వారికి సరియైన సహాయము లేకుండా ఉంది గనుక గ్రామాలలో మిడ్ వైపులనుకూడా నియమించేటట్లు ఏర్పాటు చేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

"తరువాత ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వము తయారుచేసినటువంటి బడ్జెటులో కన్నులు చాలా ఎక్కువగా వేసినారు. ఇది చాలా విచారంగా ఉన్నది. ఈ ఆధిక కన్నుల వల్ల పేద రైతులంతా చెప్పి తివలసియుంటుంది. మొదలై మావి కరువు ప్రాంతాలు. మా బళ్లారి జిల్లాలో రైతులు ప్రతిఒకరు ఇప్పటికే అప్పులు పాలెయ్యన్నారు. వారు మరల కొత్త పన్నులు ఇచ్చుకోవలసినట్లు చాలా కష్టముగా ఉంటుంది. ఇంక, బన్ను చార్జీకూడా మొత్తము 0-0-1 ప్రకారం పాచ్చించినారు. ఈ విషయములో

[Sri M. Gangappa]

[9th July 1952]

కూడా పల్లెలలో ఉన్న వీధి ప్రజలు దెబ్బ తినవలసివస్తుంది. ఇప్పుడున్న చార్జీలపై వారు ఇచ్చుకోలేని స్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. అటువంటిప్పుడు ఇంకా హెచ్చుచార్జీ పెట్టుకోవలసినంత చాలా కష్టముగా ఉంటుంది. కనుక ఈ కొత్త పన్నులుగాని, బస్సు చార్జీ హెచ్చింపుగాని ఏవి వేయకుండా బడ్జెటును వేరొక విధముగా తయారుచేసి సవరించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను.

“తరువాత ప్రావీణిజ్ గురించి కొంత మనవిచేయబోతున్నాను. ఇప్పుడు అమలుజరిపిన ప్రావీణిజ్ విధానము చాలా failure గా ఉన్నదని చెప్పవలసి యున్నది. ముఖ్యంగా పల్లెలలో ప్రతి ఒక ఇంటిలోకూడా, పక్కడెందు అణాలు భాగము దొంగ సారాయి తయారుచేస్తున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వము దానిని ఏమాత్రము అరికట్టు లేక పోయినది. పల్లెలలోనే కాకుండా పట్టణాలలోకూడా ఈ దొంగ సారాయి తయారుచేస్తున్నారు. ఈ దొంగ సారాయి చాలా అనారోగ్యకరముగా ఉన్నందువల్ల ప్రజలు నానా రోగాలకు గురిఅగుచున్నారు. ప్రావీణిజ్ ప్లాన్ గాని పోలీసులుగాని దీనిని అరికట్టడానికి శ్రద్ధ చూపకుండా ఉన్నారు. ప్రభుత్వముకూడా ఈ ఉద్యోగస్థులైన వివిధ వర్గ తీసుకోదు. అంతేకాకుండా ప్రజలకు ఇప్పుడు పోలీసువాళ్ళంటేను ఉద్యోగస్థులంటేను ఏమి భయములేదు. పోలీసువాళ్ళ ఉంటేకూడా వీరు ప్రజల దగ్గర లంచాలు తీసుకొని, మామూళ్ళ తీసుకొని వారిని విడిచిపెట్టుతున్నారు. పెద్ద పట్టణాలలో కూడా దొంగ సారాయిచేస్తూ ప్రజలు శ్రీగా అమ్ముచున్నారు. బళ్లారి లోని గాంధీనగర్, సత్యనారాయణపేటలో చాలామంది పకీళ్ళు, అక్కినర్లు ఉండినప్పుడూ ఆక్కడకూడా దొంగ సారాయి యధేచ్ఛగా అమ్ముచున్నారు. కనుక ప్రభుత్వము ప్రావీణిజ్ అమలులో పెట్టికూడా ప్రజలకుగాని ప్రభుత్వమునకుగాని దానివల్ల లాభములేదు. ఒకవేళ ప్రభుత్వము ఇంకా ఎక్కువ శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొని ఈ ప్రావీణిజ్ ను ఎక్కువ strict గా అమలులో పెట్టదలచుకొన్నప్పుటికి ప్రయోజనముండదు. కనుక ఈ ప్రావీణిజ్ తీసివేసి, బడ్జెటులో చూపినటువంటి కొత్త పన్నులు ఏవి వేయకుండా బడ్జెటును సవరించవలసిన కోరుతున్నాను. ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI M. NARAYANASWAMY :—“ Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, speeches have been made both for and against the Budget. Of course, we on this side have many things to say but the time is very limited. There are new taxation proposals before us. One is the surcharge on land revenue. It has been made clear in the Bill that those paying a land revenue of Rs. 50 and less need not worry about it. What about the rest? This surcharge will fall on the working peasantry and the middle class people. Then there is the proposal for levying a betterment tax. This is a very unjust proposal. This must not be accepted by the House because this betterment contribution stands on an unjust basis. I shall explain it thus. The Government do something for the welfare of the people or a section of them, a community or a caste. Now they turn round and say: ‘Because you are benefited by the help rendered by us, you are bound to pay this contribution.’ This proposal should not be accepted because it will have serious and far-reaching consequences. Therefore I vehemently oppose this measure.

“ Sir, the proposed surcharge on bus fare is also a far reaching measure in its effects on the poor. The common man is asked to pay this tax. Government may say that every citizen is affected by

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this surcharge. It is certainly not the case. The well-to-do have their own cars and it is only the ordinary man, the poor man, who travels by bus that is affected by this measure. Therefore this measure is an objectionable one and must be opposed.

“ Sir, I come from Guntur district, which comprises both wet lands and dry lands. I come from the dry part of the district. There are very many issues affecting this part of the district, and the most important among them is the irrigation problem. For the past many years, popular organisations like the Kisan Sabha and others agitated for providing more irrigation facilities and submitted representations to Government. But nothing has been done so far in that direction. For instance in Ongole taluk there are the Gundlakamma and the Musi river projects. In spite of many representations made by the people nothing has been done by the Government. There is also a minor irrigation project called the ‘Krishna Kommuru’ Project and this has been brought to the notice of the Government for execution during the last forty years. Even after this Government came into power, two representations were made to them by popular organizations and we hoped that this would be included in this Budget. Unfortunately that is not found in the proposals. I request the Government that this should be included before the end of this session. Other schemes have been taken up and this scheme omitted on the ground that this scheme would benefit only a handful of people. I may point out in this connexion that one Draksharapu Chandramouli has been given 12 thousand acres of land in this taluk although the peasantry of this taluk were agitating for the grant of these lands. The particular gentleman is a merchant in dyes and cloth. He has been allotted this land and added to this a small canal was also dug to supply water to his lands in preference to the above canal. This is very unjust and is highly resented by the people in this area. So, I would request the Government to take up this minor irrigation project.

“ Then there is the problem of the agricultural labourers in the dry parts of the district. For four or five months only in the year they have work in their own villages; during the rest of the months they have to seek labour elsewhere outside their own villages. They have to depend on their own labour in the tobacco cultivation. This is a seasonal occupation and during the rest of the months they have to move about to find work for their existence. Government must tackle this problem as these labourers form the backbone of the population of this area. They are about 40 per cent of the population of the area. In the Budget proposals, Government have not paid any attention to solving the problem of the agricultural labourers and many a Member of this House has raised this point very properly. I hope Government will deal with this problem because this is an acute problem which is agitating the public mind. It is not a question of finding work for them, it is a question affecting their very existence. They are very heavily indebted. Their debts must be cancelled and Government must come forward to grant them long term loans as was suggested by the hon. Lady Member on the other side.

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"Lastly I submit that the Budget proposals as they stand do not meet the needs of the people. While they were expecting some relief from the burden of taxes, fresh taxes are proposed to be imposed. Therefore, I submit that the proposals for fresh taxation must be opposed."

* SRI T. GANAPATHY :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very glad to support the Budget. Koilpatti, Sankarankoil and Nanguneri taluks of the Tirunelveli district are famine-affected areas. Because there was some rain, famine relief measures have been stopped and the people are suffering for want of drinking water. They have no money to sink wells. And we have no Minister coming from our district to represent our grievances. Because there are two Ministers coming from Coimbatore and one from Ramnad, famine conditions there have been properly attended to. I request the Hon. the Chief Minister to send the Army units to this district for sinking wells and thus help the people to get drinking water. Famine Relief measures in those areas must be resumed immediately."

"For the Manimuthar project our people contributed one crore of rupees. I request Government to set apart at least that one crore of rupees contributed by the people for the completion of that project this year. I understand that investigations on the Keeriar project have been completed. I request the Government to include it in the five-year plan."

"I come from the southernmost constituency of this State, namely, Palavoor. Of the 17 M.L.As., 15 are Congressmen and of the 7 M.L.Cs. six are Congressmen. In spite of this fact not one member from this district has been included in the Cabinet. Even the Editor of *Kalki* has referred to this in the latest issue of his journal. Another point which I wish to touch upon is the existence of the Legislative Council. Is its existence necessary or not? It is my opinion and I think several hon. Members will agree with me when I say that it is an unwanted and unnecessary impediment. I request hon. Members of the Council itself to move a resolution to the effect that it might be abolished. By doing this we can save a lot of money."

"There are a number of coastal villages in my constituency and people there have no drinking water. Paravers live in those villages. The women and children walk a distance of two to three miles for drinking water. I suggest to the Government that reservoirs may be constructed to supply drinking water to these people. Representations have been made to the Government in this connection. Even though the Paravers are Christians, they are still in a backward condition. They should be declared as a backward community to enable them to get the concession granted to other backward communities. The palmyrah climbers in my district have been thrown out of employment. Therefore I request Government to declare them as a backward community and extend to them all the concessions that are now shown to the other backward communities. They can be easily identified by a look at their bodies."

[Sri T. Ganapathy] [9th July 1952]

"I join with the hon. Member Sri S. T. Adityan in asking the Government to direct their attention to utilize the surplus water from the channels in Southern Travancore for irrigation in Nanguneri taluk during rainy seasons. If dams are constructed along Nambi river in Nanguneri taluk many acres of land could be cultivated. Recently four lakhs of rupees were spent for the construction of the Sivalaperi tank in Tirunelveli taluk. It was expected that 500 acres would be cultivated by this tank. Even though there was sufficient water for 500 acres, only 47 acres were cultivated. I do not know the reason why the Collector was indifferent to induce the people to cultivate the rest of the area. He must be asked to induce the people to cultivate the rest of the area at least in the coming season."

"I submit to the Government that the railway line from Tirunelveli should be extended up to Cape Comorin. It is a long-felt need. This Government must move the Central Government and see that these two places are connected by rail as early as possible."

"From a heart to heart talk I had with the N.G.Os. I can say that nobody seems to be satisfied with the concessions granted to them by the Government. I request the Government to grant them the Central Government pay scales. I request Government to tax newspaper advertisements and abolish Road Traffic Boards. These will bring in a good lot of money to the Government. With regard to educational facilities afforded in several districts, several lakhs of rupees have been allotted for the construction of buildings especially for technical schools, colleges and basic training schools. I request the Hon. the Chief Minister, who is responsible for so many revolutionary changes, to introduce a revolutionary change in this regard also so that classes can be held under the shade of trees and pandals. By this we can save a lot of money that is wasted on buildings."

"There are a number of students who want to get admission into schools and colleges especially technical colleges. The parents of these students are loitering round the houses of Principals and M.L.As. to influence this or that authority to get admission. In order to avoid this I would suggest to Government to ask the authorities concerned to have a shift system introduced immediately in colleges and schools so that double the number of students that now get the education could be admitted in these colleges. This should be taken up by Government immediately so that parents might be satisfied that their children would get seats in the colleges and schools without any difficulty whatsoever."

"There are a number of tile factories in Tirunelveli district. Most of the labourers in them are agricultural labourers. When these people have no employment after the agricultural season, they go to the factories for work. The factories cannot observe the rules and regulations laid down in the Factories Act. Again, being a cottage industry, they cannot construct big buildings as required by the Factories Act. They may be exempted from the

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operation of the Act. For the same reason, as it is a cottage industry, I request Government to exempt the factories from payment of sales tax. With these words I support the Budget."

12-30
p.m.

* SRI V. GOVINDASWAMI NAIDU :—" Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I wish to say a few words on the new taxation proposals included in the Budget. Out of the five taxes proposed, three will affect the agriculturists directly and one indirectly. The surcharge on bus fares does not apply to cities like Madras. It means the surcharge is only on the passengers who travel on the mufassal routes, and naturally they will be agriculturists or agricultural labourers. I, therefore, strongly oppose the taxes and request the Government to devise some other method of making up the deficit.

" In this connexion, I wish to say a few words how the agriculturists are helped by the Government. *Gundavarakam* loans are being given by the Government to the agriculturists, and the Tahsildar is responsible for them. Many applications for these loans are pending in the Tahsildar's office unattended to for the last two years. Unless the agriculturist gets the loan in time, he will not be able to undertake his normal agricultural operations. I, therefore, request that applications for *gundavarakam* loans are disposed of early. There is another kind of loan that is being given to the agriculturists through the Industries Department for pump sets. The officers of the Industries Department should go and inspect the land and then recommend the loan to the Collector. Many such loan applications are pending in the Collector's office for more than three years. To get a loan sanctioned, the poor agriculturists have to go to the Collector's office at least a dozen times and this means an expenditure of nearly Rs. 500. Then, Sir, the Agricultural Department is giving loans to the ryots for purchase of oil engines on hire purchase system. This system has been introduced last year and it has not been working efficiently, because the loans they give are in the shape of engines. The department purchases the oil engines from the companies and supplies them to the ryots. If we go and purchase them directly from the companies or dealers, we get them at a rate of 10 to 15 per cent below the rate charged by the Agricultural Department. Whereas we are told that these applications for loans will be disposed of according to priority, in actual practice they are not sanctioned so, except on some recommendations. (At this stage, the Speaker resumed the Chair.) The Agricultural Demonstrators do not come to the aid of agriculturists and demonstrate new methods of agriculture. I, therefore, request the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture to look to these things early and ask the district officers to help the agriculturists instead of doing the salesman's business.

" There is another department, Veterinary Department, which is also intended to help the agriculturists. But, I am sorry to say that the agriculturists do not know where it is and we do not get any help from that department. The department is situated nearly

[Sri V. Govindaswami Naidu]

30 miles away and is not within the reach of the agriculturists. If a bull is sick, it cannot be taken all this distance and even if it is taken it will collapse somewhere. I, therefore, request that the Veterinary Department should be within the reach of the agriculturists who own cattle. Ours is a country where we have the largest number of cattle and their condition must be improved, and for that the Veterinary Department should be within the reach of the villagers.

" Sir, I am an agriculturist myself and I am undergoing all these difficulties. Due to the recent rains, some of the lakes were full and overflowing, but no attention was paid to them by the P.W. D. My village is about 20 miles from Madras and I brought this to the notice of the P.W.D. officer in charge of Chingleput, and he said that it was under the charge of the Grow More Food Division. I went to that office and I was told that there were no grants, etc. Now I find that the work has been given to a contractor for Rs. 17,000. I request that all such works in the district must be attended to promptly by the district officers so that we may not be deprived of the irrigation facilities. I am putting all these before you, Sir, as the agriculturists are really suffering a lot. Before the war, the price of oil was Rs. 10 but to-day it is Rs. 60. Every day the merchants raise the prices, but we the agriculturists do not get any increase in the price of paddy."

MR. SPEAKER :—" There are still a large number of hon. Members who wish to take part in the discussion. In order to give an opportunity to those Members we will sit in the afternoon also to-day from 3 to 5 p.m."

* SRI H. SATYANARAYANA DORA :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir. I rise to support the Budget. I am not one of those who ask for more concessions to the N.G.Os., the elementary school teachers and other low paid Government servants and yet ask the Government not to go in for fresh taxation. No Government can survive unless it finds ways and means of raising its revenues especially when the demands for benefits are growing. There are two important rivers, Vamsadhara and Nagavalli, in our district and we have been agitating for a very long time that the waters of these two rivers should be utilized by constructing dams across them. I wish the Hon. Finance Minister had made at least a token grant for construction of these dams. In this connexion, I interviewed the Technical Advisers to the Planning Commission when they visited this State last time and urged on them to include these projects in the Five Year Plan. They said that unless these projects were investigated and their cost estimated, they could not be included in the Five Year Plan. Although we have been agitating for these for a very long time, still no investigation has been made. On the other hand, we have been told not to press for these projects.

" The original Visakhapatnam district has been bifurcated into Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts and there are no proper

[Sri H. Satyanarayana Dora] [9th July 1952]

buildings to house the Government offices in Srikakulam district with the result that the staff are put to great inconvenience. I request the Government to construct new buildings for their offices at least.

"In 1943 we had a terrible cyclone in our district and Government constructed a number of roads under famine relief works. All those roads are now neglected. There are absolutely no communications in our district from village to village. I request the Government to repair these roads.

"In regard to the surcharge on land revenue, I wish to say a few words. I come from a zamin village taken over by the Government. For all the lands in zamin villages taken over by them, the Government have fixed a flat rate of Rs. 14 per acre as assessment and, with the cesses, it comes to about Rs. 18 per acre. It means even a small peasant owning 2 or 3 acres also will be affected by the proposed surcharge. I, therefore, request the Government to raise the exemption limit to Rs. 150 or at least to Rs. 100 so that the poor peasants will not be affected by this surcharge.

"Then, Sir, decontrol of foodgrains has been welcomed by every section of the people. I am sure it will be a success. Regarding the surcharge on bus fares, I would suggest that the bus routes may be auctioned as suggested by some hon. Members, and I am sure it will not only fetch a good amount to the Government, but will also put a stop to the loose talk regarding these bus routes."

12-45
p.m.

* SRI P. S. KRISHNASAMY AYYANGAR:—"Mr. Speaker. Sir, belonging as I do to the Congress Party I rise to support the Budget.

"The two main planks in the Congress programme are (1) Harijan uplift and (2) Prohibition. I shall take up Harijan uplift first. We have done untold wrongs to the Harijan community. We have subjected them to age-long humiliation, and it is up to us to raise them up as speedily as possible to the level of the advanced sections of our community. It is due to our past conduct that they were denied all amenities of comfort and enjoyment, and so they are remaining in the background in our society. That is why Mahatmaji counselled change of heart on the part of the Hindu community towards the Harijans. We obeyed him, and as a first indication of the change of heart on our part, we threw open the temples to them. But the significance behind the temple entry has been lost at the present moment. Hence I suggest a dynamic programme for the temple entry question which will make a lasting impression on the minds of the Harijan community. I would suggest that a new office of honour should be created in each temple and that office should be held by an educated, pious-minded Harijan. Secondly I would suggest that in temples where the management is carried on by non-hereditary trustees, one or more Harijan trustees should find a place in the committee of trustees, of course taking care that he or they are educated and pious-minded persons.

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I would also suggest the holding of religious classes for Harijans so that they can get by heart Tiruvachakam, Thevaram and other devotional songs. I would also advocate the forming of Harijans into bhajana parties along with Caste Hindus. They can perform bhajanas at periodical intervals in our temples and emoluments may also be paid to the Harijan members of such parties.

"It is true that we have hindered the progress of the Harijans for a long time. Under the advice of Mahatmaji several concessions have been shown to them. Provision has also been made in the Constitution for special concessions to be shown to the Harijans in the matter of education and public services. But that is limited to a prescribed period. Therefore it is up to us to accelerate the pace of their progress by showing them extraordinary concessions. If there are applications for house-sites from Harijans, they should be complied with immediately and ungrudgingly. If new Harijan hostels are opened they should be recognized at once and grants should be sanctioned without delay. Harijans should be given all facilities to prosecute their studies and all obstacles in their way should be removed.

"If we act on the above lines we would have really changed our heart towards the Harijans and succeeded in raising the level of the Harijans to the level of the advanced communities.

"I shall now come to Prohibition. I am against the abolition of Prohibition. An hon. Member has said that we are not here to legislate for the morals of the people. That is not the right attitude to be taken by a legislator. I would expose the absurdity of such an attitude by citing an example. I may be excused for bringing in such an example. I mean no reflection on any section of our society. Suppose the Government legalises prostitution and levies a fee for the practice of the profession of prostitution. No doubt the coffers of the State would be filled by revenue derived from such an undesirable source. But is it desirable? No, not at all. Therefore I say that we should be against the bringing in of the liquor shops again.

"I shall now come to subjects relating to my constituency. I come from Manamadurai constituency in Ramnad district. The adjoining constituencies are the Sivaganga constituency from which Sri R. V. Swaminathan is coming and the Ramanathapuram constituency which has returned the Hon. Minister in charge of House Rent Control. The western portion of the Sivaganga area adjoins the Periyar tract. The Periyar tract has the advantage of the Periyar irrigation scheme. The Sivaganga taluk area has about 20,000 acres of wet lands, which are dependent on rains. They depend on tanks which are entirely rain-fed. These tanks get dried up in the absence of rains and the crops fail. But at this very juncture there is enough water stored in the Periyar lake for raising second crops in the Periyar area. If that water is made available to the Sivaganga area, this area would be freed from the scare of famine. Hence I suggest that the Periyar scheme may be extended to the Sivaganga area.

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"There is a portion in my constituency which is called 'Mangala Nadu'. It contains about twenty thousand acres of wet lands which are irrigated by rain-fed tanks. Once there was a channel for irrigation which had its source from the Vaigai river. Due to the indifference of the zamindars who were at the helm of affairs in the past, the channel was not properly cared for but was allowed to be silted up. Now it has completely disappeared beyond all recognition. So this part is frequently subjected to famine. I would therefore request that this channel be re-excavated and Mangala Nadu freed from the scourge of famine.

"I shall now refer to a tank repair work in my constituency. There is an irrigation tank called Pooyendi tank. It is one of the biggest tanks in the area and it had a very good kalingula which served as an outlet of the tank. A large volume of water has been coming through the feeder channel proceeding from the Vaigai river. The kalingula was washed away by floods. The result is that the tank does not get enough supply, and a large portion of the ayacut of the tank is left uncultivated. Therefore, I request that the kalingula may be rebuilt. The ryots of the locality pray that this kalingula may be rebuilt and I hope that their request would be complied with.

"In this connexion I want to mention another point. It seems there is a scheme under the contemplation of Government to divert the Vaigai water to Tirumangalam taluk. This will diminish the supply of water to the tract east of Madurai. Therefore, the ryots of that locality request that any such scheme should be started only after their complaints and representations have been heard.

"Lastly, I want to bring to the notice of all hon. Members that when we go back to our constituencies after this Budget session, we will have a cold reception from the people because of the proposed taxation measures. So to justify ourselves we should be prepared to submit ourselves voluntarily to a tax on our salaries. Then we can say to our constituencies 'Look here, we have ourselves submitted to a voluntary tax. That shows that there is necessity for taxation to push through our irrigation schemes. So please reconcile yourselves to the present state of affairs and help the Government.' With these words I conclude my speech."

* SRI S. S. KOLKEBAIL :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for having given me an opportunity to speak on the Budget. The Budget speech of the Hon. the Finance Minister was very unsatisfactory. It is couched in a language of frustration which sweeps through many portions of the statement.

"Now, Sir, I should like to submit, as regards the working of the Prohibition Act, which is a black spot in our administration, that it is not at all effective. Time and again during conversations, Congressmen have admitted that the policy of Prohibition is not sound. From my own district there are nine Congress members

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who have been returned on the Congress ticket. Of them, five are eminent lawyers, one is a Managing Director of a Scheduled Bank and the other one was an honorary magistrate for over nine years. The eighth man is Mr. Easwara, who has been a Member of the Legislature for about fifteen years. All these gentlemen had been saying, of course, outside the legislature, that Prohibition should be repealed. They are also of the opinion that toddy is a good beverage. In my own district of South Kanara, Prohibition offences are on the increase. I say without fear of contradiction that thousands of bottles of liquor are illegally imported daily from Goa. On that account about two crores worth of money is lost. Whatever may be the vigilance of the police or Prohibition guards, this evil cannot be stopped. In this connexion, let me not forget to point out that even the Maginot line had been by-passed. Hence it is difficult, Sir, to block this line of traffic from Goa to South Kanara. My submission is, the earlier the Prohibition is removed the better.

"Further, Sir, when a legislation is brought forward, it is the duty of the Government to safeguard the interest of those who are likely to be affected by that measure. What have the Government done to alleviate the distress caused to thousands of tappers who have been deprived of their normal occupations due to Prohibition? In my own district there are four lakhs of toddy tappers who had been living all these years on practically nothing. The other day, while addressing the dhobies, Rajaji advised them not to keep away from their hereditary occupations without alternative work. Further, my submission is that in my constituency, where the tapper community is in a majority, the tappers have absolutely no avocation, though statistically, whenever we ask the concerned department, they say that they have started a jaggery depot or a co-operative society here and a co-operative society there. As a matter of fact, no employment has been given to these people and it is this unemployment that is causing great hardship to these poor people. Whenever a State wants to legislate and bring about social reform by legislation or wants to promote temperance by legislation, it is the duty of that State to see that the people affected by that legislation are given proper employment. Then only it can be called a Welfare State. Further, I repeat, Sir, that this Prohibition policy is a failure; it should not be forced upon the people who do not want it. Most of the people say they do not want this law at all. The recent election results also should have been an eye-opener to the Congress members, and this was felt by the last Congress Ministry; even the Hon. Mr. Shetty, and the Ex-Finance Minister Mr. Gopala Reddi had stated either in this or in the other House that the Prohibition policy of the Government required reconsideration. The other Ministers also have stated that the earlier it was repealed the better it would be. Of course, they clothed their statements in such a cautious language that they would not be taken to task by the orthodox Congress people. Even Rajaji himself, though he described himself as a

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fanatical Prohibitionist, in a speech delivered by him to the Madras University Students in 1948 on the occasion of the Annual Convocation, stated—

‘It should be remembered that what is made compulsory automatically induces a distaste. If you wish boys and girls to develop a permanent and unreasonable dislike of anything, make that subject a compulsory subject. If you wish that they develop a willingness and a capacity to appreciate good literature such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha, or Shakespeare or the Bible, for God’s sake, I would say to the educationists, “do not make the study of the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha or Shakespeare or the Bible compulsory in the school.”’

This argument of his with regard to education applies *mutatis mutandis* to the Prohibition policy also. You cannot catch the offending people in almost all the liquor cases; you cannot get enough witnesses to prove their offence. That is the difficulty experienced by the Prohibition officers. I, therefore, submit, Sir, once again that the earlier this Prohibition Act is removed from the Statute Book, the better. If you do not want to remove the law from the Statute Book, you may at least extend licences to tap toddy which is after all a good beverage and a good substitute for food, and is not at all harmful or bad either hygienically or otherwise.

“Now I wish to say a few words about my district of South Kanara. I come from a constituency, viz., Brahmawar, which is entirely a rural constituency, consisting of 76 villages. There is absolutely no road communication *inter se*. During my election campaign, I had to go from village to village walking all along. The constituency is about 23 by 30 miles and I had to take a circuitous route from one village to another, for want of proper road facilities. I, therefore, submit that immediate steps should be taken to improve road facilities in my district and specially in my constituency. Somehow or other I find that there is a step-motherly treatment meted out to my district. The reason perhaps is that this Madras State has been governed all along either by Tamilians or by my Andhra friends. All Budget proposals were made for the benefit of either of the Andhra districts or of the Tamil districts; all Prime Ministers were either Andhra or Tamil or Andhra-cum-Tamil. All the important portfolios were always held by Andhra or Tamil gentlemen. If a Finance Minister was a Tamilian, then the Public Works Minister was an Andhra or *vice versa*. Again, somehow or other, all the important institutions, medical, educational, etc., are on this side of the Western Ghats; we on the West Coast are not given any Medical or Engineering Colleges. Again, to the east of the Western Ghats, you find three Universities, the Annamalai University, the Madras University and the Andhra University, but none either in Malabar or South Kanara. Similarly you find four or five medical colleges and four or five engineering colleges only in the Andhra and Tamil districts.

“In Malabar and South Kanara not a single vocational institution has been opened in spite of various representations made by us. All this is because of the fact that the State administration

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[Sri S. S. Kolkebail]

has been in the hands of these people for a long time. It is being stated that there is some difference between the Andhra and Tamil friends, but so far as booty is concerned, they divide equally. They are spending crores and crores of rupees on irrigation projects in these districts, but as regards Malabar and South Kanara, they are not willing to take up even minor irrigation schemes, although recently they have spent a little on them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have not touched even the fringe of the several problems facing South Kanara district, as the time allotted to me is quite insufficient for the purpose.”

* SRI K. VENKATANARAYANA DORA :—“సవాళి, ఈ డిస్ట్రిక్టులో వెనుకబడిన ప్రాంతాను, వెనుకబడిన ప్రజలను, వెనుకబడియున్న రైతాంగాన్ని అభివృద్ధిపరచుటకు తగినంత మొత్తము కేటాయించలేదని నా అభిప్రాయము. ఇప్పటికే రైతులై బ్రహ్మాండమైన పన్నుభారము విధించబడియున్నది. ఈ రైతు కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి, రాష్ట్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి ఎన్నో విధాల, ఎన్నో రకాల పన్నులను చెల్లించుకోవలసి యున్నది. మునిసిపాలిటీలలో బండ్లకు పన్ను యిచ్చుకోవాలి. స్థానిక సంస్థలకు నెకు పన్ను, చెరుకు పన్ను ఇచ్చుకోవాలి. జిల్లాలో ఏ అభివృద్ధి కార్యక్రమం జరిగినా, దాని ఖర్చునూడ రైతు నెత్తిమీదనే పడుతుంది. రైతు ఓట్లు యిచ్చి రాజ్యంగము స్థాపించాలి. రైతు దున్ని మనకు తిండి పెట్టాలి. పన్నుభారముతో ఈ రైతు కృంగి కృశించి పోతున్నాడు. ఇట్టి రైతులైన యింకా హెచ్చు పన్నులు గవర్నమెంటువారు వేయడమనేది చాలా విచారకరం. మూలిగే నక్కలైన తాటిపండు పడినట్లు యిప్పటికే పన్నులు చెల్లించలేక అని మొరపెట్టుకుంటున్న రైతులై ఈ అదనపు పన్నులు వేయడం అన్యాయమని సమయంగా ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. రాష్ట్రములోని ప్రజలలో హెచ్చు పన్నులు చెల్లించుకుంటున్నవారు రైతులే అయినప్పటికీ ఆ రైతులు నిజమేమిట గానీ చూడండి. అజ్ఞానంతోను, అవిద్యతోను, అనారోగ్యంతోను నిండి యున్న ఈ గ్రామాలపట్ల ప్రభుత్వము కొంత శ్రద్ధవహించాలని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఎంత నేపటికినీ పట్టుపు సౌకర్యాలమీద డబ్బు ఖర్చు పెట్టడం న్యాయంకాదు. భోగలాలమైతే పట్టువాసపు ప్రజలు పరభాగ్యోపదేవులుగా తయారవడం మంచిదికాదు. పట్టువాసపు ప్రజల డిమాండ్, సౌభాగ్యనికై, గ్రామాలలోని రైతులను, సామాన్య ప్రజలను రైతు కూలీలను, నిర్బంధించి పన్నులు వసూలుచేసి పట్టుములలో ఖర్చుపెట్టడం న్యాయమా అని ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారిని అడుగుతున్నాను. అనాడినుంచి కాంగ్రెసు మహా సంస్థ గాంధీ మహాత్ముని ఆధ్వర్యం క్రింద దేశసౌభాగ్యము, గ్రామ సౌభాగ్యము పైననే ఆధారపడియున్నదని ఎలుగెత్తి చాటుతూవుండేది. దేశాభివృద్ధి అంటే గ్రామాభివృద్ధి అని మహాత్మాజీ చెప్పుతూ ఉండేవారు. పట్టువాసాలలో ప్రజలు గుమికూడక తిరిగి గ్రామాలకుపోయి, గ్రామీణులలో అశాస్త్రము తొలగించుటకు ప్రయత్నంచవలెను అని ఆయన మనకు నచ్చచెబుతూ వుండేవాడు. కాని నేటి పరిస్థితులు గమనించండి రానురాను పల్లెపట్లు నివాసయోగ్యముగా వుండడములేదు. ప్రజలు పట్టుపు దీవికమే నయమని పల్లెలువదిలివేస్తున్నారు. పల్లెలలో చూచినట్లు యితే ఎవ్వరికైనా సౌకర్యాలు లేకుండా యున్నవి. ఇటువంటి విపరీత పరిస్థితులు మనము అతికట్టుకపోయినట్లే దేశం సాంస్కృతికంగాను, ఆర్థికంగాను ఇశర రంగాలలోను ఎన్నో విధాల డెబ్బ తింటుందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. దేశానికి గ్రామవాసి అనే రైతు పట్టుకొచ్చు అని మనము ఈనాడు వ్యవసాయపురస్కరముగా విశ్వసించాలి అని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

[Sri K. Venkatanarayana Dora] [9th July 1952]

“మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు చూడండి. ఆంధ్రదేశంలో ముఖ్యంగా కోస్తా జిల్లాలలోని మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు చాలా వెనుకబడిన ప్రదేశాలు. ఈ ప్రాంతాలలో విద్య తక్కువ. ఇక్కడ ఉన్న అమాయక ప్రజలకు ఇతర సౌకర్యాలు గూడా వెళ్ళుకోలేకపోతున్నాయి. ఈ జిల్లాలలోని కొన్ని ప్రాంతాలు విజస్సీ ప్రాంతాలు, ఈ ప్రదేశములలో ముఖ్యంగా సాలూరు తాలూకా నా నియోజకవర్గం ఒరిస్సా రాష్ట్రానికి సరిహద్దు. ఇక్కడ గడబ, సవర, డోంబులు, కొండకోయలు, శబరులు మొదలగువారు నివసిస్తూ ఉంటారు. వారు చాలా అమాయకులు. విజస్సీ ప్రాంతాలలో సరిఅయిన రాకపోకల సౌకర్యాలు లేని కారణంచేత వారు విజస్సీలలో సహజముగానే వస్తువులను ఇతర ప్రాంతాల ప్రజలకు తేలికగా అందుబాటు చేయలేకపోతున్నారు. విజస్సీ ప్రాంతాలలో ఎన్నో చిన్న చిన్న నదులు, విరులు ఉన్నాయి. కాని ఈ జలాధారాలలో ప్రవహించే నీటిని వ్యవసాయానికి ఉపయోగించుటకు ఎటువంటి సదుపాయాలు చేయబడుతు లేదు. అధికావశ్యకతై చేయించటానికి విజస్సీ ప్రాంతాలలో చాలా అవకాశం ఉన్నది. కాని ప్రభుత్వం వారు తగినంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవడంలేదని తెలియజేయుటకు చాలా విచారిస్తున్నాను. పోడు కల్పవద్దన్నారు, చెట్టు కొట్టవద్దన్నారు. వీరి జీవిత బృతి కష్టముగాయిందే, ఒరిస్సా రాష్ట్రానికి, తేయాకు తోటలకు వల్లపోతున్నారు. వీరు ఎదుకండే, మావిడి, పెంకపెండి, తోప, చింతపిక్కలు ఉడక బెట్టి తింటువున్నారు. విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు, రాయలసీమ జిల్లాలవలెనే చాలా వెనుకబడిఉన్న ప్రాంతాలు. కొద్దికాలం క్రితం వరకు ఈ రెండు జిల్లాలు కలిసి ఒక జిల్లాగానే ఉండేడివి. కొన్ని రాజకీయ కారణాల చేతనో మరొక అధిప్రాయంతోనో పూర్వమున్న విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలుగా విభజించబడింది. శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లా అనే ఒక కొత్త జిల్లాను ఏర్పాటు చేశారుగాని అక్కడ జిల్లా అధికారుల ఆఫీసులు ఉండుటకు విల్లింగులు కట్ట లేదు. ఆఫీసులు పెట్టుటకు భవనములు లేకుండా అధికారులు ఏ విధంగా తమ కార్యకలాపాలను సక్రమంగా కొనసాగించగలరో ఆలోచించగోర్రాను. జిల్లాను విభజించడంలో గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు రాజకీయ కారణాలకే ప్రాధాన్యమిచ్చారు కాని, ఇతర విధాలవచ్చే కష్టసుఖాలను, ఇబ్బందులను గుర్తించలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇక ఇరిగేషన్ సౌకర్యాలను కలుగజేయడంలోనూ గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు విశాఖ పట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాల పట్ల ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధనూడవహించలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలో 18 ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు అమలు జరుపుటకు సిద్ధంగా ఉన్నాయి. ఈ విషయమై అనేక పర్యాయములు గత ప్రభుత్వంవారికి, దిఫ్ ఇంజనీరుగారికి, ఎగ్జిక్యూటివ్ ఇంజనీరుగారికి, అసిస్టెంటు ఇంజనీర్లకు మనవి చేసుకున్నాము. కాని ఎటువంటి ఫలితము కలుగలేదు. నా నియోజకవర్గములో వేగవంతి రిజర్వాయిరు, మామిడిపల్లి, మక్కువ, మరాపాడు పరిశీలన జరుపబడే నిలువజేయబడ్డాయి. ఒక కానీకూడ ఈ బడ్జెట్టులో భద్రపరించలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో చాలా ప్రాంతం ఇంత కాలం జమీందారీప్రాంతంగా ఉంటూ ఉండేది. ఆ ప్రాంతపు జమీందారులలో ఒకరుగా ఉండే విజయనగరం మహారాజా సాహెబ్ గారుకూడా ఇక్కడే ఉన్నారు. నా విరియాలో జయపురం, బొబ్బిలి, సాలూరు, వెముడు వల్లూరు, పాచివెంట, ఆంధ్ర జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలే కాకుండా అనేకమంది ముఖాసాదార్లు, ఈనాందార్లు అక్కడ ఉన్నారు. ఈ జమీందారులు, ముఖాసాదార్లు, ఈనాందార్లు రైతులను అనేక విధాల ఇబ్బందుల వాలుచేస్తున్నారు. జమీందారీ రద్దు వట్టము అమలు చేయబడుచున్నప్పటికీ, వారు రైతులను భూములనుంచి

[9th July 1952] [Sri K. Venkatanarayana Dora]

వదలించేయటకు ఎన్నో విధాల ప్రయత్నం చేస్తున్నారు. బంజరు ప్రాంతాలను జమీందారులు ఇదివరలో ఎప్పుడో ఇతరులకు పట్టాలిచ్చివేసినట్లు కాగితాలు సృష్టిస్తున్నారు. అంతేకాకుండా 1937 వ సంవత్సరంలో మొదటి కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వం జమీందారీలను రద్దుచేసే నిమిత్తం ఒక రిపోర్టును తయారుచేసిన తరువాతనుంచి జమీందారులు ఈ విధంగా బంజరు భూములను చాటునా, మాటునా అన్యాయక్రాంతం చేస్తున్నారునే విషయం అందరకు తెలిసినటువంటిదే. అప్పటినుంచి జమీందారులు, జమీందారీ ప్రాంతాలలోని జలాశయాలను ఏ విధంగాను కాగుచేయుటకు లేదు. అనేక చెరువులు, పంట కాలువలు పూడిపోయినాయి. వాటికింద ఉండేటటువంటి ఆయకట్టు భూమిలో చాలాభాగము వ్యవసాయముచేయుటకు వీలులేని పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడినాయి. కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవచ్చి జమీందారీలను రద్దుచేసిన తరువాతనేన ఈ జలాధారాలను కాగుచేయిస్తారని ఆశించాము. కాని గత ప్రభుత్వంవారు అటువంటి విధంగా వర్తించలేదు. ఈ ప్రభుత్వంవారుకూడా మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలపట్ల తగినంత శ్రద్ధ చూపించలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. Investigation చేసిన స్కీములనుకూడా ఈ సంవత్సరం అమలు జరుపుటలేదని మా జిల్లాలనుంచి మాజీ జాయిలు వస్తున్నవి. ఈ విధంగా పరిశీలించబడి సిద్ధంగా ఉన్న స్కీములైనా అమలు జరుపుట నిలిపివేయడం ప్రజలలో చాలా ఆసంతృప్తి కలుగజేస్తోందని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. రాయలసీమ ప్రాంతాలవలెనే కొండలతోను, అడవులతోను నిండియున్న ఈ ప్రాంతాలపట్ల ప్రభుత్వం ప్రత్యేక శ్రద్ధ వహించవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. మా విశాఖ పట్నం జిల్లాలో ఇదివరకువచ్చిన ఔషధములను జ్ఞాపకముంచుకొని ఇకనుండు ఔషధములు సంభవించకుండా తగిన శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవలసినదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. యిల్లు కాలిన తరువాత నూతులు తీయడముకు ప్రయత్నించకండి. ఇదివరలో జస్టిస్ పార్టీ వారు ఈ రాష్ట్రాన్ని పరిపాలించిన రోజులనుంచికూడా మా విశాఖపట్నం, శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలు అశ్రద్ధ చేయబడినవి. మేము ఆ రోజులలో బ్రిటిష్ ప్రభుత్వానికి వ్యతిరేకంగా కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీని విలపరచినందువల్ల జస్టిస్ పార్టీ వారు మా జిల్లాలలోని ప్రజలకోరికల పట్ల అశ్రద్ధచూపినారు. ఆ తరువాత వచ్చిన కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వంవారుకూడా మా జిల్లాలపట్ల శ్రద్ధ చూపలేదు. ఎన్ని ప్రభుత్వములు మారినా మా జిల్లా పరిస్థితులు యధాతథంగానే ఉన్నవి. ఒక దమ్మిడికూడా ఇంతవరకు అభివృద్ధికర స్కీములైన భర్ప చేయకపోవడం అన్యాయమని మరల మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“మా శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లా విద్యావిషయకంగానూ చాలా వెనుకబడియున్నది. మా జిల్లాలో మొత్తము 18 హైస్కూలులు మాత్రమే ఉన్నాయి. మా సాలూరు హైస్కూలుకు ఇంతవరకు మంచి విల్లింగులు లేవు. ఈ విషయమై 1937 వ సంవత్సరంలోనే శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి మనవి చేసియున్నాము. గత ప్రభుత్వంవారికూడా అనేక పర్యాయాలు విన్నవించుకొన్నాము. ఒక పర్యాయము వెనుకటి మంత్రి వర్గంలో ఆర్థిక శాఖామంత్రిగా ఉండిన శ్రీ బేజవాడ గోపాల రెడ్డిగారు మా సాలూరుకు శంఖస్థాపన జేయుటకువచ్చి అనేక రాజకీయ కారణాలవల్ల హైస్కూలు నంకుసాఫల జేయ్యకుండా వెడలిపోయినారు. వారు దాని విషయమై ఎటువంటి శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొనలేదని చెప్పుటకు విచారంగా ఉన్నది.

“చుట్టుపట్ల పెద్దపట్టణాలు అవసంఖ్యగలవి. పంచాయితీలుగా త్రింటూత్రండగా మా సాలూరు పట్టణాన్ని మునిసిపాలిటీగా మార్చినారు. అయినా అక్కడ సరైన వసతులు కల్పించలేదు. మంచి నీటివసతులు సరిగాలేవు. ఈ గ్రామాన్ని మునిసిపాలిటీగా చేయ

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డంలాకూడా కొన్ని రాజకీయకారణాలే ప్రాముఖ్యం వహించినాయి. హెచ్చు పన్నులు యిచ్చుకోవలెక, మునిసిపాలిటీని రద్దుపరచమనీ స్పెషల్ ఆఫీసరు ప్రాసెస్ తరు వెయ్యమనీ మనవి జేసుకున్నారు.

“మా పాటూరులో ఒక రూరల్ డిస్పెన్సరీ ఉన్నది. ఆ డిస్పెన్సరీకి మట్టుపట్టు ఉన్న విజన్సీ, కొండప్రాంతమునుంచి రోగులు నిత్యం వస్తూ ఉంటారు. కాని అక్కడ సరి అయిన సౌకర్యములులేని కారణంచేత రోగులకు సరిగా వైద్యముచేయుట వీలుపడుటలేదు. కాబట్టి ఈ డిస్పెన్సరీని వెంటనే అభివృద్ధిపరచాలనినాదిని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని హాస్పటులును తమ ఆధీనమునందుంచుకొనవలసివదనీ కోరుచున్నాను.

“మా మునిసిపల్ వాటర్ సప్లయ స్కీముకుగాను కొన్ని వేల రూపాయలను నేను ఛట్టకమునుపు ప్రాగుచేసినారు. దీనికి ప్రభుత్వంవారు కొంత సహాయము చేసి మంచిసీటి సరఫరా స్కీమును వెంటనే అమలు జరిపించగోరాను.

“మంత్రివర్గమువారు నేనుచైన తెలిపిన విషయములపై తగినంత శ్రద్ధవహించవలసిన దని కోరు ఒకరిద్దరుతప్ప మంత్రిలు ఈ విషయాలు ఎరుగుదు. యీ ఒడ్డెటును విలపరచుచున్నాను.”

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P.M.

SRI K. V. S. PADMANABHARAJU :—“అధ్యక్ష, ప్రస్తుతము మన ముందుపెట్టిన ఈ బడ్జెటు విమోచము పురోగమన మార్గాన్ని సూచించుట లేదుగా, అసలు ఇండియా రాజ్యాంగ చట్టంలో వివరించిన విధంగా direct principles నైన సంతృప్తిపరచుటకు ప్రయత్నించలేదు. రాజ్యాంగములో సూచించిన డైరెక్టు principles లో విశ్వరూపు కొందరుచేతులలో కుప్పకూడే విధానాన్ని ప్రతిఘటిస్తూ ఉత్పత్తిసాధనాలన్నీ సమాజవరం చేయాలనీ, భూస్వామ్య విధానాన్ని రద్దుచేయాలనీ వివరించబడిందికాని యీ బడ్జెటులో అలాంటి పద్ధతులు వివిధముగా అనుసరించబడ లేదు. అందుకు ఇది రాజ్యాంగ చట్టములోని ప్రాథమిక సిద్ధాంతాలనే ఉల్లంఘించే అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకమైన బడ్జెటు అని నేను చెబుతున్నాను.

“రెండవది ప్రభుత్వ ఆదాయం పెరగగలదులకు ఈ బడ్జెటులో సర్వోచిత్రం రెడ్యూటాక్సు ప్రజలమీద వేయగలదులకు సూచించబడియున్నది. ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం విషయంలో ప్రతి రైతున్నూ యాభైరూపాయలు శినుకట్టే పేద రైతులమీదకూడా వేస్తారని సూచించబడ్డది. గనుక ఈ బడ్జెటు ప్రభుత్వదృష్ట్యావాంఛనీయంకాదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అరు, విడు, ఎకరాలు కలిగియున్నటువంటి కోస్తా జిల్లాలకుగూడా సాధారణంగా యాభైరూపాయలవరకూ శిను చెల్లించుదురు. ఈ రైతులు సాధారణంగా పేదరైతాంగమునకు చెందినవారు. ఇటువంటి పేదరైతులమీద అసలు పంట ఖర్చులు వస్తేరా చూచుకుంటే పండిన పంటయే గిట్టుబాటు కాకుండా, కుటుంబసభాకే నానావస్థలు పడుతూవుంటే ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం వేయడం ఆనెది చాలాఅన్యాయమని చెప్పగలను. నూరు రూపాయలు వెబడేగిస్తుకట్టేవామీద ఈ పన్నును విధించిననూ అంత కష్టపరంకాదు. ధరలు అసలేపెరిగిపోయి ప్రజలు కుటుంబఖర్చులకు తొలలేకుండా ఉండేరోజులలో అసలు ఈ పన్నును పూర్తిగా వీడప్రజలపై వేస్తే బాగుండదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో 24 మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములున్నవి. వీటిలో ఒకదానినైనను ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇంచవరకూ తలపెట్టకచాలా నిర్లక్ష్యభావమును చూపుచున్నారు. దీనికి కారణము నాకు అర్థంకావడంలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో నీటి సౌకర్యాలు లేక పంటలు సరిగాపండక ప్రజలు చాలా మీదస్థితిలోనికివచ్చి అట్టకష్టాలకు గరి

[Sri K. V. S. Padmanabharaju]

యగుచున్నారు. ఇదేకాకుండా ఇప్పుడు ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వం తలపెట్టిన ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం ఈ వేద ప్రజానీకం భరింపలేని స్థితిలోఉన్నారు. ఈ ప్రజలకు ఎవ్వధమైనటువంటి సహాయము ప్రభుత్వం చేయకపోతే ప్రజలు చాలా నిరుత్సాహముచెందుతారు. అందు వల్ల నేను ఒక మనవిచేయదలచాను. మా జిల్లాలో అనేకమైన విడికాటువలు మొదలైనవి నీటివసతులకు ఉపయోగమైనవిఉన్నవి. ఈ కాలువలు నీరుపారుదల సరిగాలేక చెడియున్నవి. నా నియోజకవర్గంలో పెద్దపెద్ద చెరువులుఉన్నవి. అందులో పొట్నూరుచెరువు చాలా పెద్దచెరువు. ఈ చెరువుకు యిప్పటికి సుమారు ఇరువది సంవత్సరములుగా మరమ్మతులేదు. ఇవన్నియు బాగుచేయించిన ప్రజలకు వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి సానుభూతిగా ఉండగలవు. ఇంతకు పూర్వము ఉన్న కాంగ్రెసుమంత్రివర్గము వారు ఈ జిల్లా ఇరిగేషన్ విషయమై యేమియూ శ్రద్ధలీనుకొననందున ప్రజలచాలా నిరాశ చెందియున్న కారణంచేత గతఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమీద పూర్తిగా అభిమానంపోయి ప్రజలు నిరుత్సాహభరితులైరి. ఇందువలననే గత ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పూర్తిగా చెబ్బితిన్నది. ఆ కారణంవల్లనే ఒక కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థిగూడా గెలువ లేకపోయినాడు. ఈ ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పరాజయానికి గత మంత్రివర్గమే బాధ్యులని చెప్పుచున్నాను. మా జిల్లాలనుండి ఒక్కకాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థిగూడా ప్రజలచే ఎన్నుకోబడనందున శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మా జిల్లా ప్రజలమీద వారికున్న అగ్రహము ఈ విధముగా ఒక్క ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీముకూడా అభివృద్ధిలోనికి తీసుకొనిరాకుండా వెల్లిడించుచున్నారా అని నేను వారిని, వారిమంత్రివర్గంవారినిగూడా అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆ విచారము విమీలకకరలేదు. K.L.P. పార్టీవారు సహాయము చేస్తున్నది. వారు సానుభూతికి ఇప్పటికైనను కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం అమలులోకి తీసుకొని రాదలచిన పంచవర్గప్రణాళికలో ఈ జిల్లాలోఉన్న మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు చేర్చించమని నేను హృదయపూర్వకముగా వారినికోరుతున్నాను. ఇక మీదట నైనను ప్రస్తుత కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం మా జిల్లా ప్రజలకు వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి తగుమైనటువంటి ఇరిగేషన్ సౌకర్యాలుచేస్తేగాని ప్రజాభిమానమును పొందలేరని నేను విశ్వాసించిచెబుతున్నాను.

“రెండవది విద్యాభివృద్ధికింద నూటడైబై అయిదు లక్షలుకేటాయించారు. పేద ప్రజలలో ఆసగా కాన్సిక వర్గమునకుచెందినవారిలో సాధాగణమైన విద్యగూడా ఉండదు. వారికి విద్యనొసంగే సౌకర్యాలుకలిగించమని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“మా తాలూకా హెడ్ క్వార్టర్స్ అయిన శృంగవరపుకోటలోఉన్న హాస్పిటల్ లో చికిత్సకుగాను వచ్చినవారికి తగు సౌకర్యాలులేక చాలాఇబ్బందిపడుతున్నారు. ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట తాలూకా విజన్సీ ప్రాంతంలోఉన్నది. ఎటుచూచిననూ యాభై మైళ్లవరకూ తగుమైతలుంటి చికిత్సలయాలలేవు. ఈ విజన్సీ ప్రాంతంవారు సరియైన చికిత్సకోరుకు ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట హాస్పిటల్ కుమాత్రమే రావలసియున్నది. మట్టుపట్టు పదిహేను మైళ్లకు ఒక గ్రామంఉండుటచేత ఈ విజన్సీప్రాంతపు ప్రజలు అనేకమైన వ్యాధులకుగురియే చికిత్సాసౌకర్యాలు లేక నానాఅవస్థలు పడుచున్నారు గనుక ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట హాస్పిటల్ హెడ్ క్వార్టర్స్ హాస్పిటల్ గా మార్చవలసిందని అక్కడి ప్రజలు మంత్రిగారికి ఒక మెమోరాండముగూడా పంపియన్నారు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు తగు శ్రద్ధవహించి ఈ సహాయం ప్రజలకు చేయగలదులకు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

[Sri K. Venkatanarayana Dora] [9th July 1952]

డంలాకూడా కొన్ని రాజకీయకారణాలే ప్రాముఖ్యం వహించినాయి. హెచ్చు పన్నులు యిచ్చుకోవలెక, మునిసిపాలిటీని రద్దుపరచమనీ స్పెషల్ ఆఫీసరను ట్రాన్స్ ఫరు వెయ్యమనీ మనవి జేసుకున్నారు.

“మా పాటూరులో ఒక రూరల్ డిస్పెన్సరీ ఉన్నది. ఆ డిస్పెన్సరీకి మట్టుపట్టు ఉన్న విజన్సీ, కొండప్రాంతమునుంచి రోగులు నిత్యం వస్తూ ఉంటారు. కాని అక్కడ సరి అయిన సౌకర్యములులేని కారణంచేత రోగులకు సరిగా వైద్యముచేయుట వీలుపడుటలేదు. కాబట్టి ఈ డిస్పెన్సరీని వెంటనే అభివృద్ధిపరచాలనినాని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని హాస్పటులును తమ ఆధీనమునందుంచుకొనవలసివదనీ కోరుచున్నాను.

“మా మునిసిపల్ వాటర్ సప్లయ స్కీముకుగాను కొన్ని వేల రూపాయలను నేను ఛట్టకమునుపు ప్రాగుచేసినారు. దీనికి ప్రభుత్వంవారు కొంత సహాయము చేసి మంచిసీటి సరఫరా స్కీమును వెంటనే అమలు జరిపించగోరాను.

“మంత్రివర్గమువారు నేనుచైన తెలిపిన విషయములపై తగినంత శ్రద్ధవహించవలసిన దని కోరు ఒకరిద్దరుతప్ప మంత్రిలు ఈ విషయాలు ఎరుగుదు. యీ ఒడ్డెటును విలపరచుచున్నాను.”

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P.M.

SRI K. V. S. PADMANABHARAJU :—“అధ్యక్షా, ప్రస్తుతము మన ముందుపెట్టిన ఈ బడ్జెటు విమోచము పురోగమన మార్గాన్ని సూచించుట లేదుగా, అసలు ఇండియా రాజ్యాంగ చట్టంలో వివరించిన విధంగా direct principles నైన సంతృప్తిపరచుటకు ప్రయత్నించలేదు. రాజ్యాంగములో సూచించిన డైరెక్టు principles లో విశ్వరూపు కొందరుచేతులలో కుప్పకూడే విధానాన్ని ప్రతిపాటిస్తూ ఉత్పత్తిసాధనాలన్నీ సమాజవరం చేయాలనీ, భూస్వామ్య విధానాన్ని రద్దుచేయాలనీ వివరించబడిందికాని యీ బడ్జెటులో అలాంటి పద్ధతులు వివిధముగా అనుసరించబడ లేదు. అందుకు ఇది రాజ్యాంగ చట్టములోని ప్రాథమిక సిద్ధాంతాలనే ఉల్లంఘించే అభివృద్ధి నిరోధకమైన బడ్జెటు అని నేను చెబుతున్నాను.

“రెండవది ప్రభుత్వ ఆదాయం పెరగగలదులకు ఈ బడ్జెటులో సర్వోచిత్రం రెడ్యూటాక్సు ప్రజలమీద వేయగలదులకు సూచించబడియున్నది. ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం విషయంలో ప్రతి రైతున్నూ యాభైరూపాయలు శినుకట్టే పేద రైతులమీదకూడా వేస్తారని సూచించబడ్డది. గనుక ఈ బడ్జెటు ప్రభుత్వదృష్ట్యావాంఛనీయంకాదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అరు, విడు, ఎకరాలు కలిగియున్నటువంటి కోస్తా జిల్లాలకుగూడా సాధారణంగా యాభైరూపాయలవరకూ శిను చెల్లించుదురు. ఈ రైతులు సాధారణంగా పేదరైతాంగమునకు చెందినవారు. ఇటువంటి పేదరైతులమీద అసలు పంట ఖర్చులు వస్తేరా చూచుకుంటే పండిన పంటయే గిట్టుబాటు కాకుండా, కుటుంబసభా కే నానావస్థలు పడుతూవుంటే ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం వేయడం అనేది చాలాఅన్యాయమని చెప్పగలను. నూరు రూపాయలు వెబడేగిస్తుకట్టేవామీద ఈ పన్నును విధించిననూ అంత కష్టపరంకాదు. ధరలు అసలేపెరిగిపోయి ప్రజలు కుటుంబఖర్చులకు తొళలేకుండా ఉండేరోజులలో అసలు ఈ పన్నును పూర్తిగా వీడప్రజలపై వేస్తే బాగుండదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాలో 24 మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములున్నవి. వీటిలో ఒకదానినైనను ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇంచవరకూ తలపెట్టకచాలా నిర్లక్ష్యభావమును చూపుచున్నారు. దీనికి కారణము నాకు అర్థంకావడంలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో నీటి సౌకర్యాలు లేక పంటలు సరిగాపండక ప్రజలు చాలా మీదస్థితిలోనికివచ్చి అట్టకష్టాలకు గరి

[Sri K. V. S. Padmanabharaju]

యగుచున్నారు. ఇదేకాకుండా ఇప్పుడు ప్రస్తుత ప్రభుత్వం తలపెట్టిన ఈ సర్వోచిత్రం ఈ వేద ప్రజానీకం భరింపలేని స్థితిలోఉన్నారు. ఈ ప్రజలకు ఎవ్విధమైనటువంటి సహాయము ప్రభుత్వం చేయకపోతే ప్రజలు చాలా నిరుత్సాహముచెందుతారు. అందువల్ల నేను ఒక మనవిచేయదలచాను. మా జిల్లాలో అనేకమైన విడికాటువలు మొదలైనవి నీటివసతులకు ఉపయోగమైనవిఉన్నవి. ఈ కాలువలు నీరుపారుదల సరిగాలేక చెడియున్నవి. నా నియోజకవర్గంలో పెద్దపెద్ద చెరువులుఉన్నవి. అందులో పొట్నూరుచెరువు చాలా పెద్దచెరువు. ఈ చెరువుకు యిప్పటికి సుమారు ఇరువది సంవత్సరములుగా మరమ్మతులేదు. ఇవన్నియు బాగుచేయించిన ప్రజలకు వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి సానుభూతిగా ఉండగలవు. ఇంతకు పూర్వము ఉన్న కాంగ్రెసుమంత్రివర్గము వారు ఈ జిల్లా ఇరిగేషన్ విషయమై యేమియూ శ్రద్ధలీనుకొననందున ప్రజలచాలా నిరాశ చెందియున్న కారణంచేత గతఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమీద పూర్తిగా అభిమానంపోయి ప్రజలు నిరుత్సాహభరితులైరి. ఇందువలననే గత ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పూర్తిగా చెబ్బితిన్నది. ఆ కారణంవల్లనే ఒక కాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థిగూడా గెలువ లేకపోయినాడు. ఈ ఎన్నికలలో కాంగ్రెసు పరాజయానికి గత మంత్రివర్గమే బాధ్యులని చెప్పుచున్నాను. మా జిల్లాలనుండి ఒక్కకాంగ్రెసు అభ్యర్థిగూడా ప్రజలచే ఎన్నుకోబడనందున శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు మా జిల్లా ప్రజలమీద వారికున్న అగ్రహము ఈ విధముగా ఒక్క ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీముకూడా అభివృద్ధిలోనికి తీసుకొనిరాకుండా వెల్లిడించుచున్నారా అని నేను వారిసీ, వారిమంత్రివర్గంవారినిగూడా అడుగుతున్నాను. ఆ విచారము విమీలకకరలేదు. K.L.P. పార్టీవారు సహాయము చేస్తున్నది. వారు సానుభూతికి ఇప్పటికైనను కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం అమలులోకి తీసుకొని రాదలచిన పంచవర్గప్రణాళికలో ఈ జిల్లాలోఉన్న మైసర్ ఇరిగేషన్ స్కీములు చేర్చించమని నేను హృదయపూర్వకముగా వారినికోరుతున్నాను. ఇక మీదట నైనను ప్రస్తుత కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వం మా జిల్లా ప్రజలకు వ్యవసాయాభివృద్ధికి తగుమైనటువంటి ఇరిగేషన్ సౌకర్యాలుచేస్తేగాని ప్రజాభిమానమును పొందలేరని నేను విశ్వాసించిచెబుతున్నాను.

“రెండవది విద్యాభివృద్ధికింద నూటడైబై అయిదు లక్షలుకేటాయించారు. పేద ప్రజలలో ఆసగా కాన్సిక వర్గమునకుచెందినవారిలో సాధాగణమైన విద్యగూడా ఉండదు. వారికి విద్యనొసంగే సౌకర్యాలుకలిగించమని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“మా తాలూకా హెడ్ క్వార్టర్స్ అయిన శృంగవరపుకోటలోఉన్న హాస్పిటల్లో చికిత్సకుగాను వచ్చినవారికి తగు సౌకర్యాలులేక చాలాఇబ్బందిపడుతున్నారు. ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట తాలూకా విజన్సీ ప్రాంతంలోఉన్నది. ఎటుచూచిననూ యాభై మైళ్లవరకూ తగుమైతలుంటి చికిత్సలయాలలేవు. ఈవిజన్సీ ప్రాంతంవారు సరియైన చికిత్సకోరుకు ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట హాస్పిటల్ కుమాత్రమే రావలసియున్నది. మట్టుపట్టు పదిహేను మైళ్లకు ఒక గ్రామంఉండుటచేత ఈ విజన్సీప్రాంతపు ప్రజలు అనేకమైన వ్యాధులకుగురియే చికిత్సాసౌకర్యాలు లేక నానాఅవస్థలు పడుచున్నారు గనుక ఈ శృంగవరపుకోట హాస్పిటల్ హెడ్ క్వార్టర్స్ హాస్పిటల్ గా మార్చవలసిందని అక్కడి ప్రజలు మంత్రిగారికి ఒక మెమోరాండముగూడా పంపియన్నారు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు తగు శ్రద్ధవహించి ఈ సహాయం ప్రజలకు చేయగలదులకు శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

[Sri K. V. S. Padmanabharaju] [9th July 1952]

“తర్వాత య్.జి.ఓ. ల సౌకర్యాల విషయంలో నేను ఒక మాట చెప్పడం చాను. ప్రభుత్వ యంత్రానికి వెన్నెముక వంటివారైన ఈ య్.జి.ఓ. లకు తగు సౌకర్యాలు చేయవలెను. ప్రస్తుత పరిస్థితులలో ఆహార ధాన్యాల ధరలు పెరగడం వల్ల వారికి వ్యవస్థాపక జీతములు, కుటుంబ సభ్యులకు కూడా చాలా కష్టం పట్టినట్లుగా నానా అవస్థలు పడుచున్నారు. ప్రభుత్వ సౌకర్యాలను ఈ య్.జి.ఓ. లు చాలా భాగము చాలా హీనస్థితిలో ఉన్నారు. వీరు జీతాలు వృద్ధిచేయమని ఎన్ని మసత్రాలు యిచ్చినా ప్రభుత్వంవారు గమనించినట్లు లేదు. అడగగా, అడగగా వీరి పిల్లలకు మాత్రం విద్యా సౌకర్యాలు, హాస్పిటల్ సౌకర్యాలు మాత్రం ఇటీవల చేసియున్నారు. కాని ఇవి చాలా. ఇదివరకు నెట్టల్ పే కమిషన్ వారు చేసిన సిఫార్సుల ననుసరించి వారికి జీతాలు అభివృద్ధిచేయవలెనని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ విషయంలో నేను ఇంకొక విషయం మనవి చేయచున్నాను. కాంగ్రెసు సిద్ధాంతాల ప్రకారం ప్రభుత్వద్యోగులు ఎవరైనా అయిదువందల రూపాయలకన్న మించిన జీతము తీసుకోవడాడని చెప్ప గోరుతున్నాను. ఈనాడు రాష్ట్ర గవర్నరు, ముఖ్య మంత్రులు మొదలగు పాఠశాల దేశము పాలించుచున్న ప్రెసిడెంట్లువరకూ జీతాలు పెంచుగా తీసుకున్నామన్నారు. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంమీద ఆధారపడియుండు ఈ య్.జి.ఓ. ల కట్టసుఖాలను గమనించి ప్రభుత్వంవారు దాక్షిణ్యభావం చూపి నెట్టల్ పే కమిషన్ చేసిన సిఫార్సుల ప్రకారం వారి జీతములను వృద్ధిచేయగలండులకు ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఇక బస్సు చార్జీల విషయంలో ఈనాడు ఎక్కువగా ప్రయాణం చేసేవారు మధ్య తరగతికి చెందినవారు, కూలీలు అని మాత్రం ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టిలో ఉంచుకోమని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. అసలే ధరలు పెరిగినందువల్ల ముఖ్యంగా వీరు బస్సు చార్జీలు ఇచ్చుకోలేక చాలా కష్టతరముగా ప్రయాణంచేస్తున్నారు. ఇదే సమయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు బస్సు చార్జీలు అదనంగా మైలుకు ఒక పైసావంతున పెంచుచేయడం చాలా చారు. ఈ అదనపు చార్జీ సక్రమంగా వసూలుచేయడం అనేది ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆలోచించవలసిన విషయం. ఈ బాక్సు ముఖ్యంగా పెట్టుబడిదారులకు, వారికన్న ముందు బస్సు మేనేజిమెంటులో ఉన్నవారికి లాభంచే పోతున్నట్లుగా సావకాశం యిస్తున్నది. ఇది ప్రభుత్వంవారు గమనించవలసిన విషయం. అదనపు చార్జీ వేయడమంటే ఈ మధ్య తరగతి ప్రజలను ఒత్తిడిచేసి వసూలుచేసి వారిని బాధపెట్టు కుండా, పేద ప్రజానీకంమీద ఈ అధిక భారమును మోపకుండా ఆసలు తీసి వేస్తేనే బాగుంటుందని నా అభిప్రాయం.

“నేను మా జిల్లాలో నా నియోజకవర్గమునకు సంబంధించినంతవరకూ చెబు తున్నాను. భీమునిపట్నం, శృంగవరపుకోట నా నియోజకవర్గానికి చెందియున్నవి. ఈ నియోజకవర్గంలో సుమారు యాభై గ్రామాలున్నవి. ఈ గ్రామాలు ముఖ్యంగా మెట్ట ప్రదేశాలు గనుక వాణిజ్యరకపోకలకు రోడ్ల సౌకర్యాలు బోతుగా లేక ప్రజలు చాలా కష్టపడుతున్నారు. ఈ గ్రామాలన్నియు వృద్ధిలోనికి తీసుకొనివచ్చుట చాలా అవసరమైయున్నది. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారిని గ్రామాభివృద్ధి స్కీముక్రింద ఈ గ్రామాల అభివృద్ధికోసం తగిన రోడ్లు మొదలగు సౌకర్యాలు స్వరలో వేయించవలసిందిగా కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ భీమునిపట్నం పెద్ద వాణిజ్య సెంటరు అయినందు వల్లనూ, వేరే పంటగాని, సాగుగాని లేకుండున ప్రజలు చుట్టుపట్ల గ్రామాలనుంచి రాగలండులకు రోడ్ల సౌకర్యాలు ఏర్పాటుచేయవలెనని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరు చున్నాను.

[9th July 1952] [Sri K. V. S. Padmanabharaju]

“గత ఎన్నికలకు ముందు ఆనగా 1950 వ సంవత్సరంలో ఆర్థిక మంత్రిగా యున్న శ్రీ బెజువాడ గోపాలరెడ్డిగారు ఈ ఆలయం ని నియోజకవర్గంలో పర్యటిస్తూ ఒక మహాసభ జరిపారు. ఆ మహాసభకు మా నియోజకవర్గంలోనున్న ప్రజలందరిని హాజరుకాగలండులకు ఆహ్వానాలుగూడా పంపారు. ఆ సభకు హాజరైన ప్రజలకు మా నియోజకవర్గమునకు సంబంధించిన గంటకొండ నిజర్వాయరును కట్టపామని హామీ యిచ్చారు. అప్పుడు జిల్లా బోర్డు ఎన్నికల ముందువచ్చి వాగ్దానమిచ్చియున్నారు. ప్రస్తుత బడ్జెటులో చూడగా ఆ నిజర్వాయరు గురించియే లేదు. ఇంతవరకూ ఆ నిజర్వాయరు విషయమై ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎట్టి చర్య తీసుకున్నట్లు కన్పించదు. ఇంతే కాకుండా కొత్తవలసనుంచి భీమసింగి అనే గ్రామం మీదుగా విజయనగరం వెళ్ళే రోడ్డుకి గోస్తానదిమీద కట్టకట్టుటకు రెండు లక్షల రూపాయలు శాంక్సనుచేశారు. ఇంతవరకు ఒక ఇంజనీయరుగాని ఒక ప్లానుగాని ఏమియునూ కనబడలేదు. పోతే చోడవరం, శృంగవరపుకోట తాలూకాలకు మొత్తంగా పనికివచ్చే ఆరండ్ల కట్టుకు గాను నాలుగులక్షల రూపాయలు అంచనాలుగూడా వేయబడిందని విన్నాను. అందుచేతనే ఈ రోజున శృంగవరపుకోట తాలూకా ప్రజలు కొన్ని సంవత్సరాల క్రిందటనే ఆ నిజర్వాయరు కట్టబోతున్నారని బాగుకావాలని అంటున్నారు. చోడవరం తాలూకానుంచి వచ్చిన అభ్యర్థి శ్రీ గంగు నాయుడుగారుకూడా ఆ విషయమే చెప్పారు. దీనిక్రింద ఆంధ్ర ప్రదేశ్ లో ఎకరాలు సాగులోకి రాగలుగు అవకాశమున్నది. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారిని ఈ నిజర్వాయరు స్వరలో నిర్మించుటకు ఏర్పాట్లు చేయవలసిందిగా కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇంతేకాకుండా మా జిల్లాలో గోస్తానది జలం వినియోగించుటకోసం ఒక ప్రాజెక్టు కట్టుటకు 1951-52 వ సంవత్సరం బడ్జెటులోగాని, 1952-53 బడ్జెటులో గాని ఏమీ కనపడలేదు. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారు మా జిల్లాయందు ఇంత నిర్లయ నిర్లక్ష్యము విలదూపుతున్నారో ఆరంభం కావడంలేదు. ఇప్పటికైననూ ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు స్వరలో కట్టం చెడరని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను. గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారు మా జిల్లా ప్రజలయందు దాక్షిణ్యభావం చూపి యీ పెద్ద ప్రజలకు యిటువంటి చిన్న చిన్న పనులైననూ తయారుచేయించిన ప్రజలకు ఎంతో ప్రభుత్వంవారు సహాయము చేసినవారగుదురు. పై కారణములవల్ల యీ బడ్జెటు ప్రజలకు అనుకూలముగా ఉన్నదని నేను వ్యతిరేకించుచున్నాను.”

* SRI G. NAGABHUSHANAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this Budget, except in regard to one thing, namely, the surcharge on land revenue. The present limit for exemption is Rs. 50; but I feel, after reconsideration that the exemption limit should be raised to Rs. 100. Coming as I do from Bellary, which is a black cotton area, I may say that last year, the cotton crop failed due to pests; so also was the case with groundnut. The prices of cotton and groundnut fell and the ryots suffered miserably. Therefore, I feel that the surcharge on land tax should be reconsidered and amended.

“Then, Sir, it has been stated by the Government several times that people are coming with a catalogue of grievances, but that they are not suggesting ways and means to increase the State's income. I would like to place the following facts for the consideration of the Government and the Assembly. In Bellary district, in Hospet, Sandur and Rayadrug taluks, there is considerable iron ore and manganese, and a large number of people coming from outside

[Sri G. Nagabhushanam] [9th July 1952]

are minting money in these areas, but the Government have not taken note of it. There are at present as many as 120 licensees and they are making huge profits, but the Madras Government are not aware of the income that these people are getting. I would like in this connexion to place certain suggestions for the consideration of the Government. Every one, before becoming a licensee, has to file a petition before the District Collector on payment of a fee of Rs. 100 as licence fee and he should also declare his solvency. After taking out the licence, the licensee enters the forest area and purchases an acre of land containing iron ore on payment of a royalty of Rs. 5. Then, Sir, the licensee gathers the iron ore in plenty as it is found on the surface itself. At present iron ore is sold at the rate of Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 per ton. Multi-millionaires and rich people from North India have come and settled in Hospet and there are about five big companies started there with a huge capital for exporting iron ore. They are daily exporting about 40 to 50 wagons of iron ore to foreign countries like Czechoslovakia and Japan. It will, therefore, be seen that by paying a total sum of say Rs. 105, they are making a profit of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 50,000 in some cases. And what is it that the Madras Government are doing? Nothing. Sir, why not the Government come forward and increase the royalty by even 100 times, or increase the licence fee by one hundred times or impose some levy on each wagon booked from Bellary, Hospet and Papa-Nayakondalu railway stations and realise a large amount of income from the capitalists who are making huge profits?

“The next point I intend to place, for the consideration of the Government is about electricity. This is another source of income which the Government have not taken note of. It looks as though the present Budget proposals are aiming at the villagers, but if we are to be reasonable we should see that they properly aim at the rich people living in cities. Electricity is at present making rapid progress in Tamilnad and Rayalaseema. I can say from the records that I have with me that we in the Madras State are leading in the whole of India so far as development of electricity is concerned. We are also making good progress in Rayalaseema. Why not, therefore, levy an additional rate of one anna per unit so far as industrial concerns are concerned, so that we may realise crores of rupees from this source?

“There is another disputable point to which I would like to refer and that is in regard to motor transport. Several people have suggested that by auctioning the routes, the rich people will become richer and the poor people will have no chance. I submit that that observation is not quite correct. On the other hand, at present it is only the rich people that run the buses on the various routes, because it requires at least Rs. 30,000 to run a single bus, and the poor man cannot afford it. It is also suggested that to run a satisfactory bus service one should own at least three buses, which again requires about one lakh of rupees. Therefore, I submit that

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the bus business is a rich man's affair. I, therefore, suggest that the routes must be auctioned so that the State may get a large amount from this source . . .”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The House will sit for five more minutes to enable the hon. Member to finish his speech.”

SRI G. NAGABHUSHANAM:—“The Government can collect Rs. 1,20,000 as additional tax on motor vehicles by the strict enforcement of the law and proper supervision. There were 7,200 buses with valid permits, but only 5,200 buses were taxed (as on December 1951). The number of lorries with permits was 11,300 out of which only 8,500 were taxed. The Government could demand tax from every commercial vehicle with a permit irrespective of its usage and throw the responsibility on the user to prove that the vehicle was off the road and obtain refund.

“There are too many frivolous applications for bus permits and to counter this, the fee for application may be raised from Rs. 12 to Rs. 100, non-refundable. By this method, the Government can increase the revenue.

“If one looks at the amount of sales tax and income-tax paid by the proprietors of some of the coffee hotels, one will be wonder-struck. The amount is enormous. In Alur in Bellary district, a large number of buses converge. A number of coffee hotels have sprung up near the bus stand. They are located in huts built on Government land. The Government can resume those lands and auction them at a very profitable rate. By auctioning coffee hotels, wherever it is possible, the Government can realize a large sum of money.

“Then I suggest another source of income, and that is the levy of a fee for the registration of marriages. Registration of marriages is absolutely necessary to avoid complications in the administration of the Madras Hindu Bigamous Marriages Prohibition and Divorce Act. The Government can have a graded scale of registration fee depending on the financial position of the parties to the marriage. Rich men can even pay Rs. 100. Whenever people present petitions to Ministers and Government officers, etc., it must be made a condition that every petition filed must have an eight-anna stamp affixed on it. Every petition without the necessary stamp should be rejected. In this way, the Government can realize a large sum of money.

“Proprietors of cinemas are paying very little. The entertainment tax has been raised, but only the cinema-goers are made to pay the increase. The proprietors of cinema theatres are paying licence fees to the Electricity Department and other fees to the District Collector. The licence fee and other fees can be enhanced.

“I have suggested various practical methods of raising revenue and I request Government to consider them seriously. I am very seriously requesting the Hon. Finance Minister not to think of the ryot any more for levying taxes on him. The proposal for levying

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a land tax in Bombay was opposed by 175 members, and the Bombay Ministry is thinking of dropping that proposal. The purchasing power of the ryots has gone down very much and they are further affected by the slump all over the world.

"I further submit that the villages have been neglected by the Madras State. In the Madras State, about 80 per cent of the people are living in villages and only about 20 per cent are living in towns and cities. For the benefit of 20 per cent of the population, we are spending large sums of money on tar roads and cement roads, electricity, tram cars, etc."

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

* SRI P. KUNHIRAMA KIDAV:— "Mr. Speaker, Sir, അധികാരത്തിൽ ഉള്ള ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ആദ്യത്തെ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഇന്ന് ഈ സഭയുടെ മുമ്പാകെ ആലോചനയ്ക്കു വന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയപരിപാടികൾ പ്രതിഫലിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് രീതിയായ്. എന്നാൽ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ നാട്ടിന്റെ സ്ഥിതിയെപ്പറ്റി ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. വർദ്ധിച്ച പാടുകൊണ്ടും നികുതിഭാരംകൊണ്ടും കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ മുറവിളി ഒരുഭാഗത്തു്, ശമ്പളവർദ്ധനവിനു് ഇന്നു കിട്ടുന്ന രാജ് ന്നു ശമ്പളംകൊണ്ടു് ജീവിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കാതെ കൂടുതൽ ശമ്പളംകിട്ടുവാൻ മുറവിളി കൂട്ടുന്ന ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ മറ്റൊരു ഭാഗത്തു്, ഇങ്ങിനെ നാട്ടിൽ അങ്ങോളം ഇങ്ങോളം അസാധുവും അപകടവും നിറഞ്ഞ ഒരു കാലഘട്ടത്തിലാണ് ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെക്കുറിച്ച് ആലോചിക്കുന്നതു്. നാട്ടിലെ 80 ശതമാനത്തോളം വരുന്ന സാധാരണക്കാരുന്റെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് എത്ര കണ്ടു് വകവെച്ചുകൊടുക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതാണ് ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ടതു്. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ ഇത്തരം കണ്ടുപെടുന്ന ജനവിഭാഗത്തിന്നു് രക്ഷ നൽകുന്നതിന്നു് സംഗതികളും അടങ്ങിയിട്ടില്ല എന്നു പറയേണ്ടിവന്നതിൽ എനിക്ക് നിരാശയുണ്ട്. ഇത്തരം രാജ്യത്തിൽ കണ്ടുപെടുന്ന ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങൾക്കു രക്ഷയില്ലെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല അവരെ കൂടുതൽ നഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുകയും പുതിയ നികുതികളാണു് ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ കാണിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റിനെക്കുറി പരയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈ പുതിയ നികുതികൾ കണ്ടുപെടുന്നവരെ കൂടുതൽ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുക എന്നതിൽ കവിഞ്ഞു് ഇതിൽ കൺമില്ല. കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ യാതൊരു ആവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കും ഈ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് ധനം ഇതിൽ വകയിരുത്തിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല കൃഷിക്കാരെ കൂടുതൽ കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്ന നികുതി സമ്പ്രദായമാണു് ഇന്നു് ഏറ്റെടുത്തുവരുത്തേണ്ടിയിരുന്നതു്. ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു ഈ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്നു നികുതികൊടുക്കുവാൻ പ്രാപ്തിയും തന്റെ ടവറുള്ള ജന്മിമാരുടേയും മുതലാളിമാരുടേയും പേരിൽ കൂടുതൽ നികുതി സമ്പാദിക്കുവാൻ പരിശ്രമിച്ചുകൂടെ എന്നു്. ഇന്നു ഗവണ്മെന്റുതന്നെ പലവിധ പദ്ധതികളും നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതുണ്ട്. അതിനുവേണ്ട ധനത്തെപ്പറ്റിയൊന്നെങ്കിൽ, ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലുള്ള Transport, Estates, Mine factories മുതലായ വമ്പിച്ച വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് എന്തു കൊണ്ടാണു് ദേശവൽക്കരിക്കുന്നില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ സാധാരണക്കാരുന്റെ ആവശ്യങ്ങൾ വകവെച്ചു് കൊടുക്കത്തക്ക ഒരു ഭരണം ഏറ്റെടുത്തുവാൻ തീർച്ചയായും സാധിക്കും. അതല്ലതെ കണ്ടുപെടുന്ന കൃഷിക്കാരുടേയും തൊഴിലാളികളുടേയും മേൽ കൂടുതൽ നികുതി ചുമത്തി അവരെ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് കഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു് എന്നുള്ള അപേക്ഷയാണു് എനിക്ക് ഇതു്. മലബാറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുടത്തോളം ഈ ബഡ്ജറ്റ് ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച അനീതിയാണ് കാണിച്ചതെന്നു പറയേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ ഇതരപ്രദേശങ്ങളെ അപേക്ഷിച്ച് മലബാറിന്റെ സ്ഥിതി വളരെ അധികം വ്യത്യസ്തമാണു്. മലബാറിൽ ആകെ ഉള്ളതിൽ 44 ശതമാനം വരുന്ന സ്ഥലം മൗനമേ കൃഷിഭൂമിയുള്ളൂ. ബാക്കി 56 ശതമാനവും വനങ്ങളും തരിശു സ്ഥലങ്ങളും പാറ കളുമാണു്. ഈ 44 ശതമാനം വരുന്ന കൃഷിഭൂമിയിൽനിന്നു് വേണം മലബാറിന്റെ ഭക്ഷ്യസാധനങ്ങൾ ശേഖരിക്കുവാൻ. ഒരു കമ്മി മേഖലയാണു് മലബാർ. മലബാറിൽ ഒരു മൈലിനു് 800 പേർ അധികംസിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആസ്ത്രേലിയയിൽ 600 ലം തരിശു് നാട്ടിൽ 500 ലം പേർ മാത്രമേയുള്ളൂ. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്കു മലബാറിൽ ചെറുകിട ജലസേചന പദ്ധതികൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തി മലബാറിനെ കൃഷി വളരെയധികം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കാമായിരുന്നു.

[Sri P. Kunhirama Kidav] 9th July 1952]

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ഈ വിനിയന്ത്രണത്തെ വിജയിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളു എന്നു വ്യക്തമാണു്. അമ്പത്താറു് ശതമാനത്തോളം വരുന്ന തരിശുഭൂമികളും പാറകളുകളും എല്ലാത്തന്നെ കൃഷിക്ക് ഉപയോഗപ്രദമാക്കുവാൻ തീർച്ചയായും കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു് ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് വിചിത്രകൊടുക്കുവാൻ പരിശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. മലബാറിലെ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മയും പട്ടിണിയും പരിഹാരം കാണണമെങ്കിൽ വിദ്യയുടേതി മുഖേന ഗ്രാമങ്ങൾ തോറും ചെറുകിട വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തേണം. വമ്പിച്ച വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തുകയല്ല മലബാറിന്റെ ആവശ്യം. ഗ്രാമപ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ചെറുകിട വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തുകയാണു്. ഇതിന്നു വിദ്യയുടേതി അത്യന്താപേക്ഷിതമാണു്. വിദ്യയുടേതിയുടെ കാര്യം പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ മലബാറിനോടു് വിദ്യയുടേതി പദ്ധതിയിൽ ഈ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് ഒരു അനീതിയാണ് കാണിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. വിദ്യയുടേതി ഉല്പാദനത്തിന്നുതക്ക വെള്ളച്ചാട്ടങ്ങൾ മലബാറിൽ ഉണ്ടു്. വയനാട്ടിലും കുറുന്തനാടു് താലൂക്കിലും എങ്കിലും ഉണ്ടു്. ഈവക വെള്ളച്ചാട്ടങ്ങൾ വിദ്യയുടേതി ഉല്പാദിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ പറ്റിയ വെള്ളച്ചാട്ടങ്ങളാണു്. വിദഗ്ദ്ധന്മാരായ എഞ്ചിനീയർമാർ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടും ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റി ഒന്നും ഇതുവരെ ചെയ്തിട്ടില്ല. വിദ്യയുടേതി കൂടുതൽ വികസിപ്പിച്ച് ഈ ഗ്രാമപ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ചെറുകിട വ്യവസായങ്ങൾ സ്ഥാപിച്ചാൽ മാത്രമേ മലബാറിലെ വികാസകരകൾക്കും പട്ടിണിക്കും ഒരു പരിഹാരമാഗ്നും, ഒരു പോംവഴികണ്ടു് പിടിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയുള്ളൂ എന്നു ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽപെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ഇതിനുവേണ്ട സന്നദ്ധത ഈ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് പ്രദർശിപ്പിക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ മലബാർ കുറുപ്പു് കാലത്തിനിടയിൽ മറ്റൊരു റായലാശിമയായി രൂപാന്തരപ്പെടുകയില്ലെന്നു് ഞാൻ സംശയിക്കുന്നു. കൂടുതൽ ദക്ഷേപാദനത്തിന്നുവേണ്ടി ഈ ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് വലിയൊരു തുക ചിലവഴിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ആ ധനം ഉപയോഗിച്ചാണു് തോന്നുന്നതു്. മലബാറിൽ കൂത്താളി എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് ഉല്പാദനം ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ആഭിമുഖ്യത്തിലാണു് ഉള്ളതു്. ഇവിടെയുള്ള ഫലഭൂയിഷ്ടങ്ങളായ സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ കൃഷിചെയ്യാതെ ഇപ്പോൾ തരിശായി കിടക്കുകയാണു്. നാലു വർഷങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പു് ഭൂമി ഇല്ലാത്ത കൃഷിക്കാർ ഈ ഭൂമിക്കു ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടപ്പോൾ, കൂത്താളി എസ്റ്റേറ്റ് ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടപ്പോൾ അന്നു ഗവണ്മെണ്ടു് തോക്കും ബമ്പനറും കൊണ്ടാണു് സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നതു്. ഞാൻ ചോദിക്കുന്നു ഈ തരിശു സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഭൂമിയില്ലാത്ത കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു സഹകരണ അടിസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ കൊടുത്താൽ മലബാറിന്റെ രണ്ടാഴ്ചകാലത്തുള്ള ഭക്ഷണം ഉല്പാദിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ലെന്നു്. സാധിക്കുമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ വിശ്വാസം. ഇതിലേക്കു ഞാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ സർവശ്രദ്ധയെ കാണിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു. പേരാമ്പ്ര നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ ഒരു എൽ. എഫ്. ഡി.സ് പെൻസറി പോലും ഇല്ല എന്നു് ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ശ്രദ്ധയിൽ പെടുത്തിക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. ഗതാഗത സൗകര്യങ്ങളുടെ വൈകല്യങ്ങൾ പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ കോഴിക്കോടു് കുറുന്തനാടിനോടു് നന്നാക്കേണ്ടുന്നതിന്റെ ആവശ്യകത പല പ്രാവശ്യങ്ങളായി ആ സ്ഥലത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുന്നറിയിൽ പെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതിൽ കൂടുതൽ ശ്രദ്ധ പതിപ്പിക്കണമെന്ന അപേക്ഷയോടുകൂടി, പേരാമ്പ്രയിൽ ഒരു ആസ്ത്രേലിയ സ്ഥാപിക്കണം എന്ന അപേക്ഷയോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ റിരമിക്കുന്നു."

* SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the first Budget presented to the State Legislature elected under the New Constitution on the basis of adult franchise. This Budget should therefore reflect not only the interests of particular classes but all people alike. One remarkable feature of the Budget is that though the deficit is normal (in the previous year, it was Rs. 329 lakhs) we find an increased expenditure of Rs. 325 lakhs on nation-building schemes. The Government have proposed to impose new taxes only to wipe out the deficit of Rs. 359 lakhs. We heard hon. Members saying that they want new schemes, but at the same time criticising the taxation measures of the Government. (The Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair at this stage.) Certainly new schemes are necessary, but we want money for those schemes. This money can be raised only by way of taxation. However, the

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Government should have consulted the leaders of all parties and groups before initiating these new taxation measures. Even now I suggest the constitution of a Taxation Enquiry Committee consisting of the leaders of all the parties and groups in this House. This was already suggested by the Finance Minister Mr. C. D. Deshmukh in Parliament yesterday. The Government should initiate taxation measures only on the recommendations of such a committee.

"Coming to the Budget proposals relating to Harijans, I submit that Harijans constitute one-fifth of the population of the State. There are 66 Harijan M.L.As. elected to the legislature, and they constitute one-sixth of the total strength of this House. Therefore, the Budget proposals relating to Harijans should have a reasonable relation to their population. Now we find that an amount of Rs. 1,12,56,700, i.e., 1/60th of the total expenditure is allotted for the uplift of Harijans. This provision includes a sum of Rs. 71,14,400 allotted for education. The expenditure on Harijan hostels, pathways and burial grounds comes only to Rs. 41,42,300. The actual amount exclusively set apart for Harijan Welfare comes to 1/60th of the total expenditure. In this connexion I may refer to the report of the Harijan Welfare Committee, 1948. At page 31 of the report it is stated—

'We may mention at the outset that we have excluded 'Education' from this one crore, not because it is unnecessary, but because the amount will not be sufficient even for such immediate necessities as accommodation, house-building, wells, sanitation and medical help. We expect the Government to provide separately for compulsory elementary education.'

The Government should hereafter exclude education from the Harijan Uplift Demand. The allotment for house-sites is only Rs. 5 lakhs. The allotment for pathways and burial grounds is Rs. 5 lakhs. The Harijan Welfare Department recommended Rs. 10 lakhs for house-sites and pathways. There are a number of cases in which sanction was accorded some 10 years back, but which have not been taken up for acquisition due to lack of funds. Therefore, I request the Government to increase the allotment to Rs. 20 lakhs.

"I shall now refer to the condition of Harijans. Untouchability, though constitutionally and through the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and also the Temple Entry Act, it is sought to be abolished, is rampant everywhere and in every part of the State in the same degree as before. The main reason for the existence of untouchability is lack of publicity. The Harijan Welfare Committee has admitted that due to lack of propaganda, this untouchability is still there. I therefore request the Government to take the suggestion of Harijan M.L.As. here to do propaganda effectively so that untouchability can be wiped out.

"Regarding the economic status of Harijans, Sir, 75 per cent of them are landless agricultural labourers, and it is too premature to say anything about their minimum wages, because the Minimum Wages Committee has not yet finalised its report. However, I must admit that some of the agricultural labourers have been in

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occupation of lands for a number of years. The Government in their Order No. 1523, Revenue, dated the 11th June 1949, stated that lands under the occupation and cultivation of Harijans and other landless poor people on 1st May 1948 would be permanently assigned to them if their occupation was otherwise free from objection. But I submit that as a result of this G.O. a number of Harijans who were cultivating such lands for the last 30 years are now sought to be evicted from those lands. The G.O. instead of doing any good is causing lot of difficulties to the Harijans. I wrote to the Secretary to the Government, Revenue Department, asking him to clarify the position as to whether it was open to the ryots or village officers to raise new objections after waiting for 20 years and that too at the time of assignment of the land.

"Sir, I most regretfully submit that I am quite dissatisfied with the work of the Harijan Welfare Department. I even go a step further and say that this department should be abolished immediately. Rs. 24 lakhs is unnecessarily spent on bogus hostels. The Harijan Welfare Committee has specifically recommended the discouragement of Harijan hostels run by private individuals. The Harijan Welfare Committee at page 42 of their report has stated—

'We may make the following observations regarding the working of the hostels. The very fact that the Government are sympathetic and liberal in making grants for this purpose has led to the setting up of a number of these hostels. In many cases individuals have started such institutions We would therefore suggest to the Government not to recognize any hostel that is run by individuals In any case, the management of such institutions by individuals should be discontinued. If the hostels are absolutely essential, the Government may even take them over and run them themselves or entrust them to some recognized institutions.'

"With regard to the construction of wells for Harijans, I submit that there is any amount of delay in the preparation of estimates, and the contractors are eating away a large amount of the money sanctioned for the construction of these wells. I request the Government to revise their policy and see that these contracts for the construction of wells are given to Harijans themselves as is done in the Firka Development Schemes.

"Sir, I submit to the House that there are several civil and criminal cases in which necessarily Harijans and Christians are involved. The other day the Hon. the Minister for Education was saying that the Government had issued instructions to the Collectors to render legal assistance to the Harijans. They are not giving any legal assistance to them as was pointed out by the Leader of the Opposition. I therefore request the Government to entrust such cases to the Assistant Public Prosecutors. I would even suggest to the Government the appointment of an Assistant Public Prosecutor for every taluk, and the salary of such a Prosecutor may easily be collected from the Harijans themselves who are otherwise spending a lot of money unnecessarily. The Harijans will be prepared to take the advice of these Assistant Public Prosecutors.

"Sir, there is another section of Harijans in this State who are called tannery workers. Most of them are now thrown out of employment. Recently the Government passed an order fixing

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minimum wages for tannery workers. But the proprietors of tanneries dismissed a number of people from service, and to-day we find that 30,000 workers are thrown out of employment. Most of the previous Ministers have seen these tannery workers—pregnant women, mothers with small children—actually taking shelter under the shade of trees. The Land Acquisition Act is not benefiting them as these people are living in towns. I request the Government to amend the Land Acquisition Act suitably so that these people might be given house-sites in towns. If that is not possible, I request Government to bring in a separate legislation in lieu of the Land Acquisition Act.

“As a permanent measure, I suggest to the Government to encourage co-operative tanning societies to be run on the lines of cottage industries. The Government should give subsidies and even loans free of interest. The Harijan Welfare Committee at page 34 of their report has recommended an allotment of Rs. 10 lakhs for cottage industries to be run by Harijans. In this year's Budget, we find only Rs. 3,14,500 allotted for cottage industries in general, out of which only Rs. 20,000 is provided for tanning societies. We find an allotment of Rs. 1,38,900 for grants-in-aid in general, and I do not know whether anything out of this will be granted as loan for the development of cottage industries and tanneries.

“I also suggest to the Government to encourage Field Labour Co-operative Societies by giving grants liberally for paying share capital or at least by giving loans. The Government should also provide them with lease of temple lands and zamindari lands. The Hon. the Minister for Revenue was saying that 16,000 square miles of land were taken over by the Government. Instead of keeping that land idle, it may be given on lease to these people. By this means, the Government can also encourage co-operative farming and colonization schemes.

“Finally, I wish to submit a word or two in regard to my own constituency, the West Godavari district. West Godavari district is the most neglected district in this State just as Andhra is the most neglected part of India. Categorically I may submit that, ever since the Congress came into power, i.e., 1937, West Godavari is the only district which was not represented on the Cabinet so far. There is one peculiar feature in the West Godavari district. While half of the district is submerged under water, the other half has no water at all. The only plan to bring both parts on a par is the completion of the Kollair Scheme, and I am told that investigation has been completed and estimates have been already approved. I hope the Government will take up this scheme at least next year.

“Again I submit that in this district and in the whole State, Kovvur and Polavaram taluks (from where I am returned) are the most neglected parts. They are the most backward areas. Even though the river Godavari is flowing through these taluks, there is not a cent of land which can be used for wet cultivation. The only scheme that will benefit these taluks and two other taluks in

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the district is the ‘Anumullanka Scheme’, in which dams across Errakalva, Bineru, Pulivagu and an anicut across the Errakalva are included, which will irrigate 46,000 acres of land yielding 23,000 tons of rice at an aggregate cost of Rs. 1,36,79,000. If this scheme is completed, it will not only irrigate a large part of the district but also will save the ryots from floods, on account of which the Government are forced to grant heavy remissions. I hope the Government will take up this scheme at least next year.

“This year an amount of Rs. 8,96,59,000 is allotted for Civil Works, out of which our district will get only Rs. 20,61,800, which is only 1/40th of the total expenditure of the State. This is an injustice to the people of my district. I hope the Government will examine the position seriously and see that such things do not recur. Let not Government forget that West Godavari is the granary of the South. Let Government provide West Godavari with all facilities. They will get higher yields with less expenditure and in the shortest possible time.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—“Sir, here we are presented with a Domesday Book called the budget. Very few of us could study it fully and very few could understand it. I doubt whether the Ministers have completely understood it or not, because it is such a big volume. The items contained therein are so many, and it is all confusion that is there. Very few of us could understand anything. It is a routine budget, and there is nothing particular about it. Our hope is that, as it is Rajaji, the Chief Minister, who is going to run the administration for the coming five years, there will be the Rajaji touch in it and that touch will make it a glorious Budget. There are proposals in the Budget which the people who returned us will not tolerate. There are grants about which we cannot speak to our people. There is nothing that is going to benefit our people, this way or that. We cannot face the people with this Budget. I am constrained to say that this is not a kisan's budget. It is not even a people's budget, and we are asked to discuss this Budget. Sir, see how the villages are. My friends from the Circars and South India have visited Rayalaseema and have seen the havoc caused by the famine. I am thankful for the interest taken by the Central Government and also the State Government. From reports, it will be seen that some crores have been spent there. But how far has that money really reached the needy, the suffering and the hungry people? This is a difficult question to answer. I say, Sir, that except the gruel centres and minor things, no real relief has been given to the people. I do not know who is responsible for that. The culprit should be found out. That officer or if he happens to be a Minister, that Minister must be brought to trial, because in the Chittoor district, where there are people dying of starvation, where water has to be supplied by military lorries, it has been declared that the famine conditions are over there, simply because there was a shower in some areas of that district whereas other areas are in the same old distressed condition. I do not know with what object the Government

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removed the military units to the South. Is it because it was felt that these military units must be immediately used in the South also? Sir, the military units took care to dig and deepen wells and give some relief to the people. But all on a sudden simply because there were some showers in the Chittoor district, these units have been removed to the Southern districts. If one goes to the Chittoor district, one can see how the people are suffering there. So, I would request the Hon. Minister in charge of Famine Relief to restore to Chittoor district immediately at least one military unit for attending to drinking water wells, if not to irrigation wells.

" Sir, the Government are thinking of finding milk in a dry cow. All the taxation proposals adumbrated in the Budget are there only to milk the dry cow. Look at the ryots in our State. What is the wealth that they are having? I can speak about one district, namely, Chittoor, where nearly 50,000 wells went dry. There is, of course, sub-soil water. If we bore these wells, we can get plenty of water. There are a few cases where such boring of wells has been done and where plenty of water has been found. I would like to ask if the Government have thought about deepening wells by boring.

" Now, what about cattle? Government are levying, as it were, a poll tax even on cattle. But I would like to point out that people have not got cattle even to plough fields. They do not have cattle to give them a little manure. They depend upon cattle for manure because most of the ryots cannot go in for chemical manures. In such circumstances, the Government are thinking of taxing the poor ryots.

" Then there is the question of electric pumpsets. Sir, if the Government have a right to tax the ryots, I say the ryots have also a right to demand of the Government to deepen the wells, to extend the supply of electricity for agricultural purposes, to supply them with oil engines, and to give them all that is necessary to increase production. But when the ryot is so weak, so poor and so emaciated that he is unable to attend even to his routine work, the Government want to impose a tax on him. If he has enough income, of course, he is ready to pay it. But I submit to this House that the ryot is very poor and, therefore, we should not think of imposing any tax on him.

" Sir, this Budget is a routine Budget. Let us see how the administration is being run. I say there is a lot of leakage of articles between Madras and the villages where they are intended to go. There is the Secretariat in Madras. But what are the officers doing? They simply allot a ton of foodgrains for a particular place. But when the grains actually reach the destination, we find the ton has become a pound. When the Government sanction a crore of rupees for a particular purpose, it will not be even Rs. 10 lakhs in the place where the money is actually utilised. Where does all this money go? I can cite some instances in this connection. There is the Agricultural Department in Madras. In

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the Budget of last year about Rs. 120 lakhs had been sanctioned for the purchase of agricultural machinery. But how far has this money been utilized for the specified purpose and for the benefit of the public? There should be an inquiry into the misuse of funds set apart for the purchase of machinery. From whom are the Government buying oil engines? We find machines costing lakhs of rupees are being bought. Why not the Government indent for them from America and Britain? It is a pity that our Government want to be the fourth, sixth or the tenth man to purchase these machines, whereas in the open market they are being sold at the rate of Rs. 400 or Rs. 500. But people are forced to go to the Agricultural Department for getting these machines because they can get them on loan basis. But is that what the Government should do? Is there not anybody to check all these things? Are there not people to take note of these things? Certainly we are here, 375 of us, for this purpose. It is our duty to bring it to the notice of the Government wherever there is such leakage.

" About 40 miles from this place, there is a cattle breeding farm. That farm is purchasing paddy straw at the rate of Rs. 99 per ton. Is it not too much a price paid for paddy straw? I know in Guntur, Krishna and Nellore districts, it is selling at the rate of Rs. 45 per ton.

" Then, in Visakhapatnam, cattle-feed is being purchased at the rate of Rs. 238 from Nagpur, Madhya Pradesh and other places. I would ask, 'Is there not proper and good cattle-feed locally available? Could not the Government find fodder for these cattle which could be used in the cultivation of lands?'

" Then, look at the Public Works Department. Rajaji has called that Department, his enemy No. 2. Let us examine this enemy number 2. I say it is a 'percentage department.' Whether you take minor irrigation, tank restoration or any other thing, that Department depends upon percentages. There are friends in the Department who have disclosed facts to me. In one instance a friend dug a well over which the Government spent some Rs. 3,000. But he has finished the work with Rs. 1,450 and the rest has been shared by the overseer, supervisor and the contractor. So, the bills have had to be passed only for payment to the overseer, supervisor and the contractor. I say it is all a calculation of figures. Every one of us should examine things and find fault with the Government if there is anything wrong. Otherwise, the Government cannot run well.

" In fact, I have been asking some of my friends why they should not undergo medical or some other course instead of the engineering course. Many students are bothering me to find them seats in the Engineering College. When I discuss things with them, they say, 'It is very easy to earn in the Engineering Department.' I say, with due respect to the honest officers in the Engineering Department, that it is a department which is the most leaky. (An hon. Member: 'Hear, hear'.) Unless this state of affairs is remedied soon, there is no scope for progress. We

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are collecting money from poor people. We are collecting, as it were, tears from the people. But all that money is being misused by officers of the Department concerned. This misuse must be stopped immediately. Unless we prevent this leakage, we cannot run the Government efficiently.

"There are many taxation proposals in this Budget. Of course, money has to be found. But, for that purpose, I would suggest tightening up of the sales tax machinery. Certainly some sales tax officers in the districts have told me that if sales tax is collected properly, the Government can get another Rs. 8 or Rs. 9 crores. This can be done by appointing a few more sales tax officers in each district. Let us do that.

"Next there are the buses. Of course, the proposed levy of a surcharge on bus fares has created a terror in the minds of the people who own buses. There are many people who own bus routes. But it is said that only one or two bus route owners make huge profits. Sir, to own a single bus, there should be a capital of Rs. 20,000. If a man has that Rs. 20,000 in his hands, can that man be called a poor man? Therefore, this bus affair is not a poor man's business; it is a contractor's business; it is a rich man's business. The hon. Member Sri Anthony Pillai was saying that the tax on motor vehicles in India was the highest in the world and that the tax in Madras State, was the highest among all the States in the Indian Union. What if it is the highest? I say it must be double or even treble the present rate, if the Government fail to auction these bus routes. These motor route permit-holders have got an All-India Sangam of their own. It is through that Sangam that they say that this tax must be reduced. But I ask: if the business is not paying, why should they run after getting route permits? Certainly the Hon. the Minister for Transport can say how many applications are received for every route that is newly opened. It has also been our experience that these bus routes are sold for a certain consideration. Each route is taken in the name of one person and transferred to another person for Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 25,000. In this manner, sale of bus routes has been made a business by some people in the past. When bus routes are paying, why should we hesitate to auction these bus routes? Is there any constitutional difficulty? Is there any difficulty put forward by this House? Or, is there any difficulty from the Central Government? If there is any constitutional difficulty, let us request the Central Government to remove that difficulty. When that is done, we should not seek to show any consideration in the matter of bus routes to anybody. Those people who own buses have been running them all these years and they have made huge profits. Therefore, in the interests of the public let us stop this system of granting permits for bus routes.

"Then, I come to Prohibition. It is a question in which the entire House and the public outside are very much interested. Some people say that because Rajaji was the father of this Prohibition movement, he will not agree to scrap it. One of our sisters,

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Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram Ramachandran was pleading with me, 'You want this Prohibition legislation to be repealed. Please for your sister's sake, for your mother's sake, do not press it on the Government.' I very well agree with her. She is one of our sisters. True, many ladies in the villages may be fearing that this Government will commit the mistake of repealing this Prohibition legislation. But with all due deference to them and with all my love, devotion and affection for these poor women, I say Prohibition is not working properly. It is only some 3½ or 4 per cent of the people that commit the mistake of indulging in this sinful thing. When I say it is a sinful thing, I view it not as a spiritualist, not as a moralist, but as a man who is interested in seeing that it is properly administered. I ask hon. Members here whether they have not found in their experience that Prohibition is a failure. There are many Congress friends here who know this. I ask them to speak the truth here and not hide things. This is a sacred place. If they speak the truth, they will admit that Prohibition is a failure. But it is a sacred legislation. Our State was the first to introduce it. Therefore, let us examine it thoroughly. Let a special Committee, whether it is a non-official Committee or a Committee consisting of Members of both the Houses of the Legislature, be appointed. Let us give as much time as possible or as much time as Rajaji wants. Let that Committee examine the working of Prohibition. If it finds that the scheme is not feasible, let us repeal it. Otherwise, let us carry on. Prohibition is a thing which is costing the State too much. Here in these Budget proposals there are many items of expenditure which can be reduced. We can make up the deficit in two ways. One is by reducing the allotments for the items that are mentioned. The other is by proposing new taxes. For example, there is the item of grants to industrial concerns. In this regard a short notice question may be put to the Industries Minister to elicit information as to how many loans were granted in various districts and how that money has been utilized for the progress of the industries concerned. I ask, is the aid given to help a few people who want to run into insolvency or liquidation? If so, I want that the loan should be cancelled. That item should be removed from the Budget. Why should loans running to lakhs of rupees be given to industrial concerns? If the loan is to be given to an experimental industry, then we may give small loans. If the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture visits the districts, he will see how the agricultural machinery like oil engines is kept in the open. A sum of Rs. 120 lakhs is allotted for purchasing tractors and oil engines. If one comes to Chittoor, one will see in front of the District Board office how many engines are kept in the open and how they are deteriorating. They have a shed wherein some green chemical manure is kept. But all these oil engines are kept in the open. Will we do it? No. But this is what is taking place in Chittoor.

"Then, the Hon. the Agriculture Minister, if he examines the matter, will find that there are tractors which have not worked.

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for more than 40 hours in a year. Is it for such tractors, bulldozers and oil engines that the Government are going to spend Rs. 120 lakhs? Certainly that amount should be reduced. A grant of Rs. 20 lakhs would have been enough for purchasing these oil engines. Therefore, let us remove the one crore of rupees from this item and make it Rs. 20 lakhs.

"Thank you, Sir."

3-45
p.m.

*SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் வரவுக்கும் செலவுக்குமாகச் சரிக் கட்டியிருப்பதைத் தவிர, 'மனித முன்னேற்றத்தைக் கருத்திற் கொண்டு தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா? சர்க்காருடைய கௌரவத்தை அதிகப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாகவோ, திறமையை வெளிப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாகவோ, தயாரிக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறதா' வென்று சிந்திக்க வேண்டிய திட்டமாக இருக்கிறது. காங்கிரசைக் குறை சொல்ல வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்தோடு மாத்திரம் சிந்திக்கக் கூடாது. யாரிடமும் குறை காண்பது எளிது. ஆனால் அந்தக் குறையை நீக்குவதற்கு முயற்சிக்க வேண்டிய சிந்தனைதான் பெரிது. கனம் ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிற வரவு செலவு திட்டத்திற்குப் புதியவர்கள் அல்ல. நீண்ட காலமாக அனுபவப் பட்டு, அந்த அனுபவ முதிர்ச்சியால் இதைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார் என்றே ஒருவாறு ஊகிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் இதைப் படித்துப் பார்த்த பிறகு இதை தயாரிப்பதற்கு ஏதாவது கொஞ்சம் சிரமமோ அல்லது தனிப்பட்ட திறமையோ, எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்டால் எவ்வித சிரமமின்றி, முன் யோசனையுமின்றி, 1937 லிருந்து 1952-ம் வருஷம் வரையில் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியார் அடைந்திருக்கும் 15 வருஷ அனுபவத்தைச் சிறிதும் கவனிக்காமல், சற்றும் சிந்தனை செய் யாமல் எதைச் செய்தால் ஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மையுண்டாகும், எதைச் செய்தால் ஜனங்களுக்குத் தீமையே ஏற்படுமென்பதான நன்மை தீமையை அளிக்கக் கூடிய விஷயங்களை ஆராய்ந்து பார்க்காமல், தீமையே அதிகம் விளைவிக்கக் கூடிய திட்டங்கள் இதில் பல இருப்பினும் அதை விலக்க சிந்தனை செலுத்தாமல், நமக்கு மெஜாரிட்டி இருக்கிறது, ஆகையால் எதையும் செய்யலாம் என்ற பலாபலத்தைக் கொண்டே இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருப்பதாக ஊகிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பாரபட்சமற்ற நோக்கத்தோடு சிந்திப்பவர்கள் எல்லோரும் இந்த முடிவுக் குத்தான் வருவார்கள். அதற்கு மாறாக, ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் முதன் மந்திரியாக வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் வந்த பிறகு நிச்சயமாய் ஏதாவது சீர்திருத்தம் ஏற்படுத்தான் இருக்கும் என்று எதிர்பார்ப்பவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அம்மாதிரி எதிர் பார்த்தவர்கள் பலரில் நானும் ஒருவன் தான். ஆனால், அப்படி ஏதாவது சீர்திருத்தம் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும்.

“முதலாவதாக போலீசை எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். போலீஸ் நிர்வாகம் என்கிறதை வெள்ளையன் தன்னுடைய பதவியை ஸ்திரப்படுத்திக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, தன்னுடைய ஆட்சி இந்த நாட்டில் அழிந்து போகாமல் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, தவறான முறையில் நாட்டின் நலனுக்கு தேசமக்களின் நன்மைக்கு குரல் கொடுக்கிறவர்களின் மீது அடக்கு முறைகளைப் பிரயோகிக்கவும், சுதந்தர இயக்கத்தை நசுக்கவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறையிலே உபயோகப்படுத்தி வந்தான். இதைக் கண்டிப் பதற்காக ஆயிரக்கணக்கான பொது மக்கள் கொண்ட கூட்டங்களிடையேயும், மற்ற இடங்களிலேயும் இதே காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களால், ஆச்சாரியார் அவர் களால், பல முறை எதிர்த்தும் பேசப்பட்டது. ஆனால் இப்போது நிர்வாகம் கைக்கு வந்த பிறகு, நிர்வாகத்தில் பங்கு கொள்ள ஆரம்பித்த இந்த 15 வருஷங்களாக என்ன ஆகியிருக்கிறதென்று கேட்டால், முன்னால் இருந்ததைவிட மிகக் கேவலமான முறையில், அவமானம் அடையத்தக்க முறையிலே நிர்வாகத்தின் தன்மை அடைந்து வருகிறது. போலீஸ் இலாகா சர்க்காரின் தயவை நாடி நடக்க வேண்டியதிருக்க, இன்று அவர்களுடைய

9th July 1952] [Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar]

தயவை சர்க்கார் வெட்கங்கெட்ட முறையில் நாடி இருக்கும்படியாக இவர் களுடைய நிர்வாகம் இயங்கி வருகிறது. அதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன?

“உத்தியோகத்தில் ஒருவரை நியமிப்பதென்றால் ஒன்று அவரிடம் திறமை இருக்கவேண்டும், அல்லது அவர் நீண்டகால சர்வீஸ் உடையவ ராகவோ அல்லது கண்ணியமான குணமுள்ளவராகவோ இருக்கவேண்டும். இந்த மூன்றையுமே குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டு தான் ஒருவரை நியமிக்க வேண்டியது அவசியமாகும். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது சர்க்கார் அப்படித் திறமையைப் பார்த்து உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை நியமித்து வருகிறதா? கிடை யாது. யோக்கிததைப் பொறுப்பைப் பார்த்து நியமிக்கின்றதா? கிடை யாது. அல்லது நீண்டகால சர்வீஸ் இருக்கிறது என்பதற்காக நியமிக்கின்றதா யென்றால் அதையும் கிடை யாது. ஆனால் யார் யார் எந்தெந்த எம். எல். ஏக்களுக்கு வேண்டியவர்கள், யார் யார் எந்தெந்த மந்திரிமார்களின் உறவினர்கள், யார் யார் பெரிய உத்தியோகத்தில் இருக்கிறவர்களின் நெருங்கிய பந்துக்கள், என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பார்த்து சமயத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற் போல், அவரவர்களுடைய கௌரவத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற்போல், உத்தியோகங்களை யும், உத்தியோகத்திலிருப்பவர்களையிருந்தால் பதவி உயர்வையும் கொடுக் கின்ற தன்மைக்கு வந்து விட்டது. இந்த நிலைமை இருக்குமேயானால் உழைப்பவனுக்குத், தான் செய்யும் வேலையிலே எப்படி ஊக்கம் இருக்கும்? கணியமாக இருந்து வரும் உத்தமனுக்கு தான் செய்யும் வேலையிலே எப்படி உற்சாகம் இருக்கும்? எந்தக் காலத்திலே தனக்கு உயர்வு ஏற்படும் என்று அவன் எதிர்பார்க்க முடியும்? ஊக்கமும் உற்சாகமும் நம்பிக்கையும் இல்லையானால் அவர்களிடம் உணர்ச்சி இருக்க முடியுமா? ஆனால் தேசத்தின் நிலைமையைக் கருத்தில் வைத்துப் பார்த்தாலும் அவர்கள் ஊக்கத்தோடும், உற்சாகத்தோடும் வேலை செய்து வாழ்கிறார்களா? வாழ விட்டிருக்கிறார்களா? மில்லையா? அப்படி இன்று வாழ்கிறார்களா? வாழ விட்டிருக்கிறார்களா? சர்வீஸில் இருப்பவர்கள் இன்று மனம் குன்றி, கருத்துக் குன்றி, உற்சாகம் குன்றி, உள்ளத்தில் திடமில்லாத அளவுக்கு நடைப்பிணமாக உலலி வரக் கூடிய அவமானகரமான நிலைமை தான் இன்று வந்திருக்கிறது.

“இவ்வாறு சர்க்காரின் சர்வீஸ்கள் சீரழிந்து நாட்டில் அக்கிரமங்கள் அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டு வரக்கூடிய நிலைமையில், பெரும்பாலான மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற கருத்தோடு, காங்கிரஸால் கொண்டு வரப் பட்ட நல்லகாரியமான மதுவிலக்குத்திட்டம் எப்படி வேலை செய்கிறது? அதை ஏற்படும் நன்மைகள் கூட, பாலும் ஈயம் பூசாத பித்தளைப் பாத்ரத்திலே வைக்கப்பட்டால் களிம்பேறி பாஷாணமாக மாறுவதைப் போல், தேசத்தில் ஒழுங்கான நிர்வாகம் இல்லாததால் மது விலக்குச் சட்டத்தை அமுல் நடத்தி வைக்கின்ற உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள், கணியமும், ஒழுக்கமும், நடத்தைப் பொறுப்புடையவர்களாக இல்லாததால், உதாரண மாக மது விலக்கைக் கொண்டு வந்த மந்திரிகளே அந்தக் குடிப்பழக்கத்தை உடையவர்களாக இருந்ததால், அந்தச் சட்டத்தை வெற்றிகரமாக நடத்தி வைக்கவேண்டுமென்ற பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியில்லாத அசிரத்தையாக விட்டு விட்டதால் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சப்பட்டு, இப்போது அது ஒரு குடிசைத் தொழிலாகப் பெருகிவிட்டது.”

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member in his speech said that the Ministers were drinking. Can he say such things when he cannot substantiate his statement?”

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—“It is not a point of order.”

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“The hon. Member was indirectly remarking that some of the Ministers were drinking. Can he make such statements?”

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“It is not a point of order. The hon. Member may continue his speech.”

[Sri P. Thimma Reddi]

[9th July 1952]

for more than 40 hours in a year. Is it for such tractors, bulldozers and oil engines that the Government are going to spend Rs. 120 lakhs? Certainly that amount should be reduced. A grant of Rs. 20 lakhs would have been enough for purchasing these oil engines. Therefore, let us remove the one crore of rupees from this item and make it Rs. 20 lakhs.

"Thank you, Sir."

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p.m.

*SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் வரவுக்கும் செலவுக்குமாகச் சரிக் கட்டியிருப்பதைத் தவிர, 'மனித முன்னேற்றத்தைக் கருத்திற் கொண்டு தயாரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா? சர்க்காருடைய கௌரவத்தை அதிகப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாகவோ, திறமையை வெளிப்படுத்தக் கூடியதாகவோ, தயாரிக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறதா' வென்று சிந்திக்க வேண்டிய திட்டமாக இருக்கிறது. காங்கிரசைக் குறை சொல்ல வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்தோடு மாத்திரம் சிந்திக்கக் கூடாது. யாரிடமும் குறை காண்பது எளிது. ஆனால் அந்தக் குறையை நீக்குவதற்கு முயற்சிக்க வேண்டிய சிந்தனைதான் பெரிது. கனம் ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் இப்பொழுது கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிற வரவு செலவு திட்டத்திற்குப் புதியவர்கள் அல்ல. நீண்ட காலமாக அனுபவப் பட்டு, அந்த அனுபவ முதிர்ச்சியால் இதைக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார் என்றே ஒருவாறு ஊகிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் இதைப் படித்துப் பார்த்த பிறகு இதை தயாரிப்பதற்கு ஏதாவது கொஞ்சம் சிரமமோ அல்லது தனிப்பட்ட திறமையோ, எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று கேட்டால் எவ்வித சிரமமின்றி, முன் யோசனையுமின்றி, 1937 லிருந்து 1952-ம் வருஷம் வரையில் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியார் அடைந்திருக்கும் 15 வருஷ அனுபவத்தைச் சிறிதும் கவனிக்காமல், சற்றும் சிந்தனை செய்ய யாமல் எதைச் செய்தால் ஜனங்களுக்கு நன்மையுண்டாகும், எதைச் செய்தால் ஜனங்களுக்குத் தீமையே ஏற்படுமென்பதான நன்மை தீமையை அளிக்கக் கூடிய விஷயங்களை ஆராய்ந்து பார்க்காமல், தீமையே அதிகம் விளைவிக்கக் கூடிய திட்டங்கள் இதில் பல இருப்பினும் அதை விலக்க சிந்தனை செலுத்தாமல், நமக்கு மெஜாரிட்டி இருக்கிறது, ஆகையால் எதையும் செய்யலாம் என்ற பலாபலத்தைக் கொண்டே இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டிருப்பதாக ஊகிக்க வேண்டியிருக்கிறது. பாரபட்சமற்ற நோக்கத்தோடு சிந்திப்பவர்கள் எல்லோரும் இந்த முடிவுக் குத்தான் வருவார்கள். அதற்கு மாறாக, ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் முதன் மந்திரியாக வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் வந்த பிறகு நிச்சயமாய் ஏதாவது சீர்திருத்தம் ஏற்படுத்தான் இருக்கும் என்று எதிர்பார்ப்பவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள். அம்மாதிரி எதிர் பார்த்தவர்கள் பலரில் நானும் ஒருவன் தான். ஆனால், அப்படி ஏதாவது சீர்திருத்தம் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கிறதா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும்.

“முதலாவதாக போலீசை எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். போலீஸ் நிர்வாகம் என்கிறதை வெள்ளையன் தன்னுடைய பதவியை ஸ்திரப்படுத்திக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, தன்னுடைய ஆட்சி இந்த நாட்டில் அழிந்து போகாமல் இருக்க வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக, தவறான முறையில் நாட்டின் நலனுக்கு தேசமக்களின் நன்மைக்கு குரல் கொடுக்கிறவர்களின் மீது அடக்கு முறைகளைப் பிரயோகிக்கவும், சுதந்திர இயக்கத்தை நசுக்கவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறையிலே உபயோகப்படுத்தி வந்தான். இதைக் கண்டிப்பதற்காக ஆயிரக்கணக்கான பொது மக்கள் கொண்ட கூட்டங்களிடையேயும், மற்ற இடங்களிலேயும் இதே காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களால், ஆச்சாரியார் அவர்களால், பல முறை எதிர்த்தும் பேசப்பட்டது. ஆனால் இப்போது நிர்வாகம் கைக்கு வந்த பிறகு, நிர்வாகத்தில் பங்கு கொள்ள ஆரம்பித்த இந்த 15 வருஷங்களாக என்ன ஆகியிருக்கிறதென்று கேட்டால், முன்னால் இருந்ததைவிட மிகக் கேவலமான முறையில், அவமானம் அடையத்தக்க முறையிலே நிர்வாகத்தின் தன்மை அடைந்து வருகிறது. போலீஸ் இலாகா சர்க்காரின் தயவை நாடி நடக்க வேண்டியதிருக்க, இன்று அவர்களுடைய

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar]

தயவை சர்க்கார் வெட்கங்கெட்ட முறையில் நாடி இருக்கும்படியாக இவர் களுடைய நிர்வாகம் இயங்கி வருகிறது. அதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன?

“உத்தியோகத்தில் ஒருவரை நியமிப்பதென்றால் ஒன்று அவரிடம் திறமை இருக்கவேண்டும், அல்லது அவர் நீண்டகால சர்வீஸ் உடையவராகவோ அல்லது கண்ணியமான குணமுள்ளவராகவோ இருக்கவேண்டும். இந்த மூன்றையுமே குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டு தான் ஒருவரை நியமிக்க வேண்டியது அவசியமாகும். ஆனால் இப்பொழுது சர்க்கார் அப்படித் திறமையைப் பார்த்து உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களை நியமித்து வருகிறதா? கிடையாது. யோக்கிததைப் பொறுப்பைப் பார்த்து நியமிக்கின்றதா? கிடையாது. அல்லது நீண்டகால சர்வீஸ் இருக்கிறது என்பதற்காக நியமிக்கின்றதா யென்றால் அதுவும் கிடையாது. ஆனால் யார் யார் எந்தெந்த எம். எல். ஏக்களுக்கு வேண்டியவர்கள், யார் யார் எந்தெந்த மந்திரிமார்களின் உறவினர்கள், யார் யார் பெரிய உத்தியோகத்தில் இருக்கிறவர்களின் நெருங்கிய பந்துக்கள், என்பதாகவெல்லாம் பார்த்து சமயத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற் போல், அவரவர்களுடைய கௌரவத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற்போல், உத்தியோகங்களையும், உத்தியோகத்திலிருப்பவர்களையிருந்தால் பதவி உயர்வையும் கொடுக்கின்ற தன்மைக்கு வந்து விட்டது. இந்த நிலைமை இருக்குமேயானால் உழைப்பவனுக்குத், தான் செய்யும் வேலையிலே எப்படி ஊக்கம் இருக்கும்? கணியமாக இருந்து வரும் உத்தமனுக்கு தான் செய்யும் வேலையிலே எப்படி உற்சாகம் இருக்கும்? எந்தக் காலத்திலே தனக்கு உயர்வு ஏற்படும் என்று அவன் எதிர்பார்க்க முடியும்? ஊக்கமும் உற்சாகமும் நம்பிக்கையும் இல்லையானால் அவர்களிடம் உணர்ச்சி இருக்க முடியுமா? ஆனால் தேசத்தின் நிலைமையைக் கருத்தில் வைத்துப் பார்த்தாலும் அவர்கள் ஊக்கத்தோடும், உற்சாகத்தோடும் வேலை செய்து வாழ்கிறார்களா? வாழ விட்டிருக்கிறார்களா? மில்லையா? அப்படி இன்று வாழ்கிறார்களா? வாழ விட்டிருக்கிறார்களா? சர்வீஸில் இருப்பவர்கள் இன்று மனம் குன்றி, கருத்துக் குன்றி, உற்சாகம் குன்றி, உள்ளத்தில் திடமில்லாத அளவுக்கு நடைப்பிணமாக உலலி வரக் கூடிய அவமானகரமான நிலைமை தான் இன்று வந்திருக்கிறது.

“இவ்வாறு சர்க்காரின் சர்வீஸ்கள் சீரழிந்து நாட்டில் அக்கிரமங்கள் அதிகரித்துக் கொண்டு வரக்கூடிய நிலைமையில், பெரும்பாலான மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற கருத்தோடு, காங்கிரஸால் கொண்டு வரப் பட்ட நல்லகாரியமான மதுவிலக்குத்திட்டம் எப்படி வேலை செய்கிறது? அதை எற்படும் நன்மைகள் கூட, பாலும் ஈயம் பூசாத பித்தளைப் பாத்ரத்திலே வைக்கப்பட்டால் களிம்பேறி பாஷாணமாக மாறுவதைப் போல், தேசத்தில் ஒழுங்கான நிர்வாகம் இல்லாததால் மது விலக்குச் சட்டத்தை அமுல் நடத்தி வைக்கின்ற உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள், கணியமும், ஒழுக்கமும், நடத்தைப் பொறுப்புடையவர்களாக இல்லாததால், உதாரணமாக மது விலக்கைக் கொண்டு வந்த மந்திரிகளே அந்தக் குடிப்பழக்கத்தை உடையவர்களாக இருந்ததால், அந்தச் சட்டத்தை வெற்றிகரமாக நடத்தி வைக்கவேண்டுமென்ற பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியில்லாத அசிரத்தையாக விட்டு விட்டதால் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் கள்ளச் சாராயம் காய்ச்சப்பட்டு, இப்போது அது ஒரு குடிசைத் தொழிலாகப் பெருகிவிட்டது.”

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member in his speech said that the Ministers were drinking. Can he say such things when he cannot substantiate his statement?”

SRI K. VINAYAKAM :—“It is not a point of order.”

SRI K. R. NALLASIVAM :—“The hon. Member was indirectly remarking that some of the Ministers were drinking. Can he make such statements?”

DEPUTY SPEAKER :—“It is not a point of order. The hon. Member may continue his speech.”

[9th July 1952]

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR :—“கனம் மெம்பர் அவர்கள் இந்தக் கேள்வி கேட்டதற்கு சந்தோஷம். ஆனால் point of order இல்லை யென்று தலைவர் சொல்லிவிட்டபடியால் அதற்கு பதில் நான் சொல்லத் தேவையில்லை. தலைவர் அவர்கள் அதை ஒப்புக் கொண்டிருந்தால் அப்போது அதைப் பற்றிய விவரங்கள் எல்லாவற்றையும் substantiate பண்ணத் தயாராக இருந்தேன், என்று தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இந்த நிலைமையில் அதனால் ஏற்படக்கூடிய சாதகமானது தவறாகப் போய் அதன் பேரில் அநேக விதமான விபரீதங்கள் ஏற்படும் நிலைமையில் அது குடிசைத் தொழிலானது. குடிசைத் தொழில் ஆனதோடு மாத்திரமல்ல, அவ்வாறு நடைபெறாமல் கண்காணிப்போடு பார்த்துக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவே இருக்கின்ற போலீஸ் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களும் இதை அனுபவிக்கிறார்கள். இந்த அளவிற்கு சர்க்காருடைய போலீஸ் நிர்வாகம் ஊழலாக இருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது ஊழல் அதிகமாக ஏற்பட்டுக் கொண்டேயிருப்பதன் காரணமாக ஒரு நல்ல காரியமென்று செய்யப்பட்ட மதுவிலக்கு சட்டமும் கூட இன்று வேண்டுமா? அதை எடுத்து விடலாமா என்று யோசிக்கவேண்டிய அளவுக்கு அவமானம் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதோடு மாத்திரம் அல்ல.

“மற்றும் விவசாயம் என்பதை எடுத்துக் கொள்வோமேயானால் ‘உணவை விருத்தி பண்ண வேண்டும், உணவை விருத்தி பண்ண வேண்டும் (Grow More Food)’ என்று நாட்டிலே இன்று பிரசாரம் தீவிரமாக நடக்கிறது. பிரசாரம் மிக அழகாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்காக புஸ்தகங்களும் ஒழுங்காக அச்சிடப்படுகின்றன. அவைகள் எங்கு பார்த்தாலும் விநியோகிக்கவும் படுகின்றன. ஆனால் உண்மையில் என்ன நடக்கிற தென்று கேட்டால் யுத்த காலத்தில் ஏற்பட்ட உணவு நெருக்கடியை சமாளித்து பரிப் பட்டினியால் யாரும் மானாது சீராக எல்லோருக்கும் உணவு விநியோகிக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட உணவு கண்ட்ரோல் அமுலுக்கு வந்த பிறகு நிர்வாக ஊழலினால், உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களின் ஒழுக்கமற்ற தன்மையினால், சர்க்காரின் கொள்முதல் கெடுபிடியினால், ஏழை எளிய மக்களும் சொல்ல முடியாத துன்பத்தை அனுபவித்து, பெரிய பெரிய பணக்காரர்களும் எண்ணமுடியாததான இடையூறுகளுக்கு இலக்காகி, உணவுப் பொருள்களை உற்பத்தி செய்வதில் ஏற்படும் தொந்தரவை பொறுக்க முடியாத நிலைமையில், செவல் நிலமாக இருந்தால் அதில் உணவு தானியம் பயிரிடுவதற்கு பதிலாக அதைவிட அதிக பணம் சம்பாதிக்கலாம் என்பதற்காக நிலக்கடலையைப் போட்டும், கரிசல் பிரதேசமாகவுள்ள இடங்களில் எல்லோரும் உணவுப் பொருள்கள் பயிரிடுவதற்கு பதிலாக அதைவிட அதிகப்பணம் சம்பாதிக்கலாம் என்பதற்காக உளுந்து, கொண்டைக்கடலை, போன்றவைகளைப் போட்டும், தண்ணீர் ஓடிப்பாய்கின்ற பிரதேசங்களில் மக்கள் உணவுப் பொருள்கள் பயிரிடுவதற்கு பதிலாக அதைவிட அதிகப்பணம் சம்பாதிக்கலாம் என்பதற்காக வாழை, கரும்பு போன்றவைகளைப் போட்டும் நல்ல உணவு தானியத்தை பயிரிடக்கூடிய பெரிமை வாய்ந்த ஏராளமான பூமிகளில் இன்று வியாபாரப் பொருள்களை பயிரிட ஆரம்பித்து விட்டார்கள். ‘நடந்த பின்னையும் தவழ்ந்ததாம் தாய் செய்த தவறினால்’ என்பதைப்போல விவசாயத்தை முன்னுக்கு கொண்டு வாவேண்டும், விவசாயத்தை முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டு வரவேண்டும் என்று இவர்கள் பிரசாரம் செய்யச் செய்ய அது சம்பந்தமான ஏராளமான புஸ்தகங்களை அச்சிட்டு விநியோகம் செய்யச் செய்ய இதுவரையிலும் விவசாயத்தில் இருந்த ஊக்கம் குன்றி, விவசாயம் செய்து வந்த பூமியும் குறைந்து உணவு தானிய உற்பத்தியும் உள்நாட்டுக்குப் போய்க் கொண்டே இருக்கிறது. சர்க்காரை நடத்துகிறவர்கள் இதை சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? பார்த்திருக்கிறார்களா? ‘நாங்கள் பதவிக்கு வந்த சிறிய காலத்தில் இதையெல்லாம் சிந்தித்துப் பார்ப்பதற்கு அவகாசம் கிடையாது’ என்று சொல்வது சரியான பதில் ஆகுமா? காரணம் என்னவென்றால் முன்னாலெல்லாம் ஜனங்களுடைய கருத்துக்களை அறிந்து, ஜனங்களுடைய அபிப்பிராயங்களை அறிந்து அவர்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக சர்க்கார் கூடுமானவரையில் கண்காணிப்புடன்

[9th July 1952] [Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar]

காரியங்களை நேரிடையாக மக்களிடையே சென்று அறிந்து செய்துவந்தார்கள். ஆனால் இப்பொழுதோ சர்க்காரை இயங்க வைக்கின்ற முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் காபி கிளப் திறந்து வைப்பதற்கும், என், சடங்குகளுக்கு நிலைமை வகிப்பதற்கென்றே சுற்றுப் பிரயாணம் செய்யக் கூடிய நிலைமைக்கு வந்து விட்டார்கள். இந்த நிலைமைக்கு சர்க்கார் போனபிறகு உருப்படியான காரியத்தை ஒழுங்காகச் செய்ய முடியுமா? அரசாங்க நிரலாகம் திறமையாக இயங்க முடியுமா? அரசாங்கத்தை நடத்துகிறவர்களுக்கு பொது மக்களிடம் மதிப்பாவது இருக்க முடியுமா? மக்கள் இவர்களுக்கு எந்த அளவுக்கு கௌரவத்தையும், மதிப்பையும் கொடுப்பார்கள்? சர்க்கார் என்கிற இடத்தில் பாகுபாடு இருக்கலாமா? ஒருவன் வேண்டியவனாக இருக்கலாம். ஒருவன் வேண்டாதவனாக இருக்கலாம். ஆனால் காரிய காரணம் வரும்போது சர்க்கார் வேண்டியவனுக்கு வரி போடாமலும், வேண்டாதவனுக்கு மேலும் மேலும் வரியை போட்டுக்கொண்டே போவதும் அழகா? சுகமாக வாழ்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கும் ஒருவன் சுயமாகவே வாழ்ந்து கொண்டிருக்கட்டும் என்று விட்டு விட்டு வறுமையிலே வாடிவதற்கு இப்போது இருக்கக் கூடிய வரியையே செலுத்த முடியாமல் விழி பிதுங்க வாழ்விலே உழன்று கொண்டிருக்கும் ஒரு சாரார்களின்மேல் இன்னும் கொஞ்சம் துன்பத்தையும் தான் சேர்த்து அனுபவிக்கட்டுமே என்று அவன் தலையிலே புதிய வரியைப்போடுவதும் தர்மமாகுமா? நியாயமாகுமா? இரண்டு கண்களுக்கிடையே நடு நாயகமாக விளங்கி வரும் மூக்கைப் போல சர்க்கார் எல்லா தரப்பார்க்கும் இடையே பட்சபாதமின்றி காரியங்களை நிர்வகித்து வரவேண்டியது அவசியமில்லையா? இந்த தன்மை இப்போது சர்க்காரிடம் இருக்கின்றதா என்று கேட்டால், கட்சி மனப்பான்மை நாளுக்கு நாள் அதிகரித்து வருகின்றதே தவிர, அவன் நம்கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவன் ஆகையால் அவனுக்கு இதைச் செய்யலாம், அவன் நம் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவன் அல்ல, அதனால் அவன் சர்க்காரிடம் எவ்வளவு முறை வந்து முறையிட்டேக் கொண்ட போதிலும் அதைச் செய்யக் கூடாது என்பதான எண்ணம் வளர்ந்து வருகிறதே தவிர, எந்தந்த சமயங்களில் யார்யாரை அனுசரித்துக் கொண்டால், யார் யாருக்குக் அனுசூலம் செய்து கொடுத்தால் நிரந்தரமாக பதவியில் தாங்களே இருந்து ஆட்சி செய்து கொண்டு வரலாம் என்ற எண்ணத்தில் வேண்டியவர்கள் என்பவர்களுக்கெல்லாம் அளவற்ற முறையிலே சலுகை கொடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகிறதே தவிர, அப்படிச் செய்வது தவறு என்று கூட்டிக்காட்டக் கூடிய எதிர் கட்சியிலிருப்பவர்களிடம் சினந்து சீறிக்கொண்டு வந்து விழுவதைத் தவிர பொதுவான முக்கியமான காரியங்களை கவனிக்க இவர்களுக்கு அவகாசம் இருக்கிறதா? அவகாசம் தான் இருக்க முடியுமா? புதிதாக சுதந்திரம் லாங்கித் தந்த ஒரு சர்க்கார் அதை வாங்கித்தந்தவர்கள் தாங்கள் என்ற பெருமிதத்திலே மக்களிடையே ஒரு உணவை ஸ்தானத்தை வகிக்க வேண்டியிருக்க ஆட்சி கைக்கு வந்து ஐந்து ஆண்டு ஆவதற்குள்ளேயே காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் ஏற்படுமா? ஏற்பட்டாலும் அடுத்த ஐந்தாண்டு வரை நீடித்து நகருமா? அல்லது அழிந்து போய் விடுமா? என்று எல்லோரும் கவலைப்படக் கூடிய அளவுக்கு சமீபத்தில் நடந்த பொதுத் தேர்தலில் அவமானகரமான நிலையில் வீழ்ச்சி மேல் வீழ்ச்சி என்று எங்கும் காங்கிரஸ் நோலவி அடைந்ததற்குக் காரணம் என்ன என்பதையாவது யோசித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? யோசித்து தங்கள் பாலுள்ள குற்றங்களைப் போக்கிக் கொள்ள முயல்கிறார்களா? தங்கள் குணங்களையும் நடத்தைகளையும் மாற்றிக் கொள்ள முயல்கிறார்களா? என்று பார்த்தால் இன்னும் அப்படி ஒன்றும் சரியான துறையிலே செல்வதற்கு முயற்சி செய்வதாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. இதற்குக் காரணம் என்ன? எப்படியாவது தங்களுக்கு ஜெயம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது, ஜெயம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது என்று ஜெயித்து அவர்களை பிடித்துக் கொண்டு ஆட்சிசெய்தே தவிர எப்படி நமக்கு ஜெயம் கிடைக்கிறது? ஜெயம் நமக்கு கிடைக்க வேண்டுமென்று யார்யார் காலிலே விழுகிறோம். நமக்குக் கிடைக்கும் ஜெயம் தாற்காலிகமானதா அல்லது நிரந்தரமானதா? இப்படிப்பட்ட ஜெயத்தை தேடிக்கொள்வதற்குக் கால்கிரலின் மரியாதை உயர்கிறதா? மதிப்பும் கண்ணமும், உயர்கிறதா? என்பதையெல்லாம் யோசிக்காமல் எப்படியாவது தங்களுடைய தரப்பில் அதிகப்பேர் இருக்கும்,

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [9th July 1952]

படியாக பார்த்துக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்தைக் கொண்டு காங்கிரஸ் தரப்பார்கள் நடக்கக் கூடிய ஒரு அவல நிலை வந்து விட்டது என்பதை யாராவது மறுக்க முடியுமா? காங்கிரஸ் வந்தது ஏதோ காரியங்களை நடத்திக் கொண்டுபோகிறது. இந்தச் சர்க்கார் பதவி ஏற்றுக் கொண்ட பின் ஏதாவது ஒரு நன்மையைச் செய்யாவிட்டாலும் கூட துன்பங்களையாவது செய்யாமல் இருக்கக் கூடாதா? இந்த சர்க்கார் ஜமீன்தாரிகளை ஒழித்து எல்லா ஜமீன்களையும் ஒழிக்கப் போகிறோம் என்று கொள்கையை வெளியிட்டதின் பேரில் நீண்டகாலமாக ஜமீன்களை அனுபவித்து வந்த ஜமீன்தார்கள் இப்போது அந்த நிலங்கள் எல்லாம் தான் தங்கள் கைகளிலிருந்து போய் விடப்போகிறதே என்று அந்த பிராந்தியங்களிலுள்ள குளங்கள் கண்மாய்கள் முதலியவற்றை மராமத்து பண்ணவில்லை. அந்த இடங்களில் நீர்பாசன வசதியில்லாத காரணமாக தரிசாகக் கிடந்த நிலங்களுக்கெல்லாம் விவசாயிகளிடமிருந்து வரி வசூலித்தது கிடையாது. அந்தப் பிரதேசங்கள் இந்த நிலைமையில் இருக்கும் போது தான் சர்க்காரின் கைக்கு வந்து சேர்ந்தது. இப்பொழுது அந்தப் பிரதேசங்கள் தரிசாகக் கிடந்தாலும் கூட தரிசு நிலங்களுக்கு வரி வசூலிக்கப் படுகிறது. அதே சமயத்தில் கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள், 'ஜமீன் பிராந்தியங்களிலுள்ள குளம், கண்மாய் முதலியவைகளை மராமத்து செய்வதை நிறுத்தி வைக்கிறோம்', என்பதாக. கண்மாய்கள் தண்ணீரின்றி சுருங்கினால் நிலங்களுக்குத் தண்ணீர் பாசனம் செய்ய முடியாது. பாசன வசதி யில்லையானால் விவசாயி எப்படி விவசாயம் செய்யவான்? அவனும் விவசாயம் செய்யமாட்டான். அப்படியிருக்கும்போது விவசாயம் செய்யப் படாத தரிசு நிலங்களுக்கும் வரி வசூலிக்கத்தான் வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால் இது சர்க்கார் விவசாய மக்களுக்கு இழைக்கும் கொடுமை யென்று சொன்னால் அதற்காக கோபமா? அது விவசாய மக்களுக்கு இழைக்கும் அநீதி என்று சொன்னால் அக்ரமமா? இந்தப் பிரதேசங்களிலுள்ள குளங்கள் கண்மாய்கள் முதலியவைகளை மராமத்தும் செய்ய முடியாது. ஆனால் தரிசு நிலங்களுக்கு மாத்திரம் வரி கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால் விவசாயம் செய்து வந்த தானியத்தை விற்று கொடுக்க முடியவில்லையே என்றாலும் வேறு எதையாவது நகையை விற்றுவது நீ வரி கொடுக்கத்தான் வேண்டும் என்றும் உன் வரிப்பணத்தை வைத்துக் கொண்டு தான் செலவுக்குத் தக்கவாறு ரெவு செலவு திட்டத்தைத் தயாரிக்க வேண்டுமென்றால் இது சர்க்கார் பலவந்தமாக தங்கள் செலவுக்குத் தக்க வருமானத்தை தேடிக் கொள்வதற்காக விவசாய மக்களிடமிருந்து வரியை வசூலித்து தயார்க்கப்படும் ரெவு செலவு திட்டம் அல்லது இது ஒரு வழிப்பறியா? இது ஒரு வழிப்பறி என்றால் உங்களுக்கு ஆத்திரம் வரலாமா?"

SRI G. GOVINDAN:—"தலைவர் அவர்களே, வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தைப்பற்றி பேசும்போது சர்க்கார் வரி போடும் கொள்கையை கண்டிக்கையில் வழிப்பறி என்ற வார்த்தையை கனம் அங்கத்தினர் உபயோகிப்பது உசிதமா என்பதை நீங்களே யோசித்துச் சொல்லுங்கள்."

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is criticising the action of the Government."

SRI U. MUTHURAMALINGA THEVAR:—"இந்த நிலைமையில் செலவுக்குத் தக்க பணத்தை ஈடுகட்ட வேண்டுமென்பதற்காக நேரிடையாக விவசாய மக்களுக்கு அநீதியான பல வரிகள் விதிக்கும் கொடுமையைக் கைக்கொண்டால் இது விவசாயிகளை முன்னுக்குக் கொண்டு வருகிறோம் என்று சொல்வதை உண்மையாக்குமா? விவசாயிதான் இந்த தேசத்தின் முதலெலும்பு. ஆனால் இந்த விவசாயி தான் பேசத் தெரியாத ஊமை. விவசாயிதான் இந்த தேசத்தின் அஸ்திவாரம். ஆனால் இந்த விவசாயி தான் தங்களுக்கு என்ன அநீதி இழைக்கப் படுகிறது என்பதைக் கண்டு அதை எதிர்த்து நிற்க சக்தியில்லாத நெல்லிக்காய் மூட்டை. விவசாயி தான் இந்த தேசத்தின் செல்வத்தை உற்பத்தி செய்கிறவன். ஆனால் இந்த விவசாயிதான் வாழ்வகையின்றி வெள்ளாமை செய்யும் செல்வத்தை

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வட்டிக்காரனுக்கும், வரியாக சர்க்காருக்கும் கொடுத்துவிட்டு என்ன செய்வதென்று தெரியாமல் நிற்பவன். மேலும் மேலும் வரி போட்டாலும் கூட தான் படும் இன்னல்களை எடுத்துச்சொல்லத் தெரியாது வாயில்லா ஊமைகள் விவசாயிகள் என்பதற்காக எதை வேண்டுமானாலும் சர்க்கார் செய்துகொண்டே போகலாம் என்று எண்ணினால் அதன் முடிவு என்ன ஆகும் என்பது தெரியுமா?

'அல்லற்பட்டாற்றது அழுத கண்ணீரென்றே
செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை', என்பதுபோல்

'வேலோடு நின்றான் இடுவென்றது போலுங்
கோலோடு நின்றான் இரவு'

என்ற பொய்யா மொழிப் புலவரின் வாக்கைப்போல தாங்கள் படும் அல்லலை எடுத்துச் சொல்ல மாட்டாது அவர்கள் உள்ளத்திலே குமுறும் குமுறல் இந்த தேசத்தையே அழிக்கும். இந்த தேசத்தின் அஸ்திவாரத்தையே சிதைக்கும். அஸ்திவாரமும் அழியத்தான் போகிறது. பேசத் தெரியாத ஊமைகள் தான் விவசாயிகள். ஆனால் சிக்க முடியாத அளவுக்கு துன்பம் அதிகரித்து விடுமேயானால் அவர்கள் சும்மாயிருப்பார்களா? அவர்கள் சும்மாயிருந்தாலும் அவர்களிடையே வாழ்ந்து வருகின்ற நாட்டின் நிலைவர்கள் தான் சும்மாயிருப்பார்களா? தங்களுடைய உரிமையை நிலை நாட்டிக்கொள்ள, தங்களுடைய துன்பத்தை துடைத்துக் கொள்ள அவர்கள் எல்லோரும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து வரி கொடா இயக்கத்தை ஆரம்பித்தால் சர்க்காரின் கதி என்னவாகும்? என்ன ஆகியிருக்கிறது மற்ற தேசங்களில்?

"இந்த பாரத தேசத்திலும் கூட பல அக்கிரமங்கள் நடத்தப்பட்டபோது அதை எதிர்த்து நின்றதும், விவசாயிகளுக்கு இழைக்கப்பட்ட அநீதியை எதிர்த்து நடத்தப்பட்ட பர்தோலி சத்யாக்ரமமும், அதனால் வெள்ளையனுக்கு ஏற்பட்ட நஷ்டத்தையும் காங்கிரஸ் உணராமல் இருக்க முடியாது. ஆனால் அதை உணர்ந்து இப்பொழுது காரியங்களைச் செய்வதாகத் தோன்றவில்லை. சர்க்கார் இப்போது நடக்கும் நிலையிலேயே நடந்து கொண்டிருந்தால் இது நீண்ட காலத்திற்கு பதவியில் இருக்குமென்று எதிர்பார்க்க முடியாது. விவசாயிகளின்மீது வரி விதித்துக்கொண்டே போவதற்கும் ஓர் எல்லையுண்டு. எல்லை மீறி நிலைமை செல்கின்ற இடத்தில்தான் எதிர்ப்பு நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுக்கப்படுகின்றன. நியாயமான போராட்டத்தை நசுக்க சர்க்கார் என்ன நடவடிக்கை எடுத்தாலும்கூட அது தகர்க்கப்பட்டதோன் தீரும். விவசாயிகள் பெரிய பெரிய நிலச்சுவாந்தார்களால் தொந்தரவு கொடுக்கப்பட்டு அவதியுறுகிறார்கள், என்றால் சர்க்காரிடமிருந்து எந்த பாதுகாப்பும் கிடையாது. ஆனால் அடக்குமுறையை மீறும் போது நிலச் சுவாந்தார்களின் நலனைப் பாதுகாக்க வேண்டி வந்து விடுகிறது. பாதுகாப்பு யாருக்கு அளிக்க வேண்டும்? எப்போது அளிக்கவேண்டும்? என்பதை உணராமல் சர்க்கார் பட்சபாதமான வகையில் காரியங்களை நடத்திச் சென்றால் இது நிச்சயமாக அழிந்துபோய்விடும். இந்த வரவு செலவு திட்டத்தை அப்படி ஒப்புக்கொண்டாலும் இந்தத் திட்டம் மக்களை அழிப்பதற்காகவே ஏற்பட்டதாகவும் ஆகிவிடும்.

"அடுத்தபடியாக கல்விக்கு வருவோம். கல்வியைப் பெருக்கவேண்டும், 4 p.m. கல்வியைப் பெருக்கவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. வாஸ்தவம். கல்வியைப் பெருக்கத்தான் வேண்டும். ஆனால் இந்த மாகாணத்திலே கல்வியைப் பெருக்கிக்கொண்டிருக்கிற வாத்தியார்களுடைய சம்பளம் என்ன? யோசித்துப் பார்த்தீர்களா? இந்த மாகாணத்திலே ஒரு வாத்தியார் வாங்கும் சம்பளம் மத்திய சர்க்காரின் இலாகாவில் வேலை செய்கின்ற ப்யூன்களின் சம்பளத்தை விட மிகக் குறைவாகும். மத்திய சர்க்காரின் சேவகன் வாங்குகிற சம்பளத்தை விட மிகக் குறைவாக ஊதியம் வாங்கும் வாத்தியார்களுக்கு அதனால் வறுமையிலே சாஸ்வதமாக அல்லற்பட்டுக்கொண்டிருக்கும் வாத்தியார்களுக்கு எந்த அளவு தாங்கள் செய்துவரும் வேலையிலே உற்சாகமிருக்கும்? அவர்களுக்கு உற்சாகமும் சிரத்தையும் இல்லையானால் உண்மையிலேயே கல்வியைப் பரப்புவர்களாக அவர்கள் இருக்க முடியுமா?

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [9th July 1952]

இதை யாராவது சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? பார்த்திருக்கிறார்களா? அதோடு மாத்திரமில்லாமல் பள்ளியிலே சேரவேண்டுமென்று போகிறவர்களுக்கு எங்கு போனாலும் இடமில்லை இடமில்லை என்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே தவிர படிக்க பள்ளிக்கூட வசதி இருக்கின்றதா? பள்ளிக் கூடங்களிலே படிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறவர்களுக்கு இடமில்லை இடமில்லை வென்று சொல்லும் வழக்கம், உலகில் எந்த பாகத்திலாவது, எந்த நாட்டிலாவது இருக்கின்றதா, இந்த மாகாணத்தைப் போல? இங்கே என்ன நடக்கிறது என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். எந்தந்த ஜாதியார்கள் பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் கட்டுகிறார்களோ அங்கங்கே அந்தந்த ஜாதியார்களின் பிள்ளைகள் தான் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகிறார்கள். எந்தந்த மதஸ்தர்கள் பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் கட்டுகிறார்களோ அங்கங்கே அந்தந்த மதஸ்தர்களின் பிள்ளைகள் தான் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகின்றார்கள். பெரும் பணக்காரர்களின் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு சிபார்சின் பேரில் இடம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது. பெரிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களின் பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் அவர்களுடைய உத்தியோக தோரணையில் இடம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது. ஆனால் நடுத்தர வகுப்பார்களின் பிள்ளைகளின் கதி என்ன? விவசாயிகளின் பிள்ளைகளின் கதி என்ன? தாய்மார்கள் தெருவிலே சுற்றித் திரியும் பிள்ளைகளின் பள்ளிகளில் சேர்த்து அறிவு புகட்டலாமென்று நினைத்தாலும் கூட அப்படி செய்ய முடிகிறதா? பள்ளியிலே படிக்க இடமின்றி இன்று நூற்றுக்கணக்கான மாணவர்கள் தெருவிலே சுற்றித்திரியும் சோம்பேறிகளாக மாறிவிடவில்லையா? இதை சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? இந்த வருஷம் பள்ளியில் இடம் கிடைக்காவிட்டால் என்ன? அடுத்த வருஷம் சேர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம் என்றால் அடுத்த வருஷமாவது இடம் கிடைக்கும் என்பது என்ன நிச்சயம்? அடுத்த ஆண்டு படித்து தேர்ச்சிபெற்று வரும் மாணவர்களுக்கு பள்ளிக் கூடங்களில் இடம் கொடுத்து விட்டல்லவா, இவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்வது பற்றி சிந்திக்க முடியும்? ஆனால் இன்று பார்த்தால் படித்துப் பட்டம் பெற்ற ஏராளமான பேர்களுக்கு தக்க சம்பளம் கொடுத்திருக்கையானால் வாத்தியார் தொழிலை மேற்கொள்வதற்கு, தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். எத்தனையோ பெரிய பெரிய மண்பாங்கள் காலியாக இருக்கின்றன. இவைகளில் புதிய புதிய பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை ஏற்படுத்தக் கூடாதா? அரிதாடு மாத்திரம் அல்ல, ஷிப்டு முறையிலே, இருக்கும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களையெல்லாம் மாற்றி, அதில் அதிக மாணவர்களை சேர்த்துக்கொண்டு பாடங்களை போதிக்கப் படக்கூடாதா? இதை யாராவது செய்திருக்கிறார்களா? செய்யவேண்டாமா? செய்யவேண்டுமென்றுவது நினைக்கக் கூடாதா? குழந்தைகளுக்கு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலே படிக்க இடமில்லை என்ற நிலைப்பாடு பார்த்துக் கொண்டு அதை நீக்க முயற்சி செய்யாது இருக்கலாமா? சரியான வயது வந்த இளைஞர் பலர் படிக்க வசதியின்றி தெருவிலே சுற்றித்திரிய முதியோர் கல்வி திட்டம் என்று ஏற்படுத்தி இரவிலே தூங்கவிடாமல் ஹரிக்கேன் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு 'காடு வா வா' என்று அழைக்கக் கூடிய நிலையிலே யுள்ள குடுகுடுமியவர்களையும் கூட்டி வைத்து பாடம் போதிப்பதாகச் சொல்வது யாரை ஏமாற்றுவதற்காக? இளைஞர்கள், இந்நாட்டின் வருங்கால யுவர்கள், படிக்க வசதியின்றி தெருவிலே சுற்றி, முதியோர் கல்வி திட்டம் என்று சொல்லி வருவது வெறும் மாய்மாலமென்று சொன்னால் அது தப்பா? செய்வது இன்னதென்று தெரியாத நிலையிலா ஒரு சர்க்கார் நடக்க வேண்டும்? இப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு சர்க்கார் இருப்பதினால் இந்நாட்டுக்கல்லவா அவமானம்? மிகப்பெரிய பாபமாகும். இப்படிப்பட்ட சர்க்கார் ஒரு சில காலம் பதவியிலிருக்கலாம். இது நீடித்துத்தான் பதவியில் இருக்க முடியுமா?

"கல்வியைப் பரப்புவதில் வன்மையாக சிரத்தை கொள்ளவேண்டும். வாத்தியார்களுடைய சம்பளத்தை அதிகப்படுத்தவேண்டும். பள்ளியிலே படிக்கும் மாணவனுக்கு இடமில்லையெனச் சொல்லாது ஷிப்டு முறையை ஏற்படுத்தி ஜாதி பாகுபாடின்றி சமய பாகுபாடின்றி எல்லோருக்கும் இடம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். மேற்சொன்ன முறையிலே நீங்கள் காரியங்களை கவனித்திருக்கையானால் நீங்கள் முன்னுக்கு வரலாம். நாம் எல்லோரும் சிரஞ்சீவிகளாக வாழப்போகிறோம் என்று நினைக்கக்கூடாது நம்முடைய காலம் வெகு குறைவு. இன்றைய இளைஞர்கள்தான் வருங்காலப்

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பெரியார்கள். இளைஞர்களுடைய கையிலேதான் இந்நாட்டின் வருங்கால சுபீக்ஷமிருக்கிறது. அவர்களை வீரர்களாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் பெரிய தேசத் தலைவர்களாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் பெரிய கல்விமானாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் இப்போது இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை நாம் தயாரித்திருக்கிறோமா என்பதைப் பாருங்கள். அது போகட்டும்.

"தேசத்தை ஆளவேண்டுமென்று விரும்பும்போது தேசத்தை பாதுகாக்கவேண்டிய அவசியமும் ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்த தேசத்திற்கு சுதந்திரம் வந்த பிறகு, இந்த தேசத்தின் ராணுவத்தைப்பற்றி கொஞ்சம் சிந்திக்கவேண்டும். பிறர் நம்மைத் தாக்கினால் இன்று நம் மக்கள் அந்தத் தாக்குதலை எந்த அளவுக்கு சமாளித்து நிற்கக்கூடிய நிலையிலே ராணுவப் பயிற்சியளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றார்கள்? இந்த நாட்டிலே மக்களுக்கு நவீன ஆயுதங்களை எப்படி உபயோகிப்பது என்பதைப்பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொடுக்க எவ்வளவு ராணுவப் பயிற்சிப்பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன? இப்போது இருக்கக்கூடிய நிலையிலே பாக்கிஸ்தான் இந்தியாவைத் தாக்கிற்று என்றால் அதைச் சமாளிக்க என்ன ராணுவ திட்டம் நம்மிடமிருக்கின்றது? அந்நேரம் எதாவது ராணுவப்பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை ஏற்படுத்தி எப்படி எதிர்ப்பை எதிர்த்து நிற்பது பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொடுக்கக்கூடாதா?

"இன்றைக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய இந்தியாவின் நிலைமை என்னவென்று பாருங்கள். தீபாவளி வருகிறபோது வீட்டிலே இருக்கிற ஒரு சிறு வாண்டு பையல் பட்டரசு என்ற சிறு வெடியிலொன்றை கொளுத்திப்போடுவானே யானால் அதனால் ஏற்படுகின்ற 'பட்' என்ற சப்தத்தைக் கேட்டவுடனேயே தாய்மார்களும், தந்தைமார்களும் அலறி அடித்துக்கொண்டு பயத்தால் மல்லாந்து அப்பாற் போய் விழுவின்ற அளவுக்கு நம் தேச மக்கள் கோழையாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். அவர்கள் எப்போது தைரியசாலிகளாக ஆகப்போகிறார்கள்? அல்லது நீங்கள் ஆக்கப்போகிறீர்கள்? நம்மை ஆண்டுகொண்டிருந்த வெள்ளையன் நம்மை இன்றைக்கும், 'இந்தியர்கள், கோழைகள்; தைரிய மற்றவர்கள்; பயந்தாங்கொள்ளிகள்,' என்று இழிவுபடுத்துகின்றானே? அதை எப்போது போக்கிக்கொள்ளப்போகிறோம்? இந்திய மக்களின் நெஞ்சிலே என்றைக்கு புதிய உரத்தை ஏற்றப்போகிறோம்?

"ஆனால் தற்போது இவர்கள் சொல்லலாம், 'நாங்கள் காந்தி பக்தர்கள்; அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் நம்பிக்கை உள்ளவர்கள், யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளும் வெற்றியைவிட சமாதான மார்க்கத்தில் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளும் உறவு நிலையே சாஸ்வதமானது என்ற கொள்கையுடையவர்கள். கத்தியின்றி, ரத்தமின்றி, யுத்தமின்றி, யுத்தத்தில் குண்டு போட்டு உயிர் பறித்தலின்றி, சத்தியத்தை நம்பியே, அஹிம்சா முறையில் போராடி சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிவிடும். அதே கொள்கையை தான் எப்போதும் பின்பற்றுவோம்' என்பதாக வெல்லாம் ரத்தம் சிந்தாமலோ, லட்சக் கணக்கான தேச பக்தர்கள் தங்களுடைய உயிரை விடாமலோ, காங்கிரஸ் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கியது உண்மையாக இருக்குமானால் அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தாலேயே பலாத்காரத்தின் கலப்பில்லாமல் காங்கிரஸ் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கியது உண்மையாக இருக்குமானால், ஹைதராபாத் ராஜ்யத்தை இந்தியாவோடு பிணைப்பதற்காக போலீஸ் நடவடிக்கையை ஏன் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் எடுத்திருக்க வேண்டும்? போலீஸ் நடவடிக்கையை ஏன் பெயரோடு ராணுவத்தை ஏன் உபயோகித்திருக்கவேண்டும்? பாக்கிஸ்தான் ஆக்கிரமிப்பை தடுப்பதற்காக காஷ்மீருக்கு யுத்த விமானங்கள் புறப்பட்டபோது மஹாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் வாழ்த்தி வழியனுப்பி விட்டு புறப்பட்டதாக பேப்பரிலே படித்தோம். அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர்கள் எதற்காக யுத்த பூமிக்கு படை வீரர்களை அனுப்ப வேண்டும்? வெள்ளைக்காரன் தங்களுடைய விரோதிகளை தெருவில் சுட்டுக் கொள்ளுள் என்றால், அஹிம்சை பேசும் நீங்கள் அரசியல் கைதிகளை சிறைக்குள் சுட்டுக் கொன்றீர்களே? மறந்துவிட்டீர்களா? யுத்தமின்றி பாக்கிஸ்தானை உங்களால் ஏன் பணிய வைக்கமுடியவில்லை? சண்டையில் லாமல் அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் காரியத்தை சாதித்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையா என்று கேட்கிறேன்? இதைல்லாம் எதைக் காட்டுகிறது? நம்முடைய கோழைத்தனத்தை மறைத்துக் கொள்ள, சக்தியற்ற தன்மைக்கு சாக்குச்சொல்லி, அஹிம்சைப் பேசப்படுகிறதே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுக்காகவும்

[Sri U. Muthuramalinga Thevar] [9th July 1952]

இதை யாராவது சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? பார்த்திருக்கிறார்களா? அதோடு மாத்திரமில்லாமல் பள்ளியிலே சேரவேண்டுமென்று போகிறவர்களுக்கு எங்கு போனாலும் இடமில்லை இடமில்லை என்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே தவிர படிக்க பள்ளிக்கூட வசதி இருக்கின்றதா? பள்ளிக் கூடங்களிலே படிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்லுகிறவர்களுக்கு இடமில்லை இடமில்லை வென்று சொல்லும் வழக்கம், உலகில் எந்த பாகத்திலாவது, எந்த நாட்டிலாவது இருக்கின்றதா, இந்த மாகாணத்தைப் போல? இங்கே என்ன நடக்கிறது என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். எந்தந்த ஜாதியார்கள் பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் கட்டுகிறார்களோ அங்கங்கே அந்தந்த ஜாதியார்களின் பிள்ளைகள் தான் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகிறார்கள். எந்தந்த மதஸ்தர்கள் பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் கட்டுகிறார்களோ அங்கங்கே அந்தந்த மதஸ்தர்களின் பிள்ளைகள் தான் சேர்த்துக் கொள்ளப்படுகின்றார்கள். பெரும் பணக்காரர்களின் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு சிபார்சின் பேரில் இடம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது. பெரிய உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களின் பிள்ளைகளுக்கும் அவர்களுடைய உத்தியோக தோரணையில் இடம் கிடைத்து விடுகிறது. ஆனால் நடுத்தர வகுப்பார்களின் பிள்ளைகளின் கதி என்ன? விவசாயிகளின் பிள்ளைகளின் கதி என்ன? தாய்மார்கள் தெருவிலே சுற்றித் திரியும் பிள்ளைகளின் பள்ளிகளில் சேர்த்து அறிவு புகட்டலாமென்று நினைத்தாலும் கூட அப்படி செய்ய முடிகிறதா? பள்ளியிலே படிக்க இடமின்றி இன்று நூற்றுக்கணக்கான மாணவர்கள் தெருவிலே சுற்றித்திரியும் சோம்பேறிகளாக மாறிவிடவில்லையா? இதை சிந்தித்துப் பார்த்தார்களா? இந்த வருஷம் பள்ளியில் இடம் கிடைக்காவிட்டால் என்ன? அடுத்த வருஷம் சேர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம் என்றால் அடுத்த வருஷமாவது இடம் கிடைக்கும் என்பது என்ன நிச்சயம்? அடுத்த ஆண்டு படித்து தேர்ச்சிபெற்று வரும் மாணவர்களுக்கு பள்ளிக் கூடங்களில் இடம் கொடுத்து விட்டல்லவா, இவர்களைச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்வது பற்றி சிந்திக்க முடியும்? ஆனால் இன்று பார்த்தால் படித்துப் பட்டம் பெற்ற ஏராளமான பேர்களுக்கு தக்க சம்பளம் கொடுத்திருக்கையானால் வாத்தியார் தொழிலை மேற்கொள்வதற்கு, தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள். எத்தனையோ பெரிய பெரிய மண்பாங்கள் காலியாக இருக்கின்றன. இவைகளில் புதிய புதிய பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை ஏற்படுத்தக் கூடாதா? அரிதாடு மாத்திரம் அல்ல, ஷிப்டு முறையிலே, இருக்கும் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களையெல்லாம் மாற்றி, அதில் அதிக மாணவர்களை சேர்த்துக்கொண்டு பாடங்களை போதிக்கப் படக்கூடாதா? இதை யாராவது செய்திருக்கிறார்களா? செய்யவேண்டாமா? செய்யவேண்டுமென்றுவது நினைக்கக் கூடாதா? குழந்தைகளுக்கு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலே படிக்க இடமில்லை என்ற நிலைப்பாடு பார்த்துக் கொண்டு அதை நீக்க முயற்சி செய்யாது இருக்கலாமா? சரியான வயது வந்த இளைஞர் பலர் படிக்க வசதியின்றி தெருவிலே சுற்றித்திரிய முதியோர் கல்வி திட்டம் என்று ஏற்படுத்தி இரவிலே தூங்கவிடாமல் ஹரிக்கேன் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு 'காடு வா வா' என்று அழைக்கக் கூடிய நிலையிலே யுள்ள குடுகுடுமுவர்களையும் கூட்டி வைத்து பாடம் போதிப்பதாகச் சொல்வது யாரை ஏமாற்றுவதற்காக? இளைஞர்கள், இந்நாட்டின் வருங்கால யுவர்கள், படிக்க வசதியின்றி தெருவிலே சுற்றி, முதியோர் கல்வி திட்டம் என்று சொல்லி வருவது வெறும் மாய்மாலமென்று சொன்னால் அது தப்பா? செய்வது இன்னதென்று தெரியாத நிலையிலா ஒரு சர்க்கார் நடக்க வேண்டும்? இப்படிப்பட்ட ஒரு சர்க்கார் இருப்பதினால் இந்நாட்டுக்கல்லவா அவமானம்? மிகப்பெரிய பாபமாகும். இப்படிப்பட்ட சர்க்கார் ஒரு சில காலம் பதவியிலிருக்கலாம். இது நீடித்துத்தான் பதவியில் இருக்க முடியுமா?

"கல்வியைப் பரப்புவதில் வன்மையாக சிரத்தை கொள்ளவேண்டும். வாத்தியார்களுடைய சம்பளத்தை அதிகப்படுத்தவேண்டும். பள்ளியிலே படிக்கும் மாணவனுக்கு இடமில்லையெனச் சொல்லாது ஷிப்டு முறையை ஏற்படுத்தி ஜாதி பாகுபாடின்றி சமய பாகுபாடின்றி எல்லோருக்கும் இடம் கொடுக்கவேண்டும். மேற்சொன்ன முறையிலே நீங்கள் காரியங்களை கவனித்தீர்களேயானால் நீங்கள் முன்னுக்கு வரலாம். நாம் எல்லோரும் சிரஞ்சீவிகளாக வாழப்போகிறோம் என்று நினைக்கக்கூடாது நம்முடைய காலம் வெகு குறைவு. இன்றைய இளைஞர்கள்தான் வருங்காலப்

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பெரியார்கள். இளைஞர்களுடைய கையிலேதான் இந்நாட்டின் வருங்கால சுபீக்ஷமிருக்கிறது. அவர்களை வீரர்களாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் பெரிய தேசத் தலைவர்களாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் பெரிய கல்விமானாக்கத்தக்க வகையில் இப்போது இந்த பட்ஜெட்டை நாம் தயாரித்திருக்கிறோமா என்பதைப் பாருங்கள். அது போகட்டும்.

"தேசத்தை ஆளவேண்டுமென்று விரும்பும்போது தேசத்தை பாதுகாக்கவேண்டிய அவசியமும் ஏற்படுகிறது. இந்த தேசத்திற்கு சுதந்திரம் வந்த பிறகு, இந்த தேசத்தின் ராணுவத்தைப்பற்றி கொஞ்சம் சிந்திக்கவேண்டும். பிறர் நம்மைத் தாக்கினால் இன்று நம் மக்கள் அந்தத் தாக்குதலை எந்த அளவுக்கு சமாளித்து நிற்கக்கூடிய நிலையிலே ராணுவப் பயிற்சியளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றார்கள்? இந்த நாட்டிலே மக்களுக்கு நவீன ஆயுதங்களை எப்படி உபயோகிப்பது என்பதைப்பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொடுக்க எவ்வளவு ராணுவப் பயிற்சிப்பள்ளிக் கூடங்கள் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன? இப்போது இருக்கக்கூடிய நிலையிலே பாக்கிஸ்தான் இந்தியாவைத் தாக்கிற்று என்றால் அதைச் சமாளிக்க என்ன ராணுவ திட்டம் நம்மிடமிருக்கின்றது? அந்நேரம் எதாவது ராணுவப்பள்ளிக் கூடங்களை ஏற்படுத்தி எப்படி எதிர்ப்பை எதிர்த்து நிற்பது பற்றி சொல்லிக் கொடுக்கக்கூடாதா?

"இன்றைக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய இந்தியாவின் நிலைமை என்னவென்று பாருங்கள். தீபாவளி வருகிறபோது வீட்டிலே இருக்கிற ஒரு சிறு வாண்டு பையல் பட்டரசு என்ற சிறு வெடியிலொன்றை கொளுத்திப்போடுவானே யானால் அதனால் ஏற்படுகின்ற 'பட்' என்ற சப்தத்தைக் கேட்டவுடனேயே தாய்மார்களும், தந்தைமார்களும் அலறி அடித்துக்கொண்டு பயத்தால் மல்லாந்து அப்பாற் போய் விழுவின்ற அளவுக்கு நம் தேச மக்கள் கோழையாக இருக்கின்றார்கள். அவர்கள் எப்போது தைரியசாலிகளாக ஆகப்போகிறார்கள்? அல்லது நீங்கள் ஆக்கப்போகிறீர்கள்? நம்மை ஆண்டுகொண்டிருந்த வெள்ளையன் நம்மை இன்றைக்கும், 'இந்தியர்கள், கோழைகள்; தைரிய மற்றவர்கள்; பயந்தாங்கொள்ளிகள்,' என்று இழிவுபடுத்துகின்றானே? அதை எப்போது போக்கிக்கொள்ளப்போகிறோம்? இந்திய மக்களின் நெஞ்சிலே என்றைக்கு புதிய உரத்தை ஏற்றப்போகிறோம்?

"ஆனால் தற்போது இவர்கள் சொல்லலாம், 'நாங்கள் காந்தி பக்தர்கள்; அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் நம்பிக்கை உள்ளவர்கள், யுத்தத்தால் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளும் வெற்றியைவிட சமாதான மார்க்கத்தில் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொள்ளும் உறவு நிலையே சாஸ்வதமானது என்ற கொள்கையுடையவர்கள். கத்தியின்றி, ரத்தமின்றி, யுத்தமின்றி, யுத்தத்தில் குண்டு போட்டு உயிர் பறித்தலின்றி, சத்தியத்தை நம்பியே, அஹிம்சா முறையில் போராடி சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிஞோம். அதே கொள்கையை தான் எப்போதும் பின்பற்றுவோம்' என்பதாக வெல்லாம் ரத்தம் சிந்தாமலோ, லட்சக் கணக்கான தேச பக்தர்கள் தங்களுடைய உயிரை விடாமலோ, காங்கிரஸ் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கியது உண்மையாக இருக்குமானால் அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தாலேயே பலாத்காரத்தின் கலப்பில்லாமல் காங்கிரஸ் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கியது உண்மையாக இருக்குமானால், ஹைதராபாத் ராஜ்யத்தை இந்தியாவோடு பிணைப்பதற்காக போலீஸ் நடவடிக்கையை ஏன் காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் எடுத்திருக்க வேண்டும்? போலீஸ் நடவடிக்கை யென்ற பெயரோடு ராணுவத்தை ஏன் உபயோகித்திருக்கவேண்டும்? பாக்கிஸ்தான் ஆக்கிரமிப்பை தடுப்பதற்காக காஷ்மீருக்கு யுத்த விமானங்கள் புறப்பட்டபோது மஹாத்மா காந்தி அவர்கள் வாழ்த்தி வழியனுப்பி விட்டு புறப்பட்டதாக பேப்பரிலே படித்தோம். அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுள்ளவர்கள் எதற்காக யுத்த பூமிக்கு படை வீரர்களை அனுப்ப வேண்டும்? வெள்ளைக்காரன் தங்களுடைய விரோதிகளை தெருவில் சுட்டுக் கொள்ளுள் என்றால், அஹிம்சை பேசும் நீங்கள் அரசியல் கைதிகளை சிறைக்குள் சுட்டுக் கொன்றீர்களே? மறந்துவிட்டீர்களா? யுத்தமின்றி பாக்கிஸ்தானை உங்களால் ஏன் பணிய வைக்கமுடியவில்லை? சண்டையில் லாமல் அஹிம்சா தர்மத்தில் காரியத்தை சாதித்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லையா என்று கேட்கிறேன்? இதெல்லாம் எதைக் காட்டுகிறது? நம்முடைய கோழைத்தனத்தை மறைத்துக் கொள்ள, சக்தியற்ற தன்மைக்கு சாக்குச்சொல்லி, அஹிம்சைப் பேசப்படுகிறதே தவிர வேறு ஒன்றுக்காகவும்

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இல்லையென்று சொன்னால் அதில் ஏதாவது தவறு உண்டா? கையாலாகாத தனத்தை வெளியே காட்டி வெட்கப்பட்டுக் கொண்டு கணியமாகப் பேசும் ரகசியங்கள் இவைகள் என்றால் இதற்கு யாராவது மறுப்புக் கொடுக்க முடியுமா? கோழைத் தனத்திலிருந்து விடுபட வழியென்ன? யென்று பார்த்து முயற்சித்தால் நாடு முன்னேறுமா? அல்லது அஹிம்சையும், தர்மமும் பேசி கோழைத் தனத்தை மூடி மூடி வைத்துக்கொண்டால் முன்னேற முடியுமா? தைர்யமற்றவர்களாக சென்னை மாகாணத்தவர்கள் ஏன் மாறினார்கள்? இதை யோசித்துப் பார்க்கக் கூடாதா? உங்களுடைய பொருளாதார நிலை இன்று எப்படி இருக்கிறது? வட நாட்டுக்கும் தென்னாட்டுக்குமுள்ள தொடர்பு எந்த வகையிலே இருந்து வருகிறது? உங்கள் மாகாணத்தின் குறைகளை நீங்கள் எவ்வளவு தூரம் தைர்யமாக மத்திய சர்க்காருக்கு எடுத்துச் சொல்லுகிறீர்கள். உங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய கடனை மத்திய சர்க்காரிடமிருந்து சண்டை போட்டு தைர்யமாகக் கேட்டு வாங்க முடிந்ததா? வாங்க முடியவில்லை யென்றால் காரணமென்ன? 'உங்களிடையே கட்சி சண்டை, கட்சிக்கு யார் தலைவராக வருவது என்ற சண்டை, சட்டசபைக்கு யார் யாரை கட்சியிலிருந்து அனுப்ப வேண்டுமென்று சண்டை, மந்திரி பதவிக்கு வருவதற்கு சண்டை, இப்படியாக உள்ளுக்குள்ளே பலபல சண்டைகண்டுக்கொண்டு மாகாண நிலை மறந்து, தேச மக்களின் நலனை மறந்து காங்கிரஸின் கொள்கைக்கு குந்தகம் விளைவிக்கக் கூடிய நிலையில் நடந்தீர்கள். மாகாண நிர்வாக விஷயமாக இங்கிருந்து யார் டில்லிக்கு சென்றாலும் அங்கே உங்களை யாரும் மதிக்க வில்லை. இந்திய முதன் மந்திரி ஜவஹர்லால் நேருவுடன் பேசக் கூட சந்தர்ப்பம் கிடைக்காது. கிடைத்தாலும் கூட எதைச் சொல்ல வேண்டுமென்று சென்றார்களோ அதை தைர்யமாக எடுத்துச் சொல்லத் தெரியாது. முதன் மந்திரி அவர்களின் கட்டடத் தாழ்வாரத்தில் படுத்து உறங்கி விட்டு வந்து கொண்டிருந்தீர்கள்' இப்படியாக சென்னைக்கும் கெட்ட பெயர், சென்னை மாகாண நிர்வாகத்திற்கும் கெட்ட பெயர். என்ற அவமானகரமான ஒரு இழிவு நிலைமை உங்களால் வந்தது; வந்திருக்கிறது.

"ஆண்டவன் கிருபையால் உங்களுக்கு அறிவு இருக்கிறது. திறமை இருக்கிறது, சிந்தனைசக்தியும் இருக்கிறது. எதிர்க் கட்சியில் இருப்பவர்கள் குற்றத்தையே காண்கிறார்கள் என்பதற்காகவோ கோபமோ ஆத்திரமோ வேண்டாம். பொருளமையோடு கூட குற்றம் குறைகளை நீக்குவதற்கு உங்கள் திறமையை, உங்கள் மூளையை உண்மையாக உபயோகப்படுத்தினால் அதன் காரணமாக இன்று உங்கள் ஆட்சியில் பொது மக்களுக்கு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கும் பலபல இடையூறுகள் எல்லாம் நீக்கப்பட்டு மக்களும் சந்தோஷமாக இருப்பார்கள். மாகாணத்திற்கும் நல்ல பெயர் உண்டாகும். அதை விட்டு விவசாயிகளின் மீது மேலும் மேலும் வரியைப்போட்டு அந்த வரிப் பளு தாளாமல் அவர்கள் வறுமையிலே ஆழ்ந்து கிடக்கும் போது புதிய புதிய வரிக்களையும் போடுவீர்களேயானால் வரி கொடா இயக்கத்தை நாங்களே ஆரம்பிக்கும் படி விரட்டியவர்களாவீர்கள் என்று சொல்லிக் கொண்டு இந்த பட்டினி டையேவாபீஸ் பெற வேண்டுமென்றும் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member, Sri P. Ramamurthi, will now speak. He is allotted 45 minutes and he should finish his speech within the time allotted."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in examining the Budget proposals, I do not propose to go into the details of the various departments as I should like to reserve my comments for a future occasion when cut motions are moved in respect of the various Demands. For the moment, I shall examine the general structure of the Budget and the basic structure underlying the Budget and see how far they help us, how far they help this State and how far they help the people of this State to solve the great and grave problems that are facing us to-day. While examining the structure of this Budget, we have got to

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remember that this is a Budget that is presented to this House and through this House to the people of this State five years after the Congress claimed to have achieved independence for this country. What is the picture that emerges out of this Budget five years after independence is supposed to have been achieved?"

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA:—"Only supposed to have been achieved!"

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Yes, I definitely say that independence is only supposed to have been achieved. What you claim to have achieved is not real independence. It is only a mirage. It is not real independence. The system of exploitation created by the British when they were ruling this country continues to exist even to-day. Though Mountbattens might have departed, the British imperialistic exploitation of this country still continues to exist. That is why I purposely say that independence is only supposed to have been achieved."

"We were told before that the moment the Britisher departed from this country, the century-old arrest of growth that had been the curse of this country on account of foreign domination for a very long time, would be put an end to. I am not going to blame the Government for not having solved the problems created during the 150 years' British misrule. When the Congressmen claimed that they had achieved independence for the country, after their five years' rule in the State, we naturally expected the Finance Minister to present before this House a true and correct picture of what exactly the economic life of this State is, what exactly the economic health and well-being of the people of this State is and how exactly the present Government propose to tackle the severe and acute problems of poverty and indebtedness and unemployment that have become the curse of this country ever since the British set foot in this unfortunate country of ours. Therefore I wish to examine the basic structure underlying this Budget."

"On that basis, let us also examine, or I should say, let us remember the various articles of the Constitution which the Congressmen have themselves framed. Let me refer to the 'Directive Principles of State Policy' laid down in Part IV of the Constitution. The principles laid down in this Part are not justiciable, i.e., they are not enforceable by any Courts of Law. Nevertheless, the principles laid down in Article 37 are fundamental. This Article states, 'The provisions contained in this Part shall not be enforceable by any Court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws.' Therefore the Congressmen who are sitting to-day on the other side of the House and those who are sitting on the Treasury Benches owe a duty to themselves and to the people of this State to apply the fundamental principles in the governance of this country. If they do not apply these principles, then it means they are treacherous to the people to whom

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they have to apply these principles. Article 38 of the same Part IV states, 'The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.' Therefore it is clear that what the Congressmen who framed this Constitution were aiming at is not perpetuation of the existing social order; for if they had thought of perpetuating the existing social order, they would not have said here, 'by securing a social order'. So, under Article 88, there is a promise to the people that they will eradicate the existing social order, which means they will eradicate poverty and other sufferings of the people. The term 'social order' is not used; there is an abstract sense. It refers to all aspects of life—both public and private. Again, under Article 39 (a) they say, 'The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing (a) that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood.' Let us examine how the Congress Ministers are carrying out the promise contained in this solemn declaration. I say that it is a solemn promise made to the people. Whether they are carrying out this promise can be very well seen from the Budget. We have to examine whether the Government are putting forward concrete proposals for the eradication of unemployment, poverty and indebtedness, or whether they are out for accentuating the problem of unemployment and other things. That will be the real test and that will be the acid test which, I should say, this Budget cannot stand. Therefore I say that this Budget deserves to be condemned in no uncertain terms and the persons who framed this Budget only deserve the severest condemnation not only by this House, but also by the entire people of this State. That is the criterion by which I wish to examine the basic structure of the Budget. Under Article 39 (c) they say that all the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood. The other day the Hon. the Industries Minister was answering a question put by the hon. Lady Member, Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran, in regard to the inequalities in the salaries given to the nurses both in Government service and in Municipal service. At that time, I particularly put a question to the Hon. Minister and asked whether he was willing to accept the principle of equal pay for equal work, and the Hon. Minister was good enough to reply that he was not prepared to accept that principle. Well, that is the way in which they are carrying out the solemn promises given by them on the floor of the Constituent Assembly which was their own creation. I leave it at that.

"Now, let us examine the Budget on the basis of these proposals. I admit that the Hon. the Finance Minister has made a departure in his Budget speech, from the usual procedure, to which we have been accustomed in this Legislature before. Budget speeches were usually prepared by I.C.S. Government Secretaries. An attempt to depart from the usual procedure has

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been made in the present Budget speech. I say there has been a departure in the sense that he has attempted to place before the Members of this House the acute problems that are facing us. We are told in the speech about some of the problems. The speech begins with the problem of famine. With that the difference ends. He had to refer to it as it was so acute and so patent and as it had affected the coffers of the State by depleting the national Exchequer—I mean the State Exchequer—and so he could not but refer to that problem. This is how the question of famine is worrying him. The question of famine worries him now only from this point of view. It worries him from a very narrow point of view and not that it is something which is terrible and which has been a recurring phenomenon for the last 200 years and more, ever since the British Imperialists set foot in this country. About the causes for the famine, he has not mentioned anything. The Hon. the Finance Minister simply says that because of adverse seasonal conditions that set in in the month of December 1951, the State Exchequer is depleted. Certain expenditure has to be incurred in the famine-affected areas on account of the adverse seasonal conditions. This is what worries him. More than this, there is nothing that worries him. What are the fundamental causes that led to this famine and that have been leading to famines in the past again and again? The Minister has not a word to say about this and so I wonder how he is going to tackle this problem and see that hereafter famines do not recur. All that he seems to be worried about is the State Budget and nothing more.

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"Then, Sir, the Hon. the Minister for Finance has given us a catalogue of the so-called relief measures that have been undertaken in order to give some measure of relief to the people in distress. How many people have been benefited by these relief measures, to what extent they have benefited from these, what are the kinds of productive work undertaken as a sort of relief to the unemployed and to what extent these relief works will help the particular part of the country that has been affected by famine to avert famines in future—about these we have not been vouchsafed any statement.

"An attempt has been made to show that because the Famine Code provides for a minimum wage which ought to be given to the workers engaged on famine relief works and because that minimum wage, which may be about one and a half or two annas per head, is too inadequate to meet the needs of the people owing to the present high cost of living, the Government did not apply the provisions of the Famine Code to these areas and declare them as famine areas. Sir, this is a wonderful argument. I cannot at all understand this kind of argument. Last month, we met—I mean in the month of May—and had the Government only wanted, they could have told us that they would be obliged to pay only the wages I have mentioned just now if they should apply the Famine Code to the famine-affected areas. Then, again, Sir, what prevented the Government from paying maximum wages,

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I ask? The Famine Code lays down that the minimum wages shall be so much. It does not prevent the payment of maximum wages. You cannot pay less than the minimum wage. That is what it lays down. It does not say, 'You cannot increase the wages at any time.' Then, why it is that the Government did not declare the areas as famine areas? There is something deeper, there is something more fundamental, behind the action of the Government than what they now say. If the Government anticipated any difficulty in the application of the Famine Code, what prevented them from coming before the House with an amendment to the Famine Code? We met here just 25 days after the new Government assumed office. Did they think we were going to refuse permission? On the other hand, we would have gladly welcomed any such amendment. They did not choose to do it. After all, they have got the Ordinance-making power. The Governor has got it. Mr. Rajagopalachari could have advised him to issue an Ordinance to amend the Famine Code. He can always advise the Governor to issue any Ordinance at any time he likes. What prevented him from doing this? Sir, as I said, there is something deeper here. The only consideration that weighed with the Government when they decided not to declare these areas as famine areas is the fact that once they declare the areas as such, automatically they would be obliged to suspend all land revenue collections there, automatically they would be obliged to suspend collection of takkavi loans there, but the Government were not prepared to do that. This fact was evident from the answer given by the Government to an interpellation put in this House a few days ago as to why they were continuing to collect kist from the holders of garden lands in Rajampet which is part of the famine-affected Rayalaseema. That is the real consideration and they want to hide that fact. They are so much after money, they are so much after fleecing the people to the last pie that they are not prepared to declare them as famine areas. Instead of openly admitting that, they are trotting out a rotten excuse which will bear no scrutiny.

"Coming to the measures of relief, what is the sort of relief that the Government are giving to these people? Sir, the character of relief afforded stands out in bold relief. Gruel centres in Cuddapah have been closed down. The relief by way of opening gruel centres is not at all adequate, and however much the Hon. the Finance Minister attempts to hide it, the truth comes out tearing the veil that is thrown over it. The Finance Minister says that the grant of loans was liberalized. What does it show? The grant is liberalized for the support of the larger pattadars. The class character of the Government stands out again in bold relief. Sir, the term 'larger pattadars' is an euphemistic term meaning 'big landholders'. What is the amount that is set apart for the grant of takkavi loans for these big land-holders? Two hundred lakhs of rupees. And what is the amount earmarked for putting up gruel centres? Only Rs. 50 lakhs, and this is the gratuitous relief that is proposed. These gruel centres are mainly intended for lakhs and lakhs of people who have been rendered

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unemployed, and the amount that the Government are spending for their relief is Rs. 50 lakhs while the takkavi loans take away 200 lakhs of rupees, and that is for the larger pattadars. So, for the big landholders the Government are prepared to spend 2 crores of rupees but for the ordinary people—the peasants and the workers—they can spend only Rs. 50 lakhs. Then, Sir, the Finance Minister says: 'The possibility that a good portion of the takkavi and subsistence loans might ultimately have to be written off as irrecoverable has to be borne in mind by the Government.' Here again, the class character of the Government stands patent. They admit that out of the 200 lakhs of rupees, a good portion will have to be written off as irrecoverable. So, they are prepared to spend on them so much, but on the hundreds and millions of people who are starving, they can only spend not even a fourth of it. That is their policy. Can they call this policy as one designed in the interests of the common people of this country?

"Then, we shall come to the question of slump. When you take up this question of slump, even there, I must ask, how is this problem of slump to be tackled. How does it affect the common man? How does it affect the individual in trade? These are not the things they are worried about. They are worried only about balancing the Budget. That the slump is something which is far more terrible, that a fall in prices is not something which is desirable or which is in the interests of the common people, since there is not yet a gradual fall in prices either on account of measures of anti-inflation or measures of deflation, should be realized. That is one thing. Again, the sudden fall in prices is not due to any measures taken by this Government or by the Government of India and, therefore, the Government of India officials and the Finance Minister at the Centre, Mr. Deshmukh, were surprised as to how there had been a sudden fall. Somebody says it is due to some financial crisis somewhere. Somebody else says it is due to the collapse of the financial structure of trade. So it is not due to any measures that the Government had planned and carried out to bring about a fall in prices. Therefore, Sir, we feel that the sharp and sudden fall in prices is something which has got to be looked into, not merely from the point of view of State finances but also from the points of view of the larger interests of the common people and the trade. You must find out how it affects the trader, how it affects the worker, how it affects the private businessman and how it affects the peasant. If you get an understanding of all these problems you can solve the problem of slump very easily. I make bold to say, Sir, that the Government have no solution for any single problem I have mentioned. They have no solution whatsoever. They simply brush aside all these. If they think of the slump to-day it is because they are worried that the revenues of the State will dwindle and the Sales Tax may go down from about Rs. 16 crores now to about Rs. 14 or Rs. 14½ crores, and even this amount may not be realized because of the continuance of the slump. They are concerned about it only in so far as it affects their revenues and no more."

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THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—"What are your suggestions for arresting the slump?"

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"I will certainly make my suggestions provided I am given sufficient time, and I hope my Hon. Friend will join with me in requesting the Chair to give me more time than has been allowed to me, so that I may put forward positive proposals. So, Sir, these are the problems we are faced with to-day.

"Then, Sir, the Congress Party contested the elections with that wonderful Five-Year Plan. I am not going into the details of the Plan. I am not going in detail into this panegyric called the Five-Year Plan. What does it promise? At the end of five years, it promises to take us back to the year 1939, to the period when British Imperialism was directly ruling this country, when hundreds of millions of people were starving. It promises to take us back to the conditions obtaining then. Does the Budget propose to fulfil even that little promise? That is what I ask. Here are the figures. The Five-Year Plan has provided that in respect of irrigation, education, public health and other nation-building activities the total amount that will have to be spent in the year 1952-53 is about Rs. 35.65 crores. And what is the amount that the Government have provided in the Budget for all these Departments? On every account, the Government have slashed the provision. In respect of these major items of work the Five-Year Plan has provided about Rs. 35.65 crores but the Government have reduced it to Rs. 26.95 crores. There is a reduction of about 25 per cent. At this rate what is it that they are going to achieve? Are they really going to take us back to the 1939 level? Are they going really to take us to the time of the British Imperialism? When are they going to do even this? After how many years are they going to achieve this at this rate? Ten years or fifteen years? This is the question I want them to honestly answer. The Five-Year Plan has promised to provide for a sum of about Rs. 22.68 crores in respect of irrigation for 1952-53 and what is it that they are providing in this Budget? They are providing for only Rs. 15.44 crores, that is, they have slashed nearly a third of the promised provision. Then, Sir, the five-year plan proclaims that India is an agricultural country. And what is it that the Congress has done to improve agriculture? It has thrown to the winds the promises that it has been making to the people. It criticised the British Imperialists all along that they prevented the industrial growth of this country. It said that the industrial economy of the country was lop-sided and that there was lack of balance between the agrarian economy and the industrial economy of the country. It said there was unemployment, poverty and indebtedness in the country. These are the specific charges that the Congress levelled against the British Government during the 50 years when they were in opposition to the British rule.

4-30 P.M. "That criticism could very well be addressed to the Congress Government. In this wonderful five-year plan it was stated that

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they would develop only this agricultural industry and for that they would have irrigation schemes. Where are those schemes?"

THE HON. DR. R. NAGAN GOUDA :—"We have provided about Rs. 15 crores which is double the amount of land revenue that we get."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"I am not now concerned with how much it is, but what did the Congress promise when they went to the elections? They promised to the people: 'Look here, this is our five-year plan, this is what we are going to do; this is what we are going to spend year after year.' During the elections the Congress promised that they would stand by that plan. They promised to spend Rs. 22.68 crores for the Madras State in the year 1952-53. I ask whether the Government are now standing by the promise or whether they are going back on the promise. That is the test. If it is stated that Rs. 15 crores is double our land revenue and that the Government cannot afford to spend more than that, why was that promise made when the Congress went to the election? It means that the Congress is only promising everything but not fulfilling anything. It is simple deception now to say that the Government are spending twice the amount of land revenue on irrigation.

"Well, Sir, we people on this side proclaimed even during the election campaign that this five-year plan was a bogus plan, that it was not going to succeed because the planner himself, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, did not know the A, B, C of economics. He may claim to be a great economist but none the less we know what he is. He was Chairman of the National Planning Commission, and there is his wonderful report. We do not know its fate. We know he has been planning a number of planning committees since 1946-47, of some of which I had the misfortune to be a Member. We do not know what happened to them. In 1949 there was a wonderful plan, the food self-sufficiency plan under which, after two years, that is, from the end of 1951, India would not import a single grain of foodstuff from abroad, even though the heavens may fall and the earth may break. This was the wonderful plan of Panditji in the year 1949. We know what has become of that plan. Every single plan of Panditji ever since then has been thrown to the winds. That is the reality. Even to-day you are not able to fulfil the five-year plan. This shows that this plan also will go the same way the other plans went, plans that were drafted by these wonderful people.

"Why is it so? It is because the basic principles, the fundamental principles of our economic structure on which the Congress previously made promises when it was in opposition, when it was not in office, were forgotten, and to-day the economics that were taught to us by the British Imperialists are being substituted for them. As early as 1936, when the Congress elected to contest the elections, the agrarian programme was an important item in their manifestos. It was stated then that the basic problems of poverty, indebtedness and unemployment were fundamentally due

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to the antiquated agrarian relationship that existed in this country, an agrarian relationship that was super-imposed by the British Imperialism in their 150 years of rule over India, and that the basic problems could be tackled only if that relationship was abolished. That was what we were promised in 1946, in 1936 and even in 1933. Even as early as 1933 Panditji declared that the agrarian system in this country had become bad, obsolete and shattered, and unless something new, and something more equitable to the people was substituted immediately the whole country would be heading towards a terrible disaster, and terrible crash. This was stated in the year 1933. Twenty years have gone by. (Interruption.) This was in 1933. I think I am correct and that my arithmetic is not wrong. Now when we say that this basic programme should be carried out, when we ask why they have not carried out a single programme for solving the problem, we are told that there is a slump. How was it created? Slump is a basic fact. A few months ago we were told the way in which the problems of the country could be solved. It was 'more production,' 'more and more production.' Panditji used to shout this on every platform. This was the slogan: 'Produce, produce more.' To-day people have produced. In the year 1952 the production of cloth has increased by 10 per cent over the 1950 level, and this 10 per cent increase did not take us to the 1949 level. In 1949 we had nearly 360 lakh yards of cloth whereas in 1950 we had hardly 300 lakhs of yards. The market is not able to absorb even this 10 per cent increase. People are not able to buy. (Interruption.) It is not the slump in the handloom industry that I am referring to. Even the mill cloth the people are not able to buy. This the Finance Minister admits. The hon. Member Dr. Soundaram Ramachandran was pleading that we should purchase handloom cloth. But where is the wherewithal and, where is the money? There is no money in the hands of the people. You have pauperised the people. Then you go about and tell people to buy handloom cloth, sing the *saga* of the handloom cloth, sing the *saga* of the handloom weaver and how he withstood the onslaught during the 150 years of the British rule. Well, he has withstood the onslaught, but you have ruined him.

"After all, the question of inflation is there. What is inflation? It is not a difficult term to understand. After all inflation is nothing more than a device by means of which the wealth of the country is redivided in favour of certain classes and against the ordinary people. That is the meaning of inflation. The total wealth in the country is after all a fixed quantity. You have not created more wealth during the last six years. It is represented by the total production inside the country. What does money do? Money is after all a measure of dividing the wealth, is a measure of exchange. Wealth is divided by means of money. That is what happens. Money is the purchasing power. That means to say that the money that is in the hands of the individual is the measure of that individual's share in the total national production, the total national wealth that is produced in that year. That is the function of money. When you have created inflation

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what does it mean? The common people, the worker, the peasant, the middle class salaried people, have got money and that money is not able to purchase for them what they were purchasing before in the shape of food, and other services. What does that mean? It means that the total wealth created in the country during the particular year has been re-divided in a new way in favour of a certain richer class, the landlords, the merchants who are still ruling our country, the Binny's and the Harvey's who are the people who are still holding a dominating position in the economy of this country. They have grown richer. The wealth that was produced went into their hands. The common people were pauperized year after year. This is inflation. Who was responsible for it? For five years inflation ran riot and you went on increasing the price of cloth, the price of yarn. The Textile Control Board was there. Instead of the Board controlling the mills, the mills controlled the Board. Various other control boards were set up. They were all wonderful control boards. Instead of the boards controlling the people in the trade, those people began to control the control machinery. That is what happened all along. To-day the State Government want the Central Government to reduce the price of cloth and the price of yarn in the interest of the handloom weavers. But the Central Government increased the prices of yarn of 40s and below, and of coarse and medium cloth. This is a wonderful position. By increasing the price of cloth, by increasing the price of every commodity, what else are you doing except creating inflation? By this, money gets inflated. You know how a balloon gets inflated when you blow air into it. As you go on inflating, it gets bigger and bigger and finally bursts. When money goes on inflating it also bursts. That means there is no value in money. The value of money gets reduced. As the balloon bursts, money also will burst and there will be nothing left. That is where you are leading the country. (Interruption.) That is not deflation. That is what I wanted to say. The ordinary people want money for they have got to pay for their needs. The prices of the necessities of life have not fallen. After all the monopolists have a way to get over it. For instance take the price of cloth. I hope the Hon. Minister is reading newspapers and I also hope he had read the announcement made by the Government of India. He would have found that the price of medium and coarse cloth has been increased by the Government of India just a week back. Similarly the price of yarn of 40s and below, coarse and medium counts of yarn, has been increased by the Government of India just about four days ago. The monopolists have a way of getting things done. And who suffers? The man who suffers is the poor man, the peasant, the worker, the ordinary men, most of whom are not owners of land. The poor peasants have no occupancy rights. It is the poor peasant who has no right whatever in the land who is obliged to pay the heavy price. There is terrible slump in cotton prices. Last year the price was Rs. 150 and it has fallen to Rs. 90 or Rs. 80 this year. Who pays for this fall in price? The peasant. The price of cotton was dictated for the whole of the State by Harvey's of Madurai. The price of handloom cloth has gone down,

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it is said. I am not talking about the handloom. I am talking about the mills. Handloom is not a major thing. Then the price of sugarcane has gone down. It has virtually collapsed. Peasants are not willing to cut the cane from the fields. You can find hundreds and thousands of acres in Pugalur in Coimbatore district and in several other places in the State where people are not cutting the cane because they do not find it profitable even to cut the cane. They are not able to bear even the cost of cutting the cane. Cattle cannot eat it. The only animal that can eat it is the elephant. The ryots cannot afford to have elephants to eat it. Therefore sugarcane crops had to be burnt. This is what is happening over vast areas of our country. The peasants are suffering, because prices have collapsed. They have not got the money to continue cultivation next year. Whatever might be the case, whatever might be the terrible indebtedness they might be under, they have to pay rent to the landlord. The Hon. Mr. Palaniswami Gounder (I am not referring to individual cases but to the class to which he belongs) owns a number of acres in Vellikinar. There a peasant pays rent even up to Rs. 350. Prices may collapse but the landlord must have his rent. I say the landlord does not suffer. The landlord gets his money all right. But the peasant who has no occupancy rights, the peasant who is actually carrying out the agricultural operations, and who has not even the wherewithal to carry out agricultural operations, it is he that has to pay. Who gives credit to him? To whom is the entire credit structure of the State beneficial? After all, the takkavi loans go to a small percentage of the people who own lands and who are pattadars. But I say a major portion of the lands, about 60 to 70 per cent of the lands in the country are still held by the landed class though the number of pattadars might be large. How does the takkavi loan help these poor peasant? How can he get the needed credit? The banks do not give him credit, the big agriculturists do not give him credit, the co-operative banks do not give him credit. Under these conditions the poor peasant has to find the wherewithal to continue his agricultural operations. How can agriculture flourish under these conditions? That is why we say that this terrible impoverishment of the people during the last five years has led to a situation in which the people have not got the purchasing power. So much so the cry 'produce or perish' has in reality turned out to be 'produce and perish.' I emphasise the word 'and'. The people have produced and they are perishing. This is what is happening under the system of economy that you have invented and are perpetuating." (At this stage the Speaker resumed the Chair.)

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

4.45.
p.m.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"That is why we say that there cannot be a solution to this problem unless the balance between agriculture and industry is restored. And this balance cannot be restored unless we find an internal market for the goods we are

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producing, and there cannot be an internal market unless the purchasing power of the peasantry who form 80 per cent of the population is increased; and their present purchasing power can be increased only by the abolition of the feudal land relationship and the abolition of that class of parasites who simply sit idle and do not spend their money for any productive purpose. Sir, here I am making a distinction between the feudal land-owning class and the capitalist class. Mr. Rajagopalachariar was saying the other day that the Communists will champion the cause of the capitalists also. Yes, we will champion the cause of industrialists and we do not hide the facts. Mr. Rajagopalachariar was also saying that the Communists were hiding their real purpose. No, Sir. Had Mr. Rajagopalachariar had the courtesy just to read our programme, he would have found that it is not we who are hiding the facts, but it is he who is hiding the facts. Sir, I will just read a few sentences from the programme of the Communist Party of India adopted by the All-India Party Conference in October 1951 long before the elections took place—

'Faced with these facts, the Communist Party of India feels it its duty to outline to the people the practical tasks, the practical programme which the Communist Party of India upholds and which should be put into effect by the people of India. . .'

We were not sure and arrogant that we will implement the programme and we leave that arrogance to the Congress. If this programme is in their interests and if the people think that it is in their interests, it is for the people to implement it, as we have stated in the programme—

'If they wish to come out of the deadlock into which they have been forced by the present Government if they wish to attain their freedom and happiness.

'While adhering to the aim of building a socialist society the Communist Party is not demanding the establishment of socialism in our country in the present stage of our development . . .'

We state our aim and stand by our aim; but that can only be the ultimate aim. We are not people who will say, 'If we have got to go upstairs, let us just jump from here without getting up the intermediate steps.' The society which we aim at has got to develop and pass through certain stages of development before we can build a socialist society. Therefore we said—

'In view of the backwardness of the economic development of India and of the weakness of the mass organizations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, our Party does not find it possible at present to carry out socialist transformation in our country. But, our Party regards as quite mature the task of replacing the present anti-democratic and anti-popular Government by a new Government of People's Democracy created on the basis of a coalition of all democratic anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country, capable of effectively guaranteeing the rights of the people, of giving land to the peasants gratis, of protecting our national industries against the competition of foreign goods and of ensuring the industrialization of the country, of securing a higher standard of living to the working class, of ridding the people of unemployment and thus placing the country on the wide road of progress, cultural advancement and independence.'

We know that the establishment of socialism means a certain amount of development and that a pre-requisite to that development is a certain amount of industrialization. We do not conceal

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our aims. On the other hand, it is the Hon. the Chief Minister who is concealing the realities. He must have certainly read our programme. When we say, 'while adhering to the aim of building a socialist society . . . ' we mean that, unless a certain amount of democratization takes place and unless there are mass organizations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia for running our national industries and unless we have these prerequisites to nationalization, not nationalization like that of bus transport in the City of Madras by the Congress Government, we cannot have a socialist society. Socialization can be successful only on the basis of a certain amount of growth of industries and on the basis of organizations of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia, because democratization alone will lead to socialization. Congress does not think in terms of democratization. Finally to-day, the Congress Government continues to heap taxes upon the poor people and exempt the rich people. That is called freedom; that is called independence; that is called fairplay. The taxation proposals are the heritage of the past 150 years of British rule and we are asked to support the budget. Can we not find a way out? Even under the existing practice, certain very basic and fundamental changes have been made to tap other sources of revenue. Take for example sales tax which has been agitating the minds of the people for the last so many years. Every single man, woman and child pays sales tax. The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar was pleased to say the other day when he was addressing Pressmen just immediately after he assumed office that there were three ways of getting revenues to the Government—begging, borrowing and stealing—and that indirect taxation amounted to stealing. I am glad that the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachariar told the real truth when he said that taxing people indirectly was equivalent to stealing. Sales tax is an indirect taxation, and in the words of Sri Rajagopalachariar, it is equivalent to stealing from the people. If private individuals steal, we will send them to jail. But, what is the punishment that has got to be given by the people if the State steals? I do not know. Instead of this multi-point sales tax, if we have a simplified form of sales tax and if we exempt food articles and other essential goods from this tax, can we not make up the deficit? Sir, last year about 2,200 cars were imported into this country, each costing from Rs. 11,000 to Rs. 27,000, on an average about Rs. 15,000, and the total cost came to Rs. 3.5 crores. Even in England, a purchase tax of about 27 per cent is charged on each motor car. Why cannot this Government also impose about 25 per cent purchase tax or sales tax on all motor cars? It will hit only that class of people who are going in for motor cars. The Government would have got about Rs. 75.0 lakhs on this account alone. Similarly there are various other luxury goods of high value. I do not want to go into the details. The Government can certainly impose these taxes, but they do not want to do so."

SRI C. RAJAM RAMASAMI:—"What is the turn-over tax in the National Budget of the Soviet Union to-day? I have some figures and I will give them if he wants."

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I do not want to go into the budget of the Soviet Union. If he wants, I shall certainly go into that question, but not now as I have not got the time."

"So, Sir, we can levy such a purchase tax here also. Similarly there are various other ways of taxing the richer classes. Take another example, the coffee planters. The amount of land tax they pay is about Rs. 2-8-0 per acre and the yield they get is nearly 50 times the yield of paddy or any other commodity. The paddy cultivator has got to pay about Rs. 15 per acre or about Rs. 18 including water-cess. Most of the coffee planters are Europeans and they pay a tax of Rs. 2-8-0 only per acre. Even the Subrahmaniam Committee's Report has mentioned that a surcharge of three annas or four annas per rupee can be levied on the coffee plantations. There are about 180,000 acres under coffee plantation in this State and why cannot this Government levy a tax on them? Is it because the planters are mostly Europeans? Are they preventing the Government from taxing them heavily? If they do not tax them, is it because the plantations are owned by Britishers whose interests they have to protect according to the agreement entered into with Lord Mountbatten? The Hon. Dr. Subbarayan in his Salem election speech (of course he is no longer 'honourable' now) said that there was a solemn agreement to protect the interests of the Britishers when we attained Independence, and this was reported in all our newspapers in the country. Therefore I say the Government refuse to tax these plantations, and they go on taxing the common people and the common people are bound to revolt. I use the word 'revolt' deliberately. The people will revolt against this taxation on bus passengers and against the system of existing agrarian relationship. And when the people revolt, the only way by which the Government can keep them down is by the Police apparatus on which they are spending and will continue to spend about Rs. 7 crores per year. If they carry out certain agrarian reforms, if they guarantee the peasant a minimum price for his produce, and assure him that he will not be evicted from the land, and that the land will belong to him, then the Government need not spend so much on the Police department. In Tanjore hundreds of tenants are being evicted for the last ten days, and the Police are running from village to village. The Police know that the people will revolt if they are evicted from the lands which they were tilling for the last 20 or 30 years. Therefore I say, Sir, the Government are protecting the interests of the landlords, and the Police are there to look after them. What else can the ordinary people make out from these things? They are protecting the vested interests against whom every day people are revolting for better wages and better conditions of life. It is for protecting these vested interests that this Budget has been presented to this House. It does not make a single departure from the usual practice of the Imperialist Government and, later on, the three Congress Governments that were in office since 1946. There is not a single departure even from the Budget presented by Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja when he

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was the head of the Caretaker Government and there is not even one new policy in the present Budget. What we are given is the same stereotyped Budget that was prepared, possibly by certain I.C.S. officers, and presented by Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja. Therefore I say that the Budget as presented by the Finance Minister to this House does represent the continuation of the same bankrupt policies that were pursued by the previous Congress Governments, the policies that left us on the brink of disaster, slump and increased miseries to the people. Therefore, my submission is that this Budget should be thrown out."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"Tomorrow morning leaders of various parties will first speak. After they have spoken the Hon. the Leader of the House will reply to the Debate."

"I now adjourn the House till 8-30 a.m. tomorrow, Thursday, 10th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 10th July 1952.

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

I.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Mr. SPEAKER:—"I want to finish questions and answers as early as possible. Otherwise the House will have to sit till 2 p.m. I hope the House will co-operate with me."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"We are prepared to sit till 2 p.m., Sir. We shall go through the questions in detail. The question-hour need not be curtailed."

Mr. SPEAKER:—"I only said that I want to finish the questions as early as possible."

Revision of the scales of pay of teachers.

* 67 Q.—SRI H. RAMALINGA REDDI (on behalf of Sri K. V. Vema Reddi): Will the Hon. the Minister for Education be pleased to state whether any representations from the teachers working in elementary and secondary schools of the State requesting enhancement of the scales of their salaries have been considered, and if so, at what stage the consideration of the matter stands?

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"The answer is in the affirmative. The Government do not at present find it possible to revise the scales of pay of teachers, in view of the heavy commitments involved and the present financial stringency."

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR:—"Why is it that the Government have not given effect to their previous order fixing the minimum pay for elementary school teachers from 1st July 1947?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"According to the Government Order issued in 1947 certain increments in the scale of pay of secondary grade and elementary school teachers were granted."

SRI P. B. K. RAJA CHIDAMBARAM:—"Will the Government consider the desirability of reducing the difference that exists between the salaries of teachers employed in Government, Local Board and Aided schools?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"Sir, the question of revision of salaries of teachers especially of the lower

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categories and improving their lot is constantly under the consideration of the Government. The suggestion made by the hon. Member will be specially considered."

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR:—"My previous question was not answered. My question was why the Government after having passed definite orders fixing the minimum pay for elementary school teachers at Rs. 30 per month from 1st July 1947, have not implemented that order even though five years have elapsed and several representations have been made in that respect?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“ I would request the hon. Member to refer to a subsequent revision in the scales of pay, made in 1950, viz., Government contributing partly and private management contributing partly so that the pay of Rs. 30 was reached.”

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—" Are the Government aware of the unsatisfactory scales of pay of all L.T. teachers? Will the Government take early steps to redress their grievances and see to it that every high school is adequately staffed? "

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“As I have already stated, the question of putting the teachers' salaries on a satisfactory basis is under the continued consideration of the Government.”

SRI N. GOPALA MENON:—"Are the children of the teachers given school fee concessions?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“The children of all teachers employed in schools under private management enjoy school fee concessions.”

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"Are the Government aware of the fact that certain managements of private schools in Malabar have not still paid the sum of Rs. 3 which the Government had asked them to pay and if so, may I know what the Government propose to do in the matter?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“Government are aware of the fact that the previous Government had asked managements of schools to contribute a sum of Rs. 3 to the teachers so that their pay could be fixed at the prescribed rate of Rs. 30. This rule has been kept in temporary abeyance. The matter is under the consideration of the Government at the present moment.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Are the Government aware of the fact that most of these elementary school teachers are getting salaries which are less than what the chaprasis in this Secretariat get?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"As has been already said, Government are fully aware of the low scales of pay of the elementary school teachers and the amelioration of their present condition is under their anxious consideration."

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SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“ In view of the very unsatisfactory salaries received by the elementary school teachers, will the Government consider the desirability of recommending to the Government of India to place the elementary school teachers in the category of ‘sweated labour’ under the Minimum Wages Act?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“ We will consider the suggestion to approach the Government of India for any support they may give to improve the lot of the elementary school teachers.”

SRI V. K. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR:—"In view of the fact that many of the secondary and elementary schools under the District Boards are short of trained personnel, may I know what the Government propose to do in the matter?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question refers to the scales of pay of elementary school teachers. The hon. Member can put a separate question."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—“ Since teachers are the makers of our future generation, do the Government realize that it is dangerous to postpone redressing their grievances? Will they act immediately? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“ The Government have realized the teachers' difficulties and so, as a concession, they have issued the Government Order extending the school fee concessions to the children of elementary school teachers.”

SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM:—“ Why not the Government enhance the salary of these teachers so that it may attract other people to become teachers? ”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"That is one aspect of the matter. The improvement of the land,"

SRI VAVILALA GOPAKRISHNAIAH:—“ప్రేమలు మేనేజ్ మెంటులో ఉన్నటువంటి స్కూళ్ళలో మూడు రూపాయలు స్కూలు టీచర్లకు ఇవ్వాలని మంత్రిగారు చెప్పారే, అట్టి మొత్తం వాళ్లు ఇవ్వకపోతే ఆ స్కూళ్ళ మేనేజ్ మెంటు ప్రభుత్వంపై తీసుకొంటారా?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“అది ప్రభుత్వమే తీసు
కొంటుందో, లేక లాకల్ బోర్డులకు ఇస్తారో అనే విషయాన్ని ప్రభుత్వం
తీర్పు లోలోచిస్తున్నారు.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"As most private managements of schools have failed to pay their quota of Rs. 3, will the Government look into the matter and take the necessary steps?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"The Government are considering what steps to take to make the increment a real one."

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SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR:—"The minimum scale of pay for an elementary school teacher is Rs. 11 per mensem. That too is subjected to a cut if the attendance of pupils diminishes. Will the Government therefore fix a minimum wage for the elementary school teachers?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"I cannot go through all the facts incorporated in the question of the hon. Member. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that a separate question may be put."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"My previous question was not properly answered. The Hon. Minister has simply stated that steps are being taken. I want to know what specific steps have been taken?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"The Government are considering what steps to take in the matter."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—"May I know how much time the Provincial Government and the Central Government require for merging all the different grades of teachers employed in elementary schools and removing the differences existing between them now?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"I am not able to understand the meaning of the word 'merging.' If reference is made to removing the inequalities between the salaries of teachers in various schools, I may inform the hon. Member that the matter is under consideration."

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—"Is it not a fact that in some of the District Board schools, the teachers are not receiving their salaries for two or three months?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"I suggest, Mr. Speaker, a separate question may be put."

SRI G. SATYANARAYANA:—"జిల్లా బోర్డు పాఠశాలల 2, 3 నెలలు ఆదాయం అందుకున్నాయి. ఇక ముందైనా ఆదాయం రాకుండా చేస్తారా?"

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"Whenever the District Board is in trouble, the Government are advancing grants. I hope the District Board will be able to give better salaries in time."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"In answer to some of the previous questions, the Hon. Minister was pleased to say that steps were being taken in the matter. I would like to know some steps which are under the consideration of the Government at the present moment."

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—"For instance we are considering the scheme of provident fund-cum-insurance for elementary school teachers."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have allowed more than fifteen minutes for this question. I shall now pass on to the next question."

10th July 1952]

Withholding of gun licences in Pulivendla taluk.

* 68 Q.—**SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI:** Will the Hon. the Minister for Law be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that several gun licences in Pulivendla taluk, Cuddapah district, have been withheld last year, without informing the licence holders about the reasons for such withholding; and

(b) if so, on what grounds have they been withheld?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—" (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

" (b) The licences were cancelled as the licensing authority considered such action necessary for the security of the public peace."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"May I know what exactly were the reasons? The question here asks for the reasons for the withholding. Is it that those people would be very difficult to handle if they had licence for guns with them? What are the particular reasons for which the licences were cancelled?"

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—"A separate question is necessary, Sir."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"The question here asks for the particular reasons."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. Minister wants a separate question to be put."

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI:—"My question is not answered, Sir. I wanted the grounds on which the licences were withheld."

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—"There were about 18 instances in which fire-arms were used by villagers in riots in those parts, and hence it was considered necessary to cancel the licences."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Will the Government consider the fact that if they were to cancel only a few of the licences like this, there would be greater discontent and it would be better that either they give licences to all the people in the area or withdraw the licences from everyone who has it now?"

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—"Government considered that the present action was necessary to prevent misuse."

SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD:—"Are the Government satisfied that the orders of cancellation have been passed on *bona fide* grounds, or have they been actuated by malice?"

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—"An enquiry was held and the cancellation was made in pursuance of that enquiry. There is no question of malice in this matter."

[10th July 1952]

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR:—“The minimum scale of pay for an elementary school teacher is Rs. 11 per mensem. That too is subjected to a cut if the attendance of pupils diminishes. Will the Government therefore fix a minimum wage for the elementary school teachers?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“I cannot go through all the facts incorporated in the question of the hon. Member. I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that a separate question may be put.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—“My previous question was not properly answered. The Hon. Minister has simply stated that steps are being taken. I want to know what specific steps have been taken?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“The Government are considering what steps to take in the matter.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—“May I know how much time the Provincial Government and the Central Government require for merging all the different grades of teachers employed in elementary schools and removing the differences existing between them now?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“I am not able to understand the meaning of the word ‘merging.’ If reference is made to removing the inequalities between the salaries of teachers in various schools, I may inform the hon. Member that the matter is under consideration.”

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—“Is it not a fact that in some of the District Board schools, the teachers are not receiving their salaries for two or three months?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“I suggest, Mr. Speaker, a separate question may be put.”

SRI G. SATYANARAYANA:—“జిల్లా బోర్డు పాఠశాలల జీతాలు 2, 3 నెలలు ఆలస్యంగా అందుతున్నాయి. ఇక ముందు ఆలస్యం కాకుండా చెస్తారా?”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“Whenever the District Board is in trouble, the Government are advancing grants. I hope the District Board will be able to give better salaries in time.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“In answer to some of the previous questions, the Hon. Minister was pleased to say that steps were being taken in the matter. I would like to know some steps which are under the consideration of the Government at the present moment.”

THE HON. DR. M. V. KRISHNA RAO:—“For instance we are considering the scheme of provident fund-cum-insurance for elementary school teachers.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I have allowed more than fifteen minutes for this question. I shall now pass on to the next question.”

10th July 1952]

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(a) whether it is a fact that several gun licences in Pulivendla taluk, Cuddapah district, have been withheld last year, without informing the licence holders about the reasons for such withholding; and

(b) if so, on what grounds have they been withheld?

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

“(b) The licences were cancelled as the licensing authority considered such action necessary for the security of the public peace.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“May I know what exactly were the reasons? The question here asks for the reasons for the withholding. Is it that those people would be very difficult to handle if they had licence for guns with them? What are the particular reasons for which the licences were cancelled?” 8-45 a.m.

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“A separate question is necessary, Sir.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“The question here asks for the particular reasons.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“The Hon. Minister wants a separate question to be put.”

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI:—“My question is not answered, Sir. I wanted the grounds on which the licences were withheld.”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“There were about 18 instances in which fire-arms were used by villagers in riots in those parts, and hence it was considered necessary to cancel the licences.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“Will the Government consider the fact that if they were to cancel only a few of the licences like this, there would be greater discontent and it would be better that either they give licences to all the people in the area or withdraw the licences from everyone who has it now?”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“Government considered that the present action was necessary to prevent misuse.”

SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD:—“Are the Government satisfied that the orders of cancellation have been passed on *bona fide* grounds, or have they been actuated by malice?”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“An enquiry was held and the cancellation was made in pursuance of that enquiry. There is no question of malice in this matter.”

[10th July 1952]

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—“ Is it a fact that a good many landlords are having gun licences in the Visakhapatnam district? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ I do not understand the question, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“ The hon. Member will repeat his question.”

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—“ May I know if the Government are aware that landlords in the Visakhapatnam district who have got gun licences are sometimes threatening their peasants that they will use their guns if they do not quit their lands when asked to do so? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ A separate question may be put.”

SRI A. M. SAMBANDAM:—“ May I know whether the licences were withheld due to political reasons or because the owners were kisan organizers? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ Nothing of that sort, Sir.”

SRI C. SUBBARAYUDU:—“ May I know, Sir, out of the eighteen cases where the guns were used, how many were in connexion with cases of a political character and how many were in regard to village factions? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ In all these cases, they were used for criminal purposes and not for political purposes; so the licences were all cancelled.”

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—“ Do the Government know that the right to bear arms was one of the fundamental rights which were demanded in the course of the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and therefore it is up to this Government to issue gun licence freely to all those people who demand it? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ We are here concerned only with the misuse of the arms already granted.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—“ Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to say what has happened to the fire-arms used by the political thugs in the Krishna, Guntur and Godavari districts in the riots in some of the villages there? Have the Government collected any weapons from them, and if so, how many of them have been so collected? ”

THE HON. SRI K. P. KUTTIKRISHNAN NAYAR:—“ A separate question may be put.”

10th July 1952]

Allotment and receipts of standard iron and steel.

* 69 Q.—SRI C. R. RAMASWAMY: Will the Hon. the Minister for Industries and Labour be pleased to state—

(a) what the quantity of standard steel allotted to this Province was, for periods I, II and III of 1952, under the following heads:—

- (i) Agriculture,
- (ii) non-agricultural,
- (iii) other quotas; and

(b) how much of the above quotas have so far been received by the State?

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ (a) & (b) A statement^a showing the allotments and receipts of standard iron and steel under different quotas for periods I, II and III of 1952 is laid on the table of the House.”

SRI C. R. RAMASWAMY:—“ Has the Hon. Minister got any explanation to offer for the wide disparity between the allotments for the three periods in 1952 and the receipts? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ The only explanation that I can give is that the supply does not satisfy the demand.”

SRI A. M. SAMBANDAM:—“ May I know, Sir, whether the steel goods have been sold through co-operative stores or by the issue of permits to hardware merchants? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ Iron and steel are sold not only to co-operative societies, but to all those who have licences to take and sell the materials.”

DR. K. B. MENON:—“ Is any preferential treatment given to the co-operatives in making these grants of steel? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ I do not think so.”

SRI C. R. RAMASWAMY:—“ Is the Hon. Minister aware that most of what has been received in the first period of 1952 is not material for use by the consumer or by the tiller? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ I should like the hon. Member to specifically say to which category he refers.”

SRI B. SANKARAYYA:—“ వ్యవసాయ పనిముట్ల కొరకు ఇచ్చేటటువంటి ఇనుముకోటా లాకు మార్కెట్టులోకి పోకుండా రైతులకు ఇచ్చేటందుకు ప్రభుత్వం ఏమైనా ఏర్పాట్లు చేస్తున్నా? ”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“ Sir, I do not agree with the assumption of the hon. Member that all agricultural quota goes into the blackmarket.”

[10th July 1952]

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—“In regard to item 4, may I know how the grant of iron to the Harijans iron out the social inequalities please?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“I do not understand the question. May I request the hon. Member to explain it for me?”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—“With reference to item No. 4 in the printed statement, about the grant of special quotas to Harijans, may I know how the grant of iron to Harijans iron out the social inequalities?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“It does iron out in the sense that it helps them to use the material for agricultural purposes.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“The question that was asked previously and answered was that the iron that is now being given either through co-operative stores or through merchants sometimes goes into the blackmarket, and that has been the case with regard to most of the people who have purchased it. The question that is now asked is: what are the arrangements which the Government are trying to make, with a view to see that this iron does not go for blackmarketing purposes?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“If the hon. Member will give me specific instances of the material going into the blackmarket, the Government will certainly take action thereon.”

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI:—“Is the Hon. Minister aware that in this State consumers need mostly M.S. rounds, but that we are supplied only flats and square bars which are not needed? Four thousand tons of iron have yet to be supplied by the Controller since 1950.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“I am aware of the difficulties experienced by the people, Sir.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“In answer to a question by Mr. Ramaswamy, the Hon. Minister said that he could only explain the disparity between the allotment and receipts for the period on the basis of supply not being equal to the demand. May I know on what basis the allotments are made, whether allotments are made without any reference whatsoever to the supply position?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“Yes, Sir; allotments are made on the basis of population, but unfortunately, all the quantity allotted is not available.”

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO:—“May I know whether there is any proposal to increase the quota of agricultural implements to this State?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“We are trying our very best to get much more than we now get, and if our attempt to get more materializes, the agricultural quota will automatically be increased.”

10th July 1952]

SRI G. ANJANEYALU:—“యద్రక్షు అయిపోయి ఎంతో కాలం అయినా బండి పట్టాల రైతులకు ఇదివరకు సరిగా సైల్స్ కానందున ఇకమీదట అయినా విరివిగా సైల్స్ చేస్తారా?”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“Sir, I would like to tell the hon. Member that as much steel as we want is not available now. If however the hon. Member is prepared to tell me that the available steel is not distributed properly, then I shall certainly make enquiries.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“With reference to the answer that the supply is not equal to the demand, I want to know whether the Hon. Minister is aware that recently the Industries Minister of the Government of India made a statement to the effect that the over-all production of steel in this country has increased by 13 or 14 per cent.”

THE HON. DR. U. KRISHNA RAO:—“That is not very much. I will give the hon. Member some more good news which I got this morning. There is a proposal to open in some part of India some more steel works with a view to increase the production of steel in the country.”

Permission for tapping sweet toddy.

* 70 Q.—SRI Y. AUDINARAYANA REDDI: Will the Hon. the Minister for Prohibition be pleased to state—

(a) the number of places in Madras State where the tapping of sweet toddy is permitted;

(b) the number of places in Madras State where the preparation of jaggery from sweet toddy is permitted;

(c) whether the permission for tapping of sweet toddy and preparation of jaggery from sweet toddy is granted in any place in Cuddapah district; and

(d) if not, the reasons for the same?

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—“(a) Tapping of palmyra trees for sweet toddy for consumption as beverage has been permitted throughout Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts. There are also three neera stalls—one at Palm Gur Training School, Cuddalore and one each at Chintadripet and Chepauk in Madras City.

“(b) (i) Palmyra tree-tapping for jaggery manufacture is allowed in all the districts in the State except Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapah.

(ii) Coconut tree-tapping for jaggery manufacture is allowed in select centres in Malabar and South Kanara districts and Avanasi, Pollachi, Erode, Coimbatore and Palladam taluks, Nambiyur, Pulampatti, Gobichettipalayam, Kugalar and Vaniputhur firkas and Kunathur area of Coimbatore district.

[10th July 1952]

(iii) Date tree-tapping for jaggery manufacture is allowed in Krishna, North Arcot, Chittoor, Nellore and Guntur districts, Baruva village in Srikakulam district and Doddaghatta village in Anantapur district.

(iv) Sago tree-tapping for jaggery manufacture is allowed in Walluvanad and Palghat taluks in Malabar district.

"(c) Permission to tap trees for sweet toddy for jaggery manufacture has not been granted in Cuddapah district.

"(d) It was apprehended that any tapping concession in the Cuddapah district would lead to serious malpractices and jeopardize the normal working of the Prohibition Act."

SRI Y. AUDINARAYANA REDDI:—"Why are the Government making a distinction between one district and another district?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"As and when the Government find the necessity in a particular district, they will consider the question."

SRI A. APPU:—"Sir, is the Hon. Minister aware that in Malabar, only in a few places this concession is allowed and as a result of it thousands of people have been thrown out of employment and the Tappers' Associations have made representations to the Government to give them employment?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"On proper representation, the matter will be considered."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"Sir, in view of the fact that tappers are not able to get even their daily income of three annas from the jaggery co-operative societies, may I know what steps the Government propose to take to raise their income?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The matter is under the serious consideration of the Government."

SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI:—"In reply to clause (d) of the quarters, it is stated that no permission has been given in the Cuddapah district for tapping sweet toddy because it will lead to malpractices. May I request to the Hon. Minister that it casts an aspersion on the people of Cuddapah and that it is not true?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"No, Sir."

SRI MANJAYA SHETTY:—"May I ask, Sir, whether the Government have received any recommendation from the South Kanara District Prohibition Advisory Committee to open neera parlours in the district immediately and if so what action the Government have taken in the matter?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The matter will receive the attention of the Government."

[10th July 1952]

SRI P. CHINNAMA REDDI:—"May I ask, Sir, whether the Government intend to stop the issue of licences to tappers as there is a lot of abuse?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The question will be considered on merits."

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—"May I know, Sir, whether any representation has been received by the Government from the tappers in Malabar that they should be permitted individually to tap sweet toddy without the medium of the co-operative societies, in view of the fact that only half of the price of jaggery that they manufacture is being given in the first instance and they get the remaining half only at a later stage and therefore . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is making a speech. He must put his question."

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—"I am putting a question, Sir. May I know whether representations have been received from the tappers in Malabar that individual tappers should be permitted to tap sweet toddy without the medium of the co-operative societies?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"So far as I understand, I do not know whether any such representation has been made. But, if the hon. Member puts a separate question, the matter will be considered."

SRI C. H. KANARAN:—"May I inform the Hon. Minister that from all parts of Malabar representations have been made to this effect and I know it for certain I do not know why the Government have not allowed it up to this time. May I know when the Government will permit sweet toddy tapping for the manufacture of jaggery?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The matter is engaging the serious attention of the Government."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I request hon. Members not to change their seats, because I find it difficult to call hon. Members. I am following the Division List in calling out hon. Members' names and so I request hon. Members not to change the seats allotted to them."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, as there is a great demand for sweet toddy, will the Government consider the question of issuing permits to whoever applies for it?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"With due consideration for observing the provisions of the Prohibition Act, the matter will be examined."

SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM:—"May I know, Sir, whether the Government have issued licences to tappers to tap sweet toddy and if so, why the police take action against the tappers in Mayuram taluk of the Tanjore district?"

[10th July 1952]

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The hon. Member may put a separate question."

SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD:—"May I know, Sir, what precautions the Government have taken to prevent the abuse of the concessions allowed in these centres?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"There are authorities to prevent abuses and they have been asked to be more vigilant in the matter."

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"It is stated, Sir, that coconut tree-tapping has been allowed in certain select areas in Malabar. May I know what is the basis for such selection?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"It is a matter which I cannot answer off-hand. I would request the hon. Member to put a separate question."

SRI K. ARANGANATHAN:—"May I know, Sir, whether the Government are aware that toddy is sold in places where tapping of sweet toddy is permitted for the manufacture of jaggery?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The Government are not aware of it."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"May I know, Sir, in how many places the tappers were rendered unemployed as a result of the Prohibition Act and for how many of them the Government were able to provide employment by permitting them to tap sweet toddy and by the formation of jaggery co-operative societies; and may I also know whether by allowing sweet toddy tapping they can prevent the production of illicit liquor?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"So far as the report goes, a great majority of the ex-tappers have been employed and only a small fraction of them have been left unemployed."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"What are the figures, Sir?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"I want notice."

SRI C. RAJAM RAMASWAMI:—"May I ask, Sir, whether the Government are aware of the fact that wherever permit was given, it has been mostly abused by the person to whom the permit was issued?"

SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN:—"Sir, without making any discrimination between district and district in the State, will the Government see that licences are issued to all applicants in the State for tapping sweet toddy?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"No, Sir, the Government should move very cautiously in the matter."

[10th July 1952]

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"Are the Government aware that even honest ex-toddy tappers and genuine persons were denied licences for tapping sweet toddy in the Chingleput district in spite of representations made by the local Assembly members?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"The policy of the Government is to grant licences to tappers who come under the co-operative society system."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Sir, in the answer given by the Hon. Minister to one of the questions in the early part of the discussion, the Government seem to have made a clear distinction regarding the districts of Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapah so far as jaggery making is concerned. By that, do the Government mean that these four districts are so peculiarly situated and so very extraordinarily situated as to warrant them to make a distinction in such a way? When are the Government going to abolish the Prohibition Act, so that this distinction cannot be made?"

THE HON. SRI V. C. PALANISWAMI GOUNDER:—"As regards the discrimination which has been alleged by the hon. Member, I do not see any justification for such a remark. But, for the time being in the opinion of the Government, it was thought fit to withhold licences."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"I did not allege anything, but it is there in the report itself."

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

II.—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR 1952-53.

MR. SPEAKER:—"We shall now take up the General Discussion of the Budget. Dr. K. B. Menon will now speak."

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI:—"What about my Privilege Motion, Sir?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Has the hon. Member given notice of it?"

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI:—"I myself gave it to you, Sir, just now."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Probably it was sent to me during question time. I have not seen it yet. I am not aware it has been given to me."

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI:—"I gave it at 8-30 a.m. to-day, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Probably it was given during question time. I shall look into the matter. Meanwhile, we shall proceed with the next item."

* DR. K. B. MENON:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to confine my remarks this morning to the general aspects of the Budget and reserve what I have to say on specific problems to the time when the voting of grants takes place."

[Dr. K. B. Menon] [10th July 1952]

"Sir, as far as the Budget is concerned, I wish to say that there is nothing very striking about it, that it follows the beaten path and that it only maintains the traditions of the Congress for the last five years. It is a deficit Budget and a deficit has to be met either by taxation or by loans. I am glad that the Government have decided to resort to taxation instead of loans, for loans will lead to inflation. But, resorting to taxation does not make a Budget a good Budget. What then is the test of a good Budget? The test of a good Budget is the contribution that the Government make and the lead that they take in nation-building. Times were when the only function of the Government was to maintain law and order, but those Gladstonian days are over and the function of the Government today is much more than maintaining law and order. It is the duty of the Government to participate in activating economy, in initiating new industries and in encouraging new enterprises that contribute to public welfare, in encouraging agriculture, in constructing new roads and in improving means of communication and in a host of other things in which State interest, initiative and investment are necessary. I take it that the Five-year Plan of the Government of India, as well as the Five-year Plan of the Government of Madras envisage these constructive activities or nation-building activities. But when I look through the Budget, I get disappointed. According to the Five-year Plan of the Central Government, 350 crores of rupees are to be spent annually and if a pro rata distribution of that amount is made to the Madras State according to population, one-seventh of it, namely, Rs. 50 crores ought to be spent. According to the Five-year Plan of the Government of Madras, I believe Rs. 130 crores are to be distributed over the five years. Then annually they should spend about Rs. 25 crores. Now, I submit that this is a very poor allotment for this is not likely to meet the needs of the State and it is necessary to spend very much more than what the Government are prepared to spend. I believe the Government are going on the assumption—both in the Centre as well as in the Madras State—that the capitalists of India will have the courage, will have the ability, will have the initiative and the interest in the reorganization of the economy of our country. I submit that that is an assumption which is totally wrong. Our capitalists are a pack of traders whose quest is profit and who have no interest outside themselves. Our capitalists and industrialists are not like their counterparts in the western countries of Europe and America who have been responsible for building up gigantic industrial enterprises and a gigantic economic structure. For this and many other reasons, it is certainly the decisive responsibility of the Government to take more interest in the nation-building work of the State.

"The Government have failed to give a prominent place to the Five-year Plan. The allotment made for executing the plan is relegated to an appendix in the Finance Minister's Budget speech. According to the White Paper on the Budget that was published by the previous Government, the allotment for the year

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1951-52 was Rs. 33 crores. According to the revised estimate, that was cut down to Rs. 286.9 crores. The proposed allotment for the current year was Rs. 36.6 crores but even that has been cut down to Rs. 26.9 crores. Every time there is a cut in the amount allotted for the Five-year Plan. The amount allotted for nation-building works is not sufficient.

"Next I go to the revenue reserves. The reserves were built up by the British Government during the Second World War. In 1947-48, the reserves stood at Rs. 26.57 crores. They reached the peak figure of Rs. 33.50 crores in 1950-51. From that year onwards there has been a steady depletion. The reserves were brought down to Rs. 23.31 crores in 1951-52, and further down to Rs. 9.41 crores according to the estimate given in the Budget for 1952-53. There should not be such heavy inroads into the reserves. In his Budget speech, the Hon. Finance Minister made the telling remark that the reserves are intended to meet the needs of an emergency. I concede that proposition. But I also feel that, when the Finance Minister draws from the reserves, it is his duty to replenish and bring them back to the original level immediately after the emergency is over. I cannot for a moment believe that an emergency can last for two or three years. Perhaps the assumption of the Finance Minister when he does this is: 'After me, the deluge!' That should not be the attitude of any Government. I submit that the Government should be very careful in drawing from the revenue reserves. The amount drawn should as far as possible be replenished and the Revenue Reserve Fund should be brought back to the figure of 1950-51, viz., Rs. 33.50 crores.

"In this connexion, I would like to put a question to the Finance Minister. On page 156 of the Budget Memorandum for 1952-53, we find that the sale of securities stood at Rs. 13.9 crores according to the Preliminary Accounts for 1951-52, while the Budget Estimate for 1952-53 for the sale of securities is only Rs. 8.82 crores. Does this indicate lack of confidence of the public in the Government securities? I know some of the factors that have been operating. For instance, the rise in the bank rate might have had some effect. But I cannot understand this much of a steep fall from Rs. 1.9 crores to Rs. 8.82 crores as a result of that.

"There is another puzzling figure in the Budget Memorandum. While the sale of securities stood at Rs. 8.82 crores in the Budget Estimate for 1952-53, the market value of securities held on the last day of the year based on the market quotations on 15th May 1952 stands at Rs. 56.82 lakhs. Does this Rs. 56.82 lakhs represent all the securities held by the Government against the reserves? As I am unable to understand this figure, I would like to have some explanation from the Finance Minister.

"While I am on figures, I would like to say a few words about the Zamindari Abolition Fund. On page 146 of the Budget Memorandum, it is said that the securities in the Zamindari Abolition Fund stood at Rs. 30.00 lakhs on 31st March 1952,

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whereas the Budget Estimate as on 31st March 1953 stands at Rs. 51.00 lakhs. I do not know why every year the Government should pay Rs. 51.00 lakhs to zamindars. If I understand aright, the Government have agreed to pay Rs. 12½ crores to the 2,000 to 3,000 zamindars in this State. I understand that it will take ten to fifteen years for the Board of Revenue to complete the survey and settlement operations and only at the end of this period the full Rs. 12½ crores will be paid. Pending the settlement operations, the zamindars are going to be paid a pension or gratuity of nearly Rs. ½ a crore every year by the Madras Government, and for ten to fifteen years, it works out to the sizeable amount of Rs. 5 to 7½ crores. Why should the Government pay as large a sum as Rs. 5 crores to Rs. 7½ crores to zamindars, especially when the State is faced with a deficit Budget? If the Government have agreed to pay Rs. 12½ crores, it is better to pay off the amount once for all and be rid of the matter. I do not know whether that position is tenable. I have made the position of the Socialist Party on this subject very clear. By this annual payment of half a crore, the total amount payable to zamindars will be raised to Rs. 17½ crores to 20 crores. The zamindars who are alive to-day can perhaps bequeath a decent amount to their children which they may draw after ten or fifteen years. This, I feel, is unfair.

"I next come to taxation. As I said in the beginning, the Government are right in resorting to taxation to meet the deficit. Taxation is the right method. But they have taken a wrong decision in collecting the taxes in an indirect way. By the proposed taxation, the Government want to fleece the poor public. I realize that direct taxes will not yield as much revenue as indirect taxes and that it will not be easy for the Government to collect them. But the Government also should realize that indirect taxation is unfair, unjust and bears heavily upon the poor people. Out of over 300 millions of people in India, only 700,000 people are income-tax assessees—I give the figures from memory. The number of assessees is very small compared to the total population. If the Government are more careful in seeing that no one who is liable to income-tax escapes assessment and more strict in collecting the tax, I dare say more revenue can be derived. I read an announcement in the newspapers a couple of days ago that the Government of India, by tightening up their departmental organization and conducting investigation into the incomes derived, have been able to increase their revenue from income-tax. I suggest that the Madras Government should do likewise and see whether more revenue cannot be derived from the taxes they have imposed. It is the tradition of the Congress Government to levy indirect taxes. I do not think there has been any Budget presented by the Congress Government, whether at the Centre or in the States, during the last five years in which there has not been an increase in indirect taxation. Of course, the Government will shed crocodile tears before imposing taxes. The Chief Minister was very kind in patting the people on

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their back and saying that he will be very considerate in picking their pockets. Judging from this Budget, I do not think the Finance Minister has been very considerate. In Article 286 (3), there is a definite provision that no State Government can impose taxes on articles that are essential for the life of the community. In spite of that provision, tax on necessities of life is being continued and more taxes are being imposed. The Government are taking shelter under the provision that this Article will not affect the taxes that have been in force before the commencement of the Constitution. If the Government are not prepared to give up Sales Tax on all the necessities of life, I request them to remove the tax on at least the extremely essential articles of life like chillies.

"Let me come to the details of the taxes that are proposed by the Government. First and foremost, I would like to take up the bus tax, because that is a tax that bears most heavily upon the poor. I say that it is a mean tax. When I say 'mean', I do not intend any offence. I call the tax mean, because it nibbles into the pocket of the poor man which is already very much depleted. I do not mind the Government nibbling into the pocket of the poor man if there are no other ways open. I cannot for a moment concede that there are no other ways open. I said the other day on the floor of this House that, instead of taxing the poor bus passengers, the Government could as well get hold of the bus owners.

"The bus owner is not a poor man. He can very conveniently pay. This will only cut the big profits he is making. In the second place, the business of running buses is a paying business. There is little risk involved in the bus business. The ex-Finance Minister Mr. Gopala Reddi in his statement stated that there are nearly two hundred applicants for every bus route. Therefore, it is not very difficult for the Government to make up their deficit. The Government need not hesitate to get hold of the bus owner. They will certainly have to change the method by which routes are allotted to bus owners. If the bus owners are to be squeezed, the system of allotting routes should be changed completely. As it is, I understand that the Government issue permits for buses. These permits, I was made to understand, are sold in the market just as permits for steel, water-pipes, cement, etc., are sold in the market. These permits exchange hands. By sitting in the easy chair and by currying the favour of a Minister, the bus owners get hold of bus permits and pass them on to their friends, and make money in the transaction. I know a number of instances where such things have happened. This system should go. The only reasonable system, when there is such a big demand for bus permit, is to auction it out for the highest bid. Traffic is heavy, and this can be judged from the charges that the Police are making against the bus owners. The demand for permits is also heavy. I see no reason why the permit should not be given for

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the highest bid. If this is done, I am quite sure that instead of two, as I said the other day, the Government might easily make Rs. 20 crores.

“The next question that arises is, what do the people get out of the increased charge? I am afraid that the Government so far have failed to set any standard as far as these buses are concerned. Some standard must be set. When nationalization of bus transport in the City was introduced, standards were set for the buses in Madras. I see no reason why there should be two standards, one in the City and the other in the mufassal. The bus travellers in the mufassal should have comfortable (in fact more comfortable) buses, because the roads in the mufassal are bad. They are not like the roads in Madras City. The buses running in the mufassal areas are bone-breakers, and it is very difficult to travel in those buses. I invite the Minister for Transport to have a jolly ride in one of those buses for one day. He is a doctor, and he may treat himself after a journey in the mufassal buses, but the travelling public have no doctors to go to. The long-distance buses are so rickety, so shabby to look at, so dirty, and so inconvenient to travel in, that the Government should insist on better standards of buses, especially when they are thinking of levying a surcharge on bus fares. This is not the first time that the Government have undertaken to raise the bus fares. When the bus fare was raised in Madras City I think there was a rise in the bus fares in the mufassal also. There was then a howl in the City against the raising of bus fares. Something was done in the matter then. But I do not think that anything was done in regard to the mufassal bus fares, because the mufassal travelling public are not organized, and they cannot have their voice of protest heard by the Government. There is a charge of five annas for the first three miles. I ask the Government: Is it fair to impose a fare of five annas for the first three miles? Even if I travel half a mile or one mile, I am asked to pay five annas. This is a very unfair imposition. This should go. In the State of Travancore-Cochin, the charge is only three annas and not five annas. I ask, Sir, why there should be a minimum at all. If at all they require a minimum, they may fix a minimum of one mile. Anything beyond this limit will be hard and harsh upon the travelling public. Sir, I would also like to know whether the surcharge of one pie will be collected from those who pay five annas. This will mean adding insult to injury.

“What is the solution for all these problems of the bus? How are the Government to get money without imposing heavy taxes upon the public? The only answer that I can give, the only answer that was given on the floor of the Assembly, and the only answer that the Government have accepted, is nationalization. As soon as the Government introduced the nationalization of bus transport in Madras, they got scared. Government became a bit shy, and withdrew. Why did the Government withdraw from

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the plan of nationalization of buses in the mufassal areas? I see no reason why they withdrew. From the financial point of view, buses in the City are paying. It is such a substantial chunk of money that the buses are bringing to the exchequer that the Government are now thinking of exempting the bus travellers in the City from the imposition of the surcharge. Buses are a paying proposition. Why should the Government leave it aside? In no country of the world, I assert, nationalisation or municipalisation of the essential utility services like the railways, buses, trams, etc., has resulted in a loss to the State. It has not been so. When it is a paying concern throughout the world, why should not the Government of Madras extend the nationalisation of bus transport? There is one sneaky suspicion about this. I do not want to attribute any motives. My suspicion is that the last Assembly shied at this proposition because there were a number of Members of the Assembly who were bus permit holders. I hope that the same thing will not happen now. I do not know—I have no statistics with me—if there are any Members of this Assembly who are bus owners. I think in the interests of the nation, they should vote for nationalisation of bus transport. One lady Member yesterday voted for shifting the surcharge on to the bus owner, and I hope that that good example will be followed by others. We can thereby wipe out the deficit. It is not only Rs. 20 crores, but it will be double that figure if nationalisation of bus transport is extended to the mufassal.

“Apart from all this, Sir, there is the duty cast upon the State to improve the means of communication. Unless there are improved means of communication, unless the people are allowed to congregate, and unless people are allowed to meet together, there will be no exchange of ideas and we will remain a primitive feudal nation for ever. The greatest contribution that Henry Ford made to the civilisation of the United States was the production of the cheap American Ford car popularly called the tin lizzi, in the U.S. which brought the United States into a united nation. I ask a single question, Sir. Before the buses came and before the roads came, how many of our people crossed their linguistic areas and met each other? Unless the Government provide cheap means of transport and improved means of communication, how are the people to mix and mingle with each other, and exchange ideas? Unless we have improved means of communication, we can never expect the demand for linguistic Provinces to go. The Andhras demand the Andhra State. The Tamilnad people will demand the Tamilnad State. The Kerala people will ask for the Kerala State. Because they do not know each other, and they do not move with each other, they do not realise that they are all human beings and that the State should be one State and not divided into so many bits.

“I now pass on to the betterment levy. The attitude of the Socialist party is that all unearned increment should be expropriated by the Government. People have no right to retain with them the unearned increment, particularly when this unearned

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increment accrues from the enterprise of the State or society. On this point, we have no difference of opinion, and that is the view of the Socialist party. But as far as the betterment levy is concerned, I have a submission to make. The betterment levy is not a levy on actualities but on potentialities. Let me explain the position. If the levy is intended to tax the improvements that are effected by the new irrigation facilities provided by the State, and if the value of the land has increased as a result thereof, the betterment is only potential until the owner of the land parts company with it and sells it to somebody else. It is only then that the actual increment of the value of the land can be assessed by the State. As far as the improvements are concerned, if there is more production because of the improvements, the person who cultivates the land certainly pays the water cess, and he is also paying increased land revenue. When these two demands are met, I submit that the Government have no business to tax potentialities and to levy a betterment tax. The Government have arbitrarily fixed the date as 1st January 1943. The Government claim the right to levy the tax from this date. I do not know how this date has been arrived at, and what is the basis for this decision. I wish that the Hon. the Finance Minister throws some light on this subject.

"The next point is the levy of surcharge on land revenue. The Socialist Party does not oppose it. But the Socialist Party would ask for the raising of the limit from Rs. 50. If I say the minimum should be Rs. 150, even that will be small. I would like the minimum to be raised to a still higher figure, and that is the demand of the Socialist Party. Another submission that I have to make in connection with this levy is that in the Act it is very necessary to state that this is only a surcharge and not a permanent tax. If this is not specifically stated in the Act, it is very likely that the Government may go on collecting this tax; but if it is specifically stated that it is only a surcharge, the Government will have to come to the Assembly every year and get this renewed. Therefore, I submit that it is very necessary that it should be stated in the Act that this is only a surcharge and not a permanent tax. One other point in connection with this surcharge on land revenue and betterment levy is that the Government should see that this surcharge and betterment levy are not shifted. It is very difficult, I understand, to prevent the shifting of these two taxes. But I hope that the Government will devise some ways by which the shifting of the incidence of taxation is prevented.

"Sir, I would like to say a few words about the petrol tax. On the imposition of this tax, I may say I have not much objection. The motorists can afford to pay this tax, and they can have no grievance against this. I cannot see why the Government have a soft corner for the bus owners and why they should exempt them from the petrol tax. The Government are imposing the surcharge on the travelling public, and they do not come to the rescue of the people. But the Government are exempting bus

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owners from the petrol tax! This is a very suspicious attitude on the part of the Government, and they must explain. I ask the Government to get the petrol tax from the bus owners also so that they may be made to make some contribution at least to meet the deficit. There are many hidden assets in the Budget. I am quite sure, Sir, that if all the hidden assets are taken into account, and if care is taken to see that bus owners are not allowed to escape, there will not be any necessity to impose heavy taxes on the poor people."

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN:—"On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member Dr. K. B. Menon said that I pleaded against nationalisation of bus transport. I never touched the subject of nationalisation of bus transport at all."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is a point of personal explanation. It is not a point of order."

DR. T. S. SOUNDARAM RAMACHANDRAN:—"Thank you, Sir."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH:—"On a point of order, Sir. Yesterday I rose on a point of information, but I was not allowed to speak. To-day the hon. Lady Member rose on a point of information and the Hon. Speaker allowed her to speak."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Lady Member rose by saying that she wanted to raise a point of order. Afterwards, she raised a point of information." (Laughter.)

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"అధ్యక్షా, ఈ బడ్జెటులోని మంచిచెడ్డలను చూసి స్వరాజ్యాన్ని గురించి తర్వాతి దాన్ని జలపరచుట, ప్రతిభుటనుట మా అధికారమున చెప్పటము ముందుగా మా కృషిలో పార్టీయొక్క విధానమేమో తెలుపుచు చేయవలసి అవసరమౌచినట్లుంది. ఇదివరకు అనేక సందర్భములలో ఈ విషయమై మేము ప్రకటించియున్నప్పటికి అనేక మంది అనేక అధికారములను, సందేశములను ప్రకటించినప్పటికి ఈ ప్రభుత్వము పట్ల మా అధికారములేమీ లేవు మా విధానమేమీ స్పష్టముగా ప్రకటించబడినాను. కృషిలో పార్టీ ప్రస్తుతము అధికారములను రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గాన్ని ఎందుకు నిలకరుస్తున్నదనే విషయంలో పలువురు మంత్రివర్గాలైన అధికారములను వెల్లడించి ఉన్నారు. మా పార్టీవారు రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గాన్ని కొన్నికొన్ని సందర్భములలో, సిద్ధాంతాలకు, అభిప్రాయాలకు వైరుధ్యములేని విషయములలో బలపరచబడినదనే విషయంలో ఎంత మాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. ఈ మంత్రివర్గానికి మేము responsive co-operation ఇస్తామని ముట్టముడిచినట్లు చెప్పిఉన్నాము. ఆ అధికారములను ఎంతవరకు మేము చూస్తున్నారోదని మాదా సందేశముల వెలివిచ్చేవారు గ్రహించగోరారు. ప్రజాస్వామ్యంలో ఒక రాజకీయ పక్షము చేరక రాజకీయ పక్షాన్ని పరిపాలనా రంగాలలో జలపరచబడినట్లు ప్రజాస్వామ్య విధానమునకు ఎట్టి సందేహములేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. గత ఎన్నికల సమయమున గమనించి దూచినట్లుయితే ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో బి.ఇ.కె. రాజకీయ పక్షానికి సహకార తాను మంత్రివర్గాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేసి పరిపాలనను సాధించే పార్టీయే లేదని రుజువువుతుంది. ఈ తాపత సభకు నిర్ణయించిన 375 స్థానములలో

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[10th July 1952]

కాంగ్రెస్ వారు 152 స్థానముల మాత్రమే గెలువగలిగారు. అలాగే కమ్యూనిస్టులు 70 స్థానములను గెలుపొందగలిగారు. అదేవిధంగా ఇతర రాజకీయ పార్టీలు, స్వతంత్రులు కూడా ఎన్నికలలో గెలుపొందారు. ఈ పరిస్థితులలో ఏ రెండు, మూడు పార్టీలు గాని చేరనిదే ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేయడం సాధ్యపడదు. ఇదే అభిప్రాయంతోనే కొన్ని కొన్ని రాజకీయ పార్టీలు, స్వతంత్రులు కలసి వారంతా U.D.F. అనే పార్టీగా ఏర్పడినామని తమ సంఖ్య 166 ఉన్నదని ఇదివరలో గవర్నరుగారికి తెలుపుకున్నారు. ఎన్నికలలో ఒక పార్టీవారితో ఇంకొక పార్టీవారు పోటీచేసినంతమాత్రాన ముగ్గురు నటులంత ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేయడానికి ఆ పార్టీలవారు ఒకరిలో మరొకరు సహకరించడమనేది ప్రజాస్వామ్య విధానమునకు అంతమాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. అంతే కాకుండా నేటి మన రాష్ట్రపరిస్థితులలో అది అత్యంత అవసరమని కూడా మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. మనదేశం ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను అనుసరిస్తున్నది రాజ్యాంగ చట్టంలో నిర్దేశించబడినది. అనగా దేశంలో ఉన్నటువంటి రాజకీయ పక్షాలు పార్లమెంటులో కార్యక్రమంలో నడుంకట్టించడానికి అనుకూలంగా ఉండాలని, అటువంటివాటికి రాజ్యాధికారం అప్పగించినట్లయితే దేశం అభివృద్ధి పొందునని అర్థం. ఏ ఒక్క రాజకీయ పార్టీకి తగినంత సంఖ్యలను లేనపుడు మోక పార్టీయొక్క సహాయ, సహకారాలను పొందడంలో ఎటువంటి సౌకర్యం లేదు. ఈ సిద్ధాంతాలను దృష్టిలో పెట్టుకొన్నట్లయితే మా పార్టీ రాజాజీ అధ్యక్షుడినంద విరూపిణ ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి సందర్భించి తన సహకారంవడంవల్ల మేము ఎటువంటి తప్పుడు పంథాను అవలంబించలేదని వ్యవహరించుచున్నాము. మేము రాజాజీ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచడంలో మరొక ముఖ్య కారణం కూడా మనవి చేస్తాను. కొంతమంది కృషిలో ఆ పార్టీవారు కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీవారికి తానినైతే పోయారని విపరీతవివేచనలు చేశారు. దీనికి కారణం కాంగ్రెస్ వారిని ఎన్నికలలో వ్యతిరేకించిన మేము కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వానికి సహకరించడమేనని వారి వాదన. ఈ వాదనలో ఎటువంటి పటుత్వములేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. మా పార్టీ వారు ఎన్నికలలో పోటీచేసినది ఒక్క కాంగ్రెస్ వారిని మాత్రమే కాదని వారు వ్యప్తి యందుకుంటున్నారు. మేము కమ్యూనిస్టులతోనూ, ఇతర రాజకీయ పార్టీలవారితోనూ కూడా పోటీచేశాము. కొన్ని స్థానాలు జయించగలిగాము. ఈనాడు ఎన్నికలు అయిపోయి ముగిసిన ప్రభుత్వాన్ని రాష్ట్రంలో నెలకొల్పవలసిన తరుణం వచ్చినది. ఈ సందర్భ సమయంలో ఏ పార్టీవారిని మేము బలపరచాలి, ఏ పార్టీవారు ప్రజాస్వామ్య సిద్ధాంతాలకు కట్టుబడిఉంటారు అనే ప్రశ్నను పరిష్కరించాలి. కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీకి తదితర ఏ ఒక్క పార్టీకన్న ఎక్కువ స్థానాలు లభించాయి. కాంగ్రెస్ పార్టీ తరువాత కమ్యూనిస్టు పార్టీ ఎక్కువ స్థానాలు గెలుచుకొన్నది. ఈ రెండు పార్టీలలో దీనిని బలపరచవలసిన ప్రశ్న ముమ్మడి ఎదుర్కొన్నప్పుడు మేము కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీనే బలపరచడమేమిటన్నాము. ఈ సహకారంకుండా కాంగ్రెస్ ఏది చేలితే దానికి 'అ' కొట్టి, 'దు. దు' అనేటటువంటివిధంగా కాదు. విషయముల, విధానాల మంచిచెడ్డల ఆలోచించి, మా పార్టీ సిద్ధాంతాలకు ఖంగం కలుగునంతవరకు రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గాన్ని బలపరచడానికి మేము అంగీకరించాము."

SRI B. SANKARAYYA:—“లచ్చయ్య వారు మాట్లాడి విషయాలు ఈ బడ్జెటుకు సంబంధించినవి కావు.”

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—“బడ్జెటును బలపరచుచున్నాను, వ్యతిరేకిస్తున్నాను అనే విషయంలో మా పార్టీ విధానమేమో మనవి చేస్తూ, మేము ఇంతవరకు అవలంబించిన విధానంవల్ల కొందరు సందేహాత్మకులు వెలుగుచివ్ అభిప్రాయంలు

10th July 1952]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

సహకారంగా మనవిచేయడమొకటన్నాను. ఎన్నికల ఫలితములు ప్రకటించబడిన తరువాత ఈ రాష్ట్రములో కమ్యూనిస్టులు U.D.F. అనే పేరుతో ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ఏర్పాగతం చేసుకొన వయస్తి మున్నప్పుడు మా పార్టీ అటు కమ్యూనిస్టుల బలాధిక్యమున U.D.F. ను బలపరచడమా లేక కాంగ్రెస్ ను బలపరచడమా అనే విషయాన్ని పరిశీలించి, రాజాజీ అధ్యక్షాన్ని నిర్వహించుటే ప్రభుత్వాన్నే బలపరచ నిర్ణయించింది. దీని అర్థం కాంగ్రెస్ వారిని మేము ఏ విషయం లోబడితే దానిలో బలపరుస్తామని మాత్రమే కాదు. మేము యీ నిర్ణయానికి రావడం మా అభిప్రాయంలో కమ్యూనిస్టుల కన్న కాంగ్రెసువారు ప్రజాస్వామ్య సిద్ధాంతాలకు కట్టుబడి ఉంటారనే నమ్మకంతోడనేనని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. మేము కొద్దికాలం క్రితంవరకు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో ఉన్న వారమే. అందరూ కాంగ్రెస్ సంఘాన్ని నడిపినవారమే. కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో మూలా తత్వం ప్రబలిపోయి యావత్ పరిపాలనారంగం లంక గొండితనంతోను, అగ్రత పక్షపాతంతోను నిండి ఉన్నప్పుడు ఆ సంస్థనుంచి వీరిపోయినాము. మాకు కాంగ్రెస్ సంస్థలో ఉన్న విచేతము చాలావరకు ఈ హంశాలమీదనే; కాని మాకు కమ్యూనిస్టులతో మైత్రి ఎన్నడు లేదు. గత పది సంవత్సరాలుగా మేము వారిని ఎదిరిస్తున్నాము. కమ్యూనిస్టు సిద్ధాంతాలు, ఆచరణలో వారు అవలంబించే పద్ధతులు మాకు కానుగా తెలుసు. నిరంకుశం విధానంతోనే వారికి నమ్మకం. వర్గ కలహాను రేపింపడంలో వారు ఆసక్తిరారు. ప్రజాస్వామ్య సిద్ధాంతాలన్నా, ప్రజాస్వామిక సంస్థలన్నా వారికి నమ్మకం లేదు. అటువంటి కమ్యూనిస్టులతో మాకున్న వైరుము ఈనాటిదికాదు. వారిని మేము రంగారీ నాయకత్వాన గత పది సంవత్సరములనుంచి ఎదిరించుచున్నాము. కమ్యూనిస్టులతో మాకున్న ఈ సిద్ధాంతాల వైరుధ్యం వల్లనే మేము కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వాన్ని బలపరచినాము. అదే ఉద్దేశ్యంతోనే మన రాష్ట్రంలో ముగ్గురు ప్రభుత్వం ఉండాలనే కారణంచేత మేము మున్నటి విశ్వాస ప్రకటన రిచ్చానాన్ని బలపరచినాము. మా పార్టీవారికి కమ్యూనిస్టుల విధానములలో ఎటువంటి నమ్మకము లేదని మరొక పర్యాయము స్పష్టముచేస్తున్నాను.

“కమ్యూనిస్టులు ప్రచారం చేయుటలో చాలా ఆసక్తిరారు. అందులో అసత్యమైన విషయాలను సత్యాలుగా చెప్పటానికి వారు ఎన్నిసార్లున్నా ప్రయత్నం చేస్తారు. ఒక అబద్ధాన్ని పదిమారులు నిజమని చెప్పినట్లయితే దానిని ప్రజలు నమ్ముతారని వారి విశ్వాసము. ఈ నమ్మకం వారిలో దృఢంగా పాతుకుపోయింది. కొంత వరకు వారు ఈ ప్రచార రంగంలో జయం సాధించారనికూడా చెప్పవలసియున్నది. ప్రజలను తాత్కాలికంగా మభ్యపెట్టగలిగారని అనుటలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహం లేదు. కాని తొందరతోనే ప్రజలు కమ్యూనిస్టు సిద్ధాంతాలలోని బుర్రాదాన్ని తెలుసుకొన గలిగిన కమ్యూనిస్టులు గ్రహించగోరారు. చిరకాలం వారి ప్రచార పటుత్వం ప్రజలను నమ్మించలేదు. ఈ ప్రచార సందర్భంలో కమ్యూనిస్టులు ఉచితానుచితాలు ఆలోచించకుండా ప్రశ్నించమీద అభాండాలు కురిపించడం వారి ప్రచార రంగంలో ప్రధాన భాగం. అందువల్లనే మున్నటి కమ్యూనిస్టు సభ్యుడు ప్రసంగిస్తూ మా పార్టీకి సంబంధించిన వారు సింధియా కంపెనీ కార్మికులొచ్చినట్లు ఆరోపణచేశారు. ఇందులోని నిజాలను తెలుసుకొనవలసిన నానై బహిరంగ విచారణ చేయించవలసిన దని నేను కోరుతున్నాను. నా 26 వందల రాజకీయ జీవితకాలంలో ఎటువంటి లోపములైనను బాపగలిగినట్లయితే నేను కమ్యూనిస్టులను ఇక ఏమీ ఆసనని గట్టిగా చెబుతున్నాను. మిథ్యాప్రకటనలు చేయుటతోడనే సంతృప్తి పడక వాటిని స్వాధీనంగా విచారణ చేయించి నిజానిజమును కనుగొనవలసినదని సభ్యులకు మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.”

[10th July 1952]

SRI P. T. RAJAN:—"On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member has his points jotted down in English while he is speaking in Telugu. Is he right in speaking in Telugu."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"కృష్ణారావు పార్టీ తన యొక్క సిద్ధాంతాలను, ఆశయాలను ప్రజల ఎదుట వుంచినది. కంట్రీలోను రద్దుచేయడం. ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలను అనుసరించి ప్రజల హక్కులను సాధించడం అనేవి మా తరఫున ఉన్నాయి. సంఘంలో ఎటువంటి మార్పులు రావలసిన వాటిని దౌర్జన్యరహిత మార్గాల ద్వారా సాధించడమే మా వద్దది. ఇందులో ఎంతమాత్రం రహస్యంలేదు. ఈ ఆశయాలలోకి మేము ఈ నాడు రాజాజీ మంత్రివర్గాన్ని బలపరుస్తున్నాం. వెచ్చే తొకటి, చేనేతకాటి మూల సిద్ధాంతంగాగల కమ్యూనిస్టులు అందరినీ శంకించడమే వనిగా పెట్టుకుంటారు. మా మాటలకు చేతలకు వ్యతిరేకమైన వున్నదేమో అని రకరంగా విచారణచేయించవచ్చు."

SRI PILLALAMABRI VENKATESWARLU:—"On a point of order, Sir. I would like to know under which Demand all the things referred to by the hon. Member come."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should also realise my difficulty. I do not know Telugu. Therefore, I do not know what the hon. Member Sri G. Latchanna has said (Laughter.) Let him continue."

SRI G. LATCHANNA:—"రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి మంత్రివర్గాన్ని బలపరుస్తున్నామంటే అది వారేమంటే దానికి తలపూకడం మాత్రం కాదని తిరిగి విస్ఫుటం చేస్తున్నాను. వారు అమలుపరచిన కంట్రీలోను రద్దు విధానంతో మేము ఏకీభవిస్తాము. కాని, వారు అమలు జరుపుతున్న మధ్యపాన నిషేధ శాఖా మార్పులు తమకు తెలిసినంతవరకు ఈ శాసనము జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగుతోందని, పూర్వం కల్లుగిరి జీవకోపాధి సంపాదించుకొంటూ ఈ సంస్కరణకల్ల నిరుద్యోగులైన గీతగాండ్లకు యితర రకాల అర్జన వృత్తులు కల్పించబడ్డాయి అని తెప్పడంకూడా సరి కాదని నా అభిప్రాయం. ఈ ప్రకటన యదార్థానికి చాలాదూరం. కేవలం అర్థాన్ని తిక్క సూత్రాలను, నైతిక ధర్మాలను బట్టి ఈ సంస్కరణను అచరణలో పెట్టడం సాధ్యంకాదు. ప్రావీణిజ్మ విధానంయొక్క మూల సిద్ధాంతాలతో నాకెట్టి విచేదంలేదు. వి సంస్కరణను మనము ప్రవేశ పెట్టడం దినా ఆ సంస్కరణలోని మంచిని ఎంతవరకు ప్రజలు గుర్తించగలుగుతున్నారో, ప్రజాసామాన్యం ఎంతవరకు దానిని అచరణలో పెట్టుకోవాలి అనే వాస్తవిక విషయాలను కాగుగ గుర్తించాలి. మనక కృత్యం చూరూత్తుగా మార్చడమనేది సాధ్యంకాదు; సాధించబడకుండా పోయినా, ప్రమాద భావం ఉంది అని గుర్తుంచుకోవాలి. మధ్యపాన నిషేధ శాసనము ఎంతవరకు జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగుతుంటుందో, లేదు అనే విషయమై పరిశీలించే నిమిత్తం ఒక కమిటీని వేయడం చాలా అవసరము. ప్రజలలో ఈ సంస్కరణ కట్టుబాటువంటి అభిప్రాయం ప్రబలితే నిస్పృహత బుద్ధితో సమీక్ష చేసి వెచ్చే కమిటీని యేర్పాటు చేయాలి అంటే అవసరము. ఇందులోని యదార్థ విషయాలను యీ శాసన సభా సభ్యులకు తెలియచేయడం, మధ్యపాన నిషేధం జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగుతోందని సచ్చ తెచ్చడం రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి ధర్మం."

[10th July 1952]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

"ఇదివరలో కల్ల గీతకల్ల జీవకోపాధి సంపాదించుకొనేవారు యీ నాడు వారి 10 a.m.
పూర్తి పోయి నిరుద్యోగులైతూ వున్నారు. వీరికి వేరు వృత్తులను కల్పించుటకు ప్రభుత్వం వారు యంతవరకు తగినంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోలేదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి సవినయంగా మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ప్రావీణిజ్మ శాఖా మంత్రిగారు యీ విషయమై తగినంత శ్రద్ధ తీసుకోవాలి వారిని కోరుతున్నాను. దొంగతనంగా చాలామంది సారాకాయడం యీ నాడు పరిపాటి అయిపోయింది. త్రాగేవారి సంఖ్యకూడా వెళ్ళుకోతగినంతగా తగ్గలేదు. ఇదివరకు యే అణావో రండణాలో మూడణాలో యిచ్చి త్రాగేవారు యీ నాడు దానికే పండణాలనుంచి రూపాయివరకు ఖర్చుచేసి త్రాగుతున్నారు. ఇది వరకు వారం, పదిరోజులకు ఖర్చుచేసే మొత్తం యీ నాడు ఒక్కరోజులోనే ఖర్చు చేస్తున్నారు. దీని వారు త్రాగే వదార్థంకూడా అసలు కల్ల కన్న ఎక్స్ రెట్టు అపాయకరమైనది. ఈ యదార్థ విషయాలను గమనించాలని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి మరియి మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ప్రావీణిజ్మ మూలసిద్ధాంతాలలో మాకేటువంటి అభిప్రాయబేధమూలేదు. ఈ శాసనము అచరణలో జయప్రదంగా కొనసాగుతోందా, ప్రజలు యీ సంస్కరణకు సిద్ధంగావున్నారా అనే విషయాలను వారు పరిశీలించ చేయాలని కోరుతున్నాను. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రతిష్టకు యేమాత్రం ఖగంలేదని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలలో ఈ విషయమై కొన్ని ప్రభుత్వములవారు వున్న పరిశీలన చేయటానికి ప్రత్యేక కమిటీలను యేర్పాటు చేస్తున్నట్లు పత్రికలలో చూస్తున్నాము. అదేవిధంగా మన రాష్ట్రంలోకూడా ఒక కమిటీని యేర్పాటుచేసి ఈ శాసనానికి అవసరమైన సవరణలను చేయడం మంచిదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి తెలియచేస్తున్నాను. లేనిచో అచరణకానికి దోహదమిస్తుంది. అమలు పరచ సాధ్యంకాని శాసనాన్ని ప్రవేశపెట్టి ప్రజలలో శాసనాధికారబుద్ధిని ప్రోత్సహించవద్దని ప్రభుత్వం వారిని కోరుతున్నాను."

"అంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విషయంలో మా పార్టీ దృక్పథమేమో మనవిచేస్తాను. ఈ అంధ్రరాష్ట్ర సమస్యను పరిష్కరించ బూనకపోవడం అంధ్రులలో చాలా అసంతృప్తి కల్గించినదని తెప్పటలో ఎంతమాత్రం సందేహంలేదు. మేము అంధ్ర రాష్ట్ర కాంగ్రెస్ సంఘంలో వున్నపుడు రంగారాజు అధ్యక్షాగ్రత యే దృక్పథం అనాటి కాంగ్రెస్ సంఘం వెలిబుచ్చిందో ఈనాడు కూడా మేము అదే దృక్పథంతోవున్నాము. నిర్వివాద ప్రాంతాలతో అంధ్ర రాష్ట్రాన్ని యేర్పాటు చేయవలసినదేనని మా అభిప్రాయం. వివాద ప్రాంతాల విషయమై మధ్యవర్తి తీర్పుకు అన్ని పక్షాలవారు అంగీకరించాలి. వి సమస్యనైనను పరిష్కరించుటకు సర్వ సర్వత్ర వికీభావం వుండాలనే యిది మనకెట్టుట ఆ సమస్యపరిష్కారాన్ని వెనుక పెట్టే ప్రయత్నమే వని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. అభిప్రాయ బేధాలున్నపుడు వాటిని మధ్యవర్తి తీర్పుకు వదలడం అనేది ఉభయపక్షాలకు న్యాయంచేయడమన్నమాట. ఇది ప్రజాస్వామ్య సూత్రాలకు అనుగుణమైన విధానమని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ఈ ముఖ్య సిద్ధాంతాన్ని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వం ఎందుకు గుర్తించకుండావుందో నైతకా వండితుడు ఎందువల్ల అంధ్రులపై ఇంతటి అసాధ్యమైన యధాదు ప్రయత్నిస్తున్నాడో బోధపడటం లేదు. ముద్రాను పట్టణంవంటి వివాదప్రాంతాల విషయాలను యితర ఆర్థిక విషయాలను మధ్యవర్తి తీర్పుకు వదలవలసిందని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుతున్నాను."

"అంధ్రరాష్ట్రం విస్తీర్ణకపోవడంవల్ల అంధ్రదేశంలోని ప్రాతెక్కులను, యితర అభివృద్ధి పథకాలను అమలు పరచడంలో అలస్యమౌతోందనే విషయంలో నిజం లేకపోలేదు. మా శ్రీకాకుళం జిల్లాలోని వంకటారా మొదలైన ప్రాతెక్కులను యింతవరకు

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[10th July 1952]

నిర్వహకపోవడం ఇందుకు ప్రబల నిదర్శనము. ఈ సమిష్టి ప్రభుత్వం ఆంధ్రులకు అన్యాయంచేయడంలేదు అని యుజుక్తచేయాలంటే ప్రస్తుత పరిపాలనా పద్ధతిలో మార్పులు తీసుకోవాలి. ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలను ఒక ప్రత్యేక ఎడ్మినిస్ట్రేటివ్ యూనిట్ గా నిర్మాణంచేయాలి. వివిధ కౌన్సిల్స్ ప్రత్యేక డివిజన్లు ఏర్పాటుచేయాలి. ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతంనుంచి వచ్చే ఆదాయం, ఖర్చుచేసే మొత్తం ప్రత్యేకంగా మూపుతూవుండాలి. దీనివల్ల పరిపాలనాసౌలభ్యమేకాకుండా ఎంతో అసంతృప్తిని వికాసించినవారూ తామని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి సమీపంగా మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. ప్రత్యేక ఆంధ్ర రాష్ట్రం యేర్పాటుకు ముందుగానే యీ ఏర్పాట్లు చేసినట్లయితే రాష్ట్రం వచ్చిన తరువాత ఎవరి పరిపాలనను వారు కొనసాగించుకొనడం తేలిక అవుతుంది. ఈ విషయంలో రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు శ్రద్ధమూపుతారని ఆశపడుతున్నాను. ఈ సమస్యను పరిష్కరించడం ఆయనకు అసాధ్యమైనపనికాదు. ముఖ్యంగా కాపీటల్ బర్న్స్ ను అమలు పరచటంలో ఆంధ్రులకు అన్యాయం జరుగుతోంది. ఈ విషయాలు రాజగోపాలాచారిగారికి తెలియనివికావు. ఈ సమిష్టి రాష్ట్రంలో ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలు వల్ల తండ్రిలేని బిడ్డలుగా దూడబడడం యిక యంతమాత్రం ఆంధ్ర ప్రజలు సహించరు. ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని ఎవరూకూడా త్రోసిపుచ్చరాదు. అది ప్రజాస్వామిక స్ఫూర్తి లకే విరుద్ధం. కాబట్టి ప్రభుత్వ యంత్రాంగంలోని వివిధ డిపార్టుమెంట్లను ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతానికి, ఆంధ్రేతరప్రాంతానికి సంబంధించినవిగా పర్యేకించవలసినవిని రాజగోపాలాచారిగారిని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఆంధ్ర ప్రావిన్సు విషయము తేలికరకు ఆంధ్ర తమిళ headquarters ఉదాహరణగానే వుంది administration నడిపించవలెను. ప్రస్తుతము గవర్నమెంటువారు నడుపుతున్న పరిపాలనా విధానములో పూర్తి మార్పులు చేయాలి. ప్రస్తుతము నడుపబడుచున్న విధానము సమగ్రంగా జరుగుచున్నదా లేదా అని పరిశీలించుట చాలా అవసరము. ఇప్పుడు ఉన్న departments overhaul చేసి ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలకు ఆంధ్రులను తమిళ జిల్లాలకు తమిళులను వేయవలెను. Administration నడుపుటకు తగిన సలహాల నిచ్చుటకు అనగా to find out ways and means, to create efficiency in the administration, to check red-tapism and to check corruption in the services ఒక సంఘమును నియమించాలి. దీనివల్ల retrenchment చేయుటకుగూడ సావకాశములుండును, ప్రస్తుతపు ఖర్చులుగూడా చాలావరకు తగ్గును. కొన్ని departments ప్రస్తుతము కొన్ని controls వగైరా ఎత్తిచేసినందువల్ల కొన్ని departments remove చేయుటకు సావకాశమున్నది. Revenue Board Prohibition department ఎత్తివేయాలి. Departments లో administration సమగ్రంగా జరుగుటకు ఒక efficiency committee ని చేసి administrative defects అన్ని ప్రభుత్వ పరిశీలనకు తేవలెను. ఈ ప్రభుత్వ పరిపాలన సరిగా జరుపుటకు efficiency committee వారు establishment లో efficiency list ను తయారు చేయవలెను. ఇంకను ప్రతి భాషా ప్రాంతంగా న్యాయంబిగిటు చేయాలి, ఇప్పుటికే ఆంధ్రులకు promotions వగైరాలో అన్యాయం జరుగుచున్నది. ఈ విషయం యీ efficiency committee ఆలోచించవలసియుండుంది. ప్రజలతోను ప్రభుత్వంతోను సన్నిహిత సంబంధం ఉండాలి. ఇందుకుగాను Public Relations Officer ను ఒక ఆతనిని నియమించాలి. ప్రజలకు సరియైన న్యాయం ప్రభుత్వంలో జరగాలంటే విదేశ ప్రభుత్వంలో అన్యాయం జరిగిన ఎడల ప్రజలు యీ Public Relations Officer ద్వారా ప్రజల కష్టసుఖాలను ప్రభుత్వమునకు తెలియపరచవలెను. ప్రజల సహకారము ప్రభుత్వసాంఘికాలంటే ఇటువంటి department అవసరమని

10th July 1952]

[Sri G. Latchanna]

విషయపూర్వకముగా మనవి చేయుచున్నాను. వైస్ ఛెయిన్ efficiency committee విషయములలో ఒక సంగతి చెప్పవలెను. గవర్నమెంటు డిపార్టుమెంట్లలో efficient staff ను తయారుచేసి promotions వగైరా పరిశీలించవలెను. ఈ విషయం శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు చెప్పియున్నాను. యీ విషయములో నేను మరల వారిని హెచ్చరిస్తున్నాను. వారు దీనిని గురించి తగు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొందురని నమ్ముచున్నాను. పత్రికలలో యీ వార్తలు ప్రకటింప బడ్డాయి. ఆంధ్రుల విషయములను వ్యాయాన్యాయాలను యీ efficiency committee పరిశీలించుటకు వీలగును

“ఇక పోతే జిల్లాలో గూడ administration కొరకు ఒక administration committee ని వెయ్యవలెను. జిల్లా అధికారులకు వారి క్రింది అధికారులకు సరియైన సన్నిహిత సంబంధముండవలెను. ఇప్పుడు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఏర్పాటుచేసిన కమిటీలు వండుగగా T.A. పుచ్చుకొంటున్నారేగాని పని జరగడం లేదు. అందువల్ల వాటిని తీసివేసి, జిల్లా కమిటీయన్నూ, లాలాకా కమిటీయన్నూ ఏర్పాటుచేసి ప్రజల కష్టసుఖాలను వాటిమూలంగా ప్రభుత్వమునకు తెలియపరుచుటకు పునరుద్ధరముగా నుండును.

“ఇక పోతే బడ్జెటు విషయములలోకి వస్తే బడ్జెటు మాకు అంత చెప్పుకోతగ్గ తృప్తికరంగా లేదు. అందువల్ల నేను యీ బడ్జెటును వ్యతిరేకించుచున్నాను. శ్రీ రాజగోపాలాచారిగారి హయాములో ఇటువంటి బడ్జెటును తయారుచేయుట మనది చాలా శోధనీయంగా వున్నది. ఆని చెప్పుచున్నాను. Finance Minister గారు local bodies కు గాను 36 లక్షల రూపాయలు కేటాయించామని చెప్పారు. ఇది కాకుండా యీ లోకల్ బాడీసుకు లోన్లు క్రింద కొంత సొమ్ము కేటాయించారని చెప్పారు. ఇదిగో City Improvement Trust కు గాను వది లక్షలు కేటాయించామన్నాడు. రాష్ట్రములో నున్న 27 జిల్లాలలో వున్నటువంటి local bodies కు loans గా ఇచ్చే 36 లక్షల రూపాయలు ఏ పద్ధతిమీద యిస్తున్నారో అర్థం కావడం లేదు. జిల్లాలలో housing societies వివిధ నూతన సరిగా పనిచేయుటలేదు. వాటి విషయమై నేనీ సలహా యివ్వడమవుచున్నాను. పట్టణంలో వాట యీ గ్రామాలు చాలా హిస్టోరిలోనుండుటవల్ల యీ గ్రామాలకు గూడ సమాన ప్రతికర్తి ఇవ్వాలని మా K.L.P. పార్టీయొక్క మూలశత్రం. గ్రామాలలో వసతులు లేక ప్రజలందరు పట్టణాలు చేరుతున్నారు. Electricity వగైరా వసతులు గ్రామాలకు కలిగించాలి. గ్రామములలో ప్రిజలు అనేక యిబ్బందులు పడుతున్నాయి. ప్రిభుత్వంవారు యిప్పుడు building societies కు house construction కు గాను లోన్లు యిస్తున్నారు, గాని గ్రామాలలో ఇవి సరిగా పనిచేయుటలేదు. గృహనిర్మాణ స్కీములవల్ల ఎవరికి లాభిస్తున్నదో తెలియటంలేదు.

“అందు రెవిన్యూ విషయములలో ఖామిశిస్తువైన కొంత సర్పార్టి వేయాలని 10-15 a.m. ప్రభుత్వం తలపెట్టుతున్నది. ఈ విషయములో K.L.P. పార్టీ ప్రతిఘటిస్తున్నదని నేను మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఏ రైతు ఆదాయం ఏ ఏ పార్సెలాలో ఎంత వస్తున్నదో ప్రభుత్వం పరిశీలించాలి. ఈ సర్పార్టి వేయడమనేది రైతు ఇదివరకే యిప్పుడు ఇవ్వ వలసిన వస్తును చెల్లించలేకుండా వుండగా ఇంకా యీ సర్పార్టి వారిమీద వేయడం అనేది రైతుకు యింకా భారము అధికము చేయడమే. ప్రజలు ఈ విషయమై చాలా అసంతోషం చేస్తున్నారు. గ్రామాలలో రైతులు అధిక ఖర్చులవల్ల కష్టముగా జీవనము గడుపుతున్నారు. సాధారణముగా 50 రూపాయల ఇస్తు చెల్లించే రైతు చాలా వీరవాడు అనే తరగతికి చెందియున్నాడు. అటువంటివానిపై యీ సర్పార్టి వేయడం

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చాలా అభర్తలు అని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ రోజులలో ఇతరుల పాటు దున్ను కొని కట్టడం తీవ్రంగానే వివిధ మైన protection లేకుండా యిస్తుంది. ఇలాంటి రైతుల హక్కులను రక్షించుటకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఒక శాసనం చేయాలి. వానిమీద ఇనాములను గురించి ఇటీవల ప్రభుత్వంవారు జారీచేసిన ప్రకటన ప్రభుత్వపు పూర్వ విధానమునకు చాలా వ్యతిరేకముగా వున్నది. భూమి దున్నే రైతుకు హక్కులు కలిగించాలి. ఇప్పుడు అమలులో వున్న భూస్వామ్యవిధానంలో మీదరైతు ఎన్నాళ్ళ కట్టడం ఇంక తరుభూమి కొలుకుచేసిననూ, అతడికి భూమిమీద హక్కు కలగడంలేదు. ఎప్పుడు మీదవాడుగానే వుంటాడు. గనుక అతనికి హక్కు కలిగించాలి. గనుక యీ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వంవారు పూర్తిగా పరిశీలించి ఒక comprehensive Inam legislation తీసుక రావాలి. గనుక ప్రభుత్వానికి వెన్నెముకవంటి రైతుమీద యీ అదనపు శిస్తువేయటం అభర్తగావుక, యీ శిస్తు ప్రభుత్వంవారు తీసివేయటం మంచిది. ప్రభుత్వ దృష్ట్యం హెచ్చుచేయాలంటే రైతునే బాధించనక్కరలేదు. ఇంకా ఎక్కువవిధములు వున్నవి.

“ఇక బస్సు చార్జీల విషయములో బస్సు ప్రయాణికులు సామాన్యముగా మధ్య తరగతికి చెందినవారే. ఇప్పుడు అమలులోవున్న చార్జీలు ఇప్పటికీ జాస్తిగావున్నవి. గ్రామాలలో ఈనాడు నివసించువారు రైతాంగానికి చెందినవారు. ఈ రైతులే ఎక్కువగా ప్రయాణం చేస్తారు. ఈ చార్జీ ఈ రైతుకు యింకొక అదనపు శిస్తు అని తలచవలెను. ప్రతి విషయములో రైతునుంచే యీ ప్రభుత్వ ఖర్చులు వివిధముగా నైనను వసూలు చేస్తున్నారు. ఈ అదనపు చార్జీ వసూలుచేయడం అక్రమం అని నా అభిప్రాయం గనుక ప్రభుత్వంవారు యీ విషయములో పూర్తిగా గమనించాలని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇక మధ్యపాద నిషేధం గురించి ఒక మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ Prohibition department ఎత్తివేసి Police department కు అప్పజెప్పవలెను. అట్లుచేస్తే ప్రభుత్వ ఖర్చు కొంత తగ్గుతుంది. రెవిన్యూ బోర్డును ఎత్తివేయటంవల్ల ప్రభుత్వ వ్యయము తగ్గుతుంది. జిల్లాలలో కలెక్టర్లువుండగా వారిపైన గవర్నమెంటు Administration department వాటి Secretaries వుండగా యీ రెవిన్యూ బోర్డు post office మాదిరి ఉంటున్నది. గనుక ఈ డిపార్టుమెంటు ఎత్తివేయటం మంచిది. శ్రీ రాజాజీగారు ఒక్కొక్కప్పుడు ఈ రెవిన్యూ బోర్డు ఉండకపోతే, పకలకు న్యాయం జరగదని, ఉచితారంగా వుంటుందని అన్నారు. కొందరు ప్రముఖ రాజకీయవాదులు యీ రెవిన్యూ బోర్డు అవసరమని అన్నారని చెప్పారు. ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఈ ఒడ్డుటు అంశాలలోని ఖర్చును తగ్గించవలెనని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఈ సర్వార్థి tax గురించి దీనిని ప్రస్తుతము abolish చేయవలసిందిగా ప్రభుత్వాన్ని కోరుతున్నాను.

“ఇనాములను గురించి ఒకమాట చెప్పవలెను. Estates Land Act వచ్చిన తర్వాత యీనాముల గురించి వెనుకటి ప్రభుత్వం చేసినటువంటి Abolition Act యొక్క అమలు విషయములలో కొన్ని వ్యతిరేకత తీర్పులు ఈ బోర్డు సుప్రీంకోర్టులు యిచ్చాయి. అట్టి తీర్పుల ప్రకారంగా ఈనాడు Rent Reduction Act లో కొన్ని లోపాలు సూచించబడ్డాయి. ఇటువంటివి నూటికి 60 గామాలు వున్నవి. ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులవలన గ్రామాలలో civil and criminal litigation కు దోహదమైంది. ఈ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వంవారికి ఒక మెమోరియల్ ప్రజలు పంపియున్నారు. ఈ విషయములో ప్రభుత్వం తరఫును కొనసరఫరాని కోరు

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తున్నాను. ప్రజలలో అందోళన జాస్తి అయినది. ఇందుకుగాను ప్రభుత్వం ఒక Comprehensive Land Reforms Legislation తీసుకురావాలి. ఇటువంటి legislation వచ్చేలోగా రైతుకు భూమిమీదవున్న హక్కులు తీసివేయబడదని ఒక రాజ్యాదికపు ordinance ను అమలుపరచాలి. ఇందు విషయము ఒక ప్రత్యేక కమిటీని వేయవలెను. ఈ దేశం ముఖ్యంగా వ్యవసాయ శ్రేణి కాబట్టి ఒక Expert Committee ని నిర్వహించేసి భూభావంబడులుగాని, ఇనాంబాధులుగాని, జమీందార్లు గాని రైతును భూమినుండి తొలగించబడదనే శాసనాన్ని అమలులోకి తీవరను లేని ఎడల వ్యవసాయ రైతాంగానికి శాంతివుండదు.”

* JANAB K. M. SELTHI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is the view 10-30
of the Muslim League Legislature Party that the Rajaji Ministry a.m.
has made the best of a bad situation in producing this Budget
and that this Budget deserves the sympathy and support of this
House. Nobody was expecting surprises in a Budget produced by
the Ministry, in the existing state of society and in the existing
economy of the State. It was very easy for the Rajaji Ministry
to succumb to the temptation of starving the nation-building
activities when it was faced with a huge deficit of Rs. 4 crores.
Really it speaks highly of the sense of duty and the sense of
regard for the welfare of the people of the State that the Ministry
did not succumb to that temptation but made ample provision for
nation-building activities in the Budget. While in 1945, Rs. 10
crores were provided for nation-building activities, we have a
provision of Rs. 43 crores in the present Budget for the same.
Further, provision for recurring expenditure of Rs. 42 lakhs and
non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 357 lakhs for new welfare
schemes has been made in this Budget. All these are very
healthy features of the Budget and it will be only fair for the
House to support the Budget.

“While discussing the policy underlying the Budget, I
cannot make any suggestion by way of any revolutionary change
in the provisions of the Budget, because as a man endowed with
ordinary commonsense, I cannot expect such a revolutionary
change to take place. But what we have to see is whether the
Budget has kept in view a progressive policy and the necessity
for providing for the welfare of the citizens of the State. If
that has been kept in view, this Budget certainly deserves the
support of this House.

“One thing to which I would refer in this connexion is the
policy of Prohibition followed by this State. So much has been
said about it and thanks to the vacillating attitude of the previous
Congress Ministry towards this policy, a lot of unjustified criti-
cisms have been heard from all quarters regarding Prohibition
and unwarranted hopes and expectations are entertained by the
people that Prohibition is, after all, going to be scrapped. What
I respectfully submit to this House is that if this healthy policy
which the Congress Ministry has adopted is given up, it will be
a calamity for the State. It is very often said that Prohibition
has brought about illicit distillation and that every house has

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become an illicit distillery. I submit it is a gross exaggeration of the real state of things. Illicit distillation was there even before Prohibition was introduced and it is not a novel feature which has come into existence because of Prohibition. Illicit distillation is there in spite of Prohibition and not on account of the Prohibition policy that has been followed by the Government. In fact, it is very often said that the policy of Prohibition was tried in America and that it was found to be a failure. Even that statement is not quite correct. I may state for the information of this House that there are two States in the United States of America, namely, Utah and Kansas, where complete Prohibition is enforced even now. Therefore, it is not correct to say that Prohibition has failed entirely in America. If two States have been able to successfully enforce Prohibition in a western country like the United States of America, here in Madras where the atmosphere for the enforcement of Prohibition is good and where the followers of important religions believe in the virtue of abstinence from intoxicating drinks, I submit it will be an unpardonable act on the part of the Ministry to give up Prohibition as a failure and succumb to the agitation that is now carried on by certain interested sections of the public in the name of the poor. It is an irony of fate that this demand for the scrapping of Prohibition is made in the name of the poor. As a matter of fact, Prohibition has done maximum good to the poor and it is only the rich and the higher middle classes, which have been indulging in a little bit of drink, that have been really affected by Prohibition. In asking for the collection of excise revenue from drink we are asking for tainted money, money tainted with the blood of the poor, and I respectfully request that this Government should not concede the demand for scrapping Prohibition. On the other hand, they should make Prohibition a success by taking suitable measures for its proper enforcement. In fact, there has been a lot of laxity in the matter of enforcing Prohibition. There were two acts of omission on the part of the Government in this regard. Firstly, the Government did not make adequate provision for the large number of people who were thrown out of employment by the enforcement of Prohibition. A number of questions were asked on the floor of the previous House about the ex-tappers who were unemployed. Government should have taken effective measures for securing them employment. I know in Malabar there are thousands of ex-tappers who are still unemployed. Of course, co-operative societies have been directed to be formed among these people. Sir, I represent a constituency where the illiterate ex-tappers are not able even to know that there is a provision for forming co-operative societies and that they will be enabled to tap sweet toddy for jaggery manufacture by forming co-operative societies. In this connexion, I have to state that the Co-operative department has to be a little more vigilant and helpful in such activities. They must give directions to the people and co-operate with them in getting these societies formed and registered. As a matter of fact, representations have been made to the Government by these ex-tappers that they should

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be given some relief by way of employment; and the fact that they are still unemployed is one of the reasons why there is a big cry against Prohibition from different quarters. Secondly, I want to say one thing, and in saying that, I do not cast any aspersions on my colleagues or on the intelligentsia who have been agitating for the scrapping of Prohibition. I do not attribute any motives to them. But I respectfully say that their line of activity is really working as an adverse force against the enforcement of Prohibition. The public are entertaining some vague notions that, after all, Prohibition is not going to be enforced hereafter and even people who had abstained from drink and who were thinking that Prohibition had come to stay, are now entertaining vague hopes that the day will come soon when they can very freely drink, and revert to their old vices. I respectfully submit that the authorities are really not helped by that sort of criticism. Every one who speaks for the scrapping of Prohibition says drink is an evil. If they are really sincere in saying that drink is an evil, it is up to them to see that drink is annihilated in this land. Moderate drinking and progressive curtailment of toddy shops and things like that have been tried in very many places. Sir, I was a Member of a Legislative Council in one of the native States where a motion for Prohibition was brought in. Moderate drinking and progressive curtailment of toddy shops were suggested and we tried them in that State. But we found that those measures were absolute failures and drink was on the increase and the ideal of Prohibition was not served by that experiment. So, there is no point in saying, 'We do condemn drink, but adopt other measures.' There is no other measure to combat the evil of drink except total Prohibition and that policy has to be pursued courageously by this Government, whatever be the enormity of the revenue that we may lose on account of it. That, as I said, is revenue tainted with the poor man's blood and it will never help the State and we do not want it. That is my humble submission to the Government.

"Then, Sir, it is the duty of the State to increase the standard of living of the common man and liquidate illiteracy that is prevalent in the land. Illiteracy, unfortunately, is the great curse of this land. Only a very small percentage of our people has become literate by all our efforts hitherto. I do not know what our trouble really is. In many countries which began their educational reforms much later than our country, they were able to bring about universal literacy. So, a greater urge and drive for spreading literacy in this land are absolutely necessary and I hope the Rajaji Ministry will adopt some very healthy and effective measures in this direction. Sir, I represent a constituency which is really groaning under the weight of ignorance and illiteracy—Ernad and Walluvanad. These two taluks are notorious for illiteracy. It is said in some areas in those taluks, compulsory education is enforced. I submit that the enforcement of compulsory education has failed in those parts and more effective measures are necessary for enforcing compulsion. In this connection, I would support the useful suggestion that has been made

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by an hon. Member on this side of the House regarding the provision of midday meals in schools. Compulsion can be enforced effectively by supplying midday meals to the poor and helpless children who attend schools in areas where compulsory education is in force. There are many schools where compulsion is supposed to be in force but where there is poor attendance of boys and girls for the reason that they are not able to go to the schools for receiving education on account of their poverty and misery. If they get at least a midday meal, that will be a temptation for them to attend schools and compulsion in the matter of primary education will become a success in the State. I submit to the Government that the suggestion regarding the provision of midday meals to children in areas where compulsory education is enforced is a very useful one to adopt for making compulsion in the matter of primary education really effective.

“ While discussing the extent of the resources of the State for providing for various welfare schemes that the Government may launch upon, I would remind them of the lignite deposits in the State. While the Muslim League Party was sitting in the Opposition in the previous Assembly, it was brought very forcibly to the attention of the Government that the exploitation of lignite deposits in the Madras State should be very seriously and earnestly pursued, as that would provide an inexhaustible source of revenue to the State. I find some reports in the papers that the matter has been pursued by the Government. But my request to the Government is that greater earnestness and attention should be paid to that matter since it would help us to a very great extent in finding funds necessary for our welfare schemes.

10.45 a.m. “ As far as the district from which I come is concerned, that is, the Malabar district, we have a perpetual complaint that this district is almost always neglected in the matter of provision of amenities of a civilized nature. In the matter of good roads, hospitals and public welfare institutions, Malabar has suffered very much. In fact, we have very few roads which can be said to be really useful and serviceable. Most of the roads are kept in a very unsatisfactory condition and the construction of some of the important roads that was attempted has not been pursued. I have to particularly refer to the construction of the important Ponnani-Cochin road which urgently requires to be completed as early as possible. For the Malabar district, there was the Vipan scheme of road construction, but that scheme has not been implemented by Government. That scheme has to be resurrected and put into practice progressively by the Government in order to give relief to the people of Malabar in the matter of roads. There is also the need for some important bridges, and this deserves the immediate attention of the Government. For instance, there is the proposed *Chetuvu* bridge near Choughat in South Malabar about which representations have been made. The Government must take immediate steps in the matter. Some hon. Members

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referred to the establishment of a Medical College and a Government Women's College in Malabar. Considering the high percentage of literacy among the women of Malabar, a Government Women's College for the district is an absolute necessity and the people have been asking for such an institution for several years in the past. This request has not so far been complied with by the Government. We have no hospitals and maternity wards in many parts of Malabar. Recently, the Malabar District Board asked for the opening of 24 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres. But, unfortunately, the Government turned down the proposal saying that the matter can be considered only subsequently and not during the present year. I have to regretfully state that as far as the Constituency which I have the honour to represent is concerned, there are several villages where we do not have any provision for maternity help and medical aid. People are therefore suffering for want of these elementary amenities of civilized existence. The recommendation of the Malabar District Board was very, very urgent and I would respectfully request that the Government might consider the proposal even now and review the decision they have taken. I hope and trust that it will be possible for the Government to comply with the recommendation of the Malabar District Board in that behalf and make the necessary provisions in the present Budget itself.

“ About the working of the agricultural department, I wish to say a few words. It has been the unfortunate lot of all of us to voice forth our grievances about this department on the floor of the House. The agricultural department is yet an institution which has no contact with the common man. This department is being kept up for establishing and maintaining certain agricultural farms which are said to be model farms for the public. As a matter of fact, this department is not serving the useful purpose for which it has been brought into existence. From the newspaper reports, the Government might have been aware that in the matter of food production, at no place including the district of Malabar, were the Government agricultural farms able to show any model scale of production. In fact, certain ryots were able to produce a record quantity of grains like paddy in their own private farms, while the agricultural department, with all its claims for a scientific system of production, was not able to give any model for high production and did not carry away a single prize awarded by the State for model production. As a matter of fact, the agricultural farms and the institutions maintained by the agricultural department are something like mere toys and show institutions which are kept up at huge cost without any benefit to the poor ryots. That department has not done adequate propaganda among the public for popularising the fruitful modes of agriculture or scientific methods of agriculture. As this has not been done, the people have begun to criticise that department. They are now even sceptic of the efficacy of the measures and mode of cultivation suggested by the agricultural department. That department has now become a mere show department which has

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really no contact with the ryots and which has not attracted the ryots by making useful suggestions for the benefit of the public. I respectfully submit that if the agricultural department has got any right to exist at all, it must make itself more popular among the public. It has to carry on a lot of propaganda among the public. Unless all-round propaganda is carried on by that department, that department has no justification to exist and it will be a waste of public funds to have that department. If that department has anything to suggest by way of model method of cultivation or scientific methods of cultivation, then they have to be made known to the public. It has to be done by propaganda, I mean effective country-wide propaganda, among the masses. If that is not done, the department has no right to exist as I have already said. It is a mere waste of public funds. Therefore I repeat that this department has to do more propaganda among the public and it should be more helpful to and co-operative with the ryots and the ryots must know that such a department exists for their welfare. Greater co-operation of the public should be enlisted by this department if at all it has any right to exist and that is what I have to state about that department.

“ With reference to the encouragement of education among the backward and minority communities, this Government have to do much more than what they have been doing till now. As far as the Muslims are concerned, in the Andhra Desa, the Muslims have certain schools where the medium of instruction was Urdu. As the mother-tongue of the pupils attending these schools was Urdu, naturally, the medium of instruction was made Urdu in these schools. For instance, in the secondary schools of Nandyal and Kadiri, the medium of instruction was Urdu all these years till it was changed into Telugu all on a sudden. The medium of instruction was changed in the face of public protest by Muslims and this has given a set-back to Muslim secondary education as far as these areas are concerned. I respectfully submit that the idea or the fad of regional languages should not be allowed to come in the way of a boy being given instruction in his own mother-tongue which will be the most effective mode of instruction to him. As far as Andhra Desa is concerned, where the condition of Muslims is very backward, especially in educational matters, such changes have brought about very adverse effects on the progress of Muslim education. In regard to the encouragement of instruction given in Arabic wherever there was a demand for it, the Government have been following a very unsympathetic attitude. As far as Malabar is concerned, there is a separate school for Moplah girls at Tirur, and all these years, the Government have not deemed it necessary or useful to appoint a Pandit for the teaching of Arabic in that school. Many complaints have appeared in the Press from time to time about the absence of any provision being made for instruction in Arabic. Arabic is one of the classical languages recognized by this Government and provided for in some High Schools; and the University also has made provision for instruction in Arabic in colleges. We do not know

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the reason why no provision has been made for instruction in that language in a school which is attended by a large number of Moplah girls and which is intended for the advancement of Moplah education. I submit that the Government should appoint Arabic and Urdu Instructors in all the schools where there is a demand for them. Greater sympathy should be shown to these educational institutions intended for these Moplah girls. While speaking on this subject, I must say I am thankful for a few scholarships that have been sanctioned by this Government for Moplah boys and girls in Malabar. But, considering the educational backwardness of the Moplahs in Malabar, there must be a much larger number of scholarships for Moplah boys and girls of that area. I hope the Government will not be unsympathetic in this matter.

“ As I said, compulsory primary education has failed in its enforcement as far as Malabar is concerned. From my experience, I may state that the Government should make provision for mid-day meals in the schools so as to make compulsory education a great success. Then only the scheme of compulsory education will be attractive and will be considered by the people as a boon. There are places where the provision of mid-day meals has been very helpful in attracting large number of boys and girls to primary schools. In this connection, I would also respectfully submit that the amalgamation of the boys' and girls' schools in certain areas, as for instance in Andhra Desa, has created great inconvenience to the Muslim girls and Women teachers. There are complaints that this amalgamation which is not approved of by Muslims generally has worked great havoc on the advancement of Muslim education in those areas. There is another difficulty also which is experienced by these schools, and that is caused by the sudden and surprise visits paid by the members of the local boards to some of these institutions. A member of the district board would any day surprise a school by going into the school where there might be lady teachers and women instructors and such visits are proving very inconvenient and irksome to people who observe certain customs, I mean some habits of reserve and modesty, in this land. I respectfully submit that this is being resented by the schools concerned and the Muslim public.

“ Several acts of encouragement that were given to the Muslims in the matter of education in the past were taken away. For instance, in schools where there were a good number of Muslim pupils, they used to allow two hours interval on Fridays for all the students. This enabled the Muslim students to attend their Friday prayer. To make up for the extra time given for this interval, the authorities used to regulate the school working hours in a suitable manner, with the result that all the boys were given interval when the Muslim boys used to go for their Friday prayers and the latter did not suffer in their studies by the holding of the classes during their absence. A change has now been made with the result that the two hours' interval on Friday has been taken away and if any Muslim boy goes for prayers on that day, he will be deprived of his lessons as the school work will be going

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on in his absence. This is working as a great hardship to the Muslim boys. This is also working as an adverse factor in the progress of Muslim education.

"I am grateful to the Government for the provision of two lakhs of rupees as a special grant for the Malabar Tuberculosis Sanatorium. But, considering the large number of unfortunate people who are victimised by this disease in that district, I hope and trust that the Government will give more encouragement and greater support to this Sanatorium and to other measures that are taken to combat this fell disease. In this connection, I would also request the Government that the long-pending schemes of having a separate and suitable building for the Moplah Girls' school at Tirur and a Hostel building for the Malappuram High school should be implemented as early as possible."

11
a.m.

* SRI P. T. RAJAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the very eloquent speech of Mr. Latchanna was lost on me, though not completely. It has had this effect on me in that I am prepared to vote for an Andhra Province immediately on any condition subject to Madras City being retained in Tamilnad."

"Sir, I propose to deal with six items to-day, Education, the present economic condition of the State, unemployment, Prohibition, Irrigation and provision of drinking-water. I hope to make my remarks as short as possible because the time at my disposal is very limited, with one or two tit bits thrown in in between."

"Ever since the year 1920 when, Education became a transferred subject, every Minister has been tinkering with that subject and the department; and each Minister had his own pet scheme to put through during his regime. Education had lost its real purpose in this country. There was a purpose, no doubt and that was that the foreign ruler wanted efficient, willing and cheap subordinate servants, and our colleges and schools produced them. Later on, these centres became centres of indiscipline. Instead of imparting character to the students and making them become leaders and men of initiative, the educational institutions have merely produced a number of graduates who were good neither to themselves nor to this country. The educational system in this country needs radical reform and I hope the Hon. the Chief Minister, though not in charge of Education, will find his way to form a small committee consisting of such eminent educationists as Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar and others with a number of experts from foreign countries and revise the educational system, to make education a real and vital factor in the life of the people of this State."

"Sir, the economic condition of the country is getting from bad to worse. I refer especially to the pay of Government servants and the wages of workers. No doubt the factory worker is in a position of vantage when compared to agricultural labour. The salaries of the State Government servants differ very much from those of the Central Government and the salaries of employees of the local boards and municipalities differ from those paid to the

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State Government servants. After all, the scales of pay should be such as will give them a chance to live and to live fairly comfortably. Here again, instead of trying to find palliatives for the economic evils, I hope the whole question will be gone into and, if necessary, measures that would cut across old rules and old customs, will be undertaken to improve the living conditions of the people."

"The problem of unemployment is becoming more and more acute; especially unemployment of the educated is getting from bad to worse. In recent years, there have been more graduates produced than can be absorbed in Government service and by private firms. If the Government do not tackle this problem, it will be a great menace to the safety and security of the State and those politicians who make politics a profession will find enough scope to play mischief. That should be avoided at any cost and I hope this item also will merit the consideration of the Hon. the Chief Minister."

"Coming to Prohibition, I have to refer to the fact that I am not a faddist. If Prohibition can be worked effectively, I should have no objection to it and in so far as it cannot be worked successfully, it is a loss to the State financially and otherwise. A referendum may be taken as to whether the people of this State like Prohibition or its removal. No doubt, votes can be had for it but how far the people will co-operate in working it successfully remains to be seen. I believe there is a proposal that a small committee might go into the whole question and make recommendations as to its continuance or otherwise. If so, I hope that committee will go into the question thoroughly and make recommendations in the very near future."

"The other two items that I said I would refer to are Irrigation and provision of drinking-water. I wish to refer to these two items in so far as they relate to my constituency. Sir, I represent a constituency which is in a very remote corner of this State. People there suffer from want of drinking-water. Ever since 1903, attempts have been made to supply drinking-water to that area but nothing has come out. I am told on reliable authority that a scheme which has been prepared by the Sanitary Engineer is under the consideration of the Government. I do hope that it will receive the early attention of the Government."

"The other item is Irrigation. Irrigation in Cumbum valley is subject to certain difficulties. Wild streams coming from the Western Ghats bring sand and block the channels which supply water to the fields. This question has been receiving the attention of the Government for the last thirty years. A number of eminent engineers—Chief Engineers and others—and also Ministers have promised to attend to this work. But nothing has come out so far. I would like to point out to the Government that something should be done. A remedy has to be found. Though water is available, the lands cannot get that water in time. I spoke to the Hon. the Minister for Public Works and he was good .

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enough to say that he would pay a visit to the area and study the conditions for himself. Another Minister also is concerned with the subject and that is the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue. I hope their visit will take place in the near future. If they are convinced that there is need for immediate attention, let them attend to it. I will be happy to welcome both of them there and if they feel convinced what I have said is correct, let them do what they can to remedy the evils.

"I said, Sir, I would throw in one or two tit bits. The departments of the Government are supposed to maintain the prestige of the Government. Some departments, however, feel that they are above law and that their own prestige is something greater than the prestige of the Government, so much so they have brought the administration into contempt. I am not making specific charges against these departments now. I merely wish to draw the attention of the Hon. the Chief Minister to the fact that the departments of Hindu Religious Endowments and Rent Control require looking into by him. If I am in the wrong, if he feels after an enquiry that my statement in the Assembly is unwarranted, I should be glad to withdraw it and if necessary, even apologise to the departments concerned. On the other hand, if there is something to show that all is not well in the State of Denmark, I do hope he will take suitable action soon.

"Coming next to the Hon. the Chief Minister himself, I hear he is working for fourteen hours a day and he has no time for rest. It is well and good. But I should not like the Chief Minister of this State, especially at this particular juncture, to be a glorified Secretary. He should have nothing to do with files. He has got about twelve colleagues. They should be able to deal with their departments. (Interruption by an hon. Member.) I am not going to make any suggestions. My hon. Friend, if he wants, may make suggestions. What I am saying is that he has a number of colleagues most of whom are new to the work. That is not a sin. The Hon. the Chief Minister can guide them so that he may have enough time to look into other matters. His must be a directing hand and not one that writes notes or minutes. His time is too precious and I hope he will consider my suggestion for what it is worth.

11-15 a.m. "Sir, there has been a good deal of controversy about his office. I feel he is not the Chief Minister of the Congress Ministry. His position is peculiar. At a very critical and difficult time he assumed office. He should be in a position to guide, help and direct the Members of this House, to whichever party they may belong. I have heard from my Friends on the right, the Communist friends, that they have nothing against him and they would like to have his guidance. I hope I am not wrong in making this statement. What they feel is that the Hon. Chief Minister is rather hard on them. I am inclined to agree with them."

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THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"They don't mind it at all. They flourish under that."

* SRI P. T. RAJAN:—"Sir, we have got a very big House and most of the Members are new to the work. We have got to create good traditions. The House is willing to recognise the vast and varied experience of the Hon. Chief Minister. This is not flattery. No doubt I have been subjected to any amount of criticism for having supported him. If I am to defend my action, that will take a long time and I will do it elsewhere. What I am saying now and here is that the position of the Chief Minister is a unique one at the present moment. He must not consider himself to be a partisan though he might head the Congress Ministry. He must be in a position to create healthy traditions in this House. Sometimes I find it very unpleasant to hear hot words exchanged between Members on either side. Anybody who visits this House should go back with the idea that the people of Madras have got sufficient parliamentary experience, that they can conduct their affairs, the legislative affairs, with dignity and ability. That is the impression that I would like any visitor to get. As I said, most of the Members of this House are new and they require someone to help them. I cannot think of a better person than the Hon. the Chief Minister himself. So I request him once more not to saddle himself with the routine work of the departments but to have a survey of the economic problem of the State, the educational problem of the State and the employment or the unemployment problem of the State and find not palliatives, but radical remedies for them so that it may be possible for the successors that occupy his seat to face the future with greater hope and courage.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to you that you have been pleased to give me 45 minutes but I close my speech now within 20 minutes."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham, will now speak. (The hon. Member was not in his seat.) The hon. Member was under the impression that Mr. Rajan would finish only at 11-45."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I was really expecting this thing. By the very rapid and brisk manner in which Mr. Rajan was proceeding from subject to subject, I knew that he would stop. Some old experienced parliamentarians do like this. I am sorry Mr. Viswanatham is not here now."

MR. SPEAKER:—"At the conference of leaders of parties it was decided that Mr. Rajan should have 45 minutes, and it was expected that he would finish only at 11-43. Probably the hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham, thinking that he would have to begin at 11-45, has left just now. He informed me before he went. (Mr. K. Vinayakam stood up in his seat.) I will allow the hon. Member ten minutes."

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* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, with great trepidation I rise, for I am not very happy to receive this Budget from the hands of the Hon. the Finance Minister. As a student of public finance, I am likely to agree with Professor Hugh Dalton when he says that in any State, more taxes we have to pay, if we should become a democratic nation. But I submit there is a method of collecting the taxes. The burden of taxation should not fall upon the poor. The incidence of taxation should be so adjusted that the rich should be made to pay more and the poor should be made to pay comparatively less. When we apply this test to the taxation proposals that are now placed before us by the Hon. Finance Minister, I find they do not satisfy that test. Taxation should be so arranged that the pain of paying the tax should not be felt by the tax-payer. It should not be a matter of fleecing. It should be as painless as when you pluck a feather from the body of the bird. The proposals now made by the Government such as the levy of surcharge on land revenue, the levy of surcharge on bus fare and the betterment fee on lands, all these fall on the poor people only. Instead of these, I would suggest some other taxes like the death duty, tax on tea and coffee estates and such other progressive taxes. Our problem in the country is a problem of production rather than of distribution. There is a great inequality of incomes in our country and if production is properly tackled, there will be less of this trouble. Agricultural facilities are being given to the peasants in our State, but we find from practical experience that only the rich landlords get all facilities like the takkavi loans, loans for purchase of manures, subsidies for sinking wells, etc. All these are made use of only by the rich landlords. I suggest that in places like the Chingleput district where there are no major irrigation projects, electricity should be extended and the farmers should be enabled to use that power to grow more food.

"Sir, there are some public utility services undertaken by the Government, for instance, the bus transport in Madras. I am afraid the advisory committee appointed by the Government consists only of members who do not use bus transport at all in their lifetime and who will not be in a position to give constructive suggestions. For instance, my hon. Friend, Mr. Rajam Ramasami and Mr. Sambandam, who know nothing about bus transport and who are not likely to use the public transport in their daily life will not be competent persons to give the Government proper advice. So, I suggest if the Government mean real business, they should nominate members who really represent the population of the City who depend upon the public transport for their conveyance. I have already expressed my views on the policy of Prohibition and I once again reiterate that it should be immediately scrapped."

SRI C. RAJAM RAMASAMI:—"On a point of order, Sir, The hon. Member referred to me . . ."

SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"Is it a point of order, Sir?"

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MR. SPEAKER:—"Without hearing the hon. Member, how can I say whether it is a point of order or not?"

SRI C. RAJAM RAMASAMI:—"The hon. Member referred to me and Mr. Sambandam as being totally incompetent to serve on the Transport Advisory Board. I fully deny the charge, because we are quite capable."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a point of order."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"That is a matter of opinion and I should be given the privilege of holding that opinion."

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the levy of special taxes on foreign liquor permit holders will lead to a great amount of smuggling of foreign liquor from places like Pondicherry. This is bound to happen whether you like it or not. I submit this kind of taxation will not aid you in your Prohibition policy.

"Sir, I am an educationist by temperament and I say the education policy pursued by this Government is anything but satisfactory. We have to liquidate illiteracy if we should deserve the Independence which we have won. But there are very few educational institutions, with the result that even the Hon. Speaker had the painful experience of recommending a large number of students for admission but with no effect because the educational institutions complain that they have not enough seats for the students. Especially students coming from the backward communities and Scheduled Castes are put to lot of trouble because they have no godfathers in the departments concerned. I have the privilege to belong to a backward community and I did not become a politician out of my conviction. We, graduates of the backward community, took to politics only to fight the issues in the Assemblies and Councils. Some of us, University men, longed to do some service to the State. We tried our luck with the Government departments. Finding that there was none to help us, that there was no scope for backward communities, most of us thought that our issue is not being fought well in the Assembly and Parliament, and so some of us got into politics, not by choice but by force of circumstances. If the Government want to tackle the rising tide of communism, which they are terribly afraid of, they should tackle the problem of the educated unemployed men. Nobody need be afraid of communism if the misery of the educated unemployed men that is lurking in the country is tackled well.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, much has been said about the Andhra Province. I may bring to your notice that we Tamilians living in some parts of Chittoor . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let not the hon. Member include me also by saying 'we Tamilians.' Let the hon. Member speak for himself."

* SRI K. VINAYAKAM:—"I never meant to include you among Tamilians living in Andhra districts. We, some Tamilians

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living in Chittoor district, which is claimed to be part of the Andhra State, dispute that claim. We claim that Tamilnad extends up to Tirupathi. Chittoor was carved out as a district by the Britishers in 1911. Before this year, there was no Chittoor district. Six taluks from North Arcot district, such as, Tirutani, Puttur, Chittoor, Kungunthi, Kuppam and Palamaneri and three taluks from Cuddapah, namely, Kalahasti, Punganur and Vayalpad were formed into a district, viz., the Chittoor district, and a superannuated British official was put in charge of the district then. Therefore I place this claim before the House on behalf of Tamilians living in predominantly Tamil areas in Chittoor district, lest their case be disposed of ex parte, for want of proper champions of their cause."

11-30 a.m. * SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the very first instance, as an old Member of this House, I must congratulate all my colleagues who have participated in this debate. Sir, you will agree with me when I say that the debate has been kept on a very high level and the speeches were very informative."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I may tell the Leader of the Opposition that 99 Members including the Leader of the Opposition, took part in the debate."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Thank you, Sir. I just sent word for that information. Including the Leader of the House, it will be 100 and the Leader of the House will be the centurion."

"It is a matter for congratulation not because so many of us could participate in spite of the time pressure upon us, but because of the high level of debate that has been maintained; personality has been eschewed and the whole debate went on merits. It is really a matter for congratulation and I hope the Leader of the House and the Hon. the Chief Minister who has been sitting patiently all along, will echo what I said. But, all the same, Sir, there is another aspect which I wish to bring to your notice. We are now the citizens of a Sovereign Democratic Republic. Most of the Members are new to this House and only 30 or 31 are old Members. And when they come here, they must be given an opportunity to represent their constituencies by fully and freely participating in the debate and frankly and exhaustively expressing their opinions on the Budget. The Budget is the one occasion, in fact it is the only occasion, when all Members have got an opportunity of speaking their mind. On Bills and other motions, only a few Members take part. But on the Budget, all the Members may wish to fully participate in the debate. In fact, during the last elections those of us whose names were fairly known had an advantage and some of the Members who had no opportunity to speak here were actually at a disadvantage and the people of their constituencies said, 'This gentleman went to the Assembly and he never opened his mouth'. Therefore, Sir, this is an important matter which must be taken into consideration. I know, Sir, you will be ready to say, 'In the House of Commons there are

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620 Members and all of them won't speak; seats are provided only for about 317 Members and even if all of them come, many do not open their mouths'. It may be so in the House of Commons in England, and England is different and particularly the temperament of England is different. But here, after nearly 200 years of foreign rule, we have just emerged from the general elections based on adult suffrage and the constituents do expect us to speak as well as we can. Discussion on the Budget is the one occasion during the year when the whole administration is reviewed. What is the remedy, Sir? The Rules of Procedure do not provide for sufficient time to us. I, therefore, suggest, Sir, for your consideration and for the consideration of the Leader of the House that our Rules of Procedure may be changed so that every Member who wants to speak might get at least half an hour. Every Member represents about 75,000 voters and he must have a right to speak at least for half an hour. After all, in half an hour very little can be covered."

SRI K. RAJARAM:—"Thirty days have been allotted including those for general discussion."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I have been a Member of this House for some time and I know the difficulties. The rules of procedure are in the way, but we are not intended to be slaves to the rules. If the Members of a Sovereign Democratic Republic want to have more time for the general discussion of the Budget to make a review of the Government administration at least once a year, they must have it; my submission is that we might change the rules more or less on the lines of the procedure in the English House of Commons. You know, Sir, in England the whole Budget goes to a Committee of the whole House and that Committee considers it and then it is discussed in the open session for nearly 26 days; then the vote on account is taken prior to March 31st and then detailed discussion takes place in the Committee of the whole House; and again in the Committee of Ways and Means the entire Budget position is reviewed and the final date on which the Budget is passed is after 26 days of discussion in the open session. Even though our population in this State is as big as it is in England, we are not as many Members as there are in the House of Commons. Therefore, I submit that it should not be difficult for us to sit till August if necessary. At any rate we can certainly finish the Budget in July. We should satisfy the democratic urge in the minds of all the Members and the democratic urge in the minds of all the electors who have sent us to this Assembly and who want us to fully exchange our views in this House, so that things may go on more by discussion and consent than by mere majorities in a formal way. I commend this for the consideration of the Hon. Chief Minister. I believe you were also telling us of a Rules Committee for the revision of the rules and I wish to suggest that this matter also may be taken as one of the subjects for its consideration. If this is done, it will be possible for every Member to speak in this House. As a matter of fact, even ordinary

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meetings of companies and co-operative societies are not wound up unless it is known that every shareholder desiring to speak has spoken.

"There is one other matter on which I want to make an appeal to you and that is about the facilities in the House. You know, Sir, that Members come from several linguistic areas of the State. I am at a disadvantage when hearing a Tamil speaker. The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam is at a disadvantage when a Telugu Member speaks in Telugu. And when a Member from Malabar speaks in Malayalam, fourteen Ministers are at a disadvantage besides many hon. Members. May I therefore suggest whether it would not be possible for you, Sir, to arrange for simultaneous translations as it is being done in the United Nations Organization? I do not think it will be very difficult to do it and I put this before you for your consideration and for the consideration of the Hon. the Chief Minister.

"Then, Sir, I would like to say a few words on the relations between the Government party and the Opposition. If democracy is to function properly, there should be cordial relations between the Government and the Opposition. Otherwise, things cannot move on well. We do not like scenes or any such things. Of course, the Hon. Chief Minister gives several meanings when he says that the Opposition is bent upon chaos and that the Opposition is preparing for a financial sabotage. He might say sometimes in joke; sometimes he might say with one meaning; sometimes he might say with two or three meanings, so that one can escape with it." (Applause.)

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The hon. Member is illustrating his own point, Sir."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Yes, Sir, I am illustrating my point. You might have observed, Sir, during the debates both on the confidence motion and on the Budget, how disciplined and docile the Opposition has been. Not one of us used any strong language; not one of us indulged in thumping tables or clapping of hands; not one of us obstructed the Congress Party Members from speaking. When a Member was speaking, he was carefully heard. No confusion was created; we are not after such things and we do not think like that. Therefore, Sir, I am submitting that here is an Opposition which does not deserve the remark that we are out to create chaos. You can judge us by the conduct here and by the conduct which the members of the United Democratic Front generally have been observing outside. I am saying all these because I want to show that we can get on cordially. After all, the first cloud of want of understanding has disappeared, and we are getting on well; we are talking to each other well; in the formation of committees, there has been some give and take and I congratulate the Members on the other side on this change and hope that more will be done in the future. When I refer to the 'first cloud of want of understanding', I might refer to the allotment of party

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rooms. You know, Sir, that I was pressing that we might be allotted a little more space. But the Government side were not willing. At that time, it was said, 'No; either you have the upstairs or the downstairs; you and we cannot combine'. That is the spirit with which we started. That has gone and I hope we will be given more space at least now.

"In this connexion, I might draw your attention and the attention of the Members in this House to what we said, that the party rooms must be allowed to be used by us throughout the year. I remember you were good enough to reply to my letter that our party can use the party rooms only for 15 days prior to the session and 15 days after the session. Sir, why should any invidious distinction be made against us and why should the Leader of the House think that as the ruling party, they have got a right to use their party rooms throughout the year and the Opposition party Members should not use the rooms throughout the year? I want to impress, with all the earnestness at my command, that this Government is a joint enterprise for the common good of the people, to be undertaken both by those who are in power and those who are in the Opposition. Unless that spirit comes into our blood, we cannot get on well and we may be committing several mistakes. And I request the Hon. Chief Minister and the Hon. the Leader of the House and all the Members that support me on this side also, to realize this aspect. It is not merely in the matter of allotment of party rooms which is an ordinary matter, but even in the matter of arranging Government Business, in discussing financial matters, industrial matters, irrigation projects, etc., there should be some understanding. When there is understanding between the Opposition and the Government, greater good can be done to the people and then there will be peaceful reign in this State. Then only there will be scope and opportunity for increasing the well-being of our people. There may be ideological differences between one group and another. But cordial relations on the floor of this House will certainly help a greater understanding and it will be the basis and the basement for the progress of this country. I am mentioning all these because there were certain matters in which we were made to feel that they are in power and we are not in power.

"Take, for example, the privilege motion I moved. You were pleased to say that there was a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege. I said then with all the clearness of language I possessed that once the Speaker was of the opinion that there was a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege, it would be the conventional duty of the Leader of the House to move, or ask some other Member to move, a resolution that the matter be referred to the Privileges Committee. But the Hon. Chief Minister did not do anything of that sort. Instead, passions were roused in and out. The Hon. Chief Minister departed from the parliamentary convention of referring the question of privilege to the Committee of Privileges. I submit to the Hon. Chief Minister that he should

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not entertain any such notion about privileges of Members for, as you know Mr. Speaker, it is not a party matter. Even if I belong to a party, consisting of one Member like my friend Sri P. T. Rajan and there has been a breach of privilege, the whole House must take it up, for the breach of privilege of a single Member of this House reflects upon the entire House. The question of privilege should not be treated on party grounds; it should be decided on its merits. Particularly when the Hon. Speaker was of the opinion that a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege had been made out, the Government ought to have, according to parliamentary convention, referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges. After the Committee had submitted its report, the House ought to have discussed it and voted on it. That was the proper attitude which the Government ought to have adopted towards the Opposition.

"The question of privilege will be generally raised only by Members belonging to the Opposition. The Members on the Government side may not raise the question at all; for they are satisfied that they are having their party in power. I know that some of them had the same trouble as myself on the day the order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was issued. Some of them had the same difficulty as ourselves in gaining entry into the Assembly Chamber. But they do not mind all the inconveniences caused to them. Because their party is in power, they do not mind the little thorns in their way. If privilege motions are not taken up and the Government do not concede the just demands of the Opposition, what happens is, even without the knowledge of the Government our democracy gradually tends to autochacy. That is why, to guard against such a tendency growing, the Opposition is always on the alert with regard to privilege and adjournment motions.

"In the matter of adjournment motions, I beg to submit that Government should adopt a more liberal attitude towards the Opposition. The Opposition in this State is not a weak Opposition but a fairly strong one. Even the Government party has no absolute majority in the House. Bearing all these things in mind, I hope the Government would adopt a more liberal attitude towards us, especially on motions of privilege and adjournment and particularly so when the Speaker rules that they are in order.

"Coming to the Budget leakage, I wrote a letter to the Leader of the House to allot a day for discussion of the same. When I raised it as a matter of privilege, you were good enough to observe Mr. Speaker, that it could be brought in as a substantive motion but not as a motion of privilege. Myself being a non-official, I could not get a day on that issue, unless the Leader of the House agreed to it. I promptly wrote a letter to him requesting the allotment of a day for debate. Till now, I have not received any reply. I know that the Hon. Leader of the House is working from morning till evening and that he is much worried. Anyhow, he could have written to me either allowing a day's debate or saying he could not allow it."

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THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"The Hon. Leader of the Opposition should know that we are sitting till the 28th or 29th of this month."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"The Hon. Leader of the House started before I finished my sentence. I am glad that he has said at least this much. I simply said that he could have written a letter in reply either refusing or accepting my request for allowing a day's debate on the Budget leakage. He could have allowed us to have a debate on a holiday. For instance 11th is a holiday and he could have allotted that day. Why I say all these is because I repeat that breaches of privilege are very important matters and are intended to preserve the rights of the citizens of our country and the dignity of the House.

"Next, I come to the short-notice questions which hon. Members give notice of and the Government answer on the floor of the House. I gave notice of a short-notice question in the last session. It referred to a matter on which the Hon. Chief Minister need not get any information from the departments. It was a very simple matter and was to the effect whether the Hon. Chief Minister had made any statement about the Andhra Province and if so, what action he was going to take in the matter. The Hon. Chief Minister could have waived notice; but he did not do it. It was answered a month later. Then again I sent a short-notice question, as soon as the order under section 41 of the City Police Act was issued, asking the reasons for issuing that order. Still the question has not been answered.

"Very recently, I gave notice of a short-notice question. It related to a very ghastly incident that took place in Rajahmundry. Protest meetings were held and resolutions were passed by the people of Rajahmundry condemning the action of the police. An innocent girl aged eleven was alleged to have been taken into custody, and kept under custody for fifty hours without being produced before a Magistrate. Finally due to the ill-treatment meted out by the police, the girl became unconscious and she was found later in an unconscious state on the banks of the river Godavari. I hope the Hon. Chief Minister would have received a telegram. I simply wanted to know what action the Hon. Chief Minister proposed to take in the matter. The question could have been answered. How glad the people of Rajahmundry would have been to know the Government had not been silent over what had taken place and that they were taking action."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"As soon as I got the information about the incident, before this question was put, I sent for information. It was immediately followed by this question and I could not therefore answer because I had no information on hand. I have asked for details and as soon as they are received, before my hon. friend asks for it, I shall answer."

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SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“I thank the Hon. Chief Minister for what he has just now said. It is already three or four days since that incident took place. I do not think that communication between Madras and Rajahmundry is so difficult as to make this delay to get details.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Does the hon. Member think that I have the answer with me now?”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“No, Sir, I do not think the Hon. Chief Minister is having the answer ready at this moment. I know he has not got it. I wanted to put the question only to draw the attention of the Hon. Chief Minister to the cruel behaviour of the police against the innocent people of that locality. I just wanted to elicit information as to what happened. I am glad that the Hon. Chief Minister has sent for information. I sincerely trust and believe that we will get more information about this incident. My only object was to let the people know what action the Government proposed to take in the matter. The people of Rajahmundry have convened protest meetings. They have also sent a telegram. The Hon. Chief Minister has called for a report. The question was put only to infuse confidence in the people that the administration is going on on right lines, even though it may not be with the speed with which we desire it should go.

“I may be permitted to inform the Hon. Chief Minister that short-notice questions are intended to elicit information and from the replies received, confidence should be reposed in the minds of the people that the Government are moving in the right direction. That should be the spirit in which our democracy should work. There should be that sense of cordiality and mutual confidence between the Government and the Opposition. I submit therefore that these are things on which some understanding is necessary. I hope hereafter whenever short-notice questions are put, Government will not be miserly in waiving notice.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“I greatly appreciate what the Hon. Leader of the Opposition has said regarding short-notice questions. May I request him to understand that short-notice questions should be put only on matters of grave emergencies and for eliciting information and not for making debates. I shall never grudge giving information, but on debating points I shall never yield.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“I know that the Hon. Chief Minister has never yielded and will never yield hereafter. I am sorry that he has conceded the right of the Opposition to bring in short-notice questions only on matters of grave emergency.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Was my statement to the Press a matter of grave emergency?”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Yes, Sir. It was a matter of emergency for Andhras. The new Chief Minister had just then

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taken over the reins of administration. It was a matter vital to the two crores of Andhras to know what the Hon. Chief Minister was going to do about them.”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—“Let us not have a debate over this.” (Laughter.)

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“I sincerely trust that rightly or wrongly, our Hon. Chief Minister will not repeat hereafter that the Opposition is here for only chaos. Let him not repeat that we are here for financial sabotage. I am not arguing, Sir. The Hon. Chief Minister may not say anything jocularly on debating points. But his words have a political effect. It is having an effect upon the Services. When a gentleman of his position—not an ordinary gentleman but one who had occupied the highest position in India—if that Chief Minister comes here and says that the Opposition is out for chaos, what happens? It has a tremendous effect upon the District Officers, upon the Heads of Departments and big officials. Will they freely talk to us? No, they won't. The moment the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachariar said ‘let not the non-officials go to the Heads of Departments’ it produced a great change. The Heads of Departments who were anxious to know who were the Government Party Members and who were not, immediately reacted saying ‘whether one is an M.L.A. or not, let no one come to us.’ Hence I request the Hon. Chief Minister not to repeat such things, viz., ‘that the Opposition is meant only for chaos’ or anything like that. Why should the Chief Minister have the suspicion that he could expect only chaos from us? Why should the Hon. Chief Minister remark that the Opposition is Communist-dominated and is out for only chaos? The words of the Chief Minister are having a political effect. It produces suspicion among the people about us. The other day I was talking to an engineer. While I was talking, another engineer came and enquired of the other engineer what he was talking and why he was talking. I am only citing this as an instance to show the effect the Chief Minister's words produce. Perhaps the Chief Minister said so in a jocular way, but he should be aware of the big noise made over it outside.

“I am not against the Opposition being criticized, but not to the extent that we are out for chaos or anything of that sort. On the other hand, we are all fully alive, just as the Congressmen are, to our responsibilities. Time alone will reveal that the step we have taken in having integrated all the opposition parties into one was an act of great constructive activity. Time alone will justify our action. Simply because a particular group amongst us has a particular ideology, it is politically wrong to snub or divide the Opposition. I am not entering into a debate on this question now. I want to impress on hon. Members that we, the Opposition, are also Members of this House as the Congressmen are. We have also been elected to this House by the people's vote. I sincerely trust that the Hon. Chief Minister would take note of this fact.

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"I come next to the second remark of the Hon. Chief Minister that the Opposition are out for financial sabotage. Perhaps, in the context in which the Chief Minister used it, that expression may be a mild one. But all the newspapers featured it. Suddenly people began to doubt whether there had been preparations for any looting of any bank. (Laughter.) When I asked the Hon. Chief Minister to give the definition of the word 'financial sabotage', he said that he would wait and give the answer. It should be remembered by all that what we talk here is talked about not only in our streets but the news goes 400 and 500 miles away. What will the people outside think of us? The common man in the mufassal thinks: 'What are the Opposition Members secretly planning at? What is the "financial sabotage" they are aiming at?' Such is the effect which the Chief Minister's words produce amongst the common people. Realizing this, I sincerely trust that the Hon. Chief Minister would not repeat such statements.

"Several questions were asked by some hon. Members on this side about the police atrocities in some parts of the State. Immediately the Hon. Chief Minister comes to the rescue of the police and says that he never believes in exaggerated reports. By making such statement, he gives in effect a *carte blanche* to the police.

"Just before I came here on the 27th June, an incident took place in Waltair. A sub-inspector there was having some dealings with the fishermen of 'Lawson's Bay.' There are about 500 houses in that locality. As is usually happening in several parts of our State, there was illicit distillation or drink near that place also. I was told that the sub-inspector was having a share in that transaction and that he also used to get money from the fishermen. One day the usual transaction took a different turn. It was said that the sub-inspector demanded more money and they refused. A quarrel took place. The sub-inspector used force. Of course, the fishermen used counter-force. The sub-inspector was beaten. The police took up the case. When a police officer and that too of the rank of a sub-inspector had been beaten, it was considered a big offence. All the houses in the locality were thoroughly 'searched.' Some innocent children, women and pregnant women too were taken out and beaten and asked to give information. The police people entered huts, drew out the children, drew out the women, drew out even pregnant women and asked them, 'Where is the man who beat the sub-inspector?' as if the man was to be found in all the five hundred houses, as if it was necessary to enter every house and drag out the people from there! Then what happened? Within forty-eight hours, more than half the village was empty; the village was practically evacuated; people fled away to the neighbouring villages. A swami who was living in that area went to the people who had fled away and told them everything would be enquired into and asked the people to return to their homes on that assurance. After three or four days, most of the people, through the efforts of the swami, returned to their homes. The Collector whom

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I saw was good enough to talk to me; he did not say 'you are an M.L.A., therefore do not come to me' but he was good enough to talk to me. I told him that this was a matter which the District Magistrate should take up, for it was a matter involving police people, and however strict the District Superintendent of Police might be, unless the District Magistrate took up the matter into his own hands, things could not be set right and people in the villages would be terrorised. I have also instanced the Rajahmundry incident. Every day letters are coming to me stating how the police people are behaving. The fact is that they do not take interest in the ordinary kind of work; they are just seeing what the Minister is saying, whether the Police Minister is defending them or not. The previous Police Minister, we all know, was always defending every one of the acts of the police in this House; and the moment any remarks like that came from him, which had the effect of giving a *carte blanche* to the police, they began to think they could do anything and felt free to do anything. I submit the Hon. Chief Minister has got a great duty by the people of this State. I do not say that he should abuse the police people or take them to task on my word; I do not say he should punish the police people on ex parte statements; I do not say he should use words of threat or of abuse to the policemen; I only submit when complaints are made here in the House, let no answer be given here generally that 'it is all an exaggeration.' Immediately it is said, you must realize the sufferings and difficulties of the poor people, who are most of them fishermen,—particularly in connexion with cases of prohibition,—or Harijans or members of the backward classes; immediately you use such language, they are simply ill-treated, maltreated, assaulted and molested. I have given you the latest instance.

"I have also come to know of a case where a motor lorry was stolen; its number is M.S.P. 751; it was stolen on 7th February 1952. Until to-day, i.e., 10th July 1952, no enquiry seems to have been made; nothing whatsoever has been done and the lorry has not been found out. What does the complainant write to me? He writes that he actually saw the lorry in a particular man's house in Ponneri; and as soon as he saw it, he went to the police; he says he went and represented the matter to the sub-inspector of police; the name also is given here, and I shall tell it to the Hon. Minister later. He continues, 'if I go according to his procedure, then only he will seize the lorry and arrest the concerned party' and all that. So, this kind of thing is going on I got this letter only just now; I trust the Hon. Chief Minister also would have received a copy of it; because everybody in these days sends a copy of the petition not only to me, but I think to the Chief Minister, to the President, and to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also; and I also think that because everybody sends it to everybody, therefore everybody throws it into the waste-paper basket and nobody attends to it. I do not know what the Hon. Chief Minister is going to do about it. But one thing; he must tell the

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police even now that they must be courteous to the people, that they must realize that India is now an Independent Sovereign Republic where everybody has got equal rights, that the police are there only to preserve law and order, and not to molest and assault the people, that it is not their birthright to molest everybody"

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Is it right to charge them with all this? My hon. Friend is perfectly entitled to ask me and to ask my colleagues, 'Be courteous, be just, be honest, be diligent,' but he is not right in saying in the same breath that everyone is generally the opposite of all that."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"So many cases have come to our notice. I have also studied logic; if it is stated for instance that men are liars, it does not mean that all men are liars; and so when we make a general statement like this in regard to the police people, it only means a good number of them."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The very thing you attribute to them you should not commit; we should not suspect and condemn people without hearing them."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I have not condemned anybody; I only say that a good number of policemen do such things, particularly when the baton is put into their hands. That is why I said previously that although the police here may be Legislature Police, let them not have the baton with them. There is no use, Sir, the Hon. Chief Minister saying 'do not say it generally of them.' When I say it generally, I do not mean cent per cent, and general statements cannot mean cent per cent. Why should the Chief Minister think it applies to all? When I say that the police people must be told to be courteous, it does not mean that cent per cent they are discourteous; when I say they must be kind-hearted, I do not mean to say that all of them are hard-hearted. The Hon. Chief Minister must understand me only in that spirit. I am not here to condemn anybody; why should I? They are all of them my countrymen; they are in charge of law and order and they are given certain powers. I have at the same time given certain instances where they have not behaved well and if immediate action is not taken—even as in the case of the Rajahmundry incident no action was taken and the man was not immediately sent out of the place or at least suspended—what would happen, I want hon. Members to imagine. If no action is taken, naturally they will have the idea that they can get on in the manner they are doing. The police atrocities of 1949-50 are said to be the result of no prompt action having been taken against the concerned officers in the Katuru affair. If any complaint is made in the House, we should not be told 'On this ground, how can the Government take ex parte action?' I want the Hon. Chief Minister to give a new orientation to the policy adopted by Government in regard to this matter. He can frame his sentences in his own

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language, so that there may be no general condemnation of the whole police force; but all the same, there must be some sort of re-orientation in the policy, and he must make the police people understand—not a few of them alone—that they have got a particular duty towards the people of this country.

"Coming now to the question of new taxes, I believe, Sir, that almost everyone who has spoken, except perhaps two or three hon. Members, almost everyone from both sides of the House has disagreed with the new proposals; some of them actually condemned them; some of them suggested alternate proposals; and some of them said that these taxes were unnecessary. I do not want to go into details now, for the Bills relating to these taxes are not now before us; but I do hope that the Government will take all this criticism now made into their consideration before they actually introduce the Bills, and that they will modify the provisions by that time in view of the present criticism. I accordingly reserve my criticism on the incidence of fresh taxation to a later date when we will have the Bills actually before us, and I shall content myself now with saying that any fresh tax on the people at this stage is absolutely unwarranted, and that it will never be appreciated by the people, whatever my friends on the other side may say.

"I also submit that our deficit is only a make-up deficit; I do not think that any deficit which may be there need be taken notice of. I may illustrate it by saying that the Annual Financial Statement was presented to us already on the 3rd March 1952 by the then Finance Minister. This statement was presented to us on the 27th June last. Let us see what the estimate of receipts was at that time and now. Under the sales tax, for instance, in March 1952 they estimated a receipt of Rs. 16.25 crores; and in between that date and June 27th when this revised Budget estimate was presented to us, what has happened? During these three months, we all know the slump was there, as it was prior to the 3rd March, and there has been a fall in wholesale prices—and that was the case even on the 3rd March—and that is why the Hon. Mr. Shetty on the 3rd March referred in his speech to these things and said that because of these causes, there might be a decrease in our revenue under sales tax. So, he put the probable revenue at Rs. 16.25 crores, but now we find in the present Budget that even that figure has further been reduced to Rs. 14.50 crores, I want to know on what basis this further deficit of Rs. 1½ crores has been arrived at. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'Actuals'.) My hon. Friend says 'actuals'. They are after all only preliminary accounts; the actuals will be known only after three or four months. We have only the 'preliminary accounts' in June; there may be recoveries and amounts may have to be adjusted, and that is why the preliminary accounts are prepared. I therefore submit that so much shortage in income as Rs. 1.75 crores need not be shown in the Budget now. Again, under stamps, they foresaw in March last that we would have a shortage of Rs. 44 lakhs. The transactions have not ceased all on,

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a sudden, they continue to go on as before the 3rd of March 1952; and yet, we find that the decrease in income under this head is estimated to be 44 lakhs. Then again, I find they have put in lump-sum provisions of Rs. 60 lakhs in two places under Irrigation and Grow More Food Schemes. The Hon. Finance Minister himself will agree that these lump-sum provisions are not wholesome. It is true the previous Government did it; they expected the elections to come off in 1951 and so in 1950 they put in lump-sum provisions; but the elections came off only at the end of 1951, and so they put in lump-sum provisions of—not one or two lakhs, mind you—Rs. 60 lakhs under one head and another Rs. 60 lakhs under another head. I submit, Sir, if there are no estimates and if there are no demands, if the engineers do not want the amount and the departments themselves do not want it, what is the meaning of putting in these Rs. 120 lakhs? At any time when you want money, you can come to this House with a supplementary demand. (The Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari: 'You encouraged it.') The Hon. Chief Minister says that I encouraged it. With great respect, I may say there is some confusion about it. Creating a separate fund is altogether different; a fund which may be replenished year after year is different from allotting Rs. 60 lakhs as lump-sum provision under Electricity or Irrigation or Highways. I do not of course want to dig into the past, but I may say it was a device of a Ministry which felt diffident if they would come back; that is why perhaps they put in lump-sum provisions so that they might not come before the House once again, and they might be utilized for whatever purpose they pleased. (Laughter.) By this means the Irrigation Minister then wanted to satisfy the Finance Minister and the Finance Minister wanted to satisfy the Irrigation Minister. Thus, the shortage foreseen in March 1952, has increased in June 1952, to the extent of Rs. 175 lakhs plus Rs. 120 lakhs and about Rs. 40 lakhs under other minor heads, resulting in a total of Rs. 3 crores and odd. Sir, I submit I was in charge of a small municipality—which is not of course like a big Government. But the ways of the Secretariat officials, the ways of accounting in the district boards and municipalities are practically the same. They have all got the same training, the same orders to go upon, the same Budget months and the same rules; and they all do the same thing, viz., foreseeing less of income, demanding more money for expenditure, and in the end finding that no schemes are taken up and executed at all. If only the new Members of this House will please look into the various columns of the Budget estimates, they will find several blank spaces under 'Preliminary accounts.' At the time of presenting the Budget, Mr. Rajagopalachari or the Finance Minister has to satisfy Mr. Ramaswami or Mr. Viswanatham or somebody else who may be very insistent, and in order to satisfy them, some provisions are shown but after the year is over, the column will be a big blank. Therefore I say, we know how the income is foreseen to be less, how the demand is foreseen to be more and how at the end of the year no expenditure is shown to be incurred at all and then how they can come with a supplementary Budget before the

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House for schemes which they had taken up during the year without the knowledge of the Legislature and have it all carried by the majority which they always command. These are things, Sir, which I submit the Hon. Chief Minister must carefully look into.

Sir, I gave you only three items from which you can see that all these three items go to make up the deficit. In that view also I think the alternative taxes are unnecessary. Apart from foreseeing the loss on account of evasion of sales tax, if any hon. Member on the Government side, who does not agree with the fact that wholesale evasion of sales tax is going on will only go to a shop, he will know what is really happening. Most of the Members know—perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister has no occasion to run up to a shop—what the shopkeeper does. The cost of this article or that article is Re. 0-15-2 and so on. The man who purchases the articles from the shopkeeper runs away immediately because he has to catch a bus and what happens is, the shopkeeper does not give the bill. If at all the purchaser insists on the bill, he has to pay the sales tax. Otherwise, the shopkeeper does not write out the bill, because the purchaser is in a hurry to catch the bus. Then, Sir, the Income-tax department also is cheated and therefore our share of the income-tax is also lessened. So, Sir, why not tighten up the collection of sales-tax? I also understood that a number of coffee hotels have come up even beyond the licensing limit, not only in the City of Madras, but in all important places. In fact, when there was rationing, most people began to live in coffee hotels only. So, Sir, if you tighten up your department and if your Commercial Tax Officers are vigilant and if that department is properly purged of corrupt people, I say you can collect nearly 3 to 4 crores of rupees. In fact the estimate by one Chamber of Commerce was that if the sales tax collection is done properly, you can get as much as Rs. 7 crores more. I say even that may not be realizable, because there are many loopholes everywhere. But, still, I say you can collect Rs. 4 crores more. I am submitting that not only the deficit can be wiped out, but you can also get more revenue.

Again, Sir, the Hon. Mr. A. B. Shetty in his Budget speech told us that Rs. 8½ crores under revenue was spent on capital works. I submit, Sir, that it is not a wise policy to spend so much on capital expenditure from revenue account. After all, capital works are only intended for the benefit of the generations to come. Capital works of such a magnitude which absorb Rs. 8½ crores should only be undertaken from borrowings and not from revenue account. Therefore, Sir, if you do not spend money on capital works from revenues, if you tighten up the sales tax department and ask your officers to be very strict and also purge the department of the corrupt elements, I am sure you can get Rs. 3 or 4 crores more. Yesterday, Sir, Mr. Jayarama Reddi and also Mr. Muthiah Chettiyar suggested alternative taxes. I am not in favour of alternative taxation. In my opinion, no taxation is necessary;

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"Let us now look at another thing. We are now compelled to keep our funds in securities. I understand that there is a loss of about one crore in 1951-52 and 1952-53 on sales of securities. To get our own money from the Reserve Bank by the sale of securities, we have to lose one crore of rupees. The Hon. the Chief Minister was telling us that we should thank the Reserve Bank for the accommodation shown to this State and for having given us overdraft. What is the good they have done? They have given an overdraft. But, do they not collect interest on the overdraft? What is the legislation under which the Reserve Bank was constituted in India? It is its bounden duty to accommodate us. Yet it does not accommodate us. It asks us to sell our securities in the open market, because the confidence in the Government was completely shaken and in two years the loss on account of sales of securities went to the tune of one crore of rupees. Therefore, Sir, I submit that if you take all the figures and facts into consideration, no new taxation is necessary. I only hope that the Hon. Finance Minister who is now having discussions with the Finance Commission, will come to the conclusion that no further taxation is necessary and that taking into account the subventions and grants that the Government expect from the Central Government before July 31, these unwanted and unpopular taxation measures will not be brought in and thus he will also save the people from worry and his own party from some unpopularity.

"Sir, I do not wish to take up much time. The Budget speech began by saying that the Government have taken credit for certain measures in respect of famine. No doubt people were glad that in respect of famine areas the Government took immediate action and they did something. But the demand from our side—not only from our side but also from the Government side—is, 'please do something which will prevent recurrence of famines.' I think in 1937-38 when the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister of this State we were faced with a big famine and a large amount had to be spent. I suggest that instead of spending large amounts for unproductive works every three or four years, Government should do something for Rayalaseema, so that these famines may not be a recurring feature. You know, Sir, certain recommendations were made by the Famine Enquiry Committee which was constituted in 1938-39, I think, under the presidency of the late Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar, they made some valuable suggestions. I hope that Government will take all these things into consideration and if necessary take into confidence the Members, those coming from Rayalaseema in particular, and arrive at measures which will give permanent relief to Rayalaseema. The sooner it is done the better.

"Then, Sir, afforestation is one of the measures which I would suggest in respect of Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema is denuded of all forest lands. Except the Nallamalais which is shown as forest land, vast extents of forests have been denuded. Some say that

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trees bring rain and others do not agree with it. There was some forest officer who wrote in an article that trees have nothing to do with rains. Why did he say that? I do not know. If there is greater denudation, there will be greater loss of humidity and therefore water vapour that is condensing into water drops again gets reconverted into vapour and goes in the form of a cloud; but if there is humidity, clouds are attracted and water droplets are formed into rain and fall on the earth. Sir, there was a time when Rayalaseema was considered as the centre of wealth in South India. Did not some Portuguese writer say that in the whole world Rayalaseema was the centre of wealth and prosperity and the seat of one of the greatest of kingdoms? Then, why should it become poor now? Because we did not afterwards follow any policy; or because the previous Governments did not follow any policy, famine conditions prevail. Not only Rayalaseema is suffering from famine conditions; even the Mettur reservoir is not filled up and also the Pykara is not filled up. Even the Nilgiris is now denuded of trees. So, Sir, I want the Government to see that vegetation is not removed in this heartless way, in order that we may get a temporary benefit for ourselves and leave the future generations in the lurch. Let us have not only our interests at heart, but also the interests of our sons and grandsons.

"Sir, the Government have also taken credit for decontrol. I submit that I was one of those who always pleaded on the floor of this House for decontrol. I do not believe in controlled economy, so far as rice is concerned. Everywhere rice is produced in large areas interspersed by vales and dales all over the State. Many crores of persons are involved in production and it is humanly impossible even for the most honest of men to procure it correctly and distribute it correctly. In its wake, control brought in only corruption. When the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari was the Governor-General, he was pleased to come to Visakhapatnam and I, as the Chairman of the Municipal Council of the place, had the privilege of presenting a welcome address to him, in which I told him that decontrol must be undertaken. Of course, at that time he was of a different view. Now, I am glad that the God who is in him, in me and in the people, had told him that decontrol must come. All right, he has taken credit for that particular action. Even in regard to the zonal system, he has taken credit for himself. It is like the fight between two scientists in Germany; one scientist claiming the discovery for himself and the other saying he was the first to discover. In fact, I had been pleading for the zonal system and the records during the last three years will prove it and both the hon. Dr. Rajan and the hon. Mr. Roche Victoria will bear witness to the fact that I was pleading for the zonal system and, even if controls cannot be completely removed, I submit that this zonal system is the second best. I always said, 'combine the twelve Telugu districts into one zone and then there would not be much work for the Government.' Then you could divert all imports from outside the State, Orissa and Central Provinces to the

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south so that your administration might become easier and transport easier. On this point, I have to say something. There is some trouble about prices here in the south. I was really wondering why it should be so. What happened was this. The Hon. Chief Minister may know that 4 lakhs of tons of rice was locked up under Government orders in West Godavari and in the surplus districts. Under an outmoded theory the Government say that when there is a deficit they would release the stock. What is happening is, people are going to West Godavari which is called the granary, but this granary is not able to release the stock. Therefore we are short by 4 lakhs of tons of rice. The people are going there again and purchasing from producers on payment of one or two rupees more. So, the purchasers pay higher rates, bring it here and sell it at higher prices. I submit, therefore, that the Government should look into the matter. There is no use locking up the available rice in the godowns and then saying that prices are shooting up. Unless therefore you release the stock in the godowns, the prices may not come down. In my district, for instance, the ordinary price of rice is lower than the control price and it is cheaper and it is cleaned rice. As stated by Mr. Venkatanarayana Dora, in areas like Salur, the price for a measure is Re. 0-6-6 whereas in Visakhapatnam it is Re. 0-8-6 and it is so because of shortage of railway wagons. In this connection, may I request the Hon. Minister to get into touch with the Railway department and ask them to give us more wagons? All your policy of decontrol will be nullified if the Railway department do not co-operate. In fact, we had that difficulty in 1948-49 when wagons did not move and so even the available rice was locked up in certain places as a result of which people had to starve. Therefore, I submit that Government should get into touch with the railway authorities and ask for wagons for easy transport of foodgrains. If not, they have to be taken in lorries. Sir, lorry charges come to Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per bag, whereas the railway charge is about Re. 0-12-0 per bag. That accounts for the difference in price which the consumer at Visakhapatnam has to pay. May I ask the Hon. Chief Minister to examine whether he cannot control the transport rates by lorries so far as foodstuffs are concerned and restrict the lorry rates to the level of the railway rates or impose a particular tariff and ask them to charge at concessional rates when rice and other foodgrains are under transit?

"Then, Sir, I come to another point. It was suggested by an hon. Member yesterday, that this Budget has given a new orientation. I ask, what is the new orientation that this Budget has given? Has not the centre of gravity shifted from the higher classes to the middle classes and the poor? Only yesterday when asked for statistics about the landless poor, the Hon. Minister replied that the time taken to collect the statistics will be too much and that it would be waste of time. I submit, Sir, that that attitude must go. It was true that when the English people ruled us here, a few of us had the right of franchise.

"May I know, Sir, whether I can take half an hour more?"

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MR. SPEAKER:—"The programme has been changed. At first, it was thought that Mr. Rajan might take 45 minutes and then the Leader of the Opposition should have been called, but since Mr. Rajan concluded his speech in about 20 minutes, the programme had to be changed."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:--"I will not take more than ten 12-30 minutes; I shall wind up. There will be many other occasions for p.m. us to tell the Hon. Ministers what we have to tell them. Mere speeches on the floor of this House may not be of great use unless we have a persuasive tongue to convince them in a single pithy phrase, which all of us are not capable of."

"The attitude of the Government must change. They must no longer say that it will be a waste of time to collect statistics. When we ask for statistics about poor men, middle class men and agricultural labourers, I say the Government must take all necessary steps to get the information. A shift in the centre of gravity has taken place. Why do not the Government realize this? Those who did not realize this fact were washed out in the elections. As a matter of prudence, it is necessary for the Government to know where the centre of gravity lies. Let us not say anything which will not be in the interests of the lower middle classes, the poor and the unemployed."

"Credit has been taken for the grant of educational concessions. I understand that in the whole of the Tiruchirappalli district only 771 students are benefited by this concession. In other districts too, the position would be about the same. The Government must have a larger vision and take a more liberal view in this matter. I understand that in the States of Hyderabad and Mysore, education up to the secondary stage is free to all children, whether they are children of Government servants, teachers or others. If small States like Hyderabad and Mysore can run their administration on this basis, I wonder why our Finance Department cannot prepare a Budget on the same basis. If only some of the non-official Members are taken into confidence, we shall certainly help the Government to bring about this result. Middle classes, lower middle classes, poor classes, poor landlords, poor pattadars, exservicemen, employees of Co-operative institutions—in fact all people are now complaining about their condition. The Government have not changed their attitude towards these people. It is necessary for them to change it and pay greater attention to them."

"One of the most outstanding problems not only in the City of Madras and big towns but throughout the State is the problem of housing. I say that the housing of the poor people, whether they belong to the Harijan Community or other Scheduled Classes or others, is a primary charge upon the revenues of this Government. Unless the Government create a separate portfolio for housing, not for distributing the existing houses among their favourites, but for increasing the number of houses . . ."

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THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"This is insinuation."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I do not insinuate. I am only describing what was done and this is termed as insinuation."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"The hon. Member should give up this habit."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"If the Hon. Chief Minister had been a Member of this Assembly during the last five years, he would have realized that what I said was a mild description of what was happening. Why should I insinuate? I ask the Hon. Chief Minister to do things now. I will forget the past."

"The Government should have a housing policy. In many municipalities, there are slums. Particularly Harijan quarters are very bad and the poorer section of the people are living in very bad and insanitary conditions. The Madras Corporation has borrowed Rs. 30 lakhs for clearance of slums and some slides depicting slum clearance work are exhibited on the screen in cinema houses. I wonder whether the Government are satisfied with that. They must do it more seriously. Next to food, housing is the most important thing. For the prosperity of this State, I submit that the housing problem must be tackled. A separate ministry for housing should be set up as in England. In England there is a separate ministry for housing set up after the establishment of the Labour Government. Month after month, our Legislature Library is getting reports about the progress of housing schemes in England, Scotland and Wales."

"To get our co-operation, I suggest that the Hon. Chief Minister should constitute Standing Committees in various departments. I know that the Hon. Prime Minister of India said that Standing Committees were outmoded. When I have got a comfortable majority of 388, everything is outmoded. When my word carries weight by the show of hand and not by the use of reason, everything is outmoded. If the Government is to run smoothly, it is necessary to have Standing Committees, particularly for reviewing big schemes whose cost run into several lakhs of rupees. Very few people know the details. I doubt whether all the Ministers are aware of even the major aspects of the various irrigation schemes, except perhaps the Minister for Public Works and the Minister for Finance who go into the plans and estimates. I ask how many Ministers had known the structure and design of this House designed by that great Consulting Architect who has been pleased to give us so much heat and sun so near the sea coast. At least for reviewing schemes costing more than Rs. 10 lakhs or Rs. 15 lakhs, there must be a committee composed of the representatives of all parties. They must have an idea of what is happening. That the Estimates Committee will be a parallel Government is the argument advanced against it. I hope the Hon. Chief Minister has now, after three months, become more democratic-minded than he was and that he will not use such an argument. I submit that a Standing Committee will not be a

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parallel Government or a parallel Finance Ministry. The members of the committee will be interested in the progress and well-being of the State and the proper expenditure of the finances of the State, and they will make very valuable suggestions.

"I submit that in all that the Government do, they must make the people feel that Swaraj has come. Some big men in India and the 375 Members of this House have been feeling that since August 1947 Swaraj has come. We fought and got Swaraj for the people. But have we given it to the people? No. We must take immediate steps to establish Swaraj for the people. The village swaraj must be there. Unless powers are decentralized and the people trusted, unless the people are made to feel morning and evening that they are enjoying the fruits of Independence which was obtained after a great and hard fight for thirty years, the Government will go the way of the previous Governments. Governments may come and Governments may go, but only the name of him will remain who gives back to the people what was got for the people. Let us as self-sacrificing persons give power to the villages but not under the present Village Panchayats Act. The panchayats under the Act have no independence; they are all under the thumb of executive officers who will always be looking to Madras for instructions. We want real *grama* swaraj and self-sufficiency in villages. Let the Government reorient their thoughts and measures so as to make the people feel the pride of Swaraj."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. Minister will reply to the debate after lunch."

The House will now rise for lunch and meet again at 2-30 p.m.

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"This morning the hon. the Leader of the Opposition said something about procedure, which is not correct. It is not the intention of the Chair to interfere in the debate. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition said, regarding privilege motion, that when the Speaker said that it was a *prima facie* case, at once the Leader of the House should stand up and accept the motion. That was not the case. The Speakers in England guard themselves by saying that the question raises a *prima facie* matter of privilege. Simply because the Speaker has stated that it is a *prima facie* case, it does not mean the House should accept it. The final authority in coming to a conclusion whether it is a breach of the privilege of the House is not the Speaker, but it is the House. In this connection I wish to quote from Sir Gilbert Campion, now Lord Campion. He was Clerk of the House of Commons for over 30 years. When he retired, he was raised to the position of a Peer, and he is now a Member of the House of Lords. In 1948, the 'Daily Mail' characterized the Members of the House of Commons as traitors and secret agents. The matter was referred to a Committee of Privileges. Sir Gilbert

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Campion was asked to give evidence, because he was considered a living authority on parliamentary privileges. Mr. Grenfell put the following questions to him:—

Q.— Is not a ruling of the Speaker that it is a *prima facie* case tantamount to an instruction that the matter should go before the Committee of Privileges?

A.— No not an instruction. If Mr. Speaker rules that there is *prima facie* case, what follows from that is that it can be debated then and there and take precedence over the Orders of the Day. The House could deal with it on a motion on the spot, declaring it was or was not a breach of privilege; but in most cases if there is a question of doubt, it would be referred to the Committee of Privileges.

Q.— A division of the members present would decide it?

A.— Yes.

The House should not go with the impression that it is the Speaker that decides the case, but it is the House that decides whether a matter is a breach of privilege or not. The House is the final authority."

(The hon. the Leader of the Opposition wanted to see the official report of his speech.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"I knew that the hon. Member would contradict me. I am now reading from the official report. The relevant portion is:

"The question of privilege should not be treated on party grounds: it should be decided on its merits. Particularly when the Hon. Speaker was of the opinion that a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege has been made out, the Government ought to have, according to parliamentary convention, referred the matter to the Committee of Privileges."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"May I explain, Sir? I never said that the Speaker's decision was final. When the Speaker says that it is a *prima facie* case, that by itself shows that it is not final, but it is the House that should decide it. I simply stated that the Government, which necessarily had got the majority, should adopt the parliamentary convention of moving a Privilege Motion and refer it to the Committee of Privileges. That is all that I said. I never wanted to create the impression in the mind of the Hon. the Chief Minister that I had any wrong idea, that the Speaker should decide immediately that it should go to the Committee of Privileges. I only said that as an indulgence to the Opposition, the Government, who always had a majority, should adopt the parliamentary convention . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The words the hon. Member used are 'ought to'."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I said the Government ought to adopt the parliamentary convention. Sir, if we refer to May's Parliamentary Practice, page 363 or so, we will find that it has invariably been the practice in the House of Commons since 1902 or so to refer the question to the Committee of Privileges, when once the Speaker is of the view that it is a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege. That is all that I said."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"I must also say that in the olden days it was the Chair that decided questions of breach of privilege. Now they have changed the rules."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"In Delhi the rules have been changed. The Speaker has reserved to himself the right of referring the matter to the Committee of Privileges straightway."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"May I waste another minute, Sir? The whole mistake and the difference of opinion and the difficulty to understand one another arise out of one fact that the hon. the Leader of the Opposition seems to think that generally, if not always, privilege motions come from the Opposition. The opposite of it is the case. Privilege motions come more often from the Leader of the House than from the Leader of the Opposition. If that bias be removed, he will see that what the Speaker has explained is the correct position, and there can be no difference of opinion. It is a distinction without difference to say that it is not an instruction. The real fact is that ordinarily the Speaker's decision should go without any further question. But where the Opposition attack the Government as a whole, the rule comes into play, and the House has to decide it. But, anyway, I do not wish that it should become a debate."

MR. SPEAKER:—"My object is that every Member should know the procedure regarding breach of privilege. It is only for that purpose I intervened in the debate. The Hon. the Finance Minister will now reply to the debate."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, before I proceed to the various points raised by hon. Members during the last six days, I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to this House for the kindly reception it has given on the whole to the Budget proposals. I offer my thanks to hon. Members who gave their generous support and also to those who made constructive criticisms. But my special thanks are due to those who opposed the Budget from A to Z, because in my view in a democratic Legislature they also serve who stand and oppose. It is my conviction that a strong and effective Opposition is necessary for an effective, efficient and good Government. One of the great weaknesses of the previous Government, in my humble opinion, was the lack of a strong Opposition. When that strong Opposition is not there, the Government, in my view, becomes weak. Therefore, I welcome a strong and effective Opposition in this House, and I echo the sentiments expressed by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition that Members of the Opposition are as much an integral part of this House as the Members on the Treasury Benches and others behind them are. In this connection, I would like to tell the hon. the Leader of the Opposition that I am much interested in a strong and effective Opposition. But there is a party, the ideology of which is to claim all the privileges and rights of the Opposition in a democratic Legislature for as long

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as they are in the Opposition, and once power passed into their hands, they would like to liquidate the entire Opposition and create an one-party dictatorship. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition took objection to the use of the word 'chaos' in a certain context. It is not as if all the Members on the other side want chaos. As a matter of fact, as the Hon. the Chief Minister put it, they are more orderly than Members on this side. They care for decorum and they follow the rulings of the Chair more implicitly than anybody else. But it is not the temporary phase of orderliness with which we are concerned. We are concerned with the ideology of a party which is wedded to the establishment of a dictatorship—it might be of a class—not by legitimate and peaceful means, but by force and violence. It is one of the items of their programme to achieve that objective, that there should be 'chaos'. There should be grievances and there should be everything which would weaken orderly Government in any country. Therefore, when a reference was made to chaos, it did not refer to the hon. the Leader of the Opposition nor to Mr. Adityan, but it referred to those who are wedded to this programme of violence and force and the establishment of a dictatorship.

(Sri T. Viswanatham at this stage passed on the programme of the United Democratic Front to the Leader of the House.)

"It is not there in the programme of the United Democratic Front. He refuses to understand what I am referring to now. In his heart of hearts he knows that what I refer to is a fact which cannot be disputed. I am not accusing the United Democratic Front, as it is functioning here. I have nothing to say about its programme. It has been put forward as the minimum programme. But I am referring to the ideology of a party which is wedded to violence and which is out to establish a dictatorship by force and violence. Therefore when I refer to it, let no hon. Member imagine that I am casting any reflection on such of those as are in this House or for the matter of that on those outside this House. I am referring to an ideology for which they are working through this House and through other activities outside also. Let it be clearly understood that when we say 'chaos' we do not mean any reflection on the Members of the Opposition as such in this House, but we refer to the chaos which is inherent in the very ideology of the Communists."

2-45
p.m.

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On a point of order, Sir, I thought the Hon. Minister would make a passing reference and, therefore, I did not like to interrupt him. But I would like to point out that there is no question of the Communist Party functioning here, as he himself admits."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"That is a fallacy the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition is always labouring under."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"The Hon. Minister says that I am labouring under a fallacy. It is much better that he and I labour under the common fallacy. With regard to the common

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minimum programme, I would like to point out that all the Opposition parties have combined and formulated a common programme. What we have written herein is 'On assumption of office, take the following executive and legislative measures . . .'. This is the programme and it will be quite in order if the Hon. the Leader of the House confines himself to the programme which we have placed in his hands, instead of referring to ideologies with which this House at present has no concern. Even the Communist Party of India, after assumption of office by the Hon. Sri Rajagopalachari here, has not said anywhere that they are wedded to a violent revolution or chaos or dictatorship of the proletariat. If, on the other hand, the Hon. the Leader of the House and the Hon. the Chief Minister have got any evidence with them, we will be glad to know it, for the Members are here and they will be in a position to explain or contradict it rather than allow these statements to go by repetition. And, fater all, repetition will not make a statement correct."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, I am glad the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition is able to speak not only on behalf of the United Democratic Front Members here but also on behalf of the Communist Party of India."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On your behalf also!"

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"None will be happier than I to know that Communists have given up their creed of violence, and their idea of establishment of a dictatorship by violence, but that is quite a different thing. None will be happier than I, if not only by profession but in action also, at the present juncture and in the future, they show to us that they mean what they say. I do not want to labour this point any more."

"The hon. Member Sri T. Nagi Reddi, I think quite legitimately, pointed out the difficulties of the Members in participating in this debate on the Budget. He complained, 'We are not able to understand these Budget proposals which are full of facts and figures, printed on so many pages and we find it difficult to know what is what and where any facts or figures are to be found for the purpose of understanding them.' I very well realize the difficulties pointed out by him. As a matter of fact, as soon as I assumed office as Finance Minister, I instructed the Finance Department to prepare a comprehensive note which would be helpful to the hon. Members of this House to study the Budget and understand it and I wanted that that note should be printed and circulated, if possible, before the discussion on the Budget began here. But the hands of the Finance Department were full in revising the Budget proposals in accordance with our directions and, in fact, they are only half-way through that note. But I can assure the hon. Members that the note will be completed and I will have it printed and distributed to the hon. Members at the earliest possible moment."

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“One other factor which the hon. Member Sri T. Nagi Reddi mentioned was this. He said, ‘The Budget is introduced by the Government and then we are asked to discuss it within a few days. Is it possible for anybody to digest these Budget proposals within so short a time and make a criticism which would be an effective criticism?’”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“And which would be helpful to the Government.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“There also I agree with the hon. Gentleman. But he should realize that we were rather peculiarly situated this year. General elections intervened and an interim Budget was presented by the Care-taker Government. As soon as we assumed office, we had to make revisions as far as possible, and present a revised Budget to this House. Before the new Constitution came into force, the constitutional position was that the Budget proposal for the coming financial year should be debated upon and even voted upon by the 31st of March. But now there is a change in the provision with regard to this. A provision has been made in the Constitution that there could be a vote on account. So much so, it is not necessary that the entire Budget should be passed before the 31st of March. After voting on account, it could be leisurely taken up and debated upon in the months of April, May and June. But as I already stated, we were peculiarly situated this year because of the intervention of the general elections and also after the first general elections, under the transitory provisions of the Constitution, the previous Legislature continued to be in existence till this House was summoned. Under those circumstances, we could not do any better than this and this House also had to be under all these disadvantages. But next year there will be time enough for every hon. Member to go through the Budget leisurely, make a complete study of it and make proposals which would be helpful to the Government and also which would be helpful to throw out the Government, if necessary.

“One other matter that was mentioned was that this Budget was too complicated and that it should be a little more simple, so that even an ordinary layman could understand it. Unfortunately, Budget-making is not such an easy process. It is a somewhat complicated process. We have inherited the tradition of the past in framing the Budget and it will not be very easy to depart from that. But let me assure the hon. Gentlemen on the other side that, as far as possible, it will be my endeavour, if I continue to be in this office, to simplify the Budget proposals so that they may be made as less complicated as possible.

“Sir, during the discussion of the confidence motion, I made a reference to the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition and said that he was a creature of circumstances. He took very great exception to it; but I confess, Sir, that as far as I am concerned, in framing these Budget proposals, I was a creature of circumstances.”

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SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“And all of us are no doubt creatures of circumstances.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“Sir, I was saying that I was a creature of circumstances in framing these Budget proposals as I had no clean slate to write upon. It is not as if writing upon a clean slate has advantages only. Writing upon a clean slate has its advantages and disadvantages also. So, I had to take the situation as a whole. I could not possibly ignore what all happened in the past as I could not overlook the existing conditions and circumstances. So, under those circumstances and within the limited time we had at our disposal, we had to revise the entire Budget framed during the last year by the Government which was in office then. The preparation of the Budget is not made overnight. It is a continual process. As a matter of fact, as soon as one Budget is completed, the process of compilation of the next year's Budget starts again. I had that disadvantage also. In addition to that, I found that I had assumed the office of Finance Minister at a time when the returns from the various taxes were falling and when the reserves which had accumulated during the war years had almost been depleted, though it might be that they were utilized for good purposes. But the fact was that I had to face a situation wherein the taxes were not yielding as much as they were expected to yield. Take the sales tax, for instance. It was growing year by year but it has now reached almost the maximum point; it has turned the corner of increasing yield and has begun to fall. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition made a reference to the sales tax and said that we had underestimated the income from that tax. I will presently refer to that aspect of the matter, but the fact to be faced by me was that there was no longer a growing return from the sales tax. On the other hand, I found a definite turn for the worse and I had to take particular note of that aspect of the situation.

“In addition to these, as I have already mentioned in my Budget speech, there were two other factors which faced me. One is the all-important famine condition which prevailed in many parts of the State, not only in Rayalaseema but also in Guntur, South Arcot, North Arcot and many other districts . . .”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“It is continuing also.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“I agree. But when I had to frame the Budget, I had to take note of these circumstances.

“The hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi is always accustomed to make speeches and run away at the time of reply. I am sorry on this occasion also he is not here to hear the reply.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“I am here.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—“He is always represented by some other Member (laughter) and that seems to be his

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way of dealing with the matter. There are some people who are always fond of delivering speeches and then running away. It is the duty of a Member not only to speak but also to hear.

"Sir, the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi referred to the fact that 'the Finance Minister is interested only in the Budget, he is sorry that his revenues have become depleted because of famine conditions, and he is not concerned with anything else'. Yes, Sir, as far as the Budget proposals were concerned, I had to take note of the revenue side only, the financial side only. That does not mean that I have no human heart. That does not mean that I am not interested in the famine conditions existing in almost all parts of the country. I am as much distressed as the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi, if not more. He referred to the relief measures adopted by the Government and said, 'They are all half-hearted measures'. It was mentioned by various other hon. Members also that 'it is merely an eyewash.' Sir, I did not have the advantage of being present in the House when Sri Ramamurthi delivered his speech yesterday. That was unavoidable because I had to be present elsewhere. The hon. Gentleman said that gruel centres in Cuddapah had been closed down. I was wondering whether, as a matter of fact, any orders had been passed by inadvertence to close down the gruel centres. Therefore, I had to ring up the Secretariat through my Hon. Colleague the Revenue Minister and this is the information I have received now—

"No orders have been issued for the closing down of gruel centres. Only one gruel centre at Rayadrug in Bellary district has been closed down. The Collectors have been told to use their discretion and close down gruel centres when the attendance falls very low, that is, below 20."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"On the basis of a telegram that was received only yesterday and that too to an hon. Member here who is representing Cuddapah, my hon. Friend Sri Ramamurthi made that statement. Now, according to the Hon. Sri Subramaniam, Collectors have been given the discretion, and probably the Collector used his discretion to close down gruel centres."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, I want the hon. Gentleman to note the condition attached to the discretion. 'Collectors have been told to use their discretion and close down gruel centres when the attendance falls very low, that is, below 20.' Ordinarily in a gruel centre, about 400 or 500 persons are fed. The average attendance is that. But if it falls below 20, that means that there is really no need for the gruel centre in that locality. It can be very well closed down in that case."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"But those 20 persons will feel hungry."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I agree. But I want to point out that the discretion given to the Collector is circumscribed by the condition that the gruel centre can be closed down if the attendance falls below 20. Even then, he is given

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discretion to continue it. There are a large number of gruel centres throughout the State and the following are the numbers in each district:—

Name of the district.	Number of gruel centres.
Anantapur	395
Kurnool	75
Chittoor	623
Cuddapah	470
Nellore	73
North Arcot	84
Salem	49
Coimbatore	31
South Arcot	7

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Is it the latest information?" 3 p.m.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Yes, this is the latest information available. Under these circumstances, we do not know from whom those telegrams have been received saying that all the gruel centres have been closed down and that there was great panic everywhere and all those things. We should be a little careful in all these matters and should not place too much faith in these telegrams. Perhaps, certain interested parties have given those telegrams and one should be careful when making an accusation or a statement on the floor of this House. A statement has been made that in Cuddapah, the gruel centres have been closed down. I got the text of the speech of the hon. Member Sri Ramamurthi and went through the same to find out whether he has given any figures in regard to this matter. He has not given any figures, but has only made a general statement that in Cuddapah gruel centres have been closed down, giving an impression that there has been a wholesale closing down of the gruel centres in Cuddapah. It is not fair to the Government nor is it fair to anybody to make such a statement. When the hon. Member made a statement, he should be able to give figures as to how many centres have been closed down and under what circumstances they have been closed. He should not be content with making a general statement. As far as the Government are concerned, we have issued instructions that as long as there is necessity, these gruel centres should be run, whatever might be the cost of running them. Therefore, I can assure the hon. Members of this House and particularly the hon. Members coming from the famine-stricken area of Rayalaseema that these gruel centres will be run as long as there is necessity for them. The instruction given to the Collector is that when the attendance falls below 20 he may exercise his discretion and close down that particular centre. The relief work also will be carried on as long as there is necessity for it and as long as famine conditions exist.

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It was mentioned here and elsewhere that contractors have misbehaved. I concede that some contractors might have misbehaved here and there. But it is wrong to make a general statement that the entire system of entrusting the work to contractors was bad. Wherever it was found that contractors misbehaved, the Revenue Department has taken up the work itself and the Public Works Department also has taken the work upon itself and they have run these relief works in such instances."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"That is not the case always."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Yes, it is not possible for the Departments to intervene in all cases. Wherever it is possible, it has been done. I do not say mistakes would not have been committed. Wherever there were mistakes, and they were brought to our notice, we have rectified the same. In large scale relief works like these, there will be some mistake somewhere. But there is a class of people who always feed upon the misery of the people and take advantage of the misery of the people even when giving relief to famine-stricken people, and try to make a few more rupees. That is really an unfortunate state of affairs and the sooner it is ended, the better it will be for the country."

"In regard to loans, the hon. Gentleman Sri Ramamurthi criticised our policy, and when he referred to takkavi loans, he made an accusation that these were given only to the large pattadars. I do not know on what basis he made that statement. That loan is distributed to all the ryots there and 95 per cent of them are small ryots and not big ryots. That being the case, I do not know why he made that statement. He has not quoted anything in favour of his argument, but has quoted himself. Sir, these loans are being given to all the pattadars. Whatever it is, I wish to tell the hon. Member that the loans are being given not only to big pattadars, but to all landholders, however small their holding may be. If it is only a matter of giving these takkavi loans to large pattadars, then there is no point in giving the same. So, Sir . . ."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On a point of order, Sir, the Hon. Minister was telling that the hon. Member Sri Ramamurthi was quoting from his imagination when he said that these takkavi loans were paid to big pattadars. It is wrong. I think I am entitled to raise a point of order to correct the Hon. Minister. Sir, I will now read from the book entitled 'Speech of Sri C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister, presenting the Budget for 1952-53 to the Legislative Assembly and Council', wherein the Hon. Finance Minister has himself stated that 'the grant of takkavi loans was liberalised for the support of the larger pattadars.' It is therefore wrong on the part of the Hon. Finance Minister to say that the hon. Member Sri Ramamurthi was quoting from imagination when he said that these takkavi loans were given only to large pattadars. With a view to correct the Hon. Finance Minister, I have raised this point of Order, Sir."

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MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a point of order. The hon. Member has been here for the last 12 to 15 years. I think he must know that it is not a point of order."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am only trying to enlarge that right, Sir."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"When there is a famine like this, not only the small pattadars, but also the larger pattadars are under distress, especially when there has been a continual drought in the last 4 or 5 years. I did not say 'larger landlords'. I only said pattadars. We felt that it was necessary to give relief not only to small pattadars but also to larger pattadars, of which class also the other side claims to be the champion. That is why I said that these loans were liberalised for the support of the larger pattadars, whose need for these loans is also as great as that of the small pattadars. Therefore, it does not mean that we are interested only in the larger pattadars and we do not care for the smaller pattadars. On the other hand, we have been granting these loans to all those who need them, because of the unfortunate circumstances existing there. Simply because a man has got a larger holding, we cannot deny assistance to him. As a matter of fact, in view of the continual drought in the past 4 or 5 years the need of some of these larger pattadars has become greater than that of the small pattadars, and it is our duty to go to their succour and help these people as well, along with the small pattadars. On this account, you cannot make an accusation against us and say that we are only giving aid to the larger pattadars and are neglecting the smaller pattadars altogether. It is an unfair accusation and an unfair statement made on the floor of this House."

"Sir, there is one other matter which causes some concern and that is the handloom industry. As far as I could see, this problem is not going to be solved as long as the conflict between the mill industry and the handloom industry exists. We are not going to solve it by giving a subsidy now or by finding out a small foreign market. By these means we are not going to solve the problem. This can be solved only if we solve this conflict between these two industries. Therefore it has to be tackled wholesale and not piecemeal. I don't claim to say that whatever we may do now in this matter will be a permanent relief and will put this industry on a permanent footing. This is a temporary measure that we have taken at present to meet a temporary situation. As far as this problem is concerned, the Government are prepared to go the whole way, whatever may be the cost of the scheme. But, as the handloom industry has to exist and survive so that the 50 lakhs of people in our State may find an honourable occupation to maintain their families, this conflict between the handloom industry and the mill industry should be ended; and that could be done only by reserving certain useful varieties which should be woven purely by the handloom industry. There should be a complete ban on the mill industry to weave any variety of cloth"

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in that sphere. By adopting that method alone, we can solve this problem. It should be our endeavour to bring about that situation when this conflict could be ended. I expect the co-operation of the hon. Members not only on this side, but also on the other side in solving this problem.

"Sir, I have been listening to the debate in this House for the last six days. I wish to tell this Honourable House that the Finance Minister is not only a tax-gatherer, but also the custodian and guardian of public funds. He has got to see that priorities are allocated wisely and expenditure is incurred wisely, so that there may be no waste. It is also the duty of the Finance Minister to see that the maximum return is obtained for the money that has been spent. I may state that I gladly welcome any criticism from the other side pointing out to me the various fields where there might have been a wastage of public funds and where we might not have been getting the maximum return. I should also welcome suggestions to stop that leakage. As a matter of fact, I expected that the hon. Members on the other side would do these things and suggest ways and means in this regard. But everybody was only pleading for more and more expenditure and most of them were speaking only from the political side."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"I have given some suggestions."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Of course there are certain honourable exceptions like the hon. Gentleman. The general trend of the debate was for asking more and more expenditure and for avoiding fresh taxes as far as possible. I think I am entitled to ask for the co-operation of this House in the very necessary duty of the Finance Minister to see that no waste takes place and that the maximum return is obtained. This could be done not only by the watchfulness of the Treasury Benches, but also by the hon. Members on the other side. I can assure the hon. Members on the other side that whatever may be their criticism in this respect, I will gladly welcome it. As far as I am concerned, I will be prepared to take such criticisms. It is only in that way we will be able to meet all our necessities in nation-building activities. As far as the State Government is concerned, all the nation-building activities have to be undertaken by the State Government. In the Constitution, if we see the division of the functions of the Central Government and the State Governments, we will find that all the nation-building activities for the welfare of the people are with the State Government. Allocations have been made with regard to taxation also. The resources also have been divided, but in that division we find that all the rich resources have been reserved for the Centre and only the residue, residue in the sense that whatever is left over after reserving for the Centre, is given for the State. The Centre reserves to itself all the rich and flexible resources and only very few taxes have been left over to the State Government. The only flexible source that the State Government has is the sales tax. As far as

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land revenue is concerned, it is almost a definite and fixed thing. But for the first time, we are attempting to make a departure now. I will explain that a little later.

"Formerly, there was the tax on liquor; but now we have got Prohibition and we cannot get much from that source. The other field is taxation on motor vehicles which too is not exclusively a State subject, but is a concurrent subject. In certain respects, if we tax motor vehicles, we have to get the concurrence of the Centre. Thus, our sources of taxation are very much circumscribed and therefore we have to depend on the Centre for their subventions, grants and loans for our various activities. If we have to get the maximum from the Centre, it is not going to be got by offensive speeches on the floor of this House. I am sure we can obtain maximum results by negotiation and by persuasion and I hope with our Chief Minister as head of the State, we will be able to get the maximum from the Central Government for the development of our State.

"Sir, I always take the view that Government is not an end in itself. It is one of the social institutions necessary for the welfare of the people. It might be the premier social institution with very great and vast powers; But still it is a social institution intended for promoting happiness among the people and it is only for this purpose of promoting human happiness that Government functions. The State was a Police State until recently. But now the conception of Government has been enlarging and the concept of a Welfare State has come to prevail all over the world. So much so, it has now become the responsibility of the Government to see that conditions exist in the State in order that people are properly fed, properly clothed, properly housed and are given proper education. It is the duty of the State to see that proper sanitary conditions exist and that proper medical treatment is given to the people whenever they fall sick. All these functions have fallen upon the Government; and as far as I am concerned, I am prepared to say that it is the responsibility of any Government to see that these requirements of the people are met. And if these requirements are to be met—these essential requirements—the money does not come from heaven or from outside sources. Only the people have to contribute to the Government, so that the contributions may be utilized for the common welfare of the people. Therefore, if we want all these extra activities, additional activities, and expanded activities to be carried on by the Government, we must provide the necessary money. The concept of a Welfare State is widening and widening so much, that the Government are obliged to find greater and greater resources and all these resources have got to be found only from the people and nowhere else. When I say, this, I know that it should be obtained in accordance with the capacity of the people to pay. You will find, Sir, that in the present taxation measures, we have taken into account the capacity of the people to pay. As I have often pointed out, the richer resources have been taken away by the Centre; and, we are left only with the sales tax. But fortunately, it is a very equitable tax. It is a tax paid by the

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people according to their capacity. The poor man goes and purchases according to his capacity. Therefore, he pays sales tax proportionately on that. The rich man purchases more and therefore, pays more tax. Therefore, this is an equitable tax and that is why it has become the main source of State revenue now.

"Sir, in making proposals for fresh taxation also, I claim we have taken this factor into consideration. When I deal with each taxation measure, I shall try to briefly deal with this aspect. After making our Budget proposals, I found that, as far as I could see, there was a deficit of 3½ crores of rupees. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition said that we had purposely manipulated the deficit. He used the word 'manipulation'; for what purpose he said we manipulated? 'Here is a set of wicked people who want to tax poor people, people who are already suffering. They have manipulated the accounts to show a deficit in order further to burden the poor people.' Sir, are we so wicked as that? Leave alone wickedness. Are we so foolish as to go on burdening the people with taxes? Taxation is never a popular measure, whatever may be the necessity for it. Let me tell the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition who is not here . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Leader of the Opposition is here."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I am glad he is here. Let me assure the Leader of the Opposition that there is absolutely no manipulation. He says that sales tax has been purposely under-estimated. He asked: 'On what basis have you put this figure Rs. 14.5 crores? It should be Rs. 16 crores and so you will have 1.5 crores more.' We have taken the various trends into consideration as far as possible in framing the Budget. For my part, I studied it as an ordinary human being would study it and as an ordinary new Finance Minister would study it and then only estimated the revenue from sales tax at Rs. 14.5 crores this year. Let me tell the Leader of the Opposition, I will be more than satisfied if the estimated amount of tax is realized during the current year."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On a point of personal explanation. Sir, it was said that the word 'manipulation' was used by me. I never used that word . . . (The Hon. Sri Subramaniam: 'You have said it and I have also made a note of it here.') I never said that Mr. Subramaniam manipulated the accounts. I am not so bad as that. The Hon. the Finance Minister will please hear me when I say that the tax was put at Rs. 15.1 crores in the month of March. That is, the Government budgeted in the month of March for Rs. 15.1 crores. Even under the preliminary accounts we see we have got Rs. 15.58 crores. That is why I said that to say that the tendency for the sales tax is to fall and not to rise is not a correct appreciation of the position. On the other hand, the original estimate of Rs. 16.26

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crores seems to be more correct and nothing has happened between March and June to underestimate the income under sales tax. That is all the explanation I want to make."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I wish the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition had been in my position. As far as we could see, the returns for March, April and May showed a downward trend. I think we have taken a very optimistic view of the future and made this estimate of Rs. 14.5 crores. I stand by that estimate and as I have said already I shall be more than satisfied and shall be very happy if the estimated amount is realized. Then, the Leader of the Opposition says: 'Here are two items—Grow More Food schemes which take away Rs. 60 lakhs of rupees and the tank improvement schemes which take away a like amount—and if these two schemes are given up, you will get another Rs. 120 lakhs.' May I inform hon. Members of this House that as far as each item is concerned, the provision is for the purpose of meeting expenses on the schemes which have already been started? I do not know how the schemes were selected. Perhaps Sri T. Viswanatham is more familiar with the history of the schemes, because he was also a Member of the party which was running the Government then. Sir, these provisions are for schemes which have already been started. We are not making such provisions in order that the Revenue Minister may satisfy the Public Works Minister or the Public Works Minister may satisfy the Finance Minister. It is not our intention to function that way at all and I may assure the Leader of the Opposition that that is not the way in which we function. To sum up, therefore, it is not as if we could avoid this expenditure of Rs. 120 lakhs and cover the deficit. As regards sales tax, as far as we could judge from the figures available, we could take credit for only Rs. 14.5 crores. I am sorry that the Leader of the Opposition jumped to the conclusion that this Budget could be a surplus one if we only tightened up here and there and got some four crores of rupees that way. He said, 'Then it will be a surplus Budget and there will not be any necessity for all these unpopular measures of taxation; become popular by avoiding further taxation.' I feel that perhaps that was the very purpose for which the Leader of the Opposition was saying that there should be no taxation. It might have been easy for us to put up inflated figures and say that the taxes are unnecessary. I am sure that that is not the way of becoming a popular Finance Minister. I have to take note of actual, existing conditions. I have to take note of the circumstances prevailing. I cannot act on mere imagination or on paper. Therefore it is no use saying, cut two crores here and cut one crore there and you will have a surplus Budget. We do not want a manipulated Budget. That is why we honestly calculated the estimated revenues which would be available for this year, and have come with these proposals for taxation. If we want that the welfare schemes of the Government should be implemented, it is necessary that there should be some additional taxation."

"Before I actually take up the various measures of taxation proposed, I would like to refer to an argument often put forward

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by certain Members of the House, that is, the conflict between rural economy and urban economy. It is always said that amenities are provided for the urban areas alone and rural areas are neglected. But we should realize this fact that cities have grown. We cannot prevent their growth. Our present civilization is conducive to the growth of cities and when there is concentration of population in a limited area, that itself creates certain problems which have got to be solved. For example, take the Madras City. You have got tarred roads here. They are a necessity; they are not a luxury because you find thousands of cars running every minute on the roads here. Suppose the roads are not tarred; suppose the roads do not have a dust-proof surface. Do you think we will be able to sit in this Chamber now and deliberate? There will be nothing but dust everywhere. So also there should be drainage. Because of the concentration of population in these areas, water cannot be allowed to run in the open and get dried up. In a village, however, where there are a few houses and, therefore, a small flow of water from the gutter, we can allow it to run and get dried up. Here is a population which is big and the water running in the gutters here will form a rivulet if the water is not controlled. It will bring in its wake all kinds of diseases. We cannot shut our eyes to the concentration of people in a particular area. About the hospitals also, the same thing holds good. They have to be located only in concentrated areas, because there is always difference between rural life and city life. Here the place is more congested and more contaminated. In villages, on the contrary, there is good and free air. Life in villages is certainly better than urban life. Hospitals in congested areas are a necessity. That does not mean there should be no hospitals in villages. But it is not possible to locate hospitals with our present resources in every village or even in every big village. Therefore, they are to be located at a central place which will be easily accessible to all the villagers roundabout. They should be able to reach the place easily. Similarly, take colleges. They are located in cities. Many other institutions also grow like that. It is not quite intentional. Therefore, when we find that there are more amenities in the urban stations, they are but a natural growth; not an artificial growth, according to me. If we want that these cities should not grow, then we should stop the growth of the present civilization and revert to rural civilization. We cannot have it both ways. We must, therefore, take it that wherever there is a concentrated population, more amenities have got to be provided. Further it is not as if all the amenities provided there are exclusively restricted to the urban population. They are intended for the rural population also. The colleges, hospitals and various other institutions are not restricted to the use of the urban population only, but are also available to the villagers.

3-30
P.m.

"No doubt people living in the locality might derive greater benefit and greater advantage, but it is no argument to say that it is purely intended for the urban people. Therefore, if it is said that there is a conflict between the urban and rural interests, it

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is an artificial conflict, it is a conflict which we ourselves try to create and then try to end it. Let us look at the State as a whole and try to solve the problems and let us not be saying that many more amenities are required for the villages only. Many more amenities are required not only for the villages but for the towns also. Let us face problems bravely and let us not create more conflicts than necessary. Already there is conflict between class and class. Let us not create a new conflict between the rural and the urban population.

"Next, Sir, I wish to refer to the Capital expenditure programme proposed in the Budget. Some suggestions were made; I say they were almost an accusation that we have cut down the Capital expenditure, even the expenditure that was provided in the interim Budget. I would request the hon. Members to look into the figures furnished in the Budget. At page 31, Appendix II, it will be found that the provision made under the interim Budget was Rs. 896.59 lakhs. It will be found therein an item, Rs. 80.00 lakhs towards lump-sum deduction for probable savings without showing where the actual cut is going to be made, so that it might be distributed over all the schemes mentioned therein. The only thing we have done in the present Budget is that we have distributed the Rs. 80 lakhs between the various schemes. We have done nothing more than that. In spite of that, it has been said that we have cut down even the interim Budget proposals. As far as our Capital expenditure is concerned, it is not so. If a reference is made to the totals, it will be found that the two figures tally, the figure under the interim Budget and the figure under the present Budget proposals. The figures are the same, namely, Rs. 896.59 lakhs. So also is the case with Capital outlay on Electricity schemes. A lump-sum deduction of Rs. 199.39 lakhs was provided in the interim Budget. This has been distributed under the different schemes but the total allotment in both the estimates is the same, namely, Rs. 8 crores. In spite of deterioration in our financial resources, we have tried our best to maintain the scale of Capital expenditure at the same level. Again it was said that we have slowed down work on the Malampuzha project and there is an impression also in the State that it has been slowed down. There was a slowing down no doubt in March last. That was because our resources ran short and we were not sure of the assistance that we would be getting from the Centre. Now the Centre has granted a loan of one crore of rupees specifically for the project and let me therefore assure hon. Members from Malabar that as far as this project is concerned, that work has already been speeded up and it will be maintained and the project finished within the scheduled time. Then reference was also made to the Manimuthar project. A provision of Rs. 50 lakhs was made in the interim Budget proposals in respect of this project. Now it has been cut down to Rs. 40 lakhs. This is only on account of the redistribution that we have made among the various schemes from out of the total lump-sum deductions for probable savings. As regards this project, one other factor has to be remembered. We have allotted Rs. 40 lakhs for this project. We are going to finish

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the Lower Bhavani Project and all the machinery which is being utilized for the Lower Bhavani Project will become available for transfer to the Manimuthar Project. Though in terms of actual money the provision might be only Rs. 40 lakhs, when we take into consideration the machinery we propose to transfer to this project, the total provision will be in the order of Rs. 70 to Rs. 75 lakhs. Therefore, hon. Members need not go under the impression that we want to slow down any scheme. As a matter of fact, it is to our interest, it is in the interest of the State that they should be speeded up and completed as early as possible, especially the half-finished scheme because the longer we delay the projects, the longer will be the dead capital locked up there without any return. Therefore, Government are interested in speeding up all projects and seeing that they are completed as early as possible.

“ With regard to electricity schemes also some reference was made to the effect that we are slowing down the schemes. It is not so. We are having many more schemes ready than necessary; as a matter of fact, there are so many schemes now ready that it will not be possible with our present financial resources to complete them this year. As far as extension of electricity is concerned, the bottleneck is not only finance; there is another bottleneck. However much we might wish, it will not be possible for us to overcome that bottleneck, particularly the bottleneck in copper wire. The annual requirement of copper for the Electricity department of this State is 1,500 tons but we are getting only a negligible fraction of this quantity. Recently, the raw materials section of the United Nations allocated 1,400 tons of copper for all the countries in the British Commonwealth including India, Ceylon, Great Britain, South Africa, etc. This is the allotment for the current year. This will show to what extent we are suffering for want of copper conductors. Therefore under the existing circumstances, we are interested in pushing up the electricity extension schemes as fast as possible, because we do realize that if we want to increase production of food, it can only be done by the completion of the irrigation projects and also by making cheap electric power available to the agriculturists to lift water for irrigation. From that aspect, it will be the endeavour of this Government to speed up all the schemes to the utmost extent possible.

“ Then, Sir, I will refer briefly to the various taxation proposals made by the Government and the counter-measures suggested by hon. Members. Once it is conceded that I have made out a fairly good case that additional resources are necessary for this Government if the Government were to carry out the schemes put before the House, we have to get on additional resource of about four crores of rupees. Wherefrom could it be got? Suggestions have been made that only the rich people who are able to pay should be taxed. I completely agree with them. But an alternative suggestion was also made. ‘ Why undertake these fresh taxation measures? Scrap Prohibition. You will get 16 crores of rupees.’ This was the suggestion made by some hon. Members on

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difference, a fundamental difference between business and agriculture. The conduct of a business by itself requires the maintenance of accounts. Without accounts, nobody can run a business. As far as agriculture is concerned, it will only be an additional burden and unnecessary expenditure imposed on the agriculturists. As far as I am concerned, I am prepared to say that many of the poor people paying a kist ranging from Rs. 50 to 300, if only they pay to the State Exchequer what they would be spending on clerks and others for the maintenance of accounts, would be paying double the tax that they would be paying according to the measures that we have now proposed. Therefore, it is not possible under the existing circumstances to impose agricultural income-tax. This aspect has been considered by the Land Revenue Reforms Committee and we came to the conclusion that it would be another sort of harassment if we introduced agricultural income-tax at this stage. The country should be prepared for it. It is not prepared for it now. That is why we proposed this levy of surcharge on land revenue. Many hon. Members agreed with this principle but said that the exemption limit of Rs. 50 was rather low and that it should be raised. Some hon. Members suggested that it should be Rs. 150 and others Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 and the Leader of the Opposition was generous enough to say that it should be Rs. 500. (The hon. Member Sri T. Viswanatham stood up in his seat.) What is the tax the hon. Member is paying?"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am a commonest man. I do not pay any taxes."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I am not going to address detailed arguments at this stage, because this measure will be coming up before the House at a later stage when it could be examined in detail. But what I want to say is this. Suggestions have been made to raise the minimum to Rs. 100 as it would be reasonable. What is the additional burden we impose on the people? Take the limit from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. We propose that a surcharge of 2.5 per cent, that is, Rs. 12-8-0 should be paid. A person paying hundred rupees will be called upon to pay Rs. 112-8-0, i.e., an extra sum of Rs. 12-8-0. After all, the land available in this country is very limited and if we distribute the entire land *per capita*, it will come to not more than one acre per head and if that be so, people paying land revenue above Rs. 50 must be owning approximately more than about eight acres or nine acres of wet land and if it is good dry land it would be 15 to 20 acres. Should they not pay some additional tax when compared to others holding small pattas of half an acre, one acre, two acres or three acres?"

3-45 p.m. "It is in this view that Rs. 50 was taken as a reasonable limit. As far as higher income groups are concerned, suggestions have been made that a surcharge ranging from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per rupee should be levied. If the hon. Members are really serious about it, we will consider that also. Another suggestion was also made that tea and coffee plantations are left free and that we are not taxing

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them enough. I wish to inform the House that we are not going to leave them untouched. If hon. Members go through the Report of the Land Revenue Reforms Committee, they will find that agricultural income-tax is proposed to be introduced and as far as these plantations are concerned, it is recommended that agricultural income-tax should be operative immediately and forthwith. We are prepared to stand by that recommendation." (Applause.)

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"When?"

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Just now we have come. As soon as possible, we will take up this question also and see that agricultural income-tax is made applicable to tea and coffee plantations. It would not work any hardship also as accounts are already being maintained and they need not follow a new system hereafter. As far as the Centre is concerned, a percentage of the income is treated as non-agricultural and on that, income-tax is being levied. As far as the agricultural portion of the income is concerned, we shall examine the entire question thoroughly and bring forward measures for levying an agricultural income-tax."

"Then comes the surcharge on bus fare. It has been characterised as horrible. It has been stated, 'let us tax bus owners rather than the passengers'. Ultimately, it is the bus owners that are going to pay this tax. Even though at present we have allowed them to levy seven pies as maximum, in many places this maximum is not levied, because it is not quite economical. Therefore, Sir, I am prepared to consider proposals which will not fall heavily on the poor travelling public but would only cut into the large profits of bus owners. But, there is another aspect to this question. We have to take into account other vested interests likely to be affected. The vested interest in this case is the Centre. The Central Government are levying income-tax on the profits of the bus-owners and therefore if we try to cut into the profits of the bus-owners, the Central Government are likely to protest but I am sure I will have the co-operation and backing of the entire House in asking the Centre that, as far as we are concerned, we are entitled to tax the bus passengers and collect the tax from them. It is only from that point of view that we have levied the tax in this form and it is not our intention that the entire burden should fall only on the passengers. I am sure hon. Members will make suitable and very reasonable suggestions to remedy any of the defects or remove the difficulties in levying this tax."

"In regard to the betterment levy, many hon. Members opposed it. But, we should realize that it is the public funds, funds belonging to the entire people, that are spent on schemes which make the lands more valuable. There is an unearned increase in their value. Is not the State, representing and belonging to the entire people, having spent so much of public funds on the schemes, entitled to a share in the unearned increase in their value? I am sure hon. Members will agree that this is a just and fair proposal, that betterment levy should be levied on properties which get the

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advantage of the schemes that have been executed at public expenditure. And with that view, we have made certain proposals and they have got to be examined. Of course, in regard to the tax on foreign liquor, there has not been much opposition. With regard to these taxation measures, I want to say one thing to hon. Members. As far as I am concerned, I want to say "I don't have a closed mind. I am going to move a motion that these proposals may be referred to Select Committees so that those Select Committees may scrutinize them with the great care that is necessary in the case of these taxation proposals, so that when they emerge from the Select Committees, there will be no objection from any side of the House and all the hon. Members of the House, to whatever side they may belong, may feel that that we have made fair and just proposals and that these taxes fall on those who are able to pay and not on the poor people. It is only that aspect which should be scrutinized carefully by the Select Committees to be formed on the various taxation measures."

"Sir, I wish to say a few words regarding the community projects. It has been stated, 'these are American sponsored; Americans are behind these and they are trying to get hold of this country through community projects'. I am glad that all hon. Members are cautious and alert enough to see that no foreign State gets a foothold in this country. I am as much responsible and interested as Members on the other side that our country should not again fall into the hands of any other country or get into its clutches either economically or politically. I wish the hon. Members on the other side realize this fully and that is my appeal to them. Let us not walk into the parlours of America or England or Russia or China; let us be free from any of these dominations, from whatever side they may come and whatever creed they may profess. (Interruption from S. T. Adityan.) I am glad Mr Adityan agrees with it. I know some people agree with mental reservations."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"I have no mental reservations."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I don't say Mr. Nagi Reddi has mental reservations. He is open-minded and without mental reservations. So, Sir, let us not get under the domination of any country. (Cheers.)"

"Then, Sir, I turn to the Rayalaseema development schemes. Mr. Nagi Reddi is vitally interested and, as a matter of fact, every one of us is vitally interested because we cannot afford the ever recurring famine staring us again in the face. It is the duty of any Government to see that the conditions which exist in any part of the country and which contribute to the recurrence of famine, are removed as early as possible. A Development Board was specifically constituted for this purpose by the previous Government. As far as this Government are concerned, I can assure the hon. Members that it is the intention of this Government and it will be the endeavour of this Government, to develop this backward area as early as possible, so that it may no longer be subject to this ever-recurring famine. If I am unable to make concrete proposals here

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and now, it is because we don't have time to examine the various proposals before us to enable us to put before you a concrete scheme. But the matter is engaging the attention of the Government and they will evolve schemes for the development of the backward areas. I am sure Mr. Nagi Reddi will not insist, 'here and now you should give a scheme' and I hope he will be satisfied with the assurance I have given now."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"I will wait for the action."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I agree that they have to judge us by our action and they should judge us by what we do. We would also judge the Opposition by what they do and how they act. I am going to stand this test and hope the Members of the Opposition also will be prepared for the same test."

"Sir, let me make a final appeal. Let us sink our differences, petty differences I say; there might be ideological differences; but let us work for the common good of this State, so that our people may get a better life and better opportunities and may be able to lead a life which would satisfy their essential needs at least. Not only the Government but the entire House is responsible and this House should be prepared to take the entire responsibility. The Opposition cannot say, 'We are only in the Opposition and our duty is only to oppose.' On the other hand, it is the greater duty of the Opposition, if we err to correct our errors and see even if we fail, we do not fail at a critical juncture and that the Government do their duty for the betterment of the common man. I am sure, with that co-operation and with that common fund of goodwill, we will be able to see that our State prospers for ever. (Cheers.) I thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity and also thank all the hon. Members for giving me a patient hearing." (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"For the last six days, I have been observing the indiscriminate use of certain words by the Members and I want to bring it to the notice of the Members to-day. Hon. Members are using the words 'hon. Friend' indiscriminately. When a Member refers to a Member of his own party or side, he should refer to him as 'my hon. Friend'; if a Member wants to refer to a Member belonging to another party he should refer to him as 'the hon. Gentleman'. Members should make this distinction between 'hon. Friend' and 'hon. Gentleman'."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Are they not friends, Sir?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"They are friends outside the Assembly."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—"I want to suggest one thing, Sir. Many Members are new and they are not aware of the procedure. Instead of putting in writing how Members should address and all that, will it not be better if we have an informal meeting and discuss all these things?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"I will circulate a note as to what words should be used and the way in which hon. Members should address the Chair, as well as one another."

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THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I may be permitted to say that I would like to continue to be a friend even with the Members of the Opposition." (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"The difficulty is if the Hon. the Leader of the House addresses another Member as 'my hon. Friend Mr. . . . ' those who read his speech will be under the impression that the gentleman to whom he has referred as friend, belongs to his Party. It will create confusion.

"Regarding Demands, I must say that I have already had a meeting of the leaders in my chamber and we have come to a conclusion in the matter of allotting time for each Demand. It is not possible for every hon. Member to take part in the discussion on each Demand. The convention in our House is that no Member should take part in the Debate under more than two Demands. Then only it will be possible for every Member to take part in the debate on Demands. We should follow that convention, as otherwise some hon. Members will be deprived of any chance of speaking here.

"I now adjourn the House to meet again at 10-30 a.m. on Saturday, 12th July 1952."

The House then adjourned.

APPENDIX.

[Vide answer to starred question No. 69 asked by Sri C. R. Ramaswamy at the meeting of the Legislative Assembly held on 10th July 1952, at page 847 supra.]

Statement showing the allotments and receipts of standard iron and steel under different quotas from period I/52 to period III/52.

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Serial number and nature of quotas.	Allotment for period			Receipts against periods			Remarks.
	I/52.	II/52.	III/52.	I/52.	II/52.	III/52.	
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
1 Non-agricultural	TONS.	TONS.	TONS.	TONS.			
2 Agricultural	2,725	2,969	2,969	422.50			(1) With effect from period II/52 the Harijan and displaced fabricators quotas were merged with the non-agricultural quota. Hence separate allotments have not been shown.
3 Cottage industries	4,900	3,800	5,131.5	582.00			
4 Harijan	264	264	264	10.50			
5 Displaced fabricators	150						
6 Steel processing industries (State)	94						
7 Government Development Schemes	570	570	570				(2) Receipts under non-agricultural, agricultural and cottage industries quotas for period II/52 are nil.
8 Government sponsored Housing Schemes.	400	400	400				(3) Receipts under steel processing industries and pig iron quotas.—The Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras, consolidates all applications of the indentors and furnishes to the Director of Controlled Commodities every quarter a consolidated list of allottees indicating the quantities to be allotted. The Director of Controlled Commodities issues quota certificates to the allottees who place the orders with the controlled stockists and obtain the materials direct. No information about receipts under these quotas can therefore be furnished.
9 Pig iron (State)	860	780	780				(4) Government Development Schemes.—The Chief Engineer, P.W.D. (General), recommends the indentors of the local boards, municipalities and Governments departments and the indentors are consolidated and forwarded to the Iron and Steel Controller by the Director of Controlled Commodities. After the allotments are made by the Government of India, the Director of Controlled Commodities proportionately distributes the quotas to the indentors and the Iron and Steel Controller, Calcutta, issues the quota certificates. The indentors place the orders with the producers or controlled stockists and obtain the materials direct. No information of receipts can therefore be given.

(4) Government sponsored Housing Schemes.—The recommending authority is the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and the procedure followed is the same as that for Government Development Schemes.

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