

Mr. Vice-President : I shall now put article 32 to the vote of the House.

The question is:

“That article 32 stand part of the Constitution.”

The motion was adopted.

Article 32 was added to the Constitution.

Article 33

Mr. Vice-President : The House will now take up article 33 for consideration.

Shri V. I. Muniswamy Pillai (Madras: General) : I am not moving my amendment No. 940 as the subject-matter relates to the Schedules.

Mr. Vice-President : I shall now put article 33 to the vote of the House. The question is:

“That article 33 stand part of the Constitution.”

The motion was adopted.

Article 33 was added to the Constitution.

Article 34

Mr. Vice-President : The House will now take article 34 into consideration.

(Amendments Nos. 938 to 947 were not moved.)

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (United Provinces: General): Sir, I beg to move:

“That article 34 be numbered as 34(1) and the following new clause be inserted after clause (1) so re-numbered:

‘(2) The State shall encourage the use of Swadeshi articles and promote cottage industries, especially in the rural areas with a view to making as far as possible those areas self-sufficient’.”

In moving this amendment I wish to bring to the notice of the House the fact that the condition of rural areas is very bad today. In fact rural areas have been depleted, and deliberately deprived and made devoid of all their old initiative and incentive to work. The conditions in the villages are so bad that the artisan classes have all practically come to the towns. Even a barber, if he is good at razor, does not stay in the village but goes to towns where more money can be had. Attendance on villagers does not enable him to earn his daily bread. He goes to the town and opens a saloon. The village carpenter also does the same; if he knows his job well. He goes to town and easily earns Rs. 5 or 6 a day. Masons do likewise and also the tailors. All the craftsmen flock to towns abandoning their village homes. I want to put it before the House that, under these conditions, when the villagers have been reduced to the position of carrying their dirty clothes to the town to be washed, what will happen to three-fourths of our population living in the villages? We have put it on record that what we want is economic democracy. How will economic democracy come about in the existing state of affairs in the rural areas?

We have given the villager only the right of vote. And this too we have given him only to take back after every five years—he will give us his vote. He is only the custodian of the right of vote; and we being his leaders he must return the vote to us at the time of elections. We are always their leaders. Sir, I have had experience of Legislative Assemblies for the last ten or twelve years and I know that we are not treating the villagers fairly. All budget amounts are mostly spent in towns. Only in the towns you have electricity and all sorts of other amenities. Their roads are cemented. There is public health only in the towns. But the villagers are totally neglected. Every man who has the least initiative comes to the towns. All intelligence has come away and now it is only the sluggish people who are left in the villages. Anyone who has passed the Matriculation Examination comes to the towns and employs himself in some service or other. So the villages are

fast going to ruination. Now, Sir, it is very good to say that we want economic equality and economic democracy but cannot we on this occasion direct the future governments of the country that this is the line through which we want to achieve our objective of economic democracy? I am not opposed to big concentrations of industries in big towns. In fact, these big industries have been drawing muscular man-power from the villages. Villages have been their recruiting grounds. Villagers come and employ themselves in these big mills only to demoralise themselves in the bad atmosphere in towns. That is the reason why the Britishers purposely kept them weak and poor from all points of view. Initiative they have been deprived of, because otherwise they would not work as mere labourers. Sir, all the villagers cannot come to the towns. Even if you go on increasing the number of industrial towns, you cannot accommodate the vast populations living in the rural areas. They will have no housing in the towns. The purpose of my placing this amendment before you is that instead of the muscular power going to the machine, I want to carry the machines to the sources of muscular power. I want the machines to be taken to the villages so that the villagers who are living in their own sweet homes in their own healthy environments may not be snatched away from their families. At present, Sir, the pressure on land has become too much. The House may be surprised to know that in 1891 only 61 per cent of our population were employed on agriculture. In 1901, it was 66 per cent and in 1931 it was 72 per cent. Land has been torn into tiny fragments and agriculture has become totally uneconomic. If things go on like that, most of the villagers will come to the towns. We are enjoying our life in towns, while the villagers in whose name we come here are deprived of even their ordinary privileges of citizenship. Therefore, Sir, I submit that this amendment may kindly be accepted. Our Party, the Congress Party, has been propagating Swadeshi and cottage industries since its very inception. But now that the time has come for making our constitution, if we ignore the villagers that will be disappointing to the village people. I do not want to take any more time of the House because most of the Members of this honourable august House already appreciate the usefulness of the amendment that I am bringing forward. I hope honourable Members will consider the feasibility of giving to the world a new type of social revolution. In Russia, they say, there is already achieved economic democracy, but this economic democracy in Russia has concentrated all power in the hands of the State, with the result that the State has become autocratic. If you want to combine political democracy with economic democracy and translate into life Dr. Ambedkar's maxim, "One man, one unit", then you should make the villages self-reliant and self-sufficient. Otherwise the millions who are unemployed in the rural areas will never enjoy the fruits of freedom; they will remain slaves of the townsmen as they are today. Political consciousness and patriotism will come only when they are economically contented. The way to do this is to give them cottage industries so that they can live happily with their families in their own happy surroundings. It is only then that they can exert some influence on the government that be and contribute towards the progress of the country. With these words, Sir, I move this amendment and I hope the House will accept it.

Mr. Vice-President : I understand that there is an amendment to this amendment by Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar. Do you propose to move it?

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): Sir, I gave notice of an amendment, but I would like, Sir, that it be altered a little, as this altered amendment is more likely to be accepted. Instead of the amendment of which I have given notice, I would move with your permission that at the end of

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article 34 itself we add as follows :

“And in particular the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on co-operative lines in rural areas.”

If you will permit me, I will move that amendment, Sir.

Mr. Vice-President : Do you want an addition to the article which has been already accepted and passed?

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar : This is the article which is under consideration now.

Shri Amiyo Kumar Ghosh (Bihar: General): Sir, there is an amendment, standing in the name of Shri Gupta Nath Singh which is exactly the same as the amendment now proposed to be moved. The amendment number is 954.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar : What I want to move is in the place of Mr. Tyagi's amendment.

Shri Amiyo Kumar Ghosh : The new clause 34-A which is sought to be moved is exactly the same as this. It says:

“The state shall endeavour to develop and promote cottage industries and make the villages self-sufficient as far as possible.”

An Honourable Member : Are two persons permitted to address the House at the same time?

Mr. Vice-President : Two persons are not speaking. I am afraid you are making a mistake. Mr. Ghosh should have resumed his seat.

Mr. Chettiar, have you moved your amendment?

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar : That is the amendment, Sir.

Mr. Vice-President : Mr. Ghosh, what is it that you want to say? Please come to the mike.

Shri Amiyo Kumar Ghosh : Mr. Vice-President, what I was submitting was that there is already an amendment (No. 954) to the same effect and that instead of moving an amendment to Shri Mahavir Tyagi's amendment, it is better that we should take the amendment No. 954, which is to the same effect. I do not see why we should move this amendment over the amendment of Shri Mahavir Tyagi.

The amendment which is now going to be moved by my friend is to the effect that the State shall endeavour to develop and promote cottage industries etc. as an amendment to Shri Mahavir Tyagi's amendment, but I submit that when there is already an amendment standing in the name of Shri Gupta Nath Singh to the same effect that the State shall endeavour to develop and promote cottage industries and make the villages self-sufficient as far as possible, there is no need of moving this amendment. We can therefore take up amendment No. 954 for discussion and if it is acceptable to the mover, then we can accept it and put it as clause 34-A.

Mr. Vice-President : The amendment of Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar runs as follows:

“And in particular the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on co-operative lines in rural areas.”

That is the language of the amendment moved by Mr. Chettiar. Therefore, it is in order. Now the article is open for general discussion.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar : Mr. Vice-President, Sir, there is no doubt about the general feeling in the country that cottage industries ought to be encouraged. The only point I want to make is that so far the cottage industries have not been able to make headway for two reasons. One is the competition with the imported and mill-made goods and the other the want of organisation to help the cottage industries. Raw materials have to be supplied, wages have to be paid and above all, marketing has to be arranged. It is on the rock of marketing that most of our cottage industries have floundered. An

organisation for the purpose of undertaking these things is necessary and so far we have been able to find only two methods, either the introduction of master capitalists who will exploit labour or co-operative societies. Of course, it is not the intention of any of us that we should encourage these master capitalists, who practically exploit the village labourers and even town labourers. So the only method that is available and that is open to us is the formation of co-operative societies to undertake the supply of raw materials and the marketing of the produce. It is on that account, Sir, that I have ventured to move this amendment and I hope the House will accept it unanimously.

Shri H. V. Kamath : Mr. Vice-President, Sir, I am happy that articles 34, 32 and 31 have been incorporated in this Part dealing with directive principles of state policy. If the provisions in these articles are going to be seriously implemented and Government will really and in earnest take action in accordance with the provisions of these articles, I have no doubt that they will provide a new charter, the charter of a new life for the exploited, the disinherited and the under-privileged, and they will provide the basis or the framework for the blue-print of economic and social democracy in our country. I was very much heartened to hear Dr. Ambedkar saying the other day in this House that the Constitution seeks to lay down the ideal of economic democracy in this country. Indeed, Sir, that is the ideal we have got to strive for in this country. It may be argued that it is a vague idea. What is economic democracy and what is social democracy? Pandit Nehru, if I remember aright, when he moved the Objectives Resolution in this House hoped that our country along with the rest of the world would move towards socialism, though in his own mind there were doubts as to what democracy meant or political democracy meant or economic democracy meant. But, Sir, article 30 says that we will have social, economic and political justice. Is it not far better to say that we will have political, economic and social democracy, rather than mere justice, which is an abstract conception? (*Interruption*)

This concept of economic and social democracy has formed the basis, the content of most Congress resolutions that have been passed since 1936; especially, Sir, I would refer to the resolution passed at the Meerut session of the Congress, which gives a definite meaning to this concept of economic and social democracy. Dr. Ambedkar said that to his mind, political democracy means one man, one vote; economic democracy means one man, one value. I, Sir, would say that social democracy, to my mind, means: all men, one class; all men one caste; and I hope, Sir, that we are moving towards the creation of a casteless and classless society which Mahatma Gandhi envisaged for the social order in India.

Here, Sir, political democracy we have now secured. Through experience, not merely here, not merely in Europe, not merely in America, but all over the world, we have realised today that political democracy is not enough; unless you translate this political freedom, this political democracy into the life of the common man in economic and social terms this political democracy will not work and political democracy will be dead.

That is why, when democracy is opposed or resisted, it gives rise to a totalitarian form of Government. If political democracy is allowed to evolve, to grow, into economic, social democracy, then we would not have strife, we will not have wars, we will not have a totalitarian form of Government. Even today, we see the world is half slave and half free. In Asia and Africa vast tracts of land are under colonial rule. That is why this movement of communism is growing apace. You may call them communist bandits or communist fellow travellers. It is no use dubbing them and calling them names. Unless

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you change your exploiting social order into a freer order, this movement for violently ending the social order will continue. Therefore, we should take heed be times and try to establish in our country economic and social democracy. Here, Sir, in article 34 we have got an important provision. It is stated, "The State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, work etc.....". I am glad that this has been incorporated. We have got three alternatives or all of them: legislation, organisation or in any other way. I hope, Sir, the Government will take advantage of this and act up to it and see that in accordance with the terms of the article, all workers, industrial or otherwise, are secured work, a living wage and a decent standard of life. We want a society of workers; every one must work. We should inscribe on the portals of our temple of democracy that he who will not work shall not eat: No work, no food. In the Bible this is laid down. Sir. In the Gita, it is said, he who eats without sacrifice, without work, he is a thief; (*Stan Ev sa:*) he steals from society. We must therefore lay down this concept that work must be compulsory, work must be obligatory. In article 32, it is said that the State shall secure the right to work; article 34 goes further and says, that the State shall secure work. There are millions of people in India today who want to work, but do not get work. There are a few parasites who can work, but do not want to work. As Bernard Shaw has said, at one end we have got men with appetites but no dinners; at the other, we have men with dinners, but no appetites. This social order is a House divided against itself. So long as this House divided continues, there will be no peace in the world; there will be no happiness in the world. We will have violent movements; we will have desperate men armed with bullets, armed with bren guns, trying to overthrow the social order. You cannot entirely blame them; you cannot find fault with them only; the fault lies also with those of us who want to perpetuate the exploiting social order. The answer to the bullet and bren gun is not the tank and the bomber as we see in Malaya; the answer is a change in the social order. I hope these articles will be implemented by the Government that is going to take office in the new India of the future, and that Government will try to establish economic and social democracy.

I would only make one more observation. To India through the ages has been given the mission of preaching the noble and sublime ideal, the concept of spiritual democracy, of which political, social and economic democracy are mere off-shoots. If true spiritual democracy takes root in our society, there is no doubt that we shall show to humanity a new way of life, and if all other countries in the world have tried to establish economic and social democracy by violence, by disorder, by strife, we can make a beginning here and go forward and try to achieve this new order.....

Mr. Vice-President : I am afraid that you are taking too much time over the amendments.

Shri H. V. Kamath : I am speaking on the article also.

Mr. Vice-President : You have sufficiently explained the article.

Shri H. V. Kamath : I have finished, Sir. We in our country must try to bring about this new order by methods of peace and non-violence and thus show a new way to the world. Otherwise, the present order, exploiting as it does, will perish, consumed in its own fires. But I hope out of the ashes will rise like unto the Phoenix of old, a new order with the light of morning in its eyes.

Shri S. Nagappa (Madras: General): Sir, I do not want to take the time of the House; I just want to make an amendment. After the words "to all

workers, industrial”, the word “agricultural” may be added. Sir, I need not say that the bulk of the working population consists of agricultural workers.

Mr. Vice-President : This is out of order.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Mr. Vice-President, Sir, as there is a considerable amount of feeling that the Directive Principles should make some reference to cottage industries, I am agreeable in principle to introduce in article 34 some words to give effect to the wishes of the Members of this House. I am therefore prepared to accept the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar, subject to the substitution of one or two words. One substitution that I would like to make is this. After the words “cottage industries on” I would like to add the words “individual or”. I would like to substitute his word ‘lines’ by the word ‘basis’. So that the amendment would read as follows:

“And in particular the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.”

That, I think, would meet the wishes of most of the Members who are particularly interested in the subject.

I may also add that I am quite agreeable to accept the amendment moved by Mr. Nagappa that the word ‘agricultural’ be added after word ‘industrial’.

Mr. Vice-President : That was not allowed.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I have no objection if you allow that. I think Mr. Nagappa’s suggestion that agricultural labour is as important as industrial labour and should not be merely referred to by the word ‘otherwise’, has some substance in it. However, it is a matter of ruling and it is for you to decide.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar : I accept Dr. Ambedkar’s amendments.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : (Madras: General): Sir, may I suggest, that we may stop with the word cottage industries and omit the rest. Why do you want the words ‘on individual or co-operative basis’? There is no point in adding these words unless you want to lay special emphasis on co-operative basis. I would like these words ‘on individual or co-operative basis’ to be omitted.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : May I explain, Sir, I find among the Members who are interested in the subject, there are two divisions: one division believes in cottage industries solely on a co-operative basis; the other division believes that there should be cottage industries without any such limitation. In order to satisfy both sides, I have used this phraseology deliberately, which, I am sure, will satisfy both views that have been expressed.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : (Madras: General): I do not want to speak.

Mr. Vice-President: I think we have discussed this matter sufficiently. We shall pass on to the actual voting.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: In the hope that this will all be done on the basis of self-sufficiency, I accept the amendment to my amendment as finally proposed by Dr. Ambedkar and in that case I shall have to withdraw mine.

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

Shri Amiyo Kumar Ghosh : Sir, I want to know whether ‘agricultural workers’ have been included or not.

Mr. Vice-President : It has not been included but I am quite prepared to go back on my ruling provided the House as a whole, without any dissention, accepts the suggestion of Dr. Ambedkar.

Honourable Members : Yes.

Mr. Vice-President : Then I shall put the amendment of Shri Ramalingam Chettiar as amended by Dr. Ambedkar to the vote.

The amendment, as amended, was adopted.

Mr. Vice-President : Now I put the amendment as further modified by Mr. Nagappa.

The amendment, as further amended, was adopted.

Mr. Vice-President : Now the motion before the House is:

“That article 34, as amended in the manner just mentioned, should form part of the Constitution.”

The motion was adopted.

Article 34, as amended, was added to the Constitution.

Article 34-A

Mr. Vice-President : Now we come to amendment No. 952 to article 34-A.

(Amendment No. 952 was not moved.)

Amendment No. 953—Shri Ranbir Singh Chaudhari.

Chaudhari Ranbir Singh (East Punjab: General): I am not pressing it but want to speak on the article.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : This amendment is covered by article 34 as amended. These are all matters not so much for a Constituent Assembly to introduce in the Constitution but for legislation at the Centre or in the provinces. I therefore think this need not be moved. Even at present usury is restricted in the provinces. A percentage for interest is fixed.

Mr. Vice-President : As the wording is different Shri Ranbir Singh Chaudhari has a right to move his amendment but whether he will do so or not lies with him. I hope he will not take up too much time of the House. You ought to remember that our President wants that we should finalize our Constitution by the 9th December. Then there was some talk about moving it further back. We owe a certain duty to the country and I have been receiving a series of wires so much so that sometimes I am awakened in the middle of the night, throwing the blame on us.

Chaudhari Ranbir Singh : *[Mr. Vice-President, I wanted to make a few observations on the general article first and that is why I rose a little while ago to speak. But as I did not then get an opportunity to speak, with your permission, Sir, I would like to express my views now within a minute or two. I have already said that I would not press my amendments. Besides, there is one thing, more. As Shri Ayyangar has stated.....]

Mr. Vice-President : Kindly speak on the amendment.

* [] Translation of Hindustani Speech.