

Thursday,
November 27, 1947

**THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
(LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES**

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(17th November to 27th November, 1947)

**First Session
OF THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
1947**



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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Thursday, 27th November, 1947.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO GENEVA CONFERENCE ON WORLD TRADE RELATIONS

374. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have received any interim reports regarding the work and achievements of Indian Delegation to Geneva Conference and World Trade relations;

(b) whether India has been invited to become a permanent member of the Executive of I. T. O. and whether she has accepted the invitation;

(c) whether India has reached any provisional Trade agreements with any European or American countries and if so, with which countries and for what commodities; and

(d) whether the important points of the agreements will be placed on the table of the House, and if so, when?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) I presume the Honourable Member is referring to the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, if so, the answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The question of an invitation being extended to India to become a permanent member of the Executive of International Trade Organisation does not arise at this stage as the Charter that would give birth to the International Trade Organisation is still in the draft stage and is being discussed at Havana.

(c) and (d). The information required by the Honourable Member has since been released to the public, *vide* †Press Communique of the 18th November 1947, a copy of which has been placed on the table of the House.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Government be pleased to state, Sir, on what basis are they taking part in the Havana Conference?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: On the same basis on which other nations are taking part in the deliberations of the Havana Conference.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: That does not give any indication at all. Does it mean that this Havana Conference work is only in continuation of the work carried on in Geneva, and has the Geneva Conference reached any definite conclusion?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The Geneva Conference has made a Report and passed what is known as the Final Act. That Final Act will be the basis of discussion at Havana and the main principle on which all these Conferences have proceeded is multilateral international trade.

†Not printed in these debates. A copy placed in the Library of the House.—*Ed. of D.*

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What steps were taken, Sir, by Government to ascertain the public opinion prevailing among the agricultural, commercial and trade communities in this country, before they formulated their instrument of accession to the Delegates to Havana?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Several consultations were held with the representatives of the commercial community here and in Bombay, at every stage before our representatives went to Geneva for the first time and for the second time. These principles were observed. As regards consulting the agricultural classes I plead guilty that the Government has not consulted the Honourable the questioner.

Shri S. Nagappa: As regards the selection of personnel to these delegations, will Government consult at least hereafter the interested parties, especially when they send delegations on behalf of agricultural labour will they consult the labour organisations?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Well, as far as possible all these factors are taken into consideration. However, I promise to bear in mind the suggestion made by the Honourable Member.

ECONOMIC ADVISER TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

375. *Shri B. A. Mandloi: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

- (a) the name of the present Economic Adviser to the Government of India;
- (b) his present scale of pay;
- (c) whether the post is held on a contractual basis for a limited term or whether it is a permanent one; and
- (d) whether Government propose to keep the post on a permanent basis hereafter?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) The post is vacant at present.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The post is permanent.

(d) Yes.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: How long has the post been vacant?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Pretty long.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: If it has been vacant for pretty long, will the Government consider the advisability of abolishing it altogether?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The post is a permanent one. The matter of appointing a suitable person is under active consideration.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

376. *Shri B. A. Mandloi: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state the various steps taken by Government to develop the Indian Mercantile Marine after the year 1944-45 and with what results?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: During recent years Government's efforts to develop the Indian Mercantile Marine have been directed towards the acquisition of additional tonnage and the expansion of the activities of Indian shipping. A Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee on Shipping was appointed in 1945 to suggest ways and means of promoting the above objectives and the main recommendations of the Committee have been accepted by the Government. In regard to acquisition of tonnage, Government's assistance has hitherto mainly taken the form of sponsoring applications for building new tonnage in the U.K., etc., and also of rendering necessary assistance to Indian Companies in the purchase of ships from overseas countries, including

the release of the foreign exchange required. As a result of these measures, Indian registered shipping has increased from 1.3 lakh tons in 1946 to about double this figure and further additions are being made. Government have also supported the efforts of Indian Companies in entering additional trades and have given special consideration to Indian ships in allotting cargoes moving on Government account. With a view to explore the possibility of further expansion in this direction by negotiation and understanding with the interest concerned, an officially sponsored Shipowners' Delegation visited the U.K. last summer. Government are at present also considering a scheme for the rapid acquisition, on a joint State-cum-Private ownership basis, of additional tonnage and for the expansion of the activities of Indian Shipping in the various trades.

Shri B. A. Mandloi: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether any progress has been made in the ship building industry in India and if insufficient progress has not been made, what are the impediments in the way and what steps Government propose to take?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Assuming, Sir, that this supplementary arises out of the question, I require notice.

Shri Raj Krishna Bose: Have Government ascertained to what extent the British shipping companies are prepared to forego their tonnage to accommodate Indian shipping interests?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I have no information just at present; I will give it later on.

Shri B. Das: May I know, Sir, if the Indian mercantile marine is getting facilities in U.K. ports just as the U.K. shipping companies are getting facilities in Indian ports?

The Honourable Shri N.V. Gadgil: The answer is that there is no reciprocity as such at present, but Government are making every effort to push the Indian shipping interests as far as possible on the lines already indicated in my reply.

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain: May I know, Sir, whether the Government have fixed any target which they propose to achieve within a fixed period.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Notice.

Shri Biswanath Das: Sir, it has been published in the Press that the British shipping interests refused to see and discuss with representatives of the Indian shipping interests who were deputed by the Government of India to U.K. Has the Government seen that report, and if so, what steps have they taken?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The report that has appeared in the Press has certainly been seen by the Government. As regards what the Government proposes to do, the matter is receiving active consideration.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I know, Sir, if the Honourable Minister is aware that the facilities for mercantile officer training are inadequate and will he state what steps Government propose to take to remedy this defect.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I require notice.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: In view of the extreme importance of this industry, will the Honourable Minister please state in what manner Government propose to develop it rapidly?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The shipping industry as such or the marine personnel?

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: The marine personnel.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It will be one of the items of the programme which has been chalked out by the Policy Committee.

Shri Biswanath Das: There is no definite reply from the Honourable Minister to my question, Sir. Will he further state or place on the table the correspondence that has passed between the Government of Britain and India on this question?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I cannot say "Yes" just now, but I will bear the suggestion in mind and, if possible, I shall keep the correspondence on the table of the Library.

HANDLING OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF INDIA BY INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

377. *Shri B. A. Mandloi: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state the total exports from and imports into India in the years 1944-45, 1945-46 and 1946-47, and what proportion of it was handled by the Indian Mercantile Marine?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The total value of exports including re-exports from British India on both private and Government account during each of the years 1944-45 to 1946-47, in crores of rupees, were 228.9, 266.4 and 320.1 respectively. Corresponding figures for imports were, in crores of rupees, 231.7, 292.1 and 888.8 respectively. It is regretted that information regarding the percentage share of the Indian Mercantile Marine in the quantum of trade is not available. I place, however, on the table a statement showing the net registered tonnages of Indian vessels, other than country craft which entered or cleared from Indian ports with cargoes and the percentage of such tonnages to the total tonnages which entered or cleared from Indian ports during the three years in question.

Statement showing the net registered tonnage of Indian vessels, other than country craft engaged in foreign trade and their percentage of the total tonnage entered or cleared during the three years 1944-45 to 1946-47.

Year	Tonnage of Indian registered ships which entered Indian ports with cargoes	Percentage of Indian tonnage to total tonnage which entered with cargoes.	Tonnage of Indian registered ships which cleared with cargoes	Percentage of Indian tonnage to total tonnage which cleared with cargoes.
1944-45	152,869	2.5%	146,890	4.1%
1945-46	152,383	2.4%	155,607	4.2%
1946-47	128,118	2.4%	128,668	2.6%

Shri B. A. Mandloi: Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to state the steps Government have taken and propose to take to ensure greater business for the Indian shipping?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I think that is already covered by the question that was just answered by me.

Seth Govinddas: Will the Government see that as far as imports into this country are concerned, consumer goods are not imported to the extent they are being imported or have been imported, so that our dollar credit may not dwindle?

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid this is outside the scope of the present question.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Will the Honourable Minister tell us by what date the entire Indian sea-borne trade will be carried by Indian mercantile?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Not being a prophet, I cannot give a particular date, but there is a programme for 5-years within which there will be a considerable increase in the Indian-owned tonnage.

Shri B. Das: Has the Government started patronising Indian shipping for the business of carrying mails to foreign countries and *vice versa* as well as for carrying Government cargo from and to U.K. and other countries?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Government is considering the proposition.

TERMINATION OF SERVICES OF INDIANS BY GOVERNMENT OF BURMA AND THEIR ABSORPTION BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

378. *Seth Govinddas: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government are aware that the Government of Burma have asked their Indian servants to leave their services?

(b) Have the Government of India received any request from the Indians who are in the service of the Government of Burma, about the termination of their services?

(c) What action do Government propose to take to absorb these servants of the Government of Burma in India?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) No, Sir. On the contrary, the Government of Burma have announced that their policy is not to discharge all Government servants of Indian origin; that those Government servants who are eligible for and are prepared to accept Burma citizenship under their new Constitution will be accorded equal treatment with Government servants of Burma origin; and that while Burma citizens will be preferred for appointment to posts and for retention in posts in the event of retrenchment in particular services, endeavour will be made to cause as little hardship as possible to those who are not citizens of Burma.

(b) Government have received representations from Burma Government employees of Indian origin, both direct and through the High Commissioner for India in Burma, asking that they should be absorbed in Government services and commercial undertakings in India.

(c) Urgent attention is being given to this question, and information about the numbers and categories involved is being collected in order to draw up a definite plan for their re-employment in India.

Seth Govinddas: May I take it, Sir, that no Government servants from Burma are discharged on the ground of their being Indians?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Is the Honourable Member talking of the past, the present or the future?

Seth Govinddas: I mean the past, recently.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say definitely that not a single case has occurred without making express enquiry. What I have stated is the policy laid down by the Burma Government, but it is quite possible that in spite of that policy, its implementation may not be wholly in keeping with it.

APPOINTMENT OF NON-OFFICIAL LEGISLATORS TO CABINET SUB-COMMITTEES

379. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that several Sub-Committees of the Cabinet have been appointed for more detailed and urgent consideration of certain subjects and for offering advice to the Cabinet, and if so, for what departments or subjects;

(b) whether Government propose to attach 3 or 4 non-official legislators and others to each one of these Sub-Committees in order to enlarge the experience to be utilised by the Cabinet for Advisory purposes; and

(c) whether Government propose to appoint similar committees for other departments also?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (c). An Emergency Committee of the Cabinet was set up in August last to deal more specially with the Punjab situation and connected matters. A Defence Committee of the Cabinet has also been formed. In addition *ad-hoc* committees of the Cabinet have been appointed from time to time to make recommendations on specific problems requiring detailed examination. These Committees are not restricted to particular departments and generally cover a larger field.

(b) Cabinet Committees consist of members of the Cabinet only. Apart from their advisory capacity they are sometimes charged with executive powers to deal with any particular matter. The purpose which the Honourable Member has in mind will be served by the setting up of Standing Advisory Committees of the Legislature for which steps have already been taken.

COMPENSATION TO INDIAN SHIPPING COMPANIES.

380. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether the losses of ships suffered by Indian Shipping Companies during the war have been made good by the purchase of ships or construction of new ones;

(b) what steps are being taken to assure that at least coastal shipping comes completely into the hands of Indian shipping industry; and

(c) whether any steps are being taken under private or public auspices to start ocean liners between India, Europe, the United States of America and China?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). Government have already declared that it is their intention to secure the entire coastal trade and reasonable shares in the overseas trades for Indian Shipping in accordance with the recommendations of the Reconstruction Policy Sub-Committee on Shipping. Certain Indian Companies are already participating in the trades with U.K. and U.S.A. Before Indian Shipping can participate however in other trades and meet the entire coastal requirements, Indian tonnage must increase sufficiently and Government are at present considering certain proposals for the rapid acquisition, on a joint State-cum-Private ownership basis, of additional tonnage.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Does that answer cover my question here, part (c), regarding ocean liners?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I think so.

Mr. Speaker: He is not talking of overseas trade but of passenger traffic.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Yes, Sir. That is what I meant by "ocean liners".

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I again repeat, Sir, that my answer covers that.

TRADE WITH U.S.S.R.

381. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) the steps that are being taken to increase our trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics;

(b) the main commodities which today enter into our trade with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the prospect of its improvement; and

(c) whether any report has been received by our Representatives in Russia in regard to this matter and if so, when and what are its main suggestions?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member in this connection to my predecessor's reply to para. (a) of Question No. 301 put by Mr. Manu Subedar on the 7th November 1946 and to Mr. Dani's Question No. 717 of the 3rd March 1947. It may be expected, however, that with the opening of the Indian Embassy in Moscow the development of our economic relations with the Soviet Union will soon be taken up for active consideration.

(b) Raw jute, jute goods and groundnut oil constitute at present the principal items of export to Russia. Imports from that country are negligible, however, presumably in view of the lack of surpluses of manufactured and consumer goods in that country.

(c) No, Sir.

Shri K. Santhanam: On a point of order, can a Minister refer to proceedings of the previous Legislatures. This Legislature is not a continuation of the previous Legislature and we cannot claim that the old Assembly is a predecessor, and I do not think he will be entitled to refer to the answers given by a former Member?

Mr. Speaker: The Honourable Member raises a very large question, and it is very difficult to decide just on the spur of the moment; but I am inclined to think that this Legislature coming as a successor to the previous one inherits everything and therefore the previous answers to the questions are included in the inheritance. As incidentally the question has been raised, there is one point to which I might invite the Honourable Member's attention generally to the nature and the substance of questions put, whether original or supplementaries. I have found ever since I am here that, practically the same questions are being asked over and over again and the questions are new only because the session is a new one. If this is borne in mind, and questions put accordingly, a lot of other important work could be put through and information on grounds not covered by previous questions may be obtained by fresh questions. I am saying, this incidentally and the Honourable Members are entitled to put any questions they like. If, therefore, a question has been answered previously, I think the Honourable Minister is entitled also to refer to those previous questions. There is continuity of administration and Legislature.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Is it admissible that when a question that was answered as long ago as November last is referred to that the Honourable Minister concerned, if the former answer is not a very long one, should try to give out that answer now and is it also advisable that Members should be exhorted not to repeat a question or a part of a question that must have been given a year or two years ago?

Mr. Speaker: Nowhere: The Honourable Member was a Member of the last Legislature. It is difficult to say categorically and lay down a general rule for all these cases. Every question will have to be judged on its own facts. I do not now want a further discussion on this. All I would say with reference to this question is: "The later developments have already been referred to by the Honourable Minister when he said that an Embassy has been recently established in Russia."

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: May I know, Sir, what are the imports from Russia?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Apart from impracticable ideas which enter in spite of custom barriers, the imports are negligible.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: The Honourable Minister has said so far they have not received any report at all from their representatives in Russia. How then do Government expect to receive reports from Russia?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The question may be more appropriately directed to the Honourable the Prime Minister.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: I wish to submit that the reports are expected to be received by Government from their Commercial Attachés that are attached to the Embassy.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no Commercial Attachés.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: May I know, Sir, whose responsibility is it in regard to our Embassy in Soviet Russia to send reports in regard to our commercial prospects for trading in that country?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Nobody. No one is there, because there is no trade there.

REPRESENTATION OF INDIA AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

323. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state :

(a) the International Conferences at which India has been officially or semi-officially represented since January last;

(b) whether there is a separate Directorate in the Ministry of External Affairs or any other Ministry which keeps itself in touch with all these delegations, their work, their reports and the contacts made by Indian delegates with the statesmen, experts and others of other countries;

(c) if not, whether Government propose to create such a Directorate; and

(d) what steps are being taken or are proposed to be taken to consult the former representatives of India at these Conferences in regard to India's attitude to be adopted about the Agenda of the new Conferences or further sessions of the old organisations and their Conferences?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) A statement has been laid on the table.

(b) and (c). There is in the Ministry of External Affairs a Branch which handles matters connected with International Conferences, and in particular work connected with the United Nations Organisation. While the selection and briefing of delegations is done by the Ministry which is primarily concerned with the subject matter of a particular Conference, the briefs are normally discussed at inter-departmental meetings and the Ministry of External Affairs sees that divergent instructions are not issued to different delegations. This procedure is not generally followed in the case of meetings of experts on technical subjects unless it appears that any general question of foreign policy is likely to be involved.

Reports submitted by delegations are circulated to the Ministries which are likely to be interested. Members of delegations are encouraged to report any matter of interest in the international sphere which comes to their notice, and where necessary a meeting of representatives of the various Ministries concerned is called to receive their observations.

(d) Reports received from previous delegations are invariably referred to when instructions are drawn up for any new delegation to a conference. Personal consultation with former delegates is arranged when necessary.

*List of International Conferences etc.,
at which India has been represented since January 1947.*

Conference	Place	Date	
1. The Sterling Area Conference	London	September — October	47.
2. World Power Conference to consider "Fuel Economy"	Hague	September	47.
3. Meeting of Executive Committee of International Commission on High Dams.	Hague	September	47.
4. International Labour Conference	Geneva	June—July	47.
5. Asian Regional Labour Conference	New Delhi	Octr—Novr.	47.
6. Committees of I. L.O.			
i. Industrial Committee on Coal Mining.	Geneva	April-May	47.
ii. Industrial Committee on Inland Transport	-do-	-do-	
iii. Industrial Committee on Iron and Steel	Stockholm.	August-Sept.	47.
iv. Industrial Committee on Metal Trades.	-do-	-do-	
7. Meetings of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and Permanent Agriculture Committee.	Geneva		
8. 10th International Dental Congress	Boston (USA).	August	47.
9. 4th International Cancer Research Congress	St. Louis (USA).	September	47.
10. Commonwealth and Empire Health and Tuberculosis Conference	London	July	47.
11. 25th Session of the International Statistical Institute	Washington	September	47.
12. World Statistical Congress	-do-	-do-	
13. 3rd and 4th sessions of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organisation.	Geneva	March—August	47.
14. FAO. Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals	Washington	Octr. 46—January	47.
15. Conference on control of Infestation of stored foodstuffs	London	Octr. 46, August	47.
16. International Rice Study Group	Trivandrum	May—June	47.
17. 3rd session of the F.A.O.	Geneva	Aug.—Septr.	47.
18. 1st Meeting of the World Food Council	Washington	November	47.
19. Conference of British Commonwealth Survey Officers			1947.
20. 5th British Commonwealth Forestry Conference	U.K.		1947.
21. International Conference for Tourism	Paris	October	47.
22. Special Cereals Conference	Paris	July	47.
23. 10th International Conference on Public Education	Geneva	July	47.
24. UNESCO Summer Seminar (A study conference for member States of the UNESCO)	Paris	July—Aug.	47.
25. UNESCO Regional Conference on Fundamental Education	Nanking	September	47.
26. UNESCO Second General Conference	Mexico	Novr.—Dec.	47.
27. Meeting of the American Society for Engineering Education	Minnesota	June	47.
28. International Conference in Physics	Paris	November	47.
29. Conference of the International Railway Congress Association	Lucerne	June	47.
30. International Congress of Administrative Science	Switzerland	July—Aug.	47.
31. International Management Congress	Sweden	-do-	

Conference	Place	Date	
32. International Tin Conference	Brussels	April	47.
33. The Combined Tin Committee Meetings	Washington	May—Aug.	47.
34. 12th Congress of the Universal Postal Union	Paris	May—July	47.
35. International Radio Communications Conference	Atlantic City	May—October 1947.	
36. Plenipotentiary Conference Tele-communications	Atlantic City	July—October 1947.	
37. Administrative High Frequency Broadcasting Conference	Atlantic City	August—October 1947.	
38. Meeting of the Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization	Montreal	May	47.
39. Meeting of the Commonwealth Air Transport Council	Montreal	May	47.
40. Conference of Directors of the Meteorological Services of the World	Washington	Sept.—Oct.	47.
41. Conference on a Multilateral Air Transport Agreement	Geneva	November	47.
42. International Conference of Military Medicine and Pharmacy	Switzerland	June	47.
43. Conference on Medical History of War.	Ottawa	October	47.
44. International Red Cross Committee	Geneva	April	47.
45. International Conference of Military Surgery	USA	July	47.
46. First Special Session of the General Assembly of the U.N.	New York	April—May	47.
47. Second Regular Session of the General Assembly of the U.N.	New York	September—Nov.	47.
48. 4th Session of the Economic and Social Council	New York	Feby. —March	47.
49. 5th Session of the Economic & Social Council	New York	July —August	47.
50. First and Second Session of the Economic and Employment Commission	-do-	Jany.—Feb and June	1947.
51. Sub-Commission on Economic Development	-do-	November	47.
52. Transport and Communications Commission	-do-	February	47.
53. First and Second Sessions of the Statistical Commission	-do-	Jany.—Aug.	47.
54. Sub-Commission on Statistical Sampling	-do-	September	47.
55. Commission Human Rights.	-do-	Jany.—Feb.	47.
56. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities	-do-	November	47.
57. Commission on Status of Women	-do-	February	47.
58. Commission on Narcotic Drugs	New York	July— August	47.
59. Fiscal Commission	-do-	May	47.
60. First and Second Sessions of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.	Shanghai Manila	June 1947. November	47.
61. Conference of Experts on Passports and Frontier Formalities	Geneva	April	47.
62. Conference of British Commonwealth Countries to consider the Japanese peace treaties	Caberra	August	47.
63. Special Committee on Palestine	New York Jerusalem etc.	June — August	47.
64. Committee on the Progressive Development of International Law and its Codification	New York	May—June	47.
65. Conference on Social Welfare in South East Asia (only an observer attended).	Singapore	August	47.

Conference	Place	Date
66. Second session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment	Geneva	April —October 47.
67. International Conference on Trade and Employment	Havana	from November 1947.
68. Study Group of European Customs Union Meeting	Brussels	-do-
69. Provisional Maritime Consultative Council	Paris	June 47.
70. International Wheat Conference	London	March 47

**PAKISTANI BADGES FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND HARASSMENT OF HINDU
EVACUEES IN EAST BENGAL.**

383. *Shri Debi Prosad Khaitan: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government are aware that in East Bengal badges are being, or are promised to be distributed to those members of the Scheduled Castes who are willing to get themselves converted to Mohamadanism on the promise that no harm will be done to their life and property if they wear them for identification?

(b) If so, what steps do the Government of India propose to take in regard to this matter?

(c) Are Government aware that there is continuous harassment of Hindus leaving East Bengal, and that both at trains and steamer ghats men posing as Muslim League volunteers, under threat of violence, examine the boxes and other packages of the Hindu passengers, taking away their clothes, valuables or anything that such volunteers can lay their hands on?

(d) What steps do Government propose to take to keep the belongings of Hindus coming from East Bengal in safe custody?

(e) Are Government aware that the attitude of the Muslims in East Bengal has created great panic, specially when the Hindus find that no steps are being taken by the East Bengal Government to punish the Muslim offenders when definite incidents are reported?

(f) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of inviting information on definite incidents to be reported to them which can be placed before the East Bengal Government?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Government have no information.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Government have received several complaints of this nature.

(d) The High Commissioner for India at Karachi has made representations to the Government of Pakistan to stop such harassment to non-Muslims in East Bengal but has not yet received any reply.

(e) Government are aware that some panic has been created among the non-Muslims of East Bengal by the attitude of Muslim volunteers and National Guards.

(f) Action is being taken on specific cases brought to the notice of the Government of India, but Government do not consider it desirable to invite complaints from the non-Muslim public of East Bengal.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I know from the Honourable the Prime Minister if there is any procedure whereby the wishes of the Members of the House here are gathered if any of them want to serve in any of these delegations abroad?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I should have personally thought that that was not a suitable procedure to adopt. The idea of applications from Honourable Members is neither in consonance with their dignity nor with the dignity of the work.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I know if the Honourable Prime Minister will consider the desirability of issuing an annual resume of all the conferences and their results, so that the Members may be kept informed?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: If the Honourable Member wants a kind of compendious resume that would be done, but I think it is much more advantageous for each Ministry to deal with the particular subjects which it can deal with and issue their resume. As far as the summary which is dealing with commerce or trade, people interested in commerce and trade can get the information in one full book. It may be difficult to compile. It may take much more time, because so many people are concerned in compiling it, and the people who wish to read might be interested in one chapter and not the rest. I think such summaries can be issued by the different Ministries and on further consideration, if need be, they can be more methodically done.

GRANT OF POLITICAL PENSIONS.

384. *Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to lay on the table of the House a statement giving the names of the political pension-holders, the amounts of pensions paid to each of them and the reasons for the grant of such pensions?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable Minister of States. It has accordingly been transferred to the list of questions for the 8rd December 1947, when it will be answered by the Honourable Minister of States.

INDIAN EMBASSIES ABROAD.

385. *Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to make a statement about the various Indian Embassies that have already been established and the names of the persons who are in charge of them?

(b) What is the expenditure incurred on account of each Embassy?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to the Honourable Prof. N. G. Ranga's Question No. 31 on the 18th November 1947.

EXPENDITURE ON DELEGATIONS SENT TO U.N.O.

386. *Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state as to how many Delegations have been sent to U.N.O. since the Interim Government was formed?

(b) What was the total expenditure incurred on each Delegation, in respect of transport allowances and parties?

(c) Is it a fact that four thousand Dollars were spent by India at a New York reception in the first week of October last, when the leader of the Indian Delegation to U.N.O. entertained representatives from other countries by way of courtesy?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Six.

(b) Full information is not readily available. It has been called for from the Accounts authorities and a statement will be laid on the table of the House when it is received.

(c) Yes, Sir.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar: Mr. Speaker, may I suggest that the statements may be circulated to the Members at least after the questions are answered here, because, Sir, so many statements are said to be laid on the table and we get them only when official reports are sent two or three months later. So it will be better if these statements are circulated at least in the evening after they are laid on the table.

Mr. Speaker: The same question was raised a few days back, and then I had stated that it is impossible to circulate each and every item laid on the table of the House. It will not be a practicable proposition. We get a few copies and circulation will imply multiplying the number of copies. We must either go to the Press or they have to be cyclostyled and a good deal of unnecessary expenditure will be involved in that. If there be important statements—just the other day Dr. Pattabhi requested, for example, the printing and circulation of the Instrument of Accession—then I shall certainly order those papers to be printed and circulated to the Members. In the interest of economy of time and money, I do not think it is desirable to print every statement and send it round to the Members. The Honourable Member knows that the statements are laid here on the table. Any member, desirous of having a look at them or wishing to study them, will have them from the Secretary here and now, and then they are placed on the table of the Library. He can go to the Library after the Assembly session is over and see those statements; and ultimately, after some time, if he wants to read them at leisure, say after a month or two, he will find these printed in the report. So all reasonable facilities, to my mind, which are required for the purposes of making the statements available to the Members are there. Of course, in the case of statements of exceptional importance they can be printed and circulated.

Shri Biswanath Das: May I inform you that I went to the Library and enquired about certain statements and I found no statements there as some one had removed them!

Mr. Speaker: I do not know what reasonable steps I could take to prevent the statements laid there from being removed in an unauthorised manner. All I can do is that I can request Honourable Members who visit the Library not to remove the statements from there. However, this does not require any further discussion.

Shri Biswanath Das: I personally went and requested the Librarian to hand me those statements. He told me that those statements were not available as they had not been supplied.

Mr. Speaker: If that is so, I will enquire into the matter. My information is the other way.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: The general practice is that statements laid on the table of the House are not then and there laid in the Library.

Mr. Speaker: I will enquire and then settle the matter. These are matters of small inconvenience. If any Member feels any inconvenience about any matter, he can get into touch with the Secretary and get the convenience he wants.

APPOINTMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTE CANDIDATES TRAINED UNDER BEVIN SCHEME-

387. *Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Will the Honourable Minister of Labour be pleased to state the number of Scheduled caste candidates trained under the Bevin Scheme during the last war and how many of them were appointed by Government?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: No information is available as to the number of Scheduled Caste Bevin trainees sent in the first six batches. The number of such candidates sent in the subsequent batches is 41.

As regards the latter part of the question, all the trainees were found employment by Government, except in the case of five who have just returned from the United Kingdom.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: May I know if Indians are still being trained as Bevin Boys under that scheme in England?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: The answer is in the negative.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: How much money was spent by India for the training of these boys in Europe in the last war?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: I want notice of that question.

Shri S. Nagappa: May I know whether the Government is continuing the scheme of sending boys, and if so, how many have the Government sent in the latest batch?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: I think I have already answered that question in reply to Mr. Tajamul Husain's supplementary.

Shri S. Nagappa: In view of the fact that a free India needs more technical personnel, does not the Government think it necessary to send people to foreign countries for training?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: There is now a difficulty in foreign countries. In spite of our best efforts, industrialists and factory owners there are not in a position to take our candidates and train them at the cost of a reduction in their own production. But we are making all possible efforts to induce them to take some of our trainees there.

Shri S. Nagappa: May I know whether these trained personnel are appointed to any administrative posts or are they put there to train other Indians?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: In both positions as feasible and practicable.

Shri B. B. Diwakar: Does the Honourable Minister while sending these people for training or choosing them for their appointments, do so on a communal basis?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: Not necessarily.

Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai: Arising out of the answer of the Minister, does the Government propose to start similar institutions in India to give training to those people who are willing to take it?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: We have already started training centres under the Director of Resettlement and Employment and ex-service personnel are being trained in handicrafts and arts.

REFUGEES REGISTERED IN DELHI AND EAST PUNJAB

388. *R. B. Lala Raj Kanwar: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state the total number of refugees registered in the Delhi Province and the Province of the East Punjab, separately?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The number of refugees registered in Delhi Province upto 24th November 1947, was 2,75,800.

In the East Punjab, instructions regarding registration of refugees have been issued by the East Punjab Government, but actual registration will begin next week.

At Kurukshetra the registration has commenced with effect from the 25th November 1947.

ज्ञानी गुरमुखसिंह मुसाफर : क्या आनरेबल मिनिस्टर यह बतलावेंगे कि रिफ्यूजीज को बसाने और कारोबार में फिर से लगाने का क्या इन्तजाम किया गया है ?

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar: Will the Honourable Minister please state what steps have been taken to resettle and rehabilitate the refugees?

The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy: I am afraid that does not arise out of the question.

ज्ञानी गुरमुखसिंह मुसाफर : साहबे सदर, मेरा मतलब यह सवाल पूछने से यह है कि देहली में रेफ्यूजीज को बसाने का इन्तजाम क्या किया गया है, क्योंकि जो प्रोसीजर अस्तियार किया गया है और जो महकमा उसके लिये बनाया गया है उसका काम बिल्कुल निकम्मा है और उसका कोई डेफनीट प्रोसीजर नहीं है और वह efficiently काम नहीं कर रहा है ।

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar: Mr. Speaker, what I mean in putting this question is to ask what steps have been taken to resettle the refugees in Delhi: because the procedure which has been adopted and the work of the Department set up for the purpose is absolutely hopeless. Further that Department has got no definite procedure and it is not functioning efficiently.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Honourable Member is not permitted to argue. He must ask for information. If the Honourable Minister is able to supply it, he will do so.

ज्ञानी गुरमुखसिंह मुसाफर : मैं तो सिर्फ यह सवाल करना चाहता था कि क्या इस महकमे की इनएफीसियेन्सी inefficiency की कोई शिकायत पंची है कि नहीं ?

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar: I simply wanted to put this question: "Whether any report regarding the inefficiency of this Department has been received or not?"

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Does the Honourable Member wish to put a question.

R. B. Lala Raj Kanwar: Could the Honourable Minister say how many refugees still remain to be registered in the Delhi Province?

The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy: I expect that the registration of refugees in Delhi Province will be completed within the next few weeks.

NUMBER OF EVACUEES STILL IN PAKISTAN

389. *R. B. Lala Raj Kanwar: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state the total number of persons who still remain to be evacuated from:

- (i) Pakistan. and
- (ii) Insecure areas in India?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The Honourable Member is referred to my answer to clauses (b) and (c) of Starred Question No. 9 and clauses (d) and (f) of the Starred Question No. 12, on the 18th November, 1947.

Shri K. Santhanam: Has any progress been made since then?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I am afraid definite figures are not yet available.

COMPENSATION FOR LOSSES AWARDED TO EVACUEES

390. *R. B. Lala Raj Kanwar: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state the amount of compensation, if any, so far paid to the evacuees for the losses suffered by them?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The Honourable Member is referred to my answer to clause (e) of the Starred Question No. 23, on the 18th November, 1947.

PROPOSED ANTI-INDIAN IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION BY FIJI GOVERNMENT

(1) whether the Fiji Government have introduced an Immigration Bill forfeiting domiciliary rights of Indians if they are absent from Fiji for more than twelve months;

(2) whether the Fiji Indians have appealed to the Government of India for support in resisting this legislation; and

(3) whether the Government of India have taken any steps in the matter?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (1) The Government of India received on the 11th November, 1947 a telegram from the Acting Governor of Fiji stating that a further amendment to clause 8 of the previously published Fiji Immigration Ordinance had been introduced, under which a person absent from Fiji for twelve months or more would lose exemption from the provisions of the Ordinance and would have to apply for an entry permit. Under the Bill as it originally stood, a British subject or a British protected person domiciled in the Colony would be exempt from the provisions of the Immigration Ordinance subject to the condition that if such a person wished to leave the Colony with the intention of returning thereto, he would have to obtain a permit to re-enter the Colony from the Principal Immigration Officer, which would be valid for a period of two years.

(2) We have received a telegram from the Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council asking for the Government of India's intervention in preventing the proposed amendment from becoming law.

(3) Yes. We have already taken up the matter direct with the Governor of Fiji in order to save time and are making suitable representation to the United Kingdom Government.

Beth Govinddas: Is the Government aware that wherever such restrictions of permits are introduced, they are always used for stopping Indian Immigration back to those countries. Under these circumstances will the Government see that such restrictions are not imposed.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government will certainly see. In fact it has been continually seeing but the Honourable Member has not suggested what to do about the seeing.

HIRAKUND DAM PROJECT

392. *Shri K. Santhanam: Will the Honourable Minister of Works, Mines and Power please state:

(a) whether the Hirakud Dam Project of the Mahanadi Valley Development scheme has been finally sanctioned by the Government of India;

(b) the total cost of the project;

(c) whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the criticism of the project by Mr. M. G. Rangaiya, retired Chief Engineer of Mysore; and

(d) whether Government have examined those criticisms with the help of experts not directly connected with the project?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) The Hirakud Dam Scheme was discussed on the 14th November, 1947 at an Inter-Provincial Conference, consisting of the representatives of the Central Government and the Governments of Orissa and C. P. and Berar and some representatives of the States; and it was agreed to proceed with the project as fast as possible.

(b) Rs. 45.5 crores roughly.

(c) Yes.

(d) Government propose to appoint a high level Committee consisting of (i) Dr. J. L. Savage, Consulting Engineer and international authority on large dams, formerly, Chief Designing Engineer, U. S. Bureau of Reclamation, (ii) Mr. L. N. MacLellan, Chief Electrical Engineer and Mechanical Engineer, U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, (iii) Mr. M. Narasimhiaya, Chief Engineer, Mysore, and (iv) Mr. S. A. Gadkary, Chief Engineer, Electricity, East Punjab—to advise on the scheme in general and its detailed features of design etc.

It is further proposed to request Sir M. Visweswariaya to give his advice on the scheme in general and on matters referred to him by the Committee mentioned above.

Shri K. Santhanam: Will this Committee have power to advise whether this scheme at least in a particular form should be proceeded with or altered on fundamental matters or will it advise merely on the method of carrying out the project?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is open to the Committee to advise on any matter incidental to and connected with the carrying out of the scheme.

ACCESSION OF JUNAGADH TO PAKISTAN AND OF KASHMIR TO INDIA

393. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to make a full statement on the discussions that took place between him and the Governor General of India on the one hand, and the Prime Minister and the Governor General of Pakistan on the other, on the issue of the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan and of Kashmir to the Dominion of India?

(b) What was the outcome of these discussions?

(c) Do Government propose to hold further discussions with the Pakistan authorities on these questions? If so, where and when?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) No such discussion has taken place.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The Government of India are prepared to have friendly discussions on these issues with the Pakistan Government.

INVASION OF KASHMIR BY FRONTIER TRIBESMEN

394. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the Government of India have made any detailed report to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom about the invasion of Kashmir by the Frontier tribes?

(b) If so, have the circumstances leading to the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India and the subsequent intervention of the Government of India on behalf of Kashmir been brought to the notice of the other Dominions of the British Commonwealth also? If so, with what results?

(c) Do Government propose to bring the whole matter before the United Nations Organisation? If not, why not?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) I sent a telegram on the 25th October 1947 to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom regarding events in Kashmir. To this I received a reply and there has been some further correspondence since.

(b) No. The latter part of the question does not arise.

(c) I would refer the Honourable Member to my statement in the House on the 25th November on Kashmir.

INDIA'S COASTAL AND OVERSEAS TRADE

†395. ***Shri M. C. Veerabahu Pillai:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state the names of the Shipping Companies whose Steamers regularly ply between India and her neighbouring countries like Burma, Malaya and Ceylon, carrying passengers and cargo?

(b) How many of them are Indian Steamer Companies and how many foreign?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of reserving for Indian Steamer Companies at least the passenger services as a first step towards reserving for them the India's entire coastal and overseas trade with her neighbouring countries?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) and (b). The names of the Shipping Companies and their nationality are as given below:

INDIA/BURMA/CEYLON:

Indian.—The Scindia Steam Navigation Company Limited.

Non-Indian.—The British India Steam Navigation Company Limited.

The Asiatic Steam Navigation Company Limited.

INDIA/MALAYA:

Indian.—Nil.

Non-Indian.—The British India Steam Navigation Company Limited.

The Indo-China Steam Navigation Company Limited.

(c) It is not feasible to reserve the passenger services as suggested, particularly in the overseas trades. Government have, however, already announced their intention ultimately to secure the entire coastal trade as also reasonable shares in the overseas trades for Indian shipping.

EXPORT OF ONIONS AND OILCAKES TO CEYLON

†396. ***Shri M. C. Veerabahu Pillai:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the export of onions from Madras Province to Ceylon, has recently been stopped and if so, for what reasons?

(b) Are Government aware that with the stoppage of the export of onions and oilcakes, the export trade of South India with Ceylon has practically been crippled?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) Yes, Sir. Export of onions from the Province of Madras to Ceylon was suspended with effect from the 26th August 1947 on a representation from the Madras Government that the crop position was unsatisfactory and that prices had gone up as the result.

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(b) The Honourable Member would appear to be misinformed with regard to this matter. The total volume of trade in onions and oilcakes does not, from the information readily available, represent more than 10 per cent. of the total trade of South India with Ceylon. The stoppage of exports of these two commodities cannot therefore be said to have materially affected South India's trade with that country.

MISAPPROPRIATION OF INCOME BY HINDU CHARITABLE AND RELIGIOUS TRUSTS

†397. *Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Law be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the extent of waste and misappropriation of the income from Hindu Charitable and Religious Trusts?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of introducing legislation for abolishing all these Trusts so as to utilize the properties for nation-building purposes?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) No, Sir.

(b) No, Sir. Quite apart from the question whether legislation abolishing all Hindu religious and charitable trusts is necessary or even desirable, such legislation falls within the provincial field under entry 34 of the Provincial Legislative List, and the Central Government cannot, therefore, initiate the suggested legislation.

ANTI-INDIA ACTIVITIES OF GOVERNMENT OF GOA

398. *Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of Goa (i) has recently imported nearly 2,000 European and Negro troops in addition to their normal military force of 3,000;

(ii) has been storing for sometime a large number of American-made arms, ammunition and trucks;

(iii) has been carrying on propaganda against the Indian Union and in favour of Pakistan;

(iv) has regularly been smuggling arms and ammunition out of Goa, with the assistance of certain influential merchants of Panjim; and

(v) has been allowing the Portuguese cruiser to enter the docks at Mormugo and to take fresh arms and ammunition to Diu which is next door to Junagadh?

(b) If the answer to any of the sub-parts (i) to (v) above be in the affirmative, what steps have been taken by Government so far, to prevent and counteract these activities?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The Government of India are aware—(i) and (ii) that the normal peace time strength of the military force in Goa has been recently augmented. They have no official information about the exact numbers.

(iii) and (iv). The Government of India have no precise information on this subject.

(v) Both Mormugao and Diu are part of the Portuguese Possessions in India and from time to time Portuguese ships touch at these places.

(b) The Government of India do not consider that any action in regard to these matters is called for at present.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Do not Government make inquiries through their Ambassador or Agent as to these allegations, soon after the question is tabled, or keep in touch with developments on the frontier from time to time?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: This answer was framed after due inquiry.

†Answer to this question laid on the table the questioner being absent.

RELEASE OF MUSLIM COMMUNAL RIOT CONVICTS BY GOVERNMENTS OF
WEST PUNJAB AND SIND

†399. *Shri Ram Chandra Gupta: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the Government are aware that the Sind and West Punjab Governments have released from Jail all those Muslim prisoners who were convicted in Communal riots?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as can be ascertained, an unknown number of prisoners including several convicted in communal riots before the 15th August 1947 were released from jails in Sind in celebration of the establishment of Pakistan. Government are not aware of any such releases in the West Punjab.

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS WORKERS IN NEW DELHI

400. *Shri Biswanath Das: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have seen the report of his address made to the Congress workers in New Delhi on the 3rd October 1947 and published in the Mofussil edition of the *Hindu*, dated the 6th October 1947;

(b) whether the same is correctly reported; and

(c) the basis for his conclusion that "it was generally forgotten, that the New State of Pakistan was not capable of waging any war"?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Yes.

(b) The address referred to was delivered at a private gathering and was not reported fully. The very brief report published in the *Hindu* is likely to create a wrong impression of what was said at some length.

(c) There was no such conclusion.

INCLUSION OF FRENCH POSSESSION IN INDIAN UNION

401. *Seth Govinddas: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the handing over of small French pockets in India by French authorities to the Government of India is a prelude to the handing over of all French possessions in India; and

(b) what is the attitude of the Government of India in regard to the request made by a number of prominent citizens and Mayors of various places in French India to include those places in the Indian Union?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The French Government have declared the transfer of the areas known as the French Loges in India to be "a token of their will to settle all questions pending between the two countries in the most friendly and comprehensive manner". The French Government have also agreed to explore, with the Government of India, ways and means of a friendly regulation of the problems of French Establishments in India, with due regard to the interests and aspirations of the population of these territories. Discussions have been going on with the French authorities on the subject.

Seth Govinddas: To facilitate such negotiations and for the sake of better relations in future with countries like France, are Government thinking of sending an Embassy to that country?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: It has already been decided to exchange diplomatic representatives with the French Republic. We have heard a French Embassy functioning and it is proposed in the near future to send a Charge d'Affaires for the Indian Embassy in Paris. But that has no parti-

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

cular relation to this subject. We are dealing with the subject and as soon as our Ambassador or Charge d'Affaires goes there no doubt he will take it up immediately.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Have the Government of India received any representations from any responsible organisations of the people of these French possessions in India that the Government of India should initiate discussions to get these French possessions also to join the Indian Union?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Then what line of action are the Government of India pursuing in order to get these possessions also to join the Indian Union?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: We are discussing the subject.

'BLOOD AND IRON' TALK BY GOA GOVERNMENT

402. *Seth Govinddas: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that the Goa Indians are anxious to join the Indian Union;

(b) whether Government are aware of the talk of 'blood and iron' by the Governor of Goa; and

(c) the action the Government of India propose to take to meet the challenge of the Portuguese Goan Governor, and to save Portuguese Indians from slavery?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) According to the information received by Government, large numbers of the residents of Goa are anxious to join the Indian Union.

(b) Government have seen no report of any such speech by the Governor-General of Goa. But the Portuguese Minister for Colonies said something to this effect in June last.

(c) The Government of India propose to deal with the question of Goa as well as of other foreign territories in India at an early date.

ABSORPTION OF FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIAN UNION

403. *Shri B. A. Mandloi: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state what are the foreign settlements in India with the area and population of each such settlement and whether the population in each settlement is predominantly Indian?

(b) Have the people in these settlements expressed their intention and determination to join the Union of India?

(c) Have any steps been taken by the Government of India to do away with these foreign settlements and to absorb the territories in different units of the Indian Union and make them parts of the Union of India?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) There are two foreign settlements in India namely:

(1) The French Establishments in India comprising Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam with a total area of 196 sq. miles and a population of 323,295 (in 1941).

(2) The Portuguese Possessions in India comprising Goa, Daman and Diu with an area of 1,537 sq. miles and a population of 624,177.

The population in these places is predominantly of Indian descent.

(b) A large number of people in these settlements have expressed these sentiments.

(c) The Government of France has agreed to consider with the Government of India the future of French Establishments in India with due regard to the interests and aspirations of the populations of these territories. Discussions have been going on with the French authorities in this connection.

The question of the Portuguese Possessions is also receiving attention.

Shri M. S. Aney: May I know whether the Mandapam health camp is in the possession and control of the Ceylonese Government or of the Government of India?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know how that comes in; we are dealing with the French possessions.

Mr. Speaker: The question relates to "foreign settlements in India". Is this a foreign settlement?

Shri M. S. Aney: Yes. Mandapam camp of the Ceylonese Government is in India. I asked the question for getting that information whether that camp is under the control of the Ceylonese Government or of the Government of India.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if the Honourable Member wants to draw me out. I suspect some motive about that question because the Honourable Member knows more about it than I do.

Shri M. S. Aney: Sir, I have no such motive. I do not want to persue it either also.

APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNORS, AMBASSADORS AND HIGH COMMISSIONERS

404. ***Shri S. Nagappa:** Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state the policy of Government in appointing Governors, Ambassadors and High Commissioners?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: No fixed policy or rules are laid down for appointment of high officers of State. Merit, capacity and suitability are the criteria for such appointments.

Shri S. Nagappa: In view of the fact that no Andhars and no Harijans is appointed, is it the view of Government that they are unfit for such posts?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I must say that I strongly deprecate such insinuations. So far as this Government is concerned, no appointment is going to be made to any high office on provincial or other considerations.

Shri S. Nagappa: In view of the fact that no offices are going to these people may I know what the practical policy of Government is in making such appointments, specially those of Governors, Ambassadors, High Commissioners, etc?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The practical policy is to appoint a person who can serve the cause of India most efficiently.

Shri S. Nagappa: Do Government mean to convey that people or Harijans coming from Andhradesha are incapable of discharging these duties most efficiently?

Mr. Speaker: That is a matter of opinion.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if Government have decided to retain European Governors and the Indian I.C.S. Governors till the next election?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Till when? They are there: they are functioning there and they will function till the end of their term or till something else happens. There is no question of any fresh decision by Government on the matter. The decision was taken when they were kept on. As to how long they will continue the answer is till further change takes place or till some of them retire.

Mr. B. Paker Sahib Bahadur: May I know how long the present European Governor of Madras is to continue in office?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Biswanath Das: While agreeing with the principles underlying the reply given by the Honourable the Prime Minister, may I know what method is being adopted by the Government of India for their own information to ascertain men of capacity and their availability in every province?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: We are discussing at the present moment appointments of very high officers of state. You cannot apply any particular rule of thumb for their appointment. After all the persons who are responsible for the appointments—whether a committee or a board or the Cabinet or individual—have to exercise their judgment.

Shri Biswanath Das: I have not desired that any rule of thumb should be applied but what I wanted to know was that since the Government of India do not know the availability of persons necessary for certain specified appointments, have they any basis or principle which they have been following to ascertain the availability of such persons from different provinces in India? They must be consulting provincial ministries, premiers or Governors in the matter.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as the appointment of a Governor is concerned he is only appointed after consulting the provincial government—at least the Prime Minister.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: May I know how long the Government propose to keep the present British Governor General in India?

Mr. Speaker: These are all questions relating to individual cases: I should not permit them.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: The question under reply is with regard to Governors, Ambassadors and High Commissioners.

Mr. Speaker: That may be. The question refers to the general policy of the Government and not to individual cases. I should not allow questions to be raised as regards individual appointments.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: My question was with regard to policy only. How long do the Government propose to retain a Britisher as Governor General in India?

(No answer was given)

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know if the Government have accepted it as their policy not to appoint a man, however qualified he may be, as Governor of his own province?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no final fixed policy: it is generally considered desirable not to appoint a person as Governor in his own province, except perhaps temporarily.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: May I know why it is not considered desirable to appoint a man as Governor in his own province, in view of the fact that the office of Governor is going to be an elected one under the new constitution?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Simply because the functions of the Governor then would be somewhat different from what they are now. In appointing a person as Governor it is better to appoint an outsider. In case of election another party is responsible for putting him in.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: May I know whether the Honourable the Prime Minister is aware that there is a very strong feeling in the country against the continuance of Europeans as Governors and will he take steps in this matter?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I am totally unaware of this.

PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND EXPORT OF TEA

405. *Shri V. I. Munishwami Pillai: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state what was the total output of tea in the several tea producing provinces in the Indian Dominion during the years 1936-37 and 1945-46 and how much was consumed locally and how much was exported?

(b) Is it a fact that due to the operation of the Indian Tea Restriction Act, small growers are working at a loss?

(c) Do Government contemplate not to revive the Tea Restriction Act after 31st March, 1948?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) Sir, statistics regarding the total output of tea manufactured in India are compiled for the calendar year and not the financial year. Moreover no separate figures exist in regard to production of the areas which now form a part of the Dominion of Pakistan. I, therefore, lay on the table of the House a statement showing the output of made tea in the several tea producing provinces of India as a whole for the calendar years 1936, 1937 and 1945 and the estimated all-India tea crop for those years as well as for 1946. I also lay on the table of the House a statement showing the quantity of tea consumed in India and exported outside India during the financial years 1936-37 and 1945-46.

(b) Government have no information on the subject.

(c) The question of the continuance or otherwise of the Indian Tea Control Act after 31st March 1948 is receiving the consideration of Government.

Statement showing the total output of made tea in the several tea producing provinces of India for the calendar years 1936, 1937 and 1945 and the estimated all-India tea crop for those years as well as for 1946

Province	1936 lbs.	1937 lbs.	1945 lbs.	1946
*Assam	224,250,518	241,807,853	288,107,740	All-India
**Bengal	97,537,102	107,550,144	140,779,538	580.21
Bihar	854,230	944,509	1,912,203	million lbs.
United Provinces	1,830,518	2,003,837	1,524,941	(estimated)
Punjab (Kangra)		Not available		
Madras & Coorg	32,152,300	34,523,987	46,152,580	
All-India total including Indian States and Nepal	390,433,393	423,408,776	527,555,599	580.21 million lbs. (estimated).

*Includes Sylhet which is now part of Pakistan and for which no separate figure is available.

**Includes Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts which are now part of Pakistan and for which no separate figures are available.

Statement showing the quantity of tea consumed in India and exported outside India during the years 1936-37 and 1945-46

Year	Quantity consumed in India (estimated) Million lbs.	Quantity exported outside India lbs.
1936-37	79.0	301,866,146†
1945-46	160.0*	362,769,834‡

*Preliminary.

†Including 10,368 lbs. and 54,911 lbs. representing the share respectively of Sind and Burma.

‡Including 26,961 lbs. representing the share of Sind.

Shri V. I. Munishwami Pillai: Is the Honourable Member aware that on account of this Act the small growers are greatly affected and much of the land suitable for tea cultivation is lying fallow because of the existence of this Act?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The Government does not think that this Act has affected the small tea growers at all.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will Government be good enough to make proper enquiries in regard to this particular point made by Mr. Pillai—whether this Act is really working to the injury or harm of the small tea grower?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The answer to the question is that this Act was undertaken in order to implement the International Tea Agreement, which itself was the result of a desire to have somewhat restricted competition and to keep production in proportion.

Shri V. I. Munishwami Pillai: Is the Government aware that middlemen purchase the export at a very small rate quota thereby the small growers as also the big ones are greatly affected?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Middlemen are known to do these things not only in the matter of tea but in all commodities.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: In view of the fact that it was the influential bigger growers who were responsible for getting this Act passed and getting the Government to be a party to that agreement as well, will Government consider the advisability of instituting enquiries into the fact that the small growers are suffering today and to what extent this agreement can possibly be modified or the Act amended?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is a very large question to answer. As regards the first part the Government does not agree with the view that the big tea growers have influenced the decision made either here or in the matter of the International Agreement. As regards the advisability of instituting enquiries, I may inform the Honourable Member that this Act expires on the 31st March, 1948 and the matter is receiving active consideration.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY AND FUNDS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AT LAHORE

406. *Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state what steps, if any, were taken for the protection of the property and funds of various educational institutes at Lahore founded and maintained by Indians who have been forced to evacuate to India?

(b) Have Government considered the advisability of arranging for their being shifted to India till existing conditions improve?

(c) Have Government any information regarding the funds of such institutions?

(d) Have the buildings of any of the educational institutions been requisitioned by the Government of Pakistan? If so, whether they are paying any rent for the same and to whom?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: (a) The whole question of the future of Educational Institutions of Non-Muslims including those maintained by Trusts and Societies is proposed to be discussed with representatives of Pakistan Government shortly.

(b) Shifting of these Institutions will be one of the points to be discussed.

(c) No precise information is available.

(d) The Sohanlal College, Lahore, was looted and about three weeks later some time in September, 1947, the building was taken over by the West Punjab

Government. It is understood that it is now known as the Madrassa Tul Bat and was for some time used as a Muslim Refugee Camp.

The buildings of Sir Ganga Ram Girls' School and Training College, D.A.V. High School and Middle School and Sanatan Dharam College and School and the Fateh Chand College are also known to have been taken over by the West Punjab Government for different purposes. No information is available in regard to the procedure adopted by the West Punjab before the buildings were taken over.

Definite information regarding requisitioning by the Government of Pakistan of buildings of other educational institutions is being collected and will be placed on the table when available.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: May I know if any protests were made by our Government to the Pakistan Government?

The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy: Oh, yes.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: With what result?

The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy: I do not know of any definite result having been achieved. But this question, as I have already stated, has been included in the list of points that will come up for discussion with the Pakistan Government, and it occupies a prominent place in the memorandum that we have already sent to that Government.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Will the Honourable Minister consider the advisability of utilising the services of our Nationalist Muslim members or the Muslim members of this House in persuading the Pakistan Government to release these buildings?

The Honourable Shri K. O. Neogy: I do not know exactly how the services of these gentlemen could be usefully employed. If my Honourable friend were in a position to give me a more specific suggestion I would certainly consider it.

UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER

FRIGIICE COUNCILS FROM MADRAS OF COMMODITIES EXPORTED
1937-38 AND 1946-47

6. **Shri M. C. Veerabahu Pillai:** Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to place on the table of the House a list of the commodities with their tonnage and value, which were exported from the Province of Madras to Ceylon during the years 1937-38 and 1946-47?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

DETENTION AND PILFERAGE OF GOODS IN TRANSIT ON F. P. PARIVAN AT
SANTAHAR AND PARATHIUR IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Shri Rohini Kumar Chandhuri: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that foodstuffs and other essential goods despatched by through booking from Calcutta and other parts of India to Assam are detained at Santahar and Parbatipur Railway Stations of Pakistan, that most of them are not allowed to proceed further and that the major portion of those goods is pilfered at these stations?

(b) If so, what steps Government propose to take to see that the goods under through booking reach the destination within a reasonable time?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: (a) Although there have been rumours to the effect that goods despatched from Calcutta to Assam are delayed or lost on the journey over the E. B. Railway, no report as such has reached this office officially. It is understood, however, that the Assam Government are finding great difficulty in obtaining their goods from Calcutta via the E. B. Railway.

Santahar and Parbatipur are both transshipment points from broad to metre gauge and it is quite possible that owing to the E. B. Railway system not having yet settled down since partition, delays are occurring at these transshipment points—both of which are in Pakistan. On the question of pilferage it is also possible that essential goods like food and cloth are purloined and do not reach destination in Assam.

(b) The only step which the Government of India can take in this matter is to make a representation to the Pakistan Government and bring the matter to their knowledge and to ask the Pakistan Government to assist in avoiding detentions and pilferage.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: In the meantime may I know what will be the condition of the Province of Assam if it does not get the foodstuffs which are booked from other parts of India?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: There is nothing that we can do in the matter except the course that I have suggested. There is of course the possibility of our trying by some means to expedite the completion of the new through rail connection that we have in view, but that will take a certain amount of time. Apart from that I think there is nothing else that we can do.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Will the Government consider the question of requisitioning the services of a few cargo steamers and have the goods despatched from Calcutta?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I take it that these cargo steamers will also pass through the Pakistan area.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The Honourable Minister said that he did not have any report about the delays. May I know whether he actually called for any report from the railway administration?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Yes, I have since called for information.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Apart from the question of Assam, is the Honourable Minister aware of complaints that foodstuffs despatched from the Indian Union to Darjeeling and Dinajpur districts are either held up in transit or they do not reach the destination at all?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: It is quite conceivable that happens.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is it also within the knowledge of the Honourable Minister and has he any positive information that foodstuffs, particularly rice which is in short supply in Bengal in the Indian Union, despatched from Dinajpur had not been delivered to the Indian Union by the Pakistan portion of B. A. Railway?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I have had reports from the railway administration.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is he aware that tremendous smuggling is going on of food commodities and rationed articles at railway stations in Pakistan, for instance Ranaghat and is the Honourable Minister's Department taking effective steps to stop this surreptitious smuggling?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: This occurred in an area over which my Ministry has no jurisdiction.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: In the signal yard of the Ranaghat station itself they have an arrangement by which to remove commodities. Will the Honourable Minister kindly look into the matter with the assistance of the G.R.P. assisted by the local police?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: We have the matter in hand already.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Has the Honourable Minister represented the matter to the Pakistan Government?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Yes, we have made a representation to the Pakistan Government.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Is the Government aware that the wagons which are despatched from Assam with goods are not returned to the Assam Railway by the Pakistan Government?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: That has occurred not only in regard to Bengal-Assam Railway but in regard to the North Western Railway as well. That is not however going to present any serious difficulty because in the case of excess wagons they have to pay hire charges to the wagon pool, and that acts as a deterrent.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is the Honourable Minister hopeful that he will get back the wagons at all?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: We have sufficient sanctions in our hands for that purpose.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Do Government propose to depute some of their own responsible Officers to these stations of Parbatipur and Santahar and ask them to give a correct report of these matters, so that the Pakistan Government may be made to co-operate in the matter of despatch of these goods?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: The important thing is not the question of obtaining information but to be able to act upon information we already have.

Shri Biswanath Das: As the Honourable the Railway Minister has admitted that there is smuggling and also expressed the view that it does not relate to his Department I should like to know whether he has sought the co-operation and co-ordination of his brother Ministers in this regard—particularly of Ministers who have got jurisdiction on this subject—or of the Provincial Government with a view to stopping this smuggling?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: The first thing is for the Railway Ministry in India to take this matter up with the railway authorities in Pakistan. That obviously is the first step.

Mr. B. Paker Sahib Bahadur: May I know whether the Government has received any reply from the Pakistan Government to the representations made to them by this Government in this behalf?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Not yet, Sir.

EVACUATION OF HINDUS AND SIKHS FROM SIND

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the summary of the speech of Professor Ghanshyam, Leader of the Congress Party in the Sind Assembly, published in the *National Call*, dated the 19th November 1947 to the effect "that 30,000 Hindus and Sikhs anxious to leave Sind were living on the premises of the Congress Office in Hyderabad-Sind alone and more were coming in. As against this only 260 persons could leave daily by train"?

(b) Do Government propose to provide greater facilities for the evacuation of the said refugees? If so, what?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: (a) Yes. Indeed Professor Ghanshyam discussed this matter at length with the Secretary of the Ministry and immediate action was initiated.

(b) As desired by Professor Ghanshyam, efforts are being made to run one Refugee Special per day for a month from Hyderabad Sind to Marwar in addition to the Bombay Mail. The High Commissioner in Pakistan has been requested to take up the matter with the Pakistan Government so that the Refugee Special may start running as soon as possible.

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain: Have the Government made any effort to find out how many of the non-Muslims anxious to leave Sind for India are panic-stricken and how many are in real danger? What steps do Government propose to take in respect of people who want to leave Sind out of panic?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: It is rather difficult to give a definite reply to this question. There is a general desire on the part of the non-Muslims who are still in Sind to leave that province. I am sure that our High Commissioner in Pakistan is doing all that is possible to allay the panic that the Honourable Member refers to.

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain: Have the Government prepared any scheme for the resettlement of those who are coming from Sind? If so, what is that scheme?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: So far as the people who have been coming from Sind are concerned, they are mostly coming to Bombay and to the Kathiawar States. We know that the Bombay Government as also the Kathiawar State administrations are making all possible arrangements for their reception. Quite a number of them have also come to Ajmer-Merwara and we are doing what is possible for the purpose of providing them with accommodation and other amenities.

Shri Jainarain Vyas: Has the Honourable Minister come to know that rations are not being supplied to refugees from Hyderabad to Marwar Junction and that protection also is absent?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: So far as rations are concerned, I do not exactly know whose responsibility it is at that particular point. I may mention that although the railway concerned belongs to the Jodhpur State, it traverses quite a distance of Pakistan territory. So far as protection goes, it is the Pakistan Government alone that can provide that protection over that bit of territory.

Shri O. V. Alagesan: Will the Honourable Minister please state what is the position in respect of Madrasis in Sind who were anxious to be evacuated?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I remember having seen a reference to the Madrasis who were living in Sind and who have come away. I understand most of them are now in the Madras Presidency.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Is the Honourable Minister aware that a large number of Sindhis have come to Alwar State and they are having no facilities either of boarding or lodging there?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I have no information about Sindhis in Alwar State, but I know that the refugee population in Alwar consists of a large number of people from the Frontier, but I shall make enquiries into the point raised.

Shri Raj Krishna Bose: What is the capacity of the special train to which the Honourable Minister referred to evacuate refugees in one trip?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: It would be in the neighbourhood of 4,000.

Shri H. J. Khandekar: Has the Government any information about the Harijan residents of Sind who are ready to be evacuated but the Sind Government is obstructing them and is forcibly converting them into Islam?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I know that certain special difficulties are being felt by the Harijans in Sind in the matter of their evacuation and we have just decided to appoint a special officer from among Harijans to proceed to Karachi to look after their interests in this matter.

Mr. B. Paker Sahib Bahadur: May I know, Sir, whether it is the definite policy of the Government to discourage evacuation from Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan, and if so, what steps Government are taking to give effect to that?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The policy is to provide facilities for those who are anxious to come away. This applies also to those who are anxious to leave India for Pakistan.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya: What is the policy that has been adopted by the Government of India to protect the properties left behind by refugees?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I do not know whether my Honourable friend raises this as a general kind of question or he limits the question to Sind.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya: To Sind. We have been talking of Sind.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: So far as Sind is concerned, I have no definite information as regards the attitude of the Sind Government in the matter of the protection of property left behind by the evacuees. At one stage I knew that the Sind Government had not adopted a law corresponding to the law that we have on this side and also the West Punjab Government had, as regards the appointment of a Custodian of evacuee property. I do not know the latest position.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyaya: Will the Government pursue this matter with the Pakistan Government?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I know this much that our High Commissioner in Karachi is in constant touch with the Pakistan Government and this is one of the specific points he has raised with that Government.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Does my Honourable friend get periodical reports from our High Commissioner in Pakistan on this question?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: We do receive reports. We have asked our High Commissioner in Pakistan to keep us informed as regards all important matters relating to refugees.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say, Sir, that we receive full information from the High Commissioner in Pakistan, not only full reports but also daily reports on all these issues.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Will Government be pleased to inform us the method by which we can find out whether a particular individual is a citizen of Pakistan or is of India?

Mr. B. Paker Sahib Bahadur: May I know, Sir, whether the Government has accepted the policy underlying the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee recently as regards evacuation of persons from Pakistan to India and from India to Pakistan?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Certainly Sir.

Shri V. I. Mustakhami Pillai: Will the Government be pleased to acquaint Members of this House with the result of the enquiry the Harijan member will be making in Sind?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Yes certainly, if that is desired.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Do Government propose to fix a date by which all those who want to leave this country for Pakistan and *vice versa* can do so, and then we will know as to who is a Pakistani and who belongs to India?

Mr. Speaker: Next short notice question.

CREATION OF NEW PROVINCES ON LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BASIS.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the resolution on linguistic Provinces adopted by the joint session of the Union Constitution Committee and the Provincial Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly to the effect that as soon as the Dominion Constitution comes into operation (on or before August 15, 1947), the Dominion Government should appoint a Commission to examine the question of creating certain new Provinces on linguistic and cultural basis?

(b) What is the policy of Government with regard to the said resolution and what steps do Government propose to take to implement that resolution?

(c) What is the policy of Government with regard to the incorporation of Andhra as a separate Province in the new Constitution?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The attention of Government has been drawn to the resolution referred to in the question.

2. Government are fully aware of the demand in some parts of the country for new provinces to be formed primarily on a linguistic and cultural basis. Many years ago this demand was recognised by the Congress and Government accept the principle underlying that demand. In giving effect to that principle however many other considerations have to be borne in mind. Apart from linguistic and cultural aspects sometimes also there is no clear demarcation and cultural and linguistic areas overlap. Hence a very careful enquiry is necessary before a decision can be arrived at. Government are anxious not to delay the enquiry or the decision. But, as the House is fully aware, the country has had to face, ever since the new order started functioning, a very critical situation resulting from partition. A living entity had a part severed from it and this unnatural operation resulted in all manner of distempers which have naturally affected the political, social and economic structure of the country. Reactionary forces took advantage of this situation to consolidate themselves and to raise separatist cries. The old equilibrium having been shaken up, disruptionist tendencies came to the fore. To a large extent we have faced this crisis and overcome it. But many dangers still surround us. There are numerous urgent demands in the economic and other spheres. When there are a multitude of such demands a certain priority has to be observed, otherwise there would be dispersion of effort and ineffectiveness. First things must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India. Before we can undertake any major schemes we must have a strong state and a smoothly running governmental machinery. The first essential therefore is for India as a whole to be strong and firmly established, confident in her capacity to meet all possible dangers and face and solve all problems. If India lives, all parts of India also live and prosper. If India is enfeebled, all her component elements grow weak.

3. I suggest to the House that every problem must be viewed in this context today.

4. It is necessary to have a reconstitution of the provinces, or some of them. But if we tackle this problem in a large way at present, there is grave danger of our energies being diverted from some of the more urgent tasks. In the case of some provinces the problem may be relatively easy, in the case of others it would be very difficult and very controversial.

5. The final determination in regard to the creation of new provinces appropriately rests with the Constituent Assembly. Government propose to take up this matter in the Constituent Assembly and ask for steps to be taken for preliminary enquiries to be made on this subject. One or more boundary commissions may also be appointed. It would be desirable not to complicate the issue by having too many simultaneous enquiries.

6. The demand for the province of Andhra, which, if I may say so, is a perfectly legitimate demand, raises relatively few difficulties and it can be included among the provinces in the constitution as was done in the case of Orissa and Sind under the Government of India Act of 1935. This decision can be implemented soon after the constitution is adopted.

7. The creation of the provinces of Maharashtra and Karnatak involve greater difficulties as any marked change will powerfully affect the structure and economy of the provinces concerned. This question will require very careful consideration in all its bearings so that the final decision may be a just one and acceptable to the parties concerned.

8. It must be remembered that the creation of a new province inevitably affects all the neighbouring provinces and the interests of these will have to be considered. Every decision must of course be considered from the point of view of the country as a whole.

9. There is no reason why enquiries referred to above may not be completed within a year or so.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, may I enquire of the Honourable Prime Minister whether the Government will consider the question of re-distribution of the boundaries of existing provinces on the same principle of cultural and linguistic affinities? If so, will he kindly keep in view this aspect of the question when he thinks of the creation of new provinces?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, Sir, all these questions can be considered at the right time.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Arising out of the answer given by the Honourable Prime Minister that the question of re-distribution of provincial boundaries will be considered by a boundary commission set up by the Constituent Assembly later, is Government aware of the fact that although strong arguments do exist and there is a strong demand for the re-alignment of the Provinces of Bihar and Bengal on linguistic lines, this demand has not been put forward because of the very reasons that the Honourable the Prime Minister has put before the House, namely the difficulties the Government face at present? Will he give us an assurance that if this question does come up, the fact that this demand has not been put forward before this House in the form of a tabled resolution of amendment, will not mean that this matter of the re-alignment of the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar on linguistic basis will go by default?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I must express my appreciation of the fact pointed out by the Honourable Member that because of wider considerations, they did not press a certain demand that they had in their hearts or minds. But I must say that the grace of all that has been taken away by a fresh demand for an assurance.

Dr. N. B. Khare: May I know under what section of the Adaptation Act will this boundary commission be appointed?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot mention any particular Act but without any Act I am quite sure we can appoint any number of boundary commissions.

Shri B. E. Diwakar: May I know, Sir, if the Honourable Prime Minister is aware that Kannada people are the greatest sufferers under the present dispensation being distributed over several administrations?

ELECTIONS TO STANDING COMMITTEES FOR MINISTRIES OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY,
INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING AND LABOUR

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I certainly realise the feelings in Karnatak and the desire to take action on this matter.

Shri R. R. Diwakar: May I know, Sir, if it would be possible under the circumstances to see that Karnatak becomes a Province before the New Constitution Act comes into operation?

Mr. Speaker: Here I want to make a suggestion to the Honourable Members. This is really to my mind a question to be decided by the Assembly when it is functioning as a constitution-making body. And therefore instead of raising questions which really imply arguments in favour or against a particular kind of action, the questions may be limited only to the intentions of the Government which have been amply clarified by the Honourable the Prime Minister. So questions may only be limited to facts and not arguments.

Shri R. R. Diwakar: Excuse me, Sir, simply because the matter came up here I asked this question.

Mr. Speaker: But that would be going beyond the scope of the limitations within which questions can be put in a legislature.

Shri H. J. Khandekar: While considering the formation of Provinces on cultural and linguistic basis, will the Government be pleased to keep in view that there is a demand from the people of the C. P. (Mahrathi) and Berar for a separate Mahakoshal Province?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government has so much to remember that it is very hard to forget anything.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar: With reference to the answer given in regard to Andhra, when is the commission likely to be appointed? Is it before the meeting of the Constituent Assembly or after that?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: As the Speaker has already pointed out, the right course is to proceed through the constitution-making body.

Shri H. V. Patakar: Will the proposed enquiry include the question of Maharashtra?

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Is the Prime Minister aware of the fact that Tamil Nad is equally, if not more, anxious than Andhra for separation?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. We are now getting into arguments.

ELECTIONS TO STANDING COMMITTEES FOR MINISTRIES OF
INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY, INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
AND LABOUR.

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the Assembly that upto the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committees for the Ministries of Industry and Supply, Information and Broadcasting and Labour, 11 nominations in the case of the first two and 10 nominations in the case of the last one were received. Subsequently one member in case of each of the first two withdrew his candidature. As the number of the remaining candidates was thus equal to the number of vacancies in each of the three Committees, I declare the following members to be duly elected:—

I. Standing Committee for the Ministry of Industry and Supply.

- (1) Shri A. B. Latthe.
- (2) Shri Bikramlal Sondhi.
- (3) Shri C. Subrahmanayam.
- (4) Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiyar.
- (5) Shri Ramnath Goenka.

[Mr. Speaker]

- (6) Shri U. Srinivasa Mallayya.
- (7) Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
- (8) Shri Sarangdhar Das.
- (9) Shri M. R. Masani, and
- (10) Begum Aizaz Rasul.

II. Standing Committee for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

- (1) Shri Arun Chandra Guha.
- (2) Shri Ramnath Goenka.
- (8) Shrimati G. Durgabai.
- (4) Dr. Dharam Prakash.
- (5) Shri Ram Sahai.
- (6) Itai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.
- (7) Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava.
- (8) Raja of Bobbili.
- (9) Shri Feroze Gandhi, and
- (10) Mr. Abdul Kadar Mohammad Shaikh.

III. Standing Committee for the Ministry of Labour.

- (1) Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena.
- (2) Shri Chunilal P. Shah.
- (8) Shri V. C. Kesava Rao.
- (4) Shri Khandubhai K. Desai.
- (5) Shri C. Subrahmanyam.
- (6) Shrimati Renuka Ray.
- (7) Shri Gokulbhai Daulatram Bhatt.
- (8) Shri Nand Kishore Das.
- (9) Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya, and
- (10) Shri Harihar Nath Shastri.

RESOLUTION RE ORGANISATION OF A NATIONAL MILITIA

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the Resolutions tabled by the Honourable Members.

Shri H. V. Pataskar (Bombay: General): In view of the statement of policy and the steps proposed to be taken to implement the same made by the Honourable the Prime Minister, I do not propose to move the Resolution standing in my name.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Madras: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir the Resolution that stands in my name and which I have the honour to move before the House, runs as follows:

"This Assembly is of opinion that with a view to ensuring the effective defence of the country in all circumstances, assisting the Provincial Governments to maintain law and order in emergencies, enabling law-abiding citizens to defend themselves against lawless and anti-social elements and removing the fear and feeling of helplessness produced by the policy of disarming and emasculating the people pursued under foreign rule, immediate steps be taken to organise a national militia and to provide on a country-wide basis facilities for training in the use of arms and the arts of self-defence."

This Resolution, I may at once state, is self-explanatory and I venture to hope that it is one which is also non-contentious, although the word "militia" may require a little bit of explanation. The expression "National Militia" has been so much in vogue in the country that it hardly requires a definition. It is

more or less of an axiomatic nature. 'Militia' comes from *miles* meaning a soldier, and militia means military service. It is a term applied to forces which are doubtless organised but are not professional. In ancient times, all the armies were recruited like this, except the personal guards of their leaders. They were under arms during times of war and they resumed their normal occupations in life soon after the war was over. In America you have got this Militia well organised. All able-bodied citizens between the age of 18, and unless the law otherwise states, 45 years, are brought under the scope of the National Militia and they are known as 'National Guards' or 'Naval Militia' or 'Unorganised Militia'. The scheme came into existence in the year 1903 under what is called the Dick Act, which provides for the organisation, armament and discipline, pay, transportation and subsistence, encampments and training, all at Government expense—on the same scale and in the same manner as are applicable to the Regular Army.

Now, it is but right to consider whether in our country where there is always a Standing Army almost on a war footing this Militia is necessary. I shall deal with the question of composition of the Army as it exists today, as it has existed till recently and as it may be modified very soon, presently. But let me tell you the condition in which we find ourselves today. The Honourable the Prime Minister, in answer to the question on linguistic provinces, gave certain indications of the present state of the country. He stated and rightly that the attainment of liberty by India on the 15th August has released all kinds of reactionary forces in the country. The fact that the British Government has terminated its paramountcy among the 562 States of India—a thing which came to us as a surprise—has created a false impression that each of these States, petty and small, middling and big, is an independent area and local, parochial provincial and communal considerations and ideas of patriotism have predominated over the national element. In Dholpur and Bharatpur, the Jat consciousness has been kindled; in Udaipur and in Jodhpur, particularly in Jodhpur and Alwar, the Rajput consciousness has been kindled; in Patiala, in Nabha, in Faridkot, in Jhind and in Kapurthala the Sikh consciousness has been kindled. Thus some want Jatsthan, others want Rajputsthan, and few Sikhsthan. This is a wholly fissiparous process. Instead of developing a centripetal tendency in order to establish the Central Government on a firm basis, these centrifugal tendencies have been released and the result is that unless adequate care is taken betimes, the position of India may become exceedingly dangerous and become a matter for anxiety. While this is so, recent experiences have revealed the astounding fact that private armies and arms are being organised in almost all parts of India.

I shall refer to the private armies later but would invite the attention of the House to statements in the Press which have occurred from time to time disclosing the discovery of arms dumps. I shall give a few extracts from one such report. In Subzi Mandi in Delhi, a simple and old-fashioned building which has the appearance of a *Beedi dukan*, has concealed behind it three quadrangles of huge palatial quarters which were inter-connected underground. It contained an oil engine in a subterranean room, fire-proof bricks and cement, oxygen cylinders and gas pipes and a tube-well and some machinery for manufacturing munitions. Again, in Jubbulpore a handcart proceeding from a godown met with an accident which revealed that ammunition was being transported concealed under pieces of cloth. When the godown nearby was searched, there were cartridges weighing over eleven tons and lead pellets weighing about 26 maunds. A cartridge-filling machine, several fire-arms and a huge quantity of ammunition were discovered at Borgi near Jubbulpore in some Muslim houses. Searches at Patna have yielded also similar results. A car held up near Government House contained ten bottle bombs, 77 cartridges, some sulphur, a phial containing mercury and some paper bombs. Twenty-three dynamites in long

{Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya}

paper tubes were also recovered. Eight bottle bombs, some revolvers, ammunition and paper bombs were recovered from two persons going in a car. A sealed cigarette tin picked up from a dust-bin near Patna Secretariat exploded. Likewise illegal arms in the Central Provinces were discovered, arms in Agra Hotel; a Bren gun, a complete wireless receiving apparatus was discovered; a powder magazine was unearthed by the Calcutta police; seizure included one double-barrelled gun, 24 bombs, about 40 cartridges and a large number of bullet cases; the Bomb Squad of the Bombay C. I. D. raided a miniature arsenal in South-West Bombay and 19 crude bombs; an Ammunition factory was unearthed near Vincent Hill area and so on. It is a sad tale of unending length. Why have all these come into existence? In Delhi, in some of the most fashionable bungalows such as in 6 Keeling Road and in the Barakhamba Road, arms were discovered. What may be the cause of all these arms? What may be the purpose? Were they meant to be used at a particular point of time for a particular purpose or was it an accident that all these bombs and ammunition were discovered there? Thus you see that the condition of the country is extremely dangerous. I do not wish to strike a note of panic or alarm, but at the same time, if any Government were to rest in a state of complacency, I should say that panic is much better than complacency.

That being the case, you may well ask the question: "Why, we have got an excellent army? Are we not able to cope with the needs of the country and overcome all the dangers that may lie imbedded in the future?" The Indian element in the army was 150,000 and the English element till recently was 61,000 which has recently been reduced by 10,000. Altogether we had 210,000 men in the Army. Yesterday the Honourable the Finance Minister was saying that the present strength of the Army is 260,000 and perhaps there is no immediate prospect of reducing this strength unless conditions permit it. Now we were also told the other day that the European soldier cost us Rs. 3,600 per capita against an Indian soldier costing Rs. 1,200. In any case, by the departure of the European soldiers, which will presently take place, we shall save a lot of money. We are lucky if we get rid of these English soldiers, in getting rid of them much sooner than Canada which had Self-Government in 1840 and Government on a Federal basis in 1867 but the British Army left only in 1905. In South Africa the British Army left only in 1922. In Australia, however, it had left in the year 1870. Thus we should be unexpectedly lucky if these gentlemen quit India by the end of this year. Now, that being the case, we shall have to take care of this country ourselves. But an Army is a means of distant protection. It is like a Reserve fund or a fixed deposit in a bank and is not a current account. When a danger breaks out, you will have to send for the Army. The Civil authorities have to move first and the Civil authorities have then to move the Military authorities and the Military authorities must reach the Railway Station: the station people must arrange the transport and wagons must be available and the Military then moves and perhaps all these may take four or five days and within these five days all the necessary destruction will have successfully taken place and those who are bent upon mischief, you may rest assured, know their calculations fairly well.

Thus an Army cannot be depended upon for times of emergency, especially when there are numerous cases of disturbances scattered over the whole country and the figures that I have shown and the dumps that I have revealed fairly prove that there are secret spots of danger which are interspersed over the whole area. The only means, therefore, of protecting people is by setting up centres of Military training here, there and elsewhere. Within easy reach. If India is to protect herself, India must not only protect herself by a centralised Army placed at a distant centre, but India must be able to command the services of duly armed people, well trained in the use of arms, at a moment's notice, which

means that each province must be self-sufficient, each district must be self-sufficient, each tahsil, each town and village, each street and each home. It is only then that India can rest secure and not till then. How is this to be brought about? Only by organising what is called the National Militia. I do not for one moment suggest that we should all be conscripted. I am afraid that the population is far too large and the expenditure involved is far too prohibitive and the staff required is far too numerous, to make possible such a scheme of compulsion. In our country the enthusiasm of the youth is so great that without any conscription or compulsion the young people are quite willing to come forward and sacrifice their lives in the cause of the nation. Their inborn enthusiasm, their nascent patriotism and their love of the country can always be counted upon by the Government of the day for the necessary measure of sacrifice for the protection of the country. The spirits of the youth so long pent up, so long cribbed and cabined under foreign rule, are waiting to burst out. The youth is bubbling with enthusiasm everywhere. It wants an opportunity to express itself, express itself not merely in the Civil, but also in the Military line, a line which has been forbidden to the mass of population so far. You know that the armies of India have largely been recruited from the professional classes, chiefly confined to the Punjab and other places. Not only this, a stigma has been cast moreover since the report of Lord Roberts that the South Indian people are unfit to be recruited into the Army but the slur has been cast off in the recent war. There is no such thing as a man being born brave. It is a training like training in music or painting which creates the faculty or the quality.

An Honourable Member: Will the Honourable Member please address the Chair?

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Being a Congressman of 50 years standing, I have forgotten the rule. Moreover the position of the Mike does not enable me to face the audience.

Mr. Speaker: I was just thinking of communicating that point by a note addressed to the Honourable Member, but I did not wish to interfere.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: I am very grateful for your considerateness, but . . . however, let me not explain.

The South Indian has been stigmatized as wanting in the martial spirit. After all the strong man is not a brave man, you may rest assured. I have asked many strong soldiers and they are sometimes funks. They do not want to go to the Front. It is the lean, thin, wizened and withered, half-starved, semi-cadaverous looking man that is really energetic and brave, that does not hesitate to sacrifice his life. So bravery and strength have nothing to do with each other. It is the spirit that animates a person that really counts and that spirit is predominantly present in the youth of the Nation. Therefore, it is time now to canalise that enthusiasm into the proper channels by means of which the dangerous spots can be made safe. It is for this purpose that I plead for the National Militia now.

I may tell you also that already private organisations are coming into existence and people prompted by narrow ideas, provincial or communal, have thus organised themselves. The R. S. S. is there. Then there is the Akali Dal; then one or two Muslim National Guards. All these have taken time by the forelock, but if you want to deal with the question on a national basis and make it necessary for the nation to look into the matter aright, then you must envelope all these organisations which is the only way of engulfing them and thus absorbing them and assimilating them into the National Militia. Of course it will be a costly affair, but you have saved a lot by the British people—60,000 of them having gone—who have been costing us thrice the amount which the Indian soldiery was costing us; at the same time self-Government itself is costly; two brothers are joint; the elder brother is taking care of the family; all expenditure is minimised, but they break up; partition is effected and then

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their expenses are reduplicated. Independence means responsibility; Independence is not a bed of roses, but a bed of thorns and we are already beginning to feel the pricks of these thorns. Therefore we must be prepared to bear the expenditure and bear the burden which independence inevitably means to us; and the only way of dealing with these private armies which have come into existence is by the formation of a national militia.

An Honourable Member: There is no compulsion.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Moral force is much higher than physical force; otherwise you could have easily prohibited these bodies by law. But I have a better remedy and that remedy is to make a better organisation which they will consider it a matter of pride to join and not joining which they will consider a matter of humiliation. Thus you see that the national militia does not require any deep argumentation to support it. It is like an umbrella in hand to protect you against rain as against your home which may give you a safe canopy at a distance. It is like a hand-stick with which to beat a snake across the path, as against a snake-charmer who is far away. It is like an overcoat to protect you against cold rather than the home fires that are burning ablaze in your own home at a distance. This is the right weapon which will qualify you for liberty. Most of the Honourable Members here may or may not perhaps—have seen the beautiful inscription on the biggest arch in the southern block of the Secretariat; it says, "Liberty will not descend to a people. A people must raise themselves to liberty. It is a blessing that must be earned before it can be enjoyed." I say that a national militia is the right means of earning this Liberty and it will be the symbol and proof of such liberty. Sir, I move.

Mr. Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly is of opinion that with a view to ensuring the effective defence of the country in all circumstances, assisting the Provincial Governments to maintain law and order in emergencies, enabling law-abiding citizens to defend themselves against lawless and anti-social elements and removing the fear and feeling of helplessness produced by the policy of disarming and emasculating the people pursued under foreign rule, immediate steps be taken to organise a national militia and to provide on a country-wide basis facilities for training in the use of arms and the arts of self-defence."

I will remind the House that the time limit for speeches prescribed under the rules is 15 minutes and no more. For the Mover it is 30 minutes as also for the Government reply, though that period may be extended if required.

I will now call upon the Honourable Members who have given notice of amendments to move them and after that there will be a general discussion.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U. P. General): Sir, I am not moving my amendment.

Shri B. M. Gupte (Bombay: General): Sir, I am not moving my amendment.

Mr. Speaker: Then the general discussion will proceed.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Sir, today is a great day when this important Resolution is being moved in this Sovereign Parliament of free India. For the last 200 years we have been a slave nation, and after the first war of Indian independence, which has so long been called the Great Mutiny, we were disarmed in 1878, and the Arms Act is still on the statute-book to remind us of that day of humiliation when the arms of the whole nation were deposited in the British armoury. From that day—perhaps the day of our greatest humiliation—our nation has felt as if it would never again rise to freedom. But through the efforts of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi and through the sacrifice of innumerable heroes, we today find ourselves again a free State. I think our Prime Minister said only this morning that first things must come first; and the

first thing is that our country and our new free State must become secure; and that security can only come when the emasculation of the last 200 years is done away with. I must congratulate the Mover of the Resolution on having brought this motion and I hope it will be adopted and given effect to in the spirit which is necessary to bring the country back to its proper state of preparation for meeting its new obligations. The Finance Minister told us yesterday that India is the second greatest nation in the world. We have got 30 crores of population next only to China which is in the throes of a civil war, and so we must be the greatest, and the most powerful nation of the world today. But today unfortunately Russia and America are mentioned as the greatest powers; India is not even a member of the Security Council of the U. N. O. I therefore think that we must come into our own and for that we must have a planned programme. I hope that will come soon; but, as the Prime Minister just said, the first thing is to secure what we have already got. That can only be done when we have converted the whole nation into an army which will protect this newly-won freedom. I therefore commend this Resolution to the House so that the spirit of Free India which is now abroad may be harnessed for the great task that lies ahead. I have been in contact with the masses for a very long time; even during the last two or three months I have been going about and meeting thousands of people; and I know what eagerness is there among the people for military training. Recently the U. P. Government has brought out a scheme to enrol 12 lakh national guards. Out of every 500 men in a village 11 persons will be trained in the use of arms; and in that way out of one hundred and ten lakh villages in the province there will be 12 lakhs of men who will be trained in the use of arms. There was a selection of officers for training them; perhaps 45 men will be selected, but on the day of selection about 3,000 young men with bubbling spirit came forward to be selected as instructors for imparting this military training. There were I. N. A. men and demobilised personnel. And I found there that if that enthusiasm can be really harnessed we can very soon become the greatest power on earth. Today no country can live unless it has got the means to defend itself. Russia and America have all got virtual conscription, and every student in school there becomes a fine soldier; whereas, in our country our health is perhaps the worst in the whole world, our rate of mortality is also very high and our average age is only 23 years. I think all this will be a thing of the past if this resolution is given effect to and acted upon in the spirit in which it is brought. I have just heard a reference to reactionary organisations which threaten our existence. I think we should not be afraid. A reference was made to the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh*. I think the Sangh was a logical product of the psychology of frustration created by the Bureaucratic Government of the past; when that Government was not making any provision for utilising the martial spirit among the people and people had no other way to learn military training, they started these clubs and societies. The *Sangha* has done very useful service during the last 25 years of its existence and recently during the Punjab massacre it rendered miraculous service to the people. If now the Government comes forward to give universal military training and to raise a national militia, I am sure every Indian youth and every member of the R. S. S. will come forward and take military training. I know none of them is inimical to the State. Every one of them wants that the State of Bharatvarsha must be the strongest and the mightiest State in the world. If this same purpose inspires the Government in the forming of its national militia, then, whether these people are in the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh*, or in the *Sikh Akali Dal*, they will come forward and join the National Militia whole heartedly. I am glad that these volunteer organisations have been in existence. Probably they will spur the Government to take up this question seriously. I now hope it will be done in a proper and systematic way and very soon India will be able to boast of the fact that out of 30 crores of people, every adult man and woman has training in the

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

use of arms. We are now in the new age. We know that in this last war, every man and woman in other countries did his bit for the war. Our great hero, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, organised the famous Rani of Jhansi Regiment as part of the great Azad Hind Fouz. We must not let our women be forgotten. Napoleon used to say that unless there are great mothers, the nation cannot be great. Our women must imbibe the discipline and the spirit of chivalry and all that military training gives. By passing this resolution and by putting it into effect I hope that very soon our country, will be a nation of young men, fully trained and fully disciplined. Our country today is said to be an indisciplined country. Probably this resolution, if given effect to properly, will discipline our nation. When I read about and when I think of the horrors and tragedies which have occurred in the last few months, in the Punjab, I am surprised if anywhere else in the world in history such things have happened. Why did such things happen in our country? If our country had arms and people knew how to use arms, they would not have suffered the torture, rape and other humiliation which they have had to undergo. I do not think policemen can be present on every street nor can the military protect everyone everywhere. If everyone has arms no one will dare to molest anybody or threaten him or kill him. By giving this resolution full effect, you can thus solve all your problems. Yesterday we learnt that a standing army of 260,000 soldiers will cost us Rs. 98 crores. Well, two lakhs is a small drop in the ocean. Such a small army cannot safeguard the interests of a nation of 80 crores in the modern world. The only way to protect ourselves is to arm every individual citizen. It will not cost anything and it will give in return discipline, health and less mortality. We shall then have a great national army in reserve and we shall be respected according to its strength. I feel mortified that our candidature to the membership of the Security Council of the U. N. O. was contested. We were not given a seat there, although we are the second greatest nation in the world. And that is because today we are not as strong as Russia or America. But tomorrow if we have 80 crores of people trained under conscription in a national militia and this huge national militia is kept in reserve to be called to arms when necessary, then I am sure our great leader in the U. N. O. will not have to withdraw her candidature and explain the reason for it. If we have to rise to our full stature, we must give effect to this resolution with our full heart. If the Government works it properly, the people will co-operate wholeheartedly. There is latent longing in the people for use of arms. When I go into the country-side, they say: "Will we get arms"? They are so anxious about arms. Recently in our province it was said that people could apply for licenses for arms, and we had hundreds of applications coming in our committees. I think if this scheme is put into effect, then there will be no part of the country which will be said to be inhabited by non-martial races. The Mover said that his part of the country is a non-martial area. I do not think so. Everyone in the country has a latent faculty in him to become a well-disciplined soldier and who knows that there may be many great warriors and leaders of arms in those provinces which are called non-martial. In the last great war the Madrasis became very good air pilots; Bengalees also were very efficient. And who knows in this great continent, where every part of the country has its special aptitude, we may not be able to supply all the requirements of a great army. By this conscription, or compulsory military training we will be able to know who are those who have special aptitudes for particular jobs in the army. Out of these men of special aptitude for the army we shall choose the standing army which will have to be kept at a much higher figure than 260,000. Then we shall have in the army chosen men after their aptitudes have been tested. We shall then know who are fit for which career of the army. Then we shall be able to find the best men to officer the army, and then our army will become the finest army in the world. Today the results have shown that our army fought with very great bravery compared

with other armies and among its ranks have been the best fighters in the world. If everyone is given a chance, and his capabilities tested and a selection made, our army will become the finest in the world and people will not have to spend much because the chosen men will be in the army and the rest of the nation will be in the reserve. If any nation casts its eyes upon us, we can mobilise the whole nation and probably nobody will be able to stand against us. Then alone we can come to our full stature and give to the world what we want to give. We have a great culture, and a most ancient civilisation. But a slave nation could not give these things to the world. Now when we have become a free nation, and are fully prepared to hold our own before any other nation in the world, we will give to the world all that our country has got to give—its culture, its heritage and its civilization.

Dr. N. B. Khare (Alwar State): Sir, I have great pleasure to give my humble support to this very important resolution and it gladdens my heart very much that my friend and fellow-medico of the Congress persuasion of a very high Congress status—almost approaching that of the President of the Congress—has moved this resolution. Congress, Sir, always preached *ahimsa*. It is still doing it. Some say that there was no such creed of *ahimsa*, but only a policy. Whatever that may be, I am so glad that a high-placed Congressman like that has at long last come forward to move this very essential resolution. We in this country have been the slaves of the British for so many years, for over a century and a half, and the British deliberately, as all imperialists do, have kept us absolutely away from anything and everything pertaining to military. That is the reason why we are as we are today. We have been very systematically emasculated and I think if we want to be men again we must not only support strongly this resolution but also act up to it. I hope the Government will accept the resolution without any hesitation.

My Honourable friend has also said that freedom has descended upon us. It has descended upon us when perhaps we were unprepared in more ways than one and if we are wise people and want to maintain our freedom I have not the slightest doubt that unless we do some such thing as detailed in this resolution we will not be able to maintain it for long. They say in Sanskrit:

वीर भोग्या वसुधैवा कुटुम्बकम् which means those who are brave can alone enjoy the earth or the Kingdom of the earth. But we are always talking of the Kingdom of Heaven as has been our wont for generations. I hope we will stop forever doing it. We have to live on this mundane earth and for that purpose we must have an army. Besides that, I see that our race is deteriorating physically. We see in every generation that we are deteriorating and unless we compel our young men to take military training, I do not suppose there is any other way of either increasing our capacity or improving our health. I am one of those who believe in conscription. I am absolutely certain and I warn my friends on all sides that at present we are passing through very critical times and in the future, in the very immediate future I think this country will pass through anarchical times. I do not like it and I do not want it but I cannot shut my eyes to what I see before me. I hope the Government will accept this resolution and immediately try to implement it and ask every young man to enlist in this national militia. Sir, I do not want to say much more, because you have been very kind to give me some time fixing the outside limit of 15 minutes I think it will please you to know that I have finished my speech much before that.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly reassembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : श्रीमान् अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं डा० पट्टाभि साहेब के रखे हुये प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वास्तव में मेरा खुद खयाल था कि इस तरह का प्रस्ताव यहां भेज लें कि समय पर नहीं भेज सका। इस वक्त जो प्रस्ताव नेशनल मिलीशिया (National Militia) बनाने के बारे में डाक्टर पट्टाभि साहब ने पेश किया उमका हादिक समर्थन करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सवाल सिर्फ प्रांतों का ही नहीं है बल्कि गियासतों की जनता के इन्ट्रेस्ट (interest) का भी है। हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में इस तरह की संस्था, मिलीशिया, होनी चाहिये जिसमें नागरिकों को तालीम दी जाय, सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाय जिससे हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा हो सके। यह सवाल धीरे धीरे करने का भी नहीं है। आज हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी खराब बातें पैदा हो गई हैं और हो रही हैं वह इस मिलीशिया के बनाने से दूर हो सकती हैं। इस लिये जितना यह प्रश्न आवश्यक है उतना ही जल्दी इसको करना भी चाहिये।

हिन्दुस्तान को सारी जनता ने मिलकर स्वतंत्र किया है और हमें सबको मिल कर ही इस लोकतंत्री भारतवर्ष की रक्षा करनी चाहिये। जब जनता ने इसको स्वतंत्र किया है तो उसकी रक्षा का भार भी जनता के ऊपर ही होना चाहिये। जनता को उसकी रक्षा करने के लिये उस चीज की ट्रेनिंग (training) दी जानी चाहिये। ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद ने हमारे देश को आर्म्स एक्ट (Arms Act) दंगैर जैसे कानूनों के जरिये निष्मन्न कर दिया। उन्होंने हमारे देश को कमजोर और निर्बल बना दिया। उन्होंने हमारे हृदयों को और हमारे हाथों और पैरों को बिल्कुल कमजोर बना दिया। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर यह असेम्बली और हमारी गवर्नमेंट आज मिलीशिया बनाने का निश्चय करती है तो हम में फिर वही ताकत पैदा हो जायगी, फिर बल पैदा हो जायगा और आत्मविश्वास पैदा हो जायगा। इसके अलावा हम इस मिलीशिया के जरिये ट्रेनिंग हासिल करके हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करेंगे, निर्बलों की रक्षा करेंगे और समाज का हित करेंगे।

सभापति महोदय, गांधी जी ने हाल में ही कृपाण के बारे में बोलते हुये कहा था कि यह बेगुनाहों के खून बहाने के लिये नहीं है, बल्कि निर्बलों की रक्षा करने के लिये और समाज की सेवा करने के लिये है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यही सच्चा क्षत्रिय धर्म है और क्षत्रियत्व है। जब हम इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग हासिल करें तो उमका इस्तेमाल हम निर्बलों के रक्षा के लिये, समाज की रक्षा के लिये और देश की रक्षा के लिये करें। जैसा कि हमारे यहां साहित्य में क्षत्रियधर्म के बारे में कालिदास ने कहा है "क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदमः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु सृष्टः"। फिर दूसरी जगह कालिदास ने बतलाया है कि : "आर्तत्राणाय वः क्षत्रं न प्रहर्तमनागसि"। अर्थात् निर्बलों की रक्षा की जाय,

समाज की भवा की जाय, यही सच्चा क्षत्रियत्व है। यह म इसलिय कह रहा हूं कि आजकल हम क्षत्रिय संगठन का नाम बहुत सुनते हैं। भरतपुर में शट संगठन शुरू हो रहा है। उधर पटियाला में सिक्खों का संगठन हो रहा है। उधर जोधपुर में सजपूतों का संगठन हो रहा है। अलवर में भी इसी तरह के संगठन बन रहे हैं। इसी तरह के साम्प्रदायिक संगठन सब जगह हो रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान में मुस्लिम नेशनल गार्ड (Muslim National Guards) के नाम से संगठन किया जा रहा है। हैदराबाद में भी मुस्लिम गार्ड (Muslim Guards) के नाम से संगठन किया जा रहा है। हमारी जो मिलीशिया होगी वह शस्त्र का दुर्ूपयोग करने के लिये नहीं होगी, बल्कि हमारा आदर्श समाज की रक्षा करना, शोषण का अन्त करना और देश की रक्षा करना होगा। इन चीजों के लिये यह शस्त्र इस्तेमाल होने चाहिये। लेकिन हो क्या रहा है कि 'वीर भोग्या वसुन्धरा' के गलत नारे लगाये जा रहे हैं। अगर इस नारे का मतलब 'जिसकी लाठी उसकी भैंस' है तब तो यह फासिस्ट (Fascist) नारा है। एक गलत नारा होगा लेकिन सचमुच भावना यह होनी चाहिये कि हम अपने हथियार और वीरता को समाज की सेवा के लिये, हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के लिये, इस्तेमाल करें। हमने जो नई आजादी हासिल की है वह लोकतन्त्रात्मक और डेमोक्रेटिक (Democratic) होनी चाहिये। अगर यह नारा इसके लिये इस्तेमाल होगा तो उपयुक्त होगा। आजकल के जमाने के अनुकूल होगा, और हमारे पुराने आदर्श के अनुसार होगा।

इस विषय में बड़ा साम्प्रदायिक खतरा चारों तरफ फैल रहा है। हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार और देहली के आसपास अनेक राजे रजवाड़े हैं। इस समय वहां साम्प्रदायिकता की भावना बहुत फैली हुई है, और इस समय कांग्रेसके असूलों की तरफ, कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट के असूलों के बारे में, बहुत सी गलतफहमियां फैलाई जा रही हैं। कांग्रेस को मिस-रिप्रेजेंट (mis-represent) किया जा रहा है। कांग्रेस के अहिंसावाद के उसूल के गलत माने लगाये जा रहे हैं। इस तरह की बातें फैलाकर राजे और सामन्ती व्यक्ति लोगों को बहका कर अपना स्वार्थ सिद्ध करना चाहते हैं। इस चीज से नौजवानों को बचाने के लिये उनको सैनिक काम दिया जाना बहुत जरूरी है। हम नौजवानों का संगठन करें और हर स्त्री, पुरुष को शिक्षा दे कर मिलीशिया में ले लें। इस तरह से जो साम्प्रदायिकता का खतरा है वह दूर हो जायगा। बहुत सी गलतफहमियां जो देश में फैली हुई हैं वह इस तरह की मिलिट्री ट्रेनिंग (military training) जारी करने से दूर हो जायंगी।

१५ अगस्त से पहिले हमारे देश में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद का राज्य था। अब वह बात नहीं रही है। मगर जब यह मिलीशिया बनाई जाय तो इस बात का जरूर खयाल किया जाय कि इसमें उन लोगों को न लिया जाय जो राष्ट्रवादी विचारधारा के नहीं हैं। दरअसल सचबान यह है कि हमको इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि जो राष्ट्रियता चाहते हैं, देश में एकता चाहते हैं और निरंगे झण्डे के नीचे काम करना चाहते हैं उनको

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

इस मिलीशिया में लिया जाना चाहिये। जो वफादार न पाये जायें उन्हें हटा दिया जाय।

एक बात में यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक रियासतों में मिलीशिया बनाने का सवाल है उसको रियासतों पर नहीं छोड़ देना चाहिये। इस बात का खयाल रखना जरूरी है कि रियासतों में जब यह मिलीशिया बनाई जाय तो वहां राजाओं के हाथों में ही नहीं छोड़ देनी चाहिये। इसका कारण यह है कि रियासतों में साम्प्रदायिक भावना भरी हुई है। मगर जहां उन्नतवादी सरकार है वहां दूसरी तरह से इस प्रश्न पर गौर किया जा सकता है।

रेलों के बारे में भी मैं यह कहना है कि हिन्दुस्तान की रेलें बहुतेरी देशी रियासतों में से जाती हैं, और वहां साम्प्रदायिकता भड़कायी जाती है। इस प्रस्ताव से समस्या का हल हो जाता है। अगर हम अपनी मिलीशिया रोज (raise) कर लेते हैं, तो साम्प्रदायिकता के लिये कोई जगह ही नहीं रहती। जिसको अंग्रेजी में कहते हैं "taking wind out of their sails" इस तरीके के कारण साम्प्रदायिक संस्थायें पनप नहीं सकेंगी आज कल साम्प्रदायिकता को बढ़ाने में न सिर्फ देशी राजा, रईस बल्कि पंजीपति लोग भी अपना जहरीला प्रचार कर रहे हैं। इसको दूर करने के लिये हमको एक स्ट्रॉंग नेशनल मिलीशिया (strong National Militia) का निर्माण करना चाहिये। मैं यह बात स्पष्ट कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी कांग्रेस को आज misrepresent किया जाता है। यह गलतफहमियां इससे बहुत दूर हो जायेंगी। इस लिये हर एक कांग्रेस भवन का आज यह कर्तव्य है कि हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के लिये जैसे वह एक तकली रखता है उसी के साथ वह एक पिस्तौल भी रखे और जैसे वह एक चरखा रखता है उसी के साथ उसको एक मशीनगन (machine gun) भी रखनी चाहिये। सिर्फ इसी तरीके से हम हिन्दुस्तान को बचा सकेंगे। जिस तरीके से काश्मीर में इन्फिल्ट्रेशन (infiltration) हुआ और पाकिस्तान की फौजें वहां आ गयी इसी तरह का खतरा हमारे सामने भी आ सकता है वहां तो उधर एक कान्स्क्रिप्शन ऑर्डिनेन्स (conscription ordinance) लगाया गया है। यहां तो हिन्दुस्तान में हम घारा सभा के रूप में बैठे हुये हैं। मालूम नहीं पाकिस्तान लेजिस्लेचर (Legislature) में कहां तक विश्वास करता है। उनकी कान्स्टीच्यूएंट असेम्बली (Constituent Assembly) कब बैठेगी, किस पद्धति पर चलेगी मालूम नहीं। लेकिन हम तो यहां डेमोक्रेसी (democracy) की पद्धति पर चल रहे हैं। इस लिये हम लोगों को यहां उससे खबरदार रहना चाहिये जो कि पाकिस्तान में हो रहा है। यह जरूरी है कि हिन्दुस्तान का हर एक आदमी हथियार चलाना और जरूरत पर इस्तेमाल करना सीख जाय और ऐसा न हो कि हम बेखबरी में पकड़े जायें। और काश्मीर की तरह यहां इन्फिल्ट्रेशन (infiltration) हो जाय। यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकें। इस लिये अपने देश की आजादी और डेमोक्रेसी की रक्षा के लिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि मिलीशिया बनाई जाय। इतना कह कर मैं इस प्रस्ताव का पूर्ण समर्थन करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya (Gwalior State): Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the Resolution moved by Dr. Pattabhi. As a matter of fact I personally intended to bring before the House a Resolution of this kind, but I was not able to send it in time. I have stood up now to give my heartiest support to this Resolution regarding the National Militia which has been moved by Dr. Pattabhi.

This thing concerns not only the provinces, but it is also vital to the interests of the people of the states. We want that India should have an Organisation, a Militia, of this type which should impart military training to the civilians so that the defences of our country may be made strong. And this is a question which can brook no further delay. All such undesirable things as have recently happened and are still happening in India can be combated by this militia. This question, therefore, needs as quick a solution as it is important.

It is the people who have freed India from the shackles of slavery, and we must all unite to defend this democratic government against any aggressors. When it is the people who have brought independence to this vast sub-continent, the responsibility of its defence must also be entrusted to them, and the public must be given adequate training for it. By means of laws and Acts, like the 'Arms Act' and others, the British Imperialism had disarmed our men. They had made our country weak and dependent on others. They had injected weakness into our hearts, into our hands and feet, in fact, into every part of our body. If this Assembly and our Government decide today to raise a militia, I am sure, we can, recover our lost strength and vigour, we can become strong, and we can, once again, develop our old self confidence. Over and above that the training imparted by this militia will enable us to make our defences strong; it will enable us to protect the weak and to render service to the society.

Mr. Speaker, recently, referring to the use of *Kirpan*, in one of his speeches, Mahatma Gandhi told us that this weapon was not meant to murder the innocent; its right use lay in the protection of the unprotected and in the service of humanity. I believe that this is the real duty of a *Kshatriya* and in this alone lies his respect. When we receive a training of this type, let us also learn to use it for protecting the weak, for safeguarding the society and for defending our country. Writing about the duties of a *Kshatriya*, Kaildas says in one of his literary works:

“क्षतात्किल त्रायत इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढः ॥”

At another place he says:

“भार्तत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्तुमनागसि ।”

These two quotations mean that in the protection of the weak and in the service of the society lie the real duties of a *Kshatriya*. I am referring to it because these days very often we hear about the various organisation of the *Kshatriyas*. The organisation of the Jats is going on in Bharatpur while the Sikhs are busy organising themselves in Patiala. Rajputs are being organised in Jodhpur, and Alwar is not immune from the fever of this activity. Such communal organisation are springing up almost everywhere. Pakistan is organising one under the name of Muslim National Guards. Hyderabad is also raising a militia under the garb of Muslim Guards. But our militia would be trained not to misuse the arms; our idea would be to protect the society, to quell the disturbances and to defend our country. Arms should be

[Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya]
used only for such things. But what we find today is quite otherwise. False slogans of "Only the brave can enjoy the terrestrial pleasures" are being raised. If this means 'Might is Right', it is nothing but a Fascist slogan. It is wrong. Our real feeling and desire should be to use our arms and valour for the service of our society and for the defence of our country. The freedom that we have recently achieved should mean a people's Government here; it should mean a democratic country. If this is our slogan, we are right, and it would be what the modern times demand and what our ancient ideals stood for.

Seeds of such factious organisation are being sown all round us. The seat of our Government and the Province of Delhi is surrounded by many native states. Communal feelings are the most tense there at this time. The ideals of the Congress and the present Congress Government are being misconstrued in these states. The Congress is being misrepresented. Wrong explanations are being given for the Congress idea of non-violence. To gain their selfish ends, the princes and the feudal lords are exploiting the masses. We must, therefore, give military work to the youth of our country if we want to check them from swallowing this bait. Let us organise our youngmen and women let us give them military training and then absorb them in the militia. This will allay the danger of communal trouble which exists today. The military training that will be given to the public will remove the present misconceptions which are prevalent among the people.

Before the 15th of August we had here the Government of the British Imperialists. Things have changed now. When, however, this militia is raised care must be taken to see that no such persons are recruited who do not hold national views. As a matter of fact, what we should see is that this militia takes up only those who want nationalism, who want union in this country and who are prepared to work under our National Tricolour Flag. We must turn them out who are found to be disloyal to this country.

One thing more, I would like to say. So far as it is a question of raising a militia in the states we must not leave it to them. It is imperative that we do not entrust this responsibility to the princes alone. It is because the communal feelings are at their highest pitch in these places. We can, however, consider it from a different point of view in the case of those states which have Governments responsible to the people.

About the railways, I have to say that many Indian railways pass through a number of native states. The smouldering fire of communal feelings is fanned here. This Resolution solves this problem. There would be no room left for communalism if we raise this militia. This would amount to what we call in English "taking wind out of their sails". Communal Organisations will not be able to flourish if we take steps of this kind. Not only the princes and feudal lords but even the capitalists have joined to make this baneful propaganda of Communalism. We must make a strong National Militia if we want to remove this danger. I want to tell it in clear terms that our Congress is being misrepresented. This Organisation will go a long way in combating these misrepresentations. It should, therefore, be the duty of every congressman, today, to see that for the defence of India he keeps with him a pistol just as he keeps a spindle and that he keeps with him a machine gun as he keeps a 'Charkha' (spinning wheel). In this way alone we will be able to save our country.

Just as there has been an infiltration of tribesmen into Kashmir and just as the forces of Pakistan have gone there, dangers of similar kind can also crop up before us. An ordinance for conscription has been promulgated in Pakistan and we in India are sitting merely in the form of a Constituent Assembly. We do not know how much value does Pakistan attach to legislature. We do not know when will its Constituent Assembly meet and along what lines will it

proceeds. But we here are moving along the lines of democracy. We must, therefore, be on the alert; we must watch carefully what is going on in Pakistan. It is necessary that every Indian should know how to handle arms and, if need be, how to use them lest we are taken unawares. Let us always be on our guard lest there is an infiltration into India as there has been into Kashmir. For the defence of our country, for the protection of our freedom and for the upkeep of the ideals of democracy it is absolutely necessary that we should raise a militia. With these words, Sir, I strongly support this Resolution.

Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in rising to support the Honourable the Mover of this resolution. Coming as it does at an opportune time, I hope that it is welcome to all sections of the people of the country irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Sir, I think that the subject matter of this resolution has got closely to deal with the very fundamental rights of the individual, that is the right to live. It is not quite sufficient if such fundamental rights are simply incorporated in the constitution and guaranteed by the constitution of any country. But it is equally the duty of the State to see that conditions are created to see that individuals are enabled to exercise this right, that is the right to live. Therefore it is the duty of the State to see that this kind of training as contemplated under this resolution is provided and organized by the State in order to afford facilities for the men and women of India.

I would, Sir, concentrate only on one aspect of this resolution, that is if it is considered that it is necessary to give training for men, it is equally necessary to provide facilities for women also to be trained. We have got great traditions of the past. We have got very thrilling and inspiring stories and examples set by the great daughters of India. We have the thrilling example of the very notable part played by the Rani of Jhansi who had taken up arms against the enemy who invaded her country, and also we have the illustrious examples set by Rani Samyukta, Rani Ahalyabai and Rani Rudramma, queens who had taken up arms whenever occasions demanded that they should take up arms. The daughters of India have got to live by those examples and keep the great traditions of this great country, India. I do not know whether we are, in the name of civilization, proceeding onwards or backwards, that is to conditions of some centuries ago. The very gloomy conditions which were prevailing some centuries ago have now come back; we have got stories of how women are thrown into wells and how they have been killed; how women have been pulled out of trains and how they have been butchered; how these women have been made to run from place to place when they have become helpless widows having lost their husbands in various struggles. Sir, the country is full of communal passions now; they are rising very high. So, women have got to defend themselves. They have got to rise to the occasion. They have also to defend their person whenever their chastity and their modesty are at stake.

Sir, we have to train our women to follow the examples of such historic and heroic queens and live as they lived. Neither the home nor the school has given us the training. We have stories of Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji, who used to sing lullaby to her son reminding him of all the great parts played by heroes and heroines. But now, instead, our mothers have begun to sing only to tell us "Don't go out, my dear child; there is thief", and "Don't go out after it is dark; please return home before it gets dark". Such is the training we have received in our homes by our mothers, and such is the training which we have received in the schools from our teachers. The teachers and the professors themselves are cowards; what is it they can give to the students?

Therefore, now we look to the Independent India and to our State to see that we have become again men as men, and women have become women in their true sense; that we must be strong and be able to protect our country

[Shrimati G. Durgabai]

whenever it is in danger. Some kind of efforts have been made by some organisations, namely the *Hindustan Sevadal*, which started giving some kind of training under the organisation of the Congress. Some Universities had also started schemes like the U.T.C. training. The Scout organisation has also sought to impart some kind of training in this direction. But we know what the fate of these organisations was; they were all to prosper and then do their part under a foreign domination. The foreign Government was really afraid of any one of these organisations playing its part well, because they thought that these organisations and the individuals trained under these organisations, might prove dangerous to them any day. Therefore we have instances when these organisations, from time to time, have been declared unlawful and had to be closed down. Now that the conditions are different, now that we have got our independence and our own State, it should consider this as its preliminary duty—to make every man a man and to make every woman a woman.

Now that we have got alarming stories coming from the borders of Kashmir and from the borders of Hyderabad—and I do not know how many more instances of this kind we may have to face—having been reminded of the past and of how the great daughters of India have played their part, now since the times are similar to those, it is all the more our duty to see that we get some kind of training in the use of arms, which is contemplated by this Resolution. I am glad that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has brought forward this Resolution which has the support of the whole House—I am sure, not only of the House; but of the country at large; it has support from every quarter in this country. With these words I commend the Resolution for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Tajamul Hussain (Bihar: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I cannot but offer my humble congratulations to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya for the very important resolution that he has so ably moved. There was an amendment to the effect that there should be compulsory military training. The learned Mover, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, did not see his way to accept it, and ultimately it was not moved at all. I, Sir, personally would have preferred the amendment to the original resolution, but since there is no amendment I have no alternative but to accept it and I accept it and support it in its entirety.

Now, Sir, this is a resolution which I think every Member in this House accepts and I am sure Government too will accept it. As regards the cost, I think, Sir, this is such an important measure that whatever be the cost, Government should be prepared to meet it. Sir, one of the worst features of the British rule in India for 150 years has been that we had no military training; we became lazy and indolent and in a sense a nation of cowards. Now, Sir, that time has gone; we are now an independent nation; we are as great as any other nation in the world.

It is necessary that there should be compulsory military training and conscription; that everybody from the age of 18 to 21 should be under training. It does not matter to what religion or caste or creed one belongs—after all he is an Indian; it is his duty to defend his country against any foreign country—it does not matter whether that foreign country is *Pakistan* or any other state. It is the duty of every Indian to shed his blood and to die for his country. I know, Sir, how in independent countries like England and other countries, everybody came forward to lay down his life to defend his country. In the same way I want my country to be

Now, Sir, what will happen if with this compulsory military training or with a national militia, everybody is trained? Our moral character will develop; we will become a nation which can be proud of her character. As our population is one of the largest in the world—perhaps the second or the third—and as we are in intelligence superior to many other countries, I have

no doubt that in times to come, we will become the greatest nation in the world—greater even than Great Britain or the United States of America.

I do not want to speak at length on this motion. There is nothing much to say; this is not a contentious resolution—this is a resolution which has been supported and which will be accepted by the whole House. With these words, Sir, I support the resolution. I would request the Honourable Minister for Defence to accept it wholeheartedly and give us the promise that within a very short time he will see that every Indian is a soldier and is fit and capable to defend his country against any other country. Sir, I support the resolution.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (U. P.: General): Sir, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's motion before the House is just the sort of motion which many of us wanted to move and I am happy that his resolution found the second place in the ballot. The fundamental question before us all is how shall we protect the Revolution which we have been instrumental in bringing into being? Everyone of us who has read anything about the history of revolutions in various countries in the world knows that invariably revolutions bring in their trail tendencies of counter-revolution. The French Revolution brought counter-revolutionary tendencies with it. The German Revolution brought the seeds of Nazism with it. The Russian Revolution also brought counter-revolutionary tendencies along with it. In the countries where those who had worked for the revolution were wide awake, their efforts were not nullified by counter-revolutionary forces, but in the countries where the makers of revolution were not alert, their revolution was swamped by counter-revolution. The same tendency is visible in our country today. Only yesterday the Finance Minister of India, while referring to the causes that led to the independence of the country, studiously avoided mentioning any part which the nationals of this country had played in bringing about this happy end to our efforts. He mentioned only the international developments and the supreme spirit of self-abrogation by the Britishers as the two causes which brought about Indian independence. It is useless to join issues with a Finance Minister who has perhaps very little acumen to understand political developments in the country, but anybody who scans over the pages of Indian history for the last 25 or 30 years, will not fail to see the immense amount of effort which was put in by the Congress organisation under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to achieve Indian independence.

When we have achieved independence, we are seeing before our very eyes forces of reaction rearing their heads in various forms and in various ways. It is therefore necessary that we should take heed betimes. A trite saying has often been quoted: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; but, Sir, though the saying be trite yet it cannot be repeated too often. If the Indian nation today appears to think that all is well with the world and that Lord God is in his Heaven, well, I think we shall come to grief. We have to keep eternal vigilance in order to protect our freedom, and how can we do it unless we make every son and every daughter of India strong enough and fit enough to defend the freedom of the country. Dr. Pattabhi's Resolution is a step in that direction. Long before it came before this House, various provincial governments had launched upon schemes of creating Home Guard organisations, but as I pointed out in a supplementary question, difficulties are being experienced. The Defence Department for many days could not see their way to provide arms—ordinary rifles—for our Home Guards. At long last in my province, the requirements have been satisfied and we are going ahead with our organisation. Most of the members of the House must know that there is a scheme before us in the United Provinces whereby we shall be in a position to create as many as 12 lakh volunteers whom we shall give military training and they will be at the beck and call of the Central Government whenever a national crisis arises.

[Pandit Balkrishna Sharma]

It is just possible, Sir, that when we are discussing this Resolution, somebody may twit us by the remark "What has happened to your non-violence after all?" And somebody else might as well ask "Are you all of a sudden turning yourself into a bellicose nation?" I respectfully beg to submit that neither we have given a go-by to non-violence nor are we turning India into a bellicose nation overnight. Even while passing this Resolution, even while we are wholeheartedly supporting this Resolution, let it be clearly understood that in no way are we against disarmament. In no way are we against collective security. In no way are we giving a go-by to our cherished principle of non-violence. What we are doing today is that we are courageously facing a reality which has become too obnoxious. What we are doing today is that we are not permitting ourselves to be entwined into ideological cobwebs so that whenever a critical situation arises in the country, we may be found wanting. That is all we are doing, but as a previous speaker has said, the amount of strength that we thus will be in a position to gather and the capacity that we will acquire to defend ourselves will never be used for aggressive purposes. India traditionally has never believed in oppression. Even though she has been a prey of aggressions for centuries on end, she has never thought of marching her armies, her hordes, against any of her neighbours. So, while we are passing this Resolution, I want the Pakistan Government to understand that it is not in a spirit of war-mongering that we are passing this Resolution. We are only trying to create a nation of strong men and strong women and nothing more. Let nobody outside the House understand the aim and object of this Resolution of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to be any other.

Sir, I do not know when that happy time will come when men will begin to believe in that great and noble principle which 2,500 years was preached in this land;

अक्रोधिन् जयति क्रोधम

"Anger should be conquered by non-anger". I do not know when the world will actually realize and will be in a position to act up to this principle. More than once I have stated that today, constituted as we are, it is impossible for us to accept in toto the principle of non-violence. Perhaps at the stage of evolution at which human society today finds itself, acceptance of non-violence in every form is a difficult thing, and therefore some sort of preparation to meet the violence of the aggressor is necessary and it is in that spirit that we are offering our wholehearted support to the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

पण्डित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : माननीय स्पीकर साहब, इस रेवोल्यूशनरी र्जोत्यूशन (Revolutionary) Resolution के बारे में डाक्टर पट्टाभि साहब को अपनी दिल्ली मुबारक बाद पेश करता हूँ डाक्टर पट्टाभि साहब हमारे देश के नेशन बिल्डर्स (nation-builders) की उस लाईन में से हैं, जो निहायत प्रोमिनेन्ट (prominent) हैं और कोई ताज्जुब की बात नहीं है कि उन्होंने इस मौके पर इस देश पर बड़ा भारी अहसान इस रेजोल्यूशन को पेश करके किया है।

जनाब ने बहुत सी तक्रीर इस रेजोल्यूशन के बारे में सुन ली हैं। मैं उन सब बातों को दोहराना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन जिस नुकते खयाल से मैं इस रेजोल्यूशन की तार्ईद करता हूँ और इस रेजोल्यूशनको बेअकम (welcome) करता हूँ। इसके सम्बन्धमें इशारतन दलील पेश की जा चुकी है, लेकिन मैं एक नये पैराये से उसको पेश करना चाहता हूँ। आज तक हजारहा :

वर्ष से हिन्दुस्तान में जो असूल काम करता रहा है और जो सिविलाइजेशन (Civilization) रही है, वह बहुत अरसे दराज से कास्टसिस्टम (Caste System) की बेसिस (basis) पर रही है अगर मुसलमानों ने दसवीं सदी में हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया, तो उस वक्त बहुत से क्षत्री देशभवतों ने अपने देश के वास्ते अपनी जानें कुरबान कीं दूसरी जातियों ने नहीं। जब से ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट आई, तब भी हमने देखा कि इस मुल्क पर राज्य करने के वास्ते उन्होंने सोसायटी (society) को मार्शल (martial) और नान-मार्शल (non-martial) जातियों में बांट दिया और काश्तकार और गैर-काश्तकार की तमीज खड़ी कर दी। इस तरह से सोसायटी के टुकड़े टुकड़े कर दिये। सोसायटी में इस तरीके से काम बंट गया कि किसी को व्यापार मिला, किसी को खिदमत का काम मिला और जाति की बुनियाद पक्की हो गई। आज जो कि कान्स्टीच्यूएंट असेम्बली ने औब्जेक्टिव रेजोल्यूशन (objective resolution) मंजूर कर लिया है जो हमारे प्राइमिनिस्टर (Prime Minister) ने पेश किया था और जिसका ध्येय अनडाइल्यूटेड डेमोक्रेसी (undiluted democracy) है हर एक आदमी को ख्वाह वह किसी जाति का हो, एक सा हक देता है। बिल्कुल आज हम उस असूल का एक्सप्रेशन (expression) इस रेजोल्यूशन के जरिये देखते हैं, जिसकी रूह से हर एक शस्स चाहे वह चमार हो, क्षत्री हो, वैश्य हो, सिक्ख हो, अकाली हो, सनातन-धर्मी हो, मुसलमान हो, पारसी हो, हर एक आदमी को दावत दी जाती है कि वह इस देश के वास्ते कुरबानी करे। और फौजी खिदमत में हिस्सा लेवे। आज सुबह ही अखबार में देखा कि हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब ने ईस्ट पंजाब गवर्नमेंट (East Punjab Government) को एक डाइरेक्टिव (directive) भेजा है कि अकाली दल, राष्ट्र सेवा संघ तथा और कम्यूनल लाइन्ज (Command lines) पर आर्गनाइज्ड (organised) की हुई फौजें डिस्बैंड (disband) कर दी जायें। उस वक्त जब मैंने रेजोल्यूशन की तरफ देखा और उस खबर की तरफ ध्यान किया तो मैंने एक ही ख्याल के दो फेसेट्स (facets) देखे। एक तरफ यह ताकीद थी कि जितनी कम्यूनल संस्थायें हैं उनके जितने आर्मी बैंड्स (army bands) हैं, उनको खत्म किया जाय और दूसरी तरफ यह प्रस्ताव। असल में वह डाइरेक्टिव उनको दावत थी कि अब कम्यूनल बातों को छोड़ कर आप अपने देश की आजादी की रक्षा के लिये अपनी एक नेशनल मिलीशिया आर्गनाइज करें जिसमें सबके हक बराबर हैं और जिस पर महात्मा गांधी का वह क्लासलेस सोसायटी ड्रीम (Class less Society) (dream) जिसके अन्दर सब कौमें एक सा हक रक्वंगी जल्द से जल्द हमको कार्य रूप में परिणत करना नसीब होगा। मैं आम तौर पर और साफ तौर पर अपने दोस्तों को बतलाया करता हूँ कि मैं हर एक कौम का सेवक हूँ, लेकिन मैं इज्म (ism) का एक बड़ा भारी दुश्मन हूँ। जाटिजम, सिक्खिजम और बुनियाद इज्म, ब्राह्मनिजम, यह एक ऐसा हलाहल जहर है जो हमारे देश की हर एक कौम के अन्दर चला गया है।

असलियत यह है कि हमारी सृष्टि में यह चीज दाखिल हो गई है कि हर एक सवाल को चाहे वह इकोनोमिक (economic) हो, पोलिटिकल (political) हो, इस नुक्तें

[पण्डित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

ख्याल से देखते हैं कि वह हमारे खास सम्प्रदाय और जाति विशेष पर क्या असर रखता है। यह रेजोल्यूशन उस ख्याल पर काफी जर्ब लगावेगा और आइन्दा के वास्तु देश के अन्दर जितने ऐसे दल और संस्थाएँ हैं, उनको सीधे रास्ते पर ले आवेगा। लफ्ज फकत मिलीशिया की बजाय नेशनल मिलीशिया इस्तमाल किया गया है।

दूमरी भलाई जो मैं इस प्रस्ताव में देखता हूँ वह यह है कि पिछले ५-६ महीनों में इतने अत्याचार दृष्टे जिनका कोई टिकाना नहीं, देश के अन्दर निहृथे आदमियों और औरतों बच्चों पर जल्म द्राये गये, उनको बेदरदी से कतल कर दिया। हमें सबसे पहले देश के अन्दर से इस बुजदिली की भावना को हटाना है जो इस सारे हत्याकांड की जिम्मेवार है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि कोई शस्त्र अगर किसी शस्त्र को मारने के लिये आये, किसी पर हमला करे, तो वह अपनी जान चूपचाप न दे दे और बेचारगी महसूस न करे। सन १८६० में जब 'इण्डियन पीनल कोड' (Indian Penal Code) बनाया गया उस वक्त 'इण्डियन पीनल कोड' बनाने वालों ने उसमें 'सेल्फ डिफेन्स' (Self defence) के सेक्शन (Section) रक्खे और साफ तौर से बयान किया कि उसमें कुछ मामूली से ज्यादा रक्षा करने के सेक्शन्स इस देश के लिये रखते हैं क्योंकि यहां के लोग अपने आप लूट मार को मारघाड़ से नहीं बचा सकते और डरपोकपने से अत्याचार का मुकाबला नहीं करते। मैं नहीं जानता कि ऐसे सेक्शन्स क्यों रक्खे जब कि ब्रिटिश सरकार की सारी पालिसी लोगों को हर तरह से कमजोर करने के, बुजदिल बनाने के वास्ते थी। लेकिन शायद जिन्होंने यह कानून बनाया था, उनके दिमाग में यह पालिसी न थी।

मैं आज इस रेजोल्यूशन के अन्दर ऐसी फिजा देखता हूँ कि जिसकी रू से व्यक्तिगत तरीके से हर एक आदमी बहादुरी हासिल करेगा, हर एक आदमी उस किस्म का बन जायगा जिसके अन्दर हर वक्त हर तरह से लूटमार से बेखोफी होगी और मुकाबले का उत्साह होगा और खतरे से न सिर्फ अपने आपको बचा सकेगा बल्कि सभी निहृथों को बचा सकेगा। इस प्रस्ताव पर अमल करने से हमारा जो स्पैन जिन्दगी (Span of life—२३ साल का है वह जरूर लम्बा हो जावेगा और फौजी डिसिपलन (discipline) की बजह से हमारी तन्दुरुस्ती व करेक्टर Character) पर बहुत अच्छा असर पड़ेगा। जो बहादुरी की मिसालें हम 'मार्शल क्लासेज' (martial class) के लिये सुनते आये हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान में सब जगह सब कौमों में मिल सकेंगी। हमारी आज तक जितनी फौजें योरोप में गई हैं उनकी बहुत सी तारीफें हम अपने मास्टर्स (masters) यानी अंग्रेजों से सुनते रहे हैं लेकिन आयन्दा जो इस हिन्दुस्तान देश के सिपाही अपने देश की खातिर लड़ेंगे वह बहादुरी के ऐसे काम करेंगे कि जिसके अन्दर जापान की जो पिछली दुयें दुफा कथायें हम सुनते आये थे वह सब मंद पड़ जावेंगी और उससे कई दर्जा ज्यादा हिन्दुस्तान की कथायें दुनिया में प्रचलित हो जावेगी।

मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि यह रेजोल्यूशन हमारे देश के लिये अति लाभदायक है और मैं इसकी जोर से ताईद करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Mr. Speaker, I heartily congratulate Dr. Pattabhi on this revolutionary resolution: Dr. Pattabhi belongs to that line of nation-builders of our country, which is very prominent and there is no surprise that by presenting this resolution at this time he has obliged the country very much.

You have already listened to a number of speeches on this resolution. I do not want to repeat what has been said before, but I desire to place the point of view with which I support and welcome this resolution, in a different way, before the House, than as a mere allusion of it in our arguments. The principle, we have been following in India for the last thousands of years and the civilisation we have had, were based on the caste system. In the tenth century when India was attacked by Mohammadans, many devoted *Kshatriyas* only and people of no other caste, sacrificed their lives for the sake of their motherland. When the British came into power we saw, that they divided our society into martial and non-martial races, to rule over the country. They also made a distinction between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Thus they split up our society into different groups. One group of the society took to business, another was allotted service, and thus the roots of the caste system were strengthened. The objective resolution which was passed by the Constituent Assembly and which was presented by the Honourable Prime Minister, aims at undiluted democracy and provides equal rights for all, irrespective of their caste or creed. We find, in this resolution, the expression of that principle which invites every individual whether he is a *Chamar*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya*, *Sikh*, *Akali*, *Sanatan Dharmi*, *Muslim*, or a *Parsi* to make sacrifice for the love of this country and join the military services. We also saw in the papers this morning that our Honourable Prime Minister has sent a directive to the Government of the East Punjab directing them to disband the Akali-Dal, the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh, and other military bands organised on communal lines. As I reflected on the resolution and thought of the news I had read, I found the same thing appearing in two ways. On the one hand it was desired to ban the army bands of all the Communal Organisation, while on the other it was the resolution itself. In fact, this directive was a signal for them to give up all communal prejudices and to form a National Militia, in which all have equal rights and which will protect the freedom of the country. With the foundation of that militia we shall have very soon, obtained the objective of Mahatma Gandhi, in a practical shape, *viz.*, his dream of a classless society in which all castes have equal rights, I generally and specially tell my friends that I am a servant of all classes and sections, but I am an enemy of "ism". Names such as *Jatism*, *Sikhism*, *Baniaism*, *Brahmanism*, are like a deadly poison and have penetrated our classes. In fact, it has become our nature to see every problem, whether it is economic or political, from the point of finding its effect on our particular community or class. This resolution will dispell all such narrow thinking and will bring them in line with one another. The difference lies in the word which will be used *viz.*, the word National Militia has been adopted instead of bare militia. The second thing that we gain by this resolution is this that during the last five or six months there was so much of blood-shed and oppression in the country that men, women and even innocent children were subjected to enormous atrocities, and were mercilessly killed. We have to remove the weakness first of all which was behind all this, the weakness which is responsible for this chapter of murder and loot in our country. I wish if a man is attacked he should not die the death of a coward; he must have courage and should not feel helpless. When in 1890, the Indian Penal Code was being prepared and when some

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sections of Self defence were being included in the Code it was clearly stated by the compilers that they were including some sections for special defence since the people of this country are unable to defend themselves and do not offer any resistance against oppression through their weakness. I cannot understand why these sections were kept there when the policy of the British Government was only to make people weak and timid. May be that the people who were compiling the Code had not that policy in their mind.

Further, in this resolution, I find that spirit, which will make people brave individually and no man will have any fear of loot or murder. Thus he will not only be able to save his life from danger but will be able to protect those who are helpless and poor.

Moreover, by following the resolution in a practical way our "Span of Life" which is now of 23 years will also increase. The military training will also have a very good effect on our health and character. Examples of chivalry that we have known and heard about the martial races of other countries will be found everywhere in this country. So far we had heard only our masters, the Britishers, praise our forces for their gallant part overseas but henceforth our forces will fight for the cause of their own country and will set such glowing examples of bravery as all the best examples of Japan that we hear will fall short, and examples of Indian Chivalry will be heard instead all over the world.

I have the least doubt of the usefulness of this resolution for this country, and I fully support it.

Shri M. S. Aney (Deccan and Madras States Group): Sir, I do not wish to record a silent vote on this Resolution. My Honourable friend Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has not moved it a day too soon. The need for a National Militia is recognised by all sections of this House. From the speeches that have been delivered up to this time, we see that there is not one who has expressed any kind of dissent whatsoever to this Resolution. My object in getting up is to give support to it from a particular point of view. My Honourable friend Mr. Thakur Das Bhargava has partially touched the aspect which I wanted to speak of. I think the duties that any man is expected to perform fall under four categories.—intellectual, martial, economic and manual. In the past Hindu society used to allocate each one of these duties to a separate set of people, and in that way *Varnashrama* came into existence. It might have served a useful purpose at that time; but the history of India during the last two thousand years and more has shown that that order of things has perhaps outlived its utility and a radical change is now necessary. In my view this allocation of special duties to a different class of people, leaving one class indifferent to the duties of another class, creates a dangerous situation, and we sometimes find ourselves unable to meet an emergency or a grave situation. The result is that we succumb. That is what has happened in India. That is one of the reasons which can account for the prolonged state of captivity of India under the domination of different people. If we have to get over that there is no other way of meeting it. In fact this four-fold classification of duties is a permanent thing in this world. But if we find that the allotment of one of these duties to an individual or a set of people has not tended to create stability and continuous march of progress in the country but on the other hand has created serious difficulties and even danger, we must revise our methods. And one of the ways of revising it is that each man should be capable of performing all or any of these fourfold duties. I look upon this Resolution from that point of view. No man should be merely an intellectual or economic or manual or martial worker. Each man should be capable of performing any of these duties as occasion demands. Unless that is done a man's education should not be considered as complete. I consider a man's education as complete when it enables him to perform all these four-fold duties efficiently when he is called upon to perform it. If he

fails to perform any of these duties to that extent his education is defective and so it requires to be supplemented. I regard this Resolution as starting a new epoch of education in this country by calling upon people to learn the most important duty of a citizen, namely, to be a soldier. No one can be a proper citizen unless he is a soldier also. So the Resolution in my opinion gives an opportunity to the country to open a new leaf in the pursuit of education. The creation of a national militia will not bring into existence a large force of people with a martial spirit but it opens a new school for the complete education of the people of India. I therefore regard this as an epoch-making Resolution and the beginning of a very important and new phase in the progress of our country.

Sir, there is one point to which I wish to refer. One of my Honourable friends for whom I have very great respect made in his eloquent speech an unfortunate reference to the Finance Minister. He took certain passages from his speech and tried to show that on that bench he represents something in the nature of a reactionary element that is raising its head. I do not know what justification there was for making that statement, but I have no hesitation in saying most emphatically that it was a most improper occasion for him to make that reference. He could have ample opportunity for that in the budget debate when the Finance Minister also could have given him a proper reply.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma: Sir, on a point of personal explanation, when I said that reactionary elements were rearing their heads here it did not necessarily mean that I was directing my remarks against the Finance Minister. If my Honourable friend Mr. Aney thinks so he is wholly wrong.

Shri M. S. Aney: I am glad to hear it. I thought it my duty to tell him what impression was created on certain parts of the House: and I am happy to find that nothing was meant against the Finance Minister.

Sir, this is a Resolution which does not require a long speech to support it. I hope it will be carried unanimously.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): Sir, I am deeply grateful to you for giving me this opportunity at long last of speaking in this session, particularly on this memorable occasion: when a prominent leader of the Indian National Congress has, on behalf of the whole country, brought forward a motion for voluntary, militarisation of India. I call it a memorable occasion in more senses than one, for it is the first occasion in the history of the Indian legislature when such a measure has been brought forward for consideration. Speaking today, I am reminded of a somewhat similar occasion more than a decade ago, when in Simla we had a very much milder Resolution on the subject. We only requested the Government of the day to abolish the invidious distinction between martial and non-martial classes then prevalent in the army, and we requested them to throw open the ranks of the army to all provinces and classes of people. I realise today the difference in the atmosphere, then and now. On that day half a dozen speakers were put up, after I spoke to undo the so-called mischievous effect of my speech, which was in their opinion calculated to foster indiscipline and insubordination in the ranks of the army. Today it is a pleasant thing to see that Honourable friends from different parts of the country have stood up in support of the Resolution, which is the need of the hour.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Dr. Pattabhi, the Mover, has, in his beautiful speech, detailed his own reasons for the raising of a national militia in this country. I do not think the grounds he put forward can be challenged by any one,—not even by those who are conscientious objectors and do not believe in the cult of warfare. But there are certain things to be considered by the National Government that is now in the saddle. I am told this Government is going to accept this resolution. But what does the acceptance mean?

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Does it simply mean that the Honourable the Defence Minister will stand up and say, "Yes, we are in full sympathy with this resolution but our hands are full. So many things have to be done. We will do all that is humanly possible in the circumstances."? If such a reply is forthcoming, I shall be very much discouraged, and I am sure the House will receive his speech with profound disappointment. I am giving him this warning. He is a lovable personality. But let him not be misled. Let him stand up here and now and tell us that he has up his sleeve a scheme which will go to implement the resolution immediately, within a month of its acceptance.

I am told, Sir, that the Government is now over-burdened with all manner of things. I agree. But next to the question of rehabilitation of the unfortunate refugees of the Punjab and of other people who have been uprooted from their homelands, this matter should have the highest of all priorities. If you want to be spared further worries with regard to rehabilitation and relief on a much larger scale than at present, then you should have no complacency now. Therefore, what is proposed is more a preventive than a remedial measure. Sir, I can well anticipate the objections that will be trotted out: "Where is the requisite personnel for giving the necessary training? Where is the equipment?" There will be so many difficulties to train men in this art of self-defence on such a gigantic scale, so on and so forth. But, Sir, I want to remind my Honourable friend that he who excuses himself too much accuses himself. After the cessation of hostilities in 1945, there was such a tremendous upsurge—I mean national upsurge—in the country particularly among the young people—when the I.N.A. trials started in this country—that if the Government of those days had not really understood and grasped the significance of that tremendous upheaval, they would not have come down on their knees as they did before they left this country. Do you now want this emotional upsurge to be frittered away in simple volunteer organisations, such as *Hindu Sevak Sangha*, Home Brigades or Peace Brigades, or this or that? You must have a well-planned drive for educating the people of this country to carry arms, to use them for self-defence and, if necessary, for attack. I am not merely concerned with 'defence' business. I am also in favour of offensive, if need be, for armed preparedness, and armed offensive is sometimes the best form of defence. You may ask: Where are you to get the funds and arms? The normal size of the army used to be 280,000 of which 60,000 were Britishers, which was reduced before the war. Of this, 200,000 were Indian personnel. Now by the end of this year we shall be able to eliminate the British troops. So we shall effect substantial savings on that account. We can utilize this huge savings for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker: May I request the Honourable Member to address the Chair?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am sorry. I was feeling the glare in front of me. I did not mean any offence to you.

With regard to training and personnel, may I tell my Honourable friend that there are thousands of I.N.A. officers at large. Government has not yet any clear definite policy about them. Many of them can be excellent trainers. Their services can be procured. If there is any technical difficulty in their recognition and in taking them back in the army for the reasons that they will have to be treated as prisoners of war. I may say that given this opportunity, these I.N.A. people would forego their demands and volunteer their services and give excellent training to our young men and women.

Now comes the question of arms. I know it is a terrific problem. At the moment, arms are in short supply and there is very great want. Go to any shop in a town or city and you will see that you cannot have a gun or rifle for less than Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 1,600. Then how is it possible to have national

military training unless you have firearms? Are you going to do it with small daggers, knives, *dandas* and *lathis*? I want to know from the Defence Minister whether he has closed down the Ordnance Factories that had been brought into being during the last war. What are they doing? Are they functioning? Are they producing armaments? If not, cannot they be re-conditioned and made to produce small arms in abundance which would also be cheap and within the easy reach of people? Unless in this country you can buy arms at Rs. 50 or Rs. 60, all talk of militarisation or national militia will be burkum,—mere idle talk. At the moment I am told that the Cossipore Gun Shell Factory, the Ishapur Rifles Factory, have practically closed down. Nothing is being manufactured. Everyday you will read in the newspapers three or four reports from different places where you find huge hauls of firearms. I am left wondering where these people get these Bren guns, Sten guns etc., whereas we civilians cannot get any guns in any shop? The position is that there are disposals departments of the Government of India which we thought were simply disposing of useless material. But they have very valuable war material. I would request the Defence Minister to stop this business immediately and to salvage and rescue as many firearms as possible, so that they may be made available for training our youngmen.

Now as regards my province of West Bengal, which has now been reduced to a-third of its original size, thanks to the Radcliffe Award, it forms the boundary of the Indian Union on one side. Now on either side of the border line between West Bengal and Eastern Pakistan, there is a huge belt of population which is not very friendly, if not positively hostile, to the Indian Union. In this area we have not got any effective arrangements for defence or for safeguarding all this boundary line. My friend, Mr. Baldev Singh, has not enough of troops to spare. He has many a call on him,—Kashmir, Jammu, Junagadh, Tripura, and what not, wherever my Pakistan friends want to create trouble. What is necessary, at the moment, for us to realise is that he cannot go on indefinitely sending troops everywhere on the scale that he is doing. Therefore, we should have a second line prepared. The second line should be this national militia, for which this resolution has been tabled. With regard to equipment, in Bengal, there are several military organisations such as the Frontier Rifles, the East Indian Railway Auxiliary Force, the Bengal Nagpur Railway Auxiliary Force and such like. (*Some Honourable Members*: "They have been disbanded".) They have already been disbanded? Then where have all their equipment and arms gone? Have they gone to Pakistan?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: To the Ordnance depots.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Thank you very much. Then, you may be sure, they have been smuggled. Then I am afraid they have been smuggled away either to Karachi, Lahore or to Hyderabad. I am not in a jesting mood: I am very serious, because I feel there are fifth columnists at work around us. Sir, I live on the border. I have seen with my eyes the day to day miseries that are being inflicted on our people who have been running away from the districts of Eastern Bengal. I know the threatening attitude which the people on the Eastern frontier and Eastern Pakistan continue to maintain and we have no defence against it. Hence we feel the utmost necessity for a well trained militia in every province. If the Government at the Centre send a directive to all the provincial governments immediately to the effect that they should organise their own militia and the Government of India would give the necessary help, I am sure such a force will soon come into existence. Within the next two or three months the Budget sessions of most of the provincial assemblies would be held and they would also make some provincial contributions for this purpose under Central direction and guidance. I hope my Honourable friend the Finance Minister will not grudge a few additional crores for this purpose in the initial stages. I would also suggest to the Honourable Defence Minister that if at the moment he is not in a position to supply the

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arms, I mean small arms,—not machine guns, trench mortars, flame throwers and things of that sort,—but ordinary double-barrelled guns, pistols and rifles, he should at once get into contact with foreign countries and see that a sufficient quantity of arms of these categories is imported for this purpose. I feel that if the Indian Ordnance factories are made to work full blast they can give the necessary equipment in a short time. My information from different quarters is that they are practically idle now. I have got several questions on the subject. Some of them have not been reached, and others are pending. I do not know what the reply would be. But I have drawn the attention of the Honourable Defence Minister particularly to this point.

When we talk of a militia it does not mean that we should simply have a land force. In every province there are air fields which were brought into existence during the last war. They should be renovated and brought into working order. They should be kept in such a condition that they can be easily or immediately put into use as soon as any emergency arises.

It is a constant complaint in these days that with the advent of freedom after long bondage, there has followed a sphere of irregular activities, of lawlessness, restlessness and exuberance of animal spirits among our youngmen. I do realise that and appreciate it. But what is the remedy? The remedy is not to penalise the restlessness of those people but to canalise it into positive and constructive channels like this military training. That will give them sound training in discipline. You can begin at once with the top classes of educational institutions. You can compel the colleges and the educational institutions and I am sure a sufficient number will forthwith volunteer. I would suggest to the Honourable Defence Minister that he should take positive steps in this direction. He should make the policy of the Government clear in this respect. Besides, there are dozens of military establishments in different parts of India, which are gradually getting dilapidated by disuse. They are becoming ruins. There is a big one near Kancharapara, another at Krishnagar. These are important strategic points. My Honourable friend Dr. Matthai seems to have decided not to establish the Locomotive factory near the Kancharapara workshop. These are places which are being neglected. I want the authorities to pay serious attention to them. I would be willing to give my Honourable friend a lot of details about the location of these aerodromes, air fields, and other military installations in different parts of my province. Meanwhile I would request my Honourable friend to have a thorough investigation into the whole matter and make a clear and unequivocal declaration of the policy of the Government in this matter as to what practical steps the Government is going to take. I should think my Honourable friend Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya for giving this House this opportunity. I was personally thinking of tabling such a motion but had I sent it from Calcutta, in these days of postal delays the motion would not have reached Delhi in a fortnight. This resolution should receive its due weight from the Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh. I am anxiously awaiting his reply. I hope it will not be in the usual way "every thing humanly possible is being done." Let it be inhuman but let something be done to make possible what is otherwise impossible. Please do something at this crisis. The whole India looks up to the Central Government at this crucial hour. If yesterday, all could vote for a Wages Bill of 22 crores in the shape of implementation of the Pay Commission's recommendations, is there anyone in this House who would grudge 25 crores for a scheme of practical military training of our youngmen? I am sure not a single member would object to it. We are prepared to vote the money provided the Government show sufficient determination. Nothing can be more useful and profitable than this expenditure on the military training of our people, as by this they will be able to defend the honour of themselves, their women folk and their country. Sir, I support the Resolution with all my heart.

Panji Govind Malaviya (U.P.: General): Sir, I rise to support the resolution and the appeal, which has been made by my Honourable friend who preceded me, to the Honourable the Defence Minister. This is a question on which India has been agitating with one voice for several decades that we should have a national militia in this land. I am happy that we are now under changed circumstances and I hope that the Government today will do the needful with regard to the resolution which has been so ably moved by my Honourable friend and leader Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Sir, the resolution has referred to the need of the defence of the country, maintenance of law and order, self-defence and removing of fear from the minds of the people. All these are very important things: but I submit that it is not necessary only for these reasons, but it is necessary for the entire future of this country, for the success of its government and for the well-being of our people that we should do something on the lines of the resolution which is before us today. It is well known that in no country is any progress or life possible without a proper arrangement for defence. Therefore there are large standing armies in every country which are maintained at whatever may be the cost, so that the people may be able to live and progress in peace and tranquillity. Similarly it is necessary that we also should have a suitable standing army not for any conquest but for the peace and tranquillity and safety of our land. We have one. It is quite large. But who can say with all the experience that we have had even in these few months that it is sufficient for our purposes? What are we then to do? Are we going to increase that army? During the last 200 years we have been exploited; we have been ruined; the country has been bled white in every direction. We have therefore today to think of the rehabilitation of our life in every sphere. We have to think of development, we have to think of providing these things which are essential to make the country live and to grow. All that means money. We listened only last night to the Finance Minister's Budget as to what huge amounts we have to provide for our military budget even today. I do not know from where we will get all that money. On the contrary if we do not provide it, we may have no peace, and no tranquillity and therefore we may have no progress and no prosperity. Therefore the only course for us to adopt is that while we should make the fullest provision for defence we should have to pay as little for it as possible. The basis of all military organisation, the scientific basis of all armies in every country is that their standing army should be reduced to the lowest possible level, so that expenditure on the army which is so essential and yet expenditure which is so totally unproductive, should be brought down to the very minimum possible. Yet there should be provision within the machinery of that army and the defence scheme of the country for a rapid, immediate and efficient expansion of the army to whatever limits may be required at any time of emergency. That is the system of armies in all modern countries which have to think of making their budgets meet their requirements. Similarly, we should also do so in this country. For long we have been talking of a second line of defence and of a national militia. It is time for us now to act on those lines. Even the British Government in India had a reserve militia in the past. They improved upon its constitution and made big provisions for it. They did all that in order that they should be able to have a reserve upon which they might fall back in times of need. Today our need is greater. Therefore I submit that the Government should take immediate steps and appoint a Committee to go into the whole question and prepare a defence scheme for the country in which our standing army should be reduced to the minimum possible. Our expenditure on the army should be brought down as low as may be consistent with the requirements of safety of the country, and yet we should have a second line of reserve. We should have compulsory military training in all schools and colleges to begin with. We may extend it as soon as we might to all the eligible sections of the population, so that, having received that training at low cost

[Pandit Govind Malaviya]

they will be able not only to inspire confidence among our people, not only to drive away the fear and the panic which has permeated our society, today, but also be able to feel and act in the spirit that whenever there might be need they would be able to stand up as one to lay down their lives for the defence of their motherland. For that alone will be the most invincible armour, that alone will be the guarantee, that nobody, no country, no state near or far, small or big, will even dream of acting towards India in manner that may not be right or fair, that may not be in keeping with the dignity and the honour of this great land. At a time of need Lord Birkenhead once said in England that in the old days the principle used to be that there should be "No representation without taxation".

Shri M. S. Aney: It is the other way, Sir.

Pandit Govind Malaviya: No, Sir, Lord Birkenhead said that in the old days the principle used to be that there should be "No representation without taxation". He said that the new principle should be that there should be "No representation without military service". Lord Birkenhead said that in England. I submit that if England, with all its efficiency and old organisation and experience, felt that such a thing was needed, for a new state like our own, with all the problems that face us, with all the eyes of avarice and malice that seem focussed upon us from many quarters, it is all the more necessary that we should do something of that sort. I therefore submit that the only right thing for this Government to do is to go into this whole question most carefully and expeditiously and to reorganise the entire defence system on the lines of this resolution. I hope the Honourable the Defence Minister will rise equal to the occasion by appointing a Committee to go into the matter and report on these lines, and that he will by quickly giving effect to its recommendations lay, well and truly, the foundations upon which alone the peace and the progress, the happiness and the prosperity of our motherland will depend.

Mr. Nusruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolution wholeheartedly. It has been pointed out by the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution that there are private armies already in being. They should be harnessed for the service of the country. It is also well known that arms are found everyday, almost everywhere, in the most unlooked for places. Dr. Pattabhi was inclined to think that they were collected for aggressive purposes. But I have reason to believe that they were sometimes for defensive purposes too. When the trouble arose in Calcutta I was within about sixty miles from the place and I knew that there was a regular scramble for securing guns as well as for housing in various families people who have guns. Shot gun cartridges were sold in the Black market at over Rs. 100 for 100 cartridges. There was the panic collection and the arms and ammunition that are still being found are some of the remnants of those collections. There are of course the collections for offensive purposes. Firearms of the most modern types were largely used during the Calcutta killings. The resolution, if carried into effect, will be a very important step in the national life of this country. There are riots and murders taking place everywhere; there are the civic jobs which require attention and serious troubles may arise anywhere at any time. There is the ardent desire of our young men to be of service to our country. In these circumstances, if that desire could be harnessed for the service of the country then it would be directing them to a useful channel. If not they will probably be directed to wrong channels.

I view the situation from another point of view also, that of another war. A war on a world-wide scale is not out of the question. Wars take place without any open warning and in spite of all the best men in the world trying to prevent them. But when war will come there will always be the apologists

for it. On the last occasion there was the attractive slogan that it was a 'war to end war', as if there could be such a thing as malaria for the preventing malaria or the use of purgatives for curing diarrhoea. So we had the last war 'to prevent war'. Now the U.N.O. is a result of the experience of the failure of the League of Nations. They want to unite the Nations in a common confederation with sufficient arms and ammunition and army to give effect to their decisions. There would be sanction behind their decisions. But everything depends on an international understanding. We however find that the big powers are not agreeing with one another. There is plenty of misunderstanding and rivalry on the stage and behind the scenes between the big powers. The smaller powers are moving like satellites. In these circumstances, although they are pacifists by their professions, there is secret and open preparations for war in every quarter. The possibility of another world war cannot therefore be ruled out. An organised militia would be important to preserve order in the country and to prepare for a switchover from the militia to the regular army if and when that is necessary.

Then there is the old adage that if you want peace you must make preparations for war. That was said by Napoleon, and even modern authorities say that peace is nursed in the cradle of superior armaments. Militarisation of the country does not mean that we are on the war path, but rather that we are on the peace path.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair which was then occupied by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (one of the Panel of Chairmen)].

One of the speakers, Dr. Khare, said in a moment of bitterness that the Congress was banking upon *ahimsa* so long and it has now given it up altogether. I believe that the Congress adopted *ahimsa* so long as that was necessary. In fact *ahimsa* was a proper weapon to get rid of the British and get *swaraj* without bloodshed, and that has been achieved. But new situations are now arising and it is a happy sign that we find that the Congress is living up to the times and to realities. The fact that a Congress leader of high rank has sponsored this resolution shows that the Congress is a living organisation, for which I heartily congratulate it.

Then, as to the so called distinction between martial and non-martial races, I think we have heard of it for the last time before the last war. During the last war, necessity drove the authorities to throw open the military profession to Bengalis, Madrasis, and other so called non-martial races. It is on record that these so called non-martial races have risen up to the mark and have received tremendous praise and good recognition from all quarters. I once met a high military official of the Baluch Regiment who was a Baluchi, a Muslim, and from him I heard that the Bengali soldiers and officers were wonderfully brave and resourceful, and they were ideal soldiers. There are no more non-martial races in India. Gone are the days when war was fought by physical force alone. War is now an intellectual business as well as the business of highly specialised scientific weapons. The distinction is gone and we have heard the last word about it.

Then there is another aspect of the resolution. We have in our country considerable misunderstanding on communal matters. Although we are not yet out of the wood, we have turned the corner and things are improving. But I think that militarization of our young men would be all to the good. I have moved among some of the Indian military personnel during the last war and I have found there is a considerable amount of brotherliness among various soldiers or officers of various castes. I asked the reason, and one of them explained the situation thus: 'We have to die by the hands of the same enemy; we have to kill the same enemy; we have to face common dangers; questions of castes or communities do not at all enter because in matters of life and death such things do not count. If you want to get rid of communal misunderstandings, just join the army.' I submit that in these circumstances,

[Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad]

if this resolution is carried into effect, as Pandit Maitra has insisted, if it is really given effect to, then the virus which has poisoned our life so long will largely and quickly be eliminated.

Then the Militia has another importance. A large standing army in peace time should be too costly and therefore would be ruled out. In these circumstances a Militia should be raised which, in times of war, can take the place of the regular army, and therefore, for that reason also I support the resolution.

Then, if the United Nations' Organization comes into effect, if they are in a position to implement their resolutions, then they will have an international army and they will call for quotas and India will be asked to contribute her quota of man power. Where would you get a sufficient quota unless you trained young men from now on?

Therefore, judging the matter from every angle, it seems that the resolution should be accepted, and what is more important, should be actually given effect to.

Then, along with this militarization of our young men, there should be the development of armament industry. That must go hand in hand with the militarization of our country. That would solve largely the question of unemployment, and also, as I have already suggested, cure much of the communal misunderstanding and bitterness among the various communities. So from every conceivable point of view I think the whole House should not only accept it, but press the Honourable Minister for Defence for actually giving effect to it, and as Pandit Maitra has pointed out, the entire House as well as, I believe, people outside this House will support him in any expenditure which the real and proper acceptance of this resolution will entail. With these few words I support the resolution.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh (Minister for Defence): Sir, I am very glad that Dr. Pattabhi has moved this resolution as it gives me an opportunity to explain the present position. All of us had expected that after the division of the country we would have peace, and would go ahead with our constructive programmes. Unfortunately due to the communal disturbances, we had to face a problem which the world had not seen before. Unfortunate occurrences of communal nature, steps taken in our neighbouring country, and the cowardly attack on Kashmir upset all our plans and raised doubts in the youth of the country and the public began to fear that the Government was sitting quiet and doing nothing. It is, Sir, I think this fear that is in the mind of the public. Dr. Pattabhi in moving this resolution wants to bring to the notice of Government that we should do all we can to train the youth of this country and to get ready to protect it from any aggression.

Before I go ahead, Sir, with some of the criticisms that have been made and the points that have been raised by other Honourable Members. I wish to make it clear that we are perfectly alive to our responsibilities. I can tell the House not as a mere formality but sincerely that we shall protect the honour of this country by all possible means. The days when the Members from these seats used to give false hopes and evasive replies have gone. We are responsible to the legislature and through this legislature to the country. Bearing this in view we have to share our responsibility with the House.

Sir, before I tell the House what my views are about this resolution, I want to put before you certain facts which we have to bear in mind. In the last Budget session when we discussed the military expenditure, as the House will remember, the total strength of the army was fixed at 2,30,000, and the total expenditure that we had to incur on all our Armed Forces was Rs. 107 crores. Now, after the division, and after taking out the Pakistan share from the Indian Armed Forces, the total strength of the army that we have is between 2,60,000 and 2,70,000. That means the expenditure on the Armed

Forces that we have at present is bound to be much more than what we had originally anticipated. I do not wish to minimise the importance of maintaining the present strength of the Army; and the House already knows that the Government has decided not to reduce it. I think this is a right decision in present uncertain circumstances when it is not possible for us to take risks. Although I personally feel that we have nothing to be afraid of, we have just attained our freedom, we have just got rid of the foreign rule after 150 years or more, we must take every precaution that our country remains safe from any kind of danger. It is for this reason that we have agreed to maintain the present strength of the Army, and this is far in excess of what the finances of this country can afford.

Some Honourable Members have stressed the desirability of having Home Guards. Home Guards organisation is the second line of defence and it is also necessary. But that is not a Central responsibility; it is the responsibility of Provincial Governments. All that the Central Government is required to do is to provide officers for the training of Home Guards and also make available the requisite arms. My friend Mr. Maitra pointed out that there was delay in the supply of arms to the Provincial Governments. May I point out that up till the 30th of this month the distribution or supply of arms does not rest in our hands? As the House will remember, according to the decision of the Partition Council, Ordnance Factories and Ordnance Depots were under the joint control of both Pakistan and India. That is why there was delay in the supply of arms. I am glad to say however that whatever demands were made on us by the Provincial Governments have all been met by now.

Sir, Mr. Maitra also asked about the Ordnance Factories. He wanted to know what had happened to them. The Ordnance Factories will be under the joint control of Pakistan and the Government of India up to the end of this month. Only yesterday it was agreed that from the 1st of December the Ordnance Factories and the Ordnance Depots will pass under the administrative control of the Government of India.

As regards the manufacture of arms, we have a scheme which I am discussing with my colleagues. The scheme is not only that these Factories should work in full swing but that we should make India self-supporting as far as her requirements of arms and equipment were concerned.

This point, Sir, I hope the Honourable Members will appreciate. I am one with them as regards the need of a National Militia or Territorial Army for the defence of the country. But we should not forget that mere numbers do not count. For instance, if we decide today that India must have, say, about a million men, and we do not have arms or do not make arrangements to manufacture them, what use will a million men be on our registers? The greater need is that all our requirements must be manufactured in this country. Unless that is done simultaneously, the raising of mere numbers will not help.

Then, Sir, another point was raised which is a little out of date. That is about the martial and non-martial classes. This point was in fact settled during the last war. I would only say that the policy of the present Government is that we do not stand in the way of anybody who wants to serve his country, every one who is suitable is at liberty to join the Defence Forces. We do not want to reserve the right of serving in Armed Forces to some select classes—the policy of the Government is to give an opportunity to every citizen who wants to serve his motherland.

An Honourable Member: It is not being done in the States, Sir.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: As regards the States we will try our best to impress upon the Rulers to adopt the same practice; but as the House knows it is not possible for us to enforce in the States the same policy we have in India.

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

There is another difficulty to which I wish to draw the attention of the House and that is about the officer position. The House knows that we have decided to nationalize the Armed Forces; every officer in the Armed Forces of this country will be an Indian; and those British officers whom we retain after the 1st of January 1947 or a little longer will be entirely in Training Centres or on non-operational duties. All operational commands will be held by Indians. To get more officers we have tapped every possible source of supply to meet the requirements of an Army of 2,70,000. A big effort is being made but even then we will not be able to find all the officers that we need. That is why we are pressing to employ British officers for the time being.

Sir, in this connection, as the House will remember, we had Air Force training courses in the Universities. These courses had to be given up because we have been short of officers. As far as the Navy is concerned, the position is worse. As for the army this too is difficult now but if the conditions return to normal after a few months then we will have some officers available for the job. Government has definitely decided that it is no use having amateur officers for the training of a militia or territorial force. If we want to have a well-organised force, it is essential that it be trained by efficient officers. We do not want to give half-hearted training.

Sir, as I said in the beginning, we have not been sitting idle in all the difficulties which exist. The Government has taken active steps to give training to our youth. Although the Government has not been able to come to a final decision, the scheme has been discussed informally. Though every colleague of mine is of the opinion that India should have the smallest possible Army consistent with the safety of this country, we agree at the same time that we must have a Territorial Force. What the strength of this force should be or whether it should be called a national militia is yet to be decided. The need of a territorial force is fully realised. We will, in the near future, when we have fixed the peace time size of the Army, begin to organise a territorial force alongside the Army.

Then, Sir, about the training of young men in the schools and colleges. Sometime in 1946 a Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of the Honourable Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru. The Committee submitted its report sometime at the beginning of this year. On account of the political changes and the division of the country, the Report of the Committee could not be examined and no decision could be taken earlier; it came up for discussion before the Defence Committee of India only a few days ago. I am glad to inform the House of the Government's entire agreement with the Committee that it is absolutely essential to give military training to our youth. Some people may think that by giving military training to the youth of the country, we are making warlike preparations. Nothing of the kind. We want to have adequate forces to protect our country against aggression. I do feel that such training to the youth builds up their health and character.

The National Cadet Corps Committee has recommended that, to begin with, we should start with a Junior Division and a Senior Division. Junior Division is meant for school-going children, the 9th or 10th class students in the schools and the Senior Division for college boys. The number of the boys to be trained under this scheme will be 1,75,000. The total expenditure that is to be incurred, if it is accepted wholly and the responsibility is taken either by the Centre or by the Provincial Government, will be Rs. 8½ crores initial and Rs. 2½ crores recurring. If we assume total number of the school-going children between the age of 15 and 21 to about a million, the total expenditure required to give training will be Rs. 21 crores initial expenditure

and Rs. 15 crores recurring. I am not mentioning these figures to frighten the House but just to show the nature and extent of the expenditure likely to be involved if this scheme is accepted. The Government have accepted the principle of the scheme and we have addressed all the provinces to enquire how far they are prepared to share the burden of this expenditure. We have fixed four weeks within which they must reply. Thereafter the Government will take definite steps to get on with the scheme.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): May I interrupt the Honourable Minister and make a suggestion that if it is a question of funds, let the Prime Minister issue an appeal. I am sure he will get Rs. 15 crores or 20 crores—any amount—within a month.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: As I have said before, I did not give these figures to frighten the House. It was intended to give an idea of the nature of the expenditure likely to be involved. I hope when the scheme is matured and put before the House, the House will accept it with the same willingness with which it has expressed its views on this particular Resolution.

Now, Sir, a lady member pointed out about the desirability of giving military training to girls. I wish to inform her that the scheme of the National Cadet Corps Committee includes training for the Girls' Division also.

Then, Sir, there are one or two other points to which I want to reply. One of them is that about private armies, to which so many Honourable Members have referred. In regard to these, Sir, it is just possible that in the old regime there was some necessity. But after the 15th of August when our country became free, I do not see the necessity of any such private organisations. The defence of the country is the responsibility of the Government and Government must make adequate arrangements to protect the country. No private army, of whatever nature it may be, can give adequate protection to the country or be of use to it. For instance, Sir, take the case of our neighbouring country, Pakistan. Honourable Members must have read about the raid or invasion of the tribesmen in Kashmir. The other day the Prime Minister made a clear statement. I do not want to say anything in that connection. All I will say is that tribesmen form a part of that territory—Pakistan. I cannot imagine that these tribesmen can come fully armed in another country without the knowledge of that State. Now, take the case of those tribesmen. They are fully armed; they have got rifles; they have got machine guns; they have got mortars and so on. Such irregulars, irresponsible people, if they are not kept under proper check under a proper organisation, instead of being a help to the country, have proved a great danger to the country. That is how private armies function. I am not afraid of private armies or such organisations, but I hope our countrymen will themselves realise their responsibilities and will not indulge in such unlawful activities.

Coming to the Resolution before us, I find it difficult to agree to the whole of the Resolution as it stands. As regards the Home Guards, as I have stated before, it is the responsibility of the Provincial Government and I have not the least doubt that the Provincial Government will go ahead with their scheme and whatever help is necessary from the Centre, it will be given willingly and without any hesitation.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: What about the Centrally Administered Areas?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: About the National Guards, of which there is a specific proposal in this Resolution, I want to say that the Government accept its principle. The Government have not yet decided whether we should have a National Militia or a Territorial Force and what

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should be its strength. If there is no intention on the part of the Mover of the Resolution to bind the Government to a specific thing like National Militia and his purpose is that Government must take steps to do something for the military training of our youth. I wish to assure the House beyond all doubt that Government have already taken steps and I will not be found lacking in implementing these steps as far as possible.

Sir, Pandit Govind Malaviya suggested the appointment of a Committee. May I suggest to him that this is not a matter for a Committee of this House. I know that among the Honourable Members of this House there are those who have some experience of the Armed Forces and have made very good suggestions. But as regards the scheme itself we have now left this to our Military Advisers. The scheme is already before them and is receiving their attention. After they have formulated their views, their report will come before the Defence Committee of India and will be considered by it. I think that is the correct procedure which should be followed.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is the report likely to come up before the Defence Committee?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: It has gone to the Provinces and we have asked them to send in their views within four weeks.

Now, Sir, this is what the Government has done and I hope that in view of what I have said, the House will be satisfied that Government has not made only vague promises, but have taken definite steps to make a move in the right direction.

Now, Sir, in the end, I would warn the House about the several suggestions that have been made that this State is preparing and that State is preparing for war. In fairness to the Armed Forces of India, I have to request the House not to magnify these things. Our Indian Armed Forces are not afraid of the armed forces of any particular State. If I may put it in another way, I say that it is an insult to the Armed Forces of India to ask them to get ready, because of the preparedness of a State here or there. We are absolutely alive to our duty and our Armed Forces are in a position to meet any danger from any quarter.

I would suggest to the House not to get panicky. I get a large number of anonymous letters and representations about the Ordnance Depots, about the Ordnance Factories and about our Armed Forces. Sir, if I were to believe all that is said in these nothing would be left in our Ordnance Depots or Ordnance Factories! In the past, the management of these factories and depots was under joint control. I want to inform the House that rumours and thefts, etc., which are current and which appear in the papers from time to time are highly exaggerated. There is no doubt that arms have been stolen from here and there, but these thefts are nothing of the kind as has been mentioned in these representations to us and what is said in public. There is not much of truth in these rumours.

In the end, Sir, I would suggest that in view of the proposals that are before the Government at present, and in view of the decisions and the steps which the Government have taken, the Honourable Mover of the Resolution should not press the Resolution at this stage. If in one or two months' time he is not satisfied with the arrangements or the steps which the Government takes, then he can put it in a definite form whether India should have a Militia or whether India should have a territorial force, or whether we should have some other kind of organisation. At present my difficulty is that I do not want to bind the Government to the creation of a National Militia as we have schemes of other types such as the territorial force under consideration. As I told you

in the very beginning of my speech I do not want to give any vague promises; I do not want to state on the floor of the House that I will accept this scheme and find myself in difficulty later on especially as we have the formation of a Territorial Army under our consideration. This is my difficulty, Sir, and if the House will accept my assurances and the suggestion that I have made, I will request the Mover not to press this Resolution. Sir, I hope the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution will accept my suggestion.

An Honourable Member: Could we get any idea when the Government scheme will be ready?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: As already stated we have referred it to our Military Advisers; they are examining it and we expect that it will come before the Government within the next few weeks.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great attention to the lucid statement of the Honourable Member of Defence.

An Honourable Member: Honourable Minister of Defence.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Perhaps the mistake is not unjustified, for I am taken back to the days when Members were sitting on the other side, not Ministers. The reply that he has vouchsafed to us is not a reply of a Minister. I was thinking whether we were in the days of Sir Andrew Skeen or Lord Esher or Sir Archibald Wavell in the Military Department answering the questions in the Legislature. I never had the good fortune of being a Member in this House in those days. I thought I would never be in a Legislature, but this hardship is forced upon us against our will, and therefore, I am surprised Government should have taken this kind of attitude. I should have expected Government to come forward with a definite reply, and if they were not prepared to accept my proposition, they should have tabled an amendment and then stated their difficulties, but they have certainly transported themselves to ten years ago and that is what I cannot really appreciate. It is no use my being merely courteous and all that. I must say that in a House which is enjoying democratic self-Government on the basis of responsibility, this is not the way in which a Member ought to be treated. Of course, I have no desire to embarrass the Government. I can appreciate the difficulties of Government. I can appreciate in particular the difficulties by which Government is embarrassed, being confronted with so many complications and complexities everywhere. I know they have no peace of mind for even a quarter of an hour. They do not know what the next telegram brings, whether it is the invasion of the Eastern Punjab or Western Bengal or whether it is a recrudescence of trouble in Kashmir or whether it is something worse. I perfectly sympathise with them for they have not the equanimity, the balance of mind, and a clear judgment and therefore, I should have liked them to have tabled a suitable amendment and then that would have been easy. As things stand, what is the position? People who read these debates are transported into heights of emotion; they would feel that the millennium was nigh; and now they are suddenly taken to the depths of disappointment. Well, the whole matter says the Government requires examination; they add that the Government has been quite mindful of all these matters raised in the debate and suggest that the Resolution should not be pressed. Of course I am not pressing it. I shall withdraw, but I am not withdrawing it with grace. I must say that.

Before doing so, I would only like to invite the Honourable Member's attention to the fact that lots of arms are sent to the States and in the States they are distributed to these very people who are organising these fissiparous forces—the *Jagirdars*. So the Honourable Member may make a note of this point and then see that we are not supplying weapons to our possible enemies. There have been during the days of peace, instances of firms in Europe and perhaps in England which sold weapons to Japan and with these very weapons Japan

[Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya] fought them. So let us not make such mistakes. As for the rest, I have, I do not say, great pleasure, but great pain in withdrawing this Resolution.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution?

The Resolution was by leave of the Assembly withdrawn.

RESOLUTION *re* AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Shri V. I. Munishwami Pillai (Madras: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to move the Resolution that stands in my name:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India should spend at least one crore of rupees each year for the next ten years for the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Castes by way of providing them with house sites and drinking water and also by way of supplementing the educational grants sanctioned by Provincial Governments."

Sir, seeing what has happened around us it may be thought that I am not responsible to this House or the country in bringing a Resolution of this kind asking for aims from the National Government which was set up on the 15th August last. I know as a matter of fact that if I go before this Government with a begging bowl to safeguard the interests and also to improve the conditions of a community which represents one-fifth of the population of this great land, I am not going against the established laws of this land. We know as a matter of fact that Mahatma Gandhi, the Avatar who has spent and is spending all his time for the betterment of the Indian nation day in and day out, is extending his hands for charity not for the aggrandisement of himself or his colleagues but to improve the condition of a community that has been kept away from the pale of society and undergoing hardships for several centuries. When this Charter of Freedom was drawn by the Constituent Assembly the other day it was said therein:

"Wherein shall be guaranteed, granted and secured to all the people of India justice—social, economic and political—and equality of status."

Again when the Advisory Committee's report was presented to the Constituent Assembly it was clearly stated there:

"We wish to make it clear, however, that our general approach to the whole problem of minorities is that the State should be so run that they should stop feeling oppressed by the mere fact that they are minorities, and that on the contrary they should feel that they have an honourable part to play in the national life as any other section of the community."

Sir, yesterday when the Finance Minister presented his budget he made a very long speech and I was wondering whether he would give effect to what was stated in the Charter or what was approved by the Constituent Assembly in the Minority Committee's report. I failed to see one word to the effect that the interests of the scheduled castes and untouchables will be safeguarded to some extent at least by providing amenities for this community. It may be asked why it was necessary for me to bring forward this Resolution at a time like this. I may tell the House that recent events in provinces where Acts to remove their disabilities have been passed, a great agitation has been started whereby the landlords and zamindars have taken upon themselves to evict the *harijans* from their lands. As you are aware, Sir, the scheduled castes form the bulk of agricultural labour and now they are being deprived of the habitation which they have been enjoying for years. Recently I have been touring Malabar and South Canara and I saw how the Jemmes have given notice to the tenants to evict them from their habitation. At a time when we feel that we have entered the arena of an independent India, one section

of people is told that they have no habitations. It is a sad thing and I think it is time for Government to take up this matter. Yesterday during the budget speech the Finance Minister told us that they are going to have great national industries, and he also told us that in the matter of 'Grow More Food' the result was disappointing. Now, Sir, agricultural labourers, dock workers and industrial labourers who are mostly drawn from the scheduled castes have no habitation; and how can these industries and the 'Grow More Food' scheme succeed? These are matters of vital importance and Government must come to the rescue of the depressed classes and safeguard their interests.

Sir, my Resolution is a very modest one. I ask for the provision of housing sites. According to Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of independence a man must at least have a habitation and he must have at least one square meal a day. Without a habitation what will be the fate of these people? The agricultural labourers who mostly live in the villages are practically in the clutches of the landlords, and if these people are told to vacate what will be their fate? Moreover, recently suggestions have been made for making co-operative societies of house building, and the depressed classes have been left alone. We know that for centuries the agricultural labourers in the villages have been suffering, and it is a matter of infamy for any Government that it is only the middle and the upper classes who should have a habitation.

Secondly if you go to any village in the south and in Malabar you will find that the villages are not provided with ordinary facilities for human existence in the way of drinking water. The wells are meant not only for the use of human beings but pigs and animals all go to the same well. This is the state of affairs in most of the provinces. It is high time that Government should take up the question of habitation as well as that of drinking water. Moreover, when the Poona Pact was signed one of the terms was that the Central Government should give an allotment to the various provinces so that the education of the depressed classes may be more advanced. It is in this view that I have taken up this matter, and I am sure that Government, composed as it is today of men like Honourable Pandit Nehru and Honourable Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Patel and the Minister for Public Health who come under the aura of Mahatma Gandhi and live under his inspiration will see that something is done for the *Harijans* so that they also may feel that they are living in an independent India where all their interests are safeguarded by Government. Sir, I move.

Mr. Chairman: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the Government of India should spend at least one crore of rupees each year for the next ten years for the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Castes by way of providing them with house sites and drinking water and also by way of supplementing the educational grants sanctioned by Provincial Governments."

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Minister for Health): Inasmuch as the Resolution before the House refers to certain aspects of the general question of amelioration for the scheduled castes, I would like to say that Government is wholly in sympathy with its spirit and its aims. It is the clear and definite policy of the Government that living conditions for all those who today live in hovels—and it is not only scheduled castes—should be ameliorated. Naturally, the scheduled castes will benefit as well as anyone else. Development grants, as is known to the House, are made to the provinces. They can use them for any purpose and doubtless no province but keeps the needs of the backward and the poor classes in the forefront of all their programmes.

As far as the Centrally Administered Areas are concerned and for which the Centre is responsible, the Improvement Trust in Delhi has decided to clear all slum areas, and I would like to assure the Mover of the Resolution that those slum areas in which the scheduled castes live will be the first to go. All the poor that will thus be displaced will be given new sites.

[Bajkumari Amrit Kaur]

There is also a poor class housing scheme, which will also benefit the scheduled castes. In this scheme the criterion is not going to be community: it is going to be income. This is only correct, because it is the earnest desire of the Government not only to banish untouchability, root and branch, but also to give to the backward and poor classes all the help that they need for improvement of their living conditions and for their general uplift.

As far as the water-supply is concerned, all public sources of water are legally open to the scheduled castes, but we are all aware that custom and usage deal harshly with them. Recently, therefore, the provisions of the Bombay Removal of Social Disabilities Act of 1946 have been extended to the Delhi Province and they are going to be extended to the other Centrally Administered Areas also.

Any schemes for the amelioration of the condition of the scheduled castes will certainly have the full sympathy of the Central Government. Supplementary grants to provinces for any schemes of such amelioration or uplift will obviously depend on what the provinces have ready in the way of schemes and what they are able to work out, and I may assure the House that it will be the policy of the Central Government to help the provinces all they can to ameliorate the condition of these unfortunate people.

It is, however, difficult to accept any specific figure for such grants at this stage. The House may rest assured that the uplift of the scheduled castes is in the forefront and will remain in the forefront of this Government until such time as there is no such class as scheduled castes in our society.

Shri S. Nagappa (Madras: General): I was not convinced with the statement made by the Honourable Minister for Health. But now, Sir, I do not want to say anything about the Resolution, that was moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Pillai. I move the amendment that stands in my name. Sir, I move:

"That in the Resolution for the words 'at least one crore' the words 'a minimum of ten crores', be substituted."

I know my responsibility in moving this amendment. For a Congress Government which has pledged itself to elevate its *Harijans* in the shortest time possible, to the highest level, I think it is a meagre figure, if you take into consideration the vast numbers of these down trodden people, and the miseries they have undergone for all these centuries. Now, I think, Sir, if this Government is sincere, if it wants to do it, it can do it. But my Honourable friend, the Minister for Health has been kind enough to say that they have been kind enough to bring in some legislation. No amount of legislation will change the heart of people unless and until they make it a point to change their hearts and treat the *Harijans* as human beings. Without this nothing can make these people come to the higher level, no matter how many years may pass. Mahatmaji himself has been trying to uplift these people for the last 15 years. I am certain not even 15 per cent. of the untouchability has disappeared to-day. So at this rate, I do not know for how many years more in a free India will these poor down trodden millions have to toil. I am glad to bring to the notice of this House that the Madras Government during the regime of Shri Prakasam was kind enough to earmark one crore for the speedy elevation of these *Harijans*.

Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan (Madras: General): Was one pie spent out of that one crore!

Shri S. Nagappa: I do not think that simply because funds have been allotted therefore we can spend whatever be the need. We must see that every pie that has been allotted is spent in the best interests of these people. So if one province goes ahead it is no use to other *Harijans*

in other provinces who are lagging behind. So this Government can direct each and every province to look after the interests of these people. They can say if you take up the question we are here to give you Rs. 100,000,000 more, as you do in the case of the 'Grow More Food' and as in the case of the Rural Water Supply. Therefore you can also do something for these people if you are really interested in their elevation. No amount of lip sympathy will help. It is material sympathy that is required. I want the Congress Government which has pledged itself to elevate these people to spend the money and see that the people are brought forward. We have been finding fault with South Africans for ill-treating Indians in South Africa. Do not you think the South Africans will find fault with you if you treat these people like this here? You must keep yourselves always above all such things. We have been asking you because we have nothing. When we ask, you say why do you ask? Why do you separate yourself from us? Where is the need if you separate us? It is you who have to change your way of treatment and your hearts. As regards legal sanctions, many Governments have been moving in this matter. But what is the good? Do you expect that every *Harijan* is legally minded enough that he can go to court and seek redress at the courts of law? Let me give you my own personal experience. So many temples have been thrown open to *Harijans*. That is all right when the right man especially a man in the lime light comes along. But the next moment when the local *Harijan* of the villages comes, he is not permitted to enter. They say that it was intended for the people who came from outside and not for the local men. They would say "You fellow are toiling under me, you are serving under me, you are my servant. You want to enter the temple and worship with me? How dare you are?" Some have been even beaten.

I will narrate another experience of mine. In a village of a population of 2,000, there are only two public wells. There are 300 to 400 *Harijans* there and they are not allowed to draw water from the public wells. They can pull the string but the touching of the pot is done by a caste Hindu and he pours the water into the pot of the *Harijan*. So even if there is legal sanction they cannot make use of it. They cannot assert themselves. I had to go myself personally. I had to represent to the police and with a police escort I went and saw in my own presence that these people were allowed to draw water from the wells. The village folks came with lathies and other weapons and threatened me. I said "You kill me if you want but I am not going to budge an inch. I am going to draw water from the well." So I was able to draw water.

Shri H. J. Khandekar (C. P. and Berar: General): Sir, may I point out that the time is up. I would request you to take up this Resolution on the next non-official day and give it priority.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (U. P.: General): Let the Honourable Member finish his speech.

Mr. Chairman: Under the rules this Resolution would get priority on the next non-official day. I wished to give you opportunity for moving your amendment. But as you are not anxious to speak now the House will be adjourned when the member speaking has finished his speech.

Shri S. Nagappa: The Honourable the Health Minister was kind enough to say that we are having legal sanctions but may I point out that no amount of legal sanction is any use until and unless you create the machinery to put it into practice. Bills are passed but who is there to enforce them? If these people go to draw water their heads will be broken the next moment.

[Shri S. Nagappa]

My Honourable friend Mr. Munishwami Pillai was kind enough to bring in the Resolution and if the Government is also equally kind enough they could easily grant the ten crores. Is ten crores a big sum? We are not a few in number, we are some crores. Ten crores for five crores of *Harijans* mean Rs. 2 per head per annum. Cannot this Government, which is a Congress Government, the people's Government, which wants to give equal opportunities to everybody, grant this sum? I expected the Honourable Lady Minister to be more kind to the *Harijans* than the 'Lord Ministers'. Even now I expect the Minister for Health will reconsider her position and try to grant us this sum. She cannot only grant the ten crores but she can also ask the Provincial Governments to see that legislations are passed, not only passed but also translated into action by an administrative machinery. Then alone we will be able to come up to the level to which you expect us to come at the earliest possible time. If you are really sincere spend something on us in an organised way. No amount of sympathy will solve our problem; we want material sympathy. I want the Honourable Minister to come forward and accept this Resolution with the amendment.

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

"That in the Resolution for the words 'at least one crore' the words 'a minimum of ten crores', be substituted."

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 20th November, 1947.