

Tuesday,  
17th February, 1948

THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA  
(LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

Official Report

VOLUME II, 1948  
(17th February to 4th March, 1948)

SECOND SESSION

of the

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)  
1948



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# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Tuesday, 17th February, 1948.

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

### ORAL ANSWERS

#### STANDARD FOR AIRCRAFT PILOTS

300. **Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Communications please state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the report which appeared in certain Bombay papers in the first week of January, 1948 regarding the "Standards for Aircraft Pilots"?

(b) Do Government intend to introduce similar rules in Indian aviation?

(c) If not, why not?

(d) Is the Indian Commercial Pilot at present allowed to carry passengers or fly in bad weather? If so, has he reached a prescribed standard of blind flying and has he obtained an instrument rating?

(e) If not, and if such pilots are allowed to fly passengers at present without the requisite qualification do Government propose to issue instructions that such pilots should not be allowed to fly in bad weather?

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

(b) The Indian Aircraft Rules already provide for pilots of transport aircraft satisfying prescribed standards which include Instrument Flying and Blind Flying. These are, where necessary, being brought into conformity with the standards set by the International Civil Aviation Organisation.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) Yes, Sir. Commercial pilot's licence is granted only to those pilots who pass tests in blind flying and instrument flying as prescribed in the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937.

(e) Does not arise.

#### INDIANS AND FOREIGNERS AS PILOTS IN PORT TRUSTS OF BOMBAY, MADRAS AND CALCUTTA

301. **Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Transport be pleased to state the number of pilots employed by the Port Trusts of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta? How many of them are Indians and how many are foreigners?

(b) What is the salary grade of such pilots? Is there any distinction in salary between Indians and foreigners?

(c) What qualifications are required for a person to qualify for the post of a pilot?

(d) Are facilities provided for the training of pilots by Steam Ship Companies or any other institutions?

(e) If so, what are the facilities that exist for this kind of training in India?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a), (b) and (c). Two statements giving the required information are laid on the table of the House.

(d) and (e). Pilots are not primarily trained by Steam Ship Companies. The selected candidates are given the necessary training by the authorities in charge of pilotage at each port.

Statement I showing the number and the salary grades of pilots employed by the Port Trusts of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and the number of Indians and non-Indians among them.

Port Trust	No. of pilots			Salary grades
	Indians	Non-Indians	Total	
Madras . . . . .	3	1	4	Rs. 750—25—1150.
Bombay . . . . .	14	11	25	Rs. 1200 (for Master Pilots). Rs. 700—30—1150 (for ordinary pilots).
Calcutta . . . . .	Nil			

NOTE 1.—There are 10 pilots employed by the Calcutta Port Commissioners as the pilotage on the river Hooghly is the responsibility of the Government of India.

NOTE 2.—There is no distinction in salary between Indians and non-Indians.

Statement II showing the qualifications required for a person to qualify for the post of a pilot at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Port Trusts.

Port Trust	Qualifications required for the post of a pilot
Madras . . . . .	Possession of Master's certificate to cover foreign-going ships or its equivalent valid in India, service as Chief Officer, age between 25 and 35 years.
Bombay . . . . .	Possession of Master's certificate (foreign going) and six months' training with licensed pilots in Bombay Harbour and Docks.
Calcutta . . . . .	Possession of a certificate of competency as 2nd Mate (foreign going) and extensive training in the Bengal Pilot Service as apprentices for 4½ to 5 years, before assumption of independent charge of piloting ships.

**Mr. E. K. Sidhva:** May I know the qualifications for receiving a Pilot's training and whether any school or examination in India exists for the purpose?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** As far as general marine training is concerned that is done by institutions like the "Dufferin" training establishment. But as far as piloting is concerned it is a special business and the only training is by actually doing the work as probationers.

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** How long will it take for foreigners to be completely replaced by Indians in the pilots' service?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** Within a fairly short time, I think.

**Shri B. Das:** Will the Honourable Minister kindly read out the number of Indians and the number of foreigners engaged as pilots?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** It varies with each of the ports. But as far as I can remember, the figures in Madras, in Bombay, and in Calcutta where of course the Pilots are not employed by the Calcutta Port Trust but are under the Government of India, there are more Indians than non-Indians. Gradually of course the proportion of Indians will be much greater.

**Shri B. Das:** Has not the Honourable Minister included the quantum of foreigners and Indians in the statement he is laying on the table?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** In the table I have placed before the House, in Madras there are three Indians and one non-Indian, in Bombay there are fourteen Indians and eleven non-Indians. In Calcutta I think at present there are twenty-five Indians and twenty non-Indians.



## INDIANS AND FOREIGNERS AS DEPUTY CONSERVATORS IN PORT TRUST SERVICES

302. **Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Transport be pleased to state what is the number of Deputy Conservators in the Port Trust services of the Bombay, Madras and Calcutta Port Trusts, and how many are Indians and how many are foreigners?

(b) What are the qualifications required for eligibility to the post of a Deputy Conservator?

(c) What facility is provided for the training of Conservators of Port in India?

(d) If none, do Government intend to provide the same?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a) There is one Deputy Conservator in each of the Port Trusts of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and all the present incumbents are non-Indians.

(b) The qualifications required at each of these three ports are:

(i) At Madras, the Deputy Conservator has to be in possession of a Master's certificate issued by the U.K. Board of Trade or the equivalent in the Royal Navy or the Royal Indian Navy. He should be about 40 years of age and should preferably have served as a pilot and later as Harbour Master. Usually the Harbour Master is appointed as Deputy Port Conservator.

(ii) At Calcutta, the Deputy Conservator's essential qualifications are experience of handling and holding command of ships, with special qualifications such as surveying, dredging etc. and age between 35 and 40 years. The recruitment has hitherto been made from the Royal Navy.

(iii) At Bombay, the qualifications required are possession of a certificate of Extra Master or Master of foreign-going ships, a thorough knowledge of Port Conservancy and of local conditions of the Port.

(c) It is presumed that the Honourable Member means Deputy Conservator as the conservators of the ports are the Port Trusts themselves. Deputy Conservators are generally appointed by promotion from the lower grades of Harbour Master or Dock Master or Assistant Conservator and receive training by experience in various grades at the ports.

(d) Does not arise in view of the answer to part (c) of the question.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** With regard to part (c) of the question, what I asked was about the Conservator and the answer is not given. May I know what facilities there are for a Deputy Conservator to be qualified for Port Trust service?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** The Deputy Conservator is really appointed by promotion from the lower ranks. As more and more Indians are being appointed to the lower ranks in course of time they will be eligible for promotion as Deputy Conservators.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** The Honourable Minister stated that all the Deputy Conservators are non-Indians. May I know how his present answer is consistent with that?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** I said they happen to be non-Indians at present.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** Is it a fact that the Board of Trade examination is held in a foreign country and no facility exists in India for Indians to qualify in this examination?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** That is not so as far as my information goes.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** I am very clear in my mind about this . . . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** The Honourable Member need not argue.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** No, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Honourable Member wants to know what the position is.

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** As far as Pilots are concerned, the position is that a Deputy Conservator is appointed by promotion from among the ranks of Pilots. We are today appointing only Indians as Pilots and these Indians who are appointed as Pilots have to have a Mate's certificate or a Second Mate's or other recognised certificate as the case may be. These Pilots do service in the ranks of Pilots, and by reason of the service they do and the training they get, in course of time they rise to be Deputy Conservator.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** As an ex-Port Trust Commissioner I can say that never . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I will not permit arguments. If the Honourable Member persists I will not call any of his questions.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** May I put a question?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes, he may ask for any information he wants.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** May I know whether there is any instance of a Pilot having been promoted to the post of Deputy Conservator?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** Yes.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** Where?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** In various ports.

**Mr. R. K. Sidhva:** In which ports?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I am calling the next question.

**Mr. Speaker:** Who answers Question No. 303 on behalf of the Honourable Minister of Industry and Supply. I will postpone it for the time being.

**Shri K. Santhanam:** If the Ministers are not present in the House, may I ask, Sir, what the position is?

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a difficult question to answer. I should not like to deprive any Member of his chance of putting his question merely because the Honourable Minister is not in his place.

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** I may say, Sir, that he is equally busy with public work and I apologize on his behalf.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is a position which may be acceptable, but not wholly. I know that, so far as the Honourable Minister for Industry and Supply is concerned he had to go to Calcutta on account of the illness of his daughter. But he had written to me that his questions were in charge of some other Honourable Minister. I am not quite clear about the position. I believe he was here in the House yesterday. Anyway arrangements may now be made to send for him. In case, he is not available or does not turn up before the question hour is over, I will transfer the question to some other date—not necessarily the next date—but the date on which he has to answer.

But I do hope that Honourable Ministers will make it a point to be present in the House when their questions are called, or make some arrangements for their being answered.

We will now take up question 303 since the Honourable Minister has come.

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I am sorry I am late. I was busy with a conference.

## NON-PAYMENT OF AMOUNTS FOR SUPPLY OF COAL TO PAKISTAN

**303. \*Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state whether it has been brought to the notice of Government by the Indian Collieries Union that a large number of bills amounting to lacs of rupees for the coal supplied to the Government of Pakistan and their Railways, have remained unpaid for a considerable period?

(b) If so, what is the total amount of such arrears and when were they due to be paid?

(c) Is it a fact that the Government of India have continued the supply of coal to the Government of Pakistan without insisting upon the payment of the outstanding bills? If so, for what reasons?

(d) Do Government propose to stop further supply of coal, to Pakistan till the arrears are cleared and payment in time is assured in future?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** (a) The Indian Collieries' Union have complained of the non-payment by the Pakistan Government of bills relating to the supply of coal to the N. W. R. prior to the 15th August, 1947.

(b) The total amount is not definitely known to Government, though at one time a figure of Rs. 40 lakhs was mentioned. It is alleged that some bills have been outstanding since May or June, 1947. All bills are ordinarily expected to be paid promptly after presentation.

(c) Under the Standstill arrangement the Government of India had agreed to maintain coal allocations to the Pakistan Government at the pre-partition level, as far as possible. These allocations have been made and supplies arranged as far as is possible in existing circumstances. According to agreement reached at the time of partition, bills relating to the supply of coal to N. W. and B. and A. Railways before the 15th August, 1947 were to have been paid initially by the Pakistan Government. The Government of India have repeatedly urged the Pakistan Government to settle these bills expeditiously.

(d) The situation arising out of the continued non-payment of many bills is under the consideration of Government.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma:** Is it also a fact that many of the wagons that go to Pakistan are detained there and they are not returned in time?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** There was some delay, but now it has been rectified.

## NEGLECT OF CARRIAGES, WAITING ROOMS ETC. ON OUDH AND TIRHUT RAILWAY

**304. \*Shri Damodar Swarup Seth:** Will the Honourable Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that the carriages, waiting rooms and station premises meant for the use of the public are not well looked after in the Oudh and Tirhut Railway;

(b) whether Government are aware that travelling on foot-boards, travelling without tickets or with lower class tickets and travelling with unbooked luggage is prevalent on this line; and

(c) if so, whether Government propose to take suitable steps?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a) Carriages, waiting rooms, and station premises on O.T. Railway are being maintained as well as the present resources of the railway permit. Such deficiencies as are noticed are in the main due to the cumulative effect of several factors.

(i) greatly increased passenger traffic necessitating the retention in service of old and overage stock,

(ii) heavy arrears of repair and construction work accumulated during the war years which, with lowered standards of efficiency consequent on general labour unrest in the country and non-availability of adequate supplies of stores, it has not yet been found possible to make up fully,

(iii) insufficient output of workshops due to outworn machines and plant which it is not found possible to replace even at present, and

(iv) wanton damage done by mischievous members of the public to fittings and upholstery on certain sections of the railway.

(b) Yes.

(c) Every effort is being made to improve the condition of stock and with the gradual though slow return to normal conditions in respect of labour, replacement of machinery and availability of stores, it is hoped to improve the standard to the pre-war level.

Additional train services are being gradually introduced to the extent permitted by availability of stock and power.

One feature, which at present encourages foot-board travelling, is the use of the old type third class stock with 12 doors and a foot-board running along the entire length of the carriage; this is being avoided in the new stock, where the number of doors has been reduced to four, and foot-boards are provided only at the doors.

A vigorous campaign to check ticketless travel has been inaugurated in the sections of the railway falling in United Provinces with the help of Magistrates and Special Police provided by the Provincial Government; adoption of similar measures on the remaining sections of the railway is also under contemplation.

**Diwan Chaman Lall:** I want to ask a supplementary question.

**Mr. Speaker:** I thought this question of Oudh and Tirhut Railway was put so many times in this House that further supplementaries may not be necessary.

**Diwan Chaman Lall:** It was in connection with the statement made by the Honourable Minister about ticketless travel. I want to ask whether the Honourable Minister has considered the advisability of reviving the old system of travelling ticket examiners.

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** That practice still obtains, but the problem now is much bigger than can be tackled by travelling inspector staff. That is why we have called for the assistance of the law and order machinery.

#### RAILWAY SERVICE BETWEEN SITAMARHI AND MUZAFFARPUR, BIHAR

305. **\*Mr. Tajamul Hosain:** Will the Honourable Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that the distance between Muzaffarpur and Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur District in Bihar Province is only about thirty seven miles;

(b) whether Government are aware that there is no railway service between Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpur;

(c) whether Government are aware that in order to go by train from Sitamarhi to Muzaffarpur, one has to cover about one hundred and ten miles and pass through two sub-divisions of another district; and

(d) if so, whether Government propose to connect Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpur by a new railway line?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a) Yes.

(b) There is no direct railway connection between Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpur.

(c) The shortest rail route from Muzaffarpur to Sitamarhi is via Samastipur and Darbhanga, the distance being 98 miles approximately.

(d) The Government do not propose to connect Sitamarhi and Muzaffarpur by a new railway line. When the post-war reconstruction plans for railways were prepared in consultation with the Provincial Governments concerned, a line connecting Muzaffarpur and Sitamarhi with an extension upto Sonbarsa was proposed, but subsequently the Bihar Government decided that the line from Muzaffarpur to Sitamarhi need not be constructed in view of the fact that it would go across the natural drainage, and would present considerable difficulty. The short branch between Sitamarhi and Sonbarsa only was, therefore, included in the post-war plan.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** What is the position of these post-war plans? Are they being given up altogether or is any thought being given to them?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** The basis on which we are proceeding at present is this. In view of the great shortage of building materials—and railways are big consumers of these materials—we have decided that for the present only such new lines of construction should be undertaken as would serve essential purposes like the despatch of coal. New constructions in respect of essential purposes are now being taken in hand.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** May I take it that except for this, the whole planning that was made for post-war reconstruction is held in abeyance?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** This question was gone into by the Advisory Planning Committee which was appointed by Government last year under the chairmanship of my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy, and it was the considered recommendation of that committee that in view of the extreme shortage of materials, a halt must be called.

**Shri Ramnarayan Singh:** Which of these lines is under construction in Bihar?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** I must have notice of that question.

#### RAILWAY BRIDGE OVER GANGA CONNECTING PATNA AND HAJIPUR

305. **Mr. Tajamul Hosain:** Will the Honourable Minister of Railways be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to construct a railway bridge over the Ganga-connecting Patna and Hajipur; and

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the negative, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a) The Government of India do not propose to construct a bridge over the Ganga to connect Patna and Hajipur. Instead, they have approved of the proposal to construct a railway bridge at Mokameh, so designed that a road deck may be added if and when it is found necessary.

(b) From Engineering and financial points of view it is preferable to site the bridge at Mokameh. Briefly the reasons are: (i) The construction of a bridge at Patna besides being estimated to cost Rs. 2 to 3 crores more, would increase the period of construction by two or three years, and (ii) Mokameh is nearer to the potentially industrial area of Monghyr.

## PROVISION FOR REPLACEMENT OF OLD DAKOTAS BY NEW AIRCRAFTS

307. \*Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (on behalf of Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar): Will the Honourable Minister of Communications be pleased to state whether any provision has been made for the procurement of new aircrafts in future years to replace the present fleet of Dakotas when they become obsolete?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** Purchase of new aircraft is really the concern of the air transport companies. The function of the Director General of Civil Aviation is confined to giving advice regarding any programme of re-equipment and otherwise facilitating the procurement of aircraft. But as the recent air evacuation and Kashmir operations have put an abnormally severe strain on the existing fleet of civil aircraft. Government have been encouraging Air Transport Companies to import new planes by providing more exchange facilities.

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** Will any of the new planes be other than Dakotas?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** I want notice of that question.

## LOCATION AND NUMBER OF FERTILISER PLANTS IN INDIA

308. \*Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Will the Honourable Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Fertiliser Plants being erected in this country;

(b) their expected output and their location;

(c) the policy of Government in the matter of location of these projects;

(d) whether Government are carrying out the programme of the previous Government in locating these industries;

(e) if not, what changes are contemplated; and

(f) whether Government propose to consider the desirability of starting these projects in industrially backward areas like Andhra and Orissa?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** (a) Three.

(b) A statement giving the information is laid on the table of the House.

(c) The location is governed by the availability of raw materials, proximity to markets, transport facilities, availability of electric power, water, labour and suitable sites for buildings.

(d) Yes.

(e) Does not arise.

(f) Yes, Sir, when some experience has been gained of the working of the projects mentioned.

## Statement

Serial No.	Name of the Company	Name of fertiliser	No. of plants	Annual Capacity in tons	Location of the plant
1	(State-owned Factory)*	Ammonium Sulphate.	1	3,50,000	Sindhri (Bihar)
2	Eastern Chemical Co., Bombay	Superphosphate	1	10,000	Bombay
3	Fertilizers and Chemicals (Travancore) Ltd., Alwaye	Superphosphate	1	10,000	Alwaye

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know when these projects will be completed?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** So far as the Sindri factory is concerned, we expect the production will be available by the end of 1950, and the factory is expected to go into pilot production by the end of 1949.

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know when these factories will be completed, and after the completion whether India will be self-sufficient?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Not likely.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Is 1949 the earliest date by which any of these factories will produce any fertilisers?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** No. So far as Sindri is concerned, the date fixed now is the end of 1949. So far as the Travancore factory is concerned, it is also producing about fifty tons a day roughly.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** From what date it has started producing this?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Production started since the last three months. At the end of December it was about forty tons per day; now it has been raised to fifty tons a day.

**Shri O. V. Alagesan:** Are Government aware that there are large quantities of deposits of gypsum in Sularpetta near Madras, and if so, will they consider the question of erecting a plant there?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** So far as the quality of gypsum is concerned, that is now being examined.

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know whether the works contracts are given to European firms or Indian firms?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** So far as planning was concerned, one was a British firm and the other an American firm; but actual work is being done by Indians locally.

**Shri Ramnarayan Singh:** Is the fertilizer distributed all over the country?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** That will depend on the quantity which will be available.

**Shri Ramnarayan Singh:** What is the arrangement for distribution?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Supply will not be confined to a particular Province; it will be distributed to as many Provinces as possible.

**Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala:** What is the price at which the fertiliser is sold in the market and may I know whether it compares favourably with prices of imported material?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** That stage has not yet been reached; we have not been able to compare the price of fertilizers.

**Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala:** Fertilizer is being produced in Travancore. What is the cost of production there?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I cannot say about the price in Travancore but I do not think that the price compares unfavourably, otherwise my attention would have been drawn. But I can look into the matter.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Does the Government control the distribution of these fertilizers so far produced?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** No, Sir, not yet.

**Shri K. Santhanam:** May I know, Sir, whether Government have evolved any plan for the permanent management of the Sindri Factory?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** We propose to set up a Corporation for the purpose of managing the factory and proposals in that direction will be placed before the House very shortly.

**Shri S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao:** May I know, Sir, whether in view of the shortage of fertilizers Government will consider the free grant of import licences for the import of fertilizers from foreign countries?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I shall be prepared to consider that.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Will the Corporation proposed to be set up be a Statutory Corporation?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Well, it should be a Statutory Corporation. The whole matter is being considered by the Government and Government's policy in the matter will be announced very soon.

#### PROGRESS AT HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT LTD. AFTER ACQUISITION

309. **\*Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state what progress has been made in the assembling of aircraft after Government's acquisition of Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.?

(b) Is research being carried on in Aeroplane designing and construction at Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** (a) If by 'the assembling of aircraft', the Honourable Member means the assembly of parts, etc., for the construction of new aircraft, it may be stated that Hindustan Aircraft Limited is at present engaged on the construction of trainer type aircraft under an arrangement with the Percival Aircraft Company, Luton, England. Fifteen such aircrafts will be assembled from imported components, five will be constructed from detailed parts supplied by manufacturers and thirty will be constructed using Indian raw materials to a large extent, with the exception of the Engine and instruments. It is expected that this work which is now on hand will be completed in the course of the next eighteen months. The first planes are expected to be ready by about August 1948.

(b) Yes, Sir. A Design and Development Department has been organised at Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. under an Indian Chief Designer.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** May I know whether any steps have been taken to make arrangements for the manufacture of component parts?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** As is indicated in the answer, so far as the detailed component parts are concerned, during the third stage they will all be manufactured in India except the engine and some of the instruments.

**Shri K. Santhanam:** Is there no plan to manufacture engines in the near future?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** That also is under consideration.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Will the Honourable Minister consider the desirability of his placing before the House details of the future programme so far as this Factory is concerned? What the Government proposes to do with it and the use it is going to be put to?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I shall consider the desirability of circulating a note to the Members. I have already discussed the matter with my Standing Committee.

#### POLICY re PRIORITY BOOKING CONTROL AND FACILITIES FOR MOVEMENT OF COTTON SEEDS

310. **\*Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Transport be pleased to state in respect of what kinds of goods Railway Priority controls are existing at present?



(b) Do Government propose to revise their policy in the matter of relaxing Priority Booking Controls?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the question of providing railway facilities for the movement of cotton seeds?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** (a) Goods are divided into five classes of priority traffic, a sixth class comprising of goods to which no priority is accorded. For further details, Honourable Member is referred to the schedule to Act XII of 1947 as amended from time to time.

(b) No; but the position is constantly under review in order to consider relaxation of existing control in the event of improvement in the overall rail transport position.

(c) Yes. Movement of cotton seed on trade account from C.P. and Berar has already been assisted by being upgraded from class V to class II. Also, an *ad hoc* quota of wagons is allotted in priority class I when traffic in class II is not moving.

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** May I know, Sir, whether there is any priority granted to newsprint?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** I must have notice of that question.

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know whether these controls are reviewed periodically?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** Yes, Sir.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** When were they reviewed last?

(No reply)

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Is the Honourable Minister aware, Sir, that due to want of priority for newsprint there is a virtual famine in Delhi at present and newsprint is selling at 100 per cent. more?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** I am aware of the difficulties referred to by my friend, which are being accentuated due to the congestion at the Bombay Port, but I am taking steps to have the matter expedited.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Is the Honourable Minister aware, Sir, that the famine of newsprint is partly due to the fact that carriages carrying newsprint received at New Delhi were diverted to other stations later on?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** If the Honourable Member can give me particulars, I would like to have enquiries made.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** May I know, Sir, whether particulars in this connection have not been submitted by one of the Papers?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** My attention, unfortunately, has not been drawn to it.

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know, Sir, when the priority controls were last reviewed?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** It is being reviewed Departmentally from time to time.

**Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** May I know whether there is any Departmental Committee to review these controls?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** As a matter of fact, the basis on which priority is reviewed from time to time is this. There are various Departments concerned with various classes of commodities and it is these Departments that bring to the notice of the Transport Department the need for revision of priority. It is on that basis that a review is being done now.

As I told the House yesterday, this whole question of control of priorities will come up before the House in connection with the extension of the Railways Transport of Goods Act in the course of a few weeks, and I hope then to have an opportunity of examining in consultation with the House, the lines on which the priority control should be revised.

**Shri S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao:** May I know, Sir, what priority is given to the *supari* merchants for the transport of betel nuts?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** I am afraid I cannot answer it offhand.

**Shri S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao:** Is Government aware that betel nut merchants are experiencing very great difficulty in the transport of *supari*?

**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai:** Quite probably they do.

#### LICENSED AND UNLICENSED RADIO SETS WORKING IN DELHI PROVINCE

311. \***Shri V. C. Kesava Rao:** Will the Honourable Minister of Communications be pleased to state:

(a) what the total number of public and private radio sets working in the Delhi Province is;

(b) how many radio sets are licensed under the rules;

(c) whether Government are aware that there are many radios working in Delhi without proper licence; and

(d) if so, what action Government propose to take against the offenders?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** (a) and (b). The number of Broadcast Receiver Licenses in Delhi is as under:

Household Receiver Licenses—15 867

Commercial Receiver Licenses—605

Accurate information about the number of *Radio Sets* is not available, as a licensee is allowed to have more than one set at the licensed premises.

(c) and (d). Government have no information of any large scale use of unlicensed radios. It has an organisation for the detection of unauthorised possession of Radio Sets. Government has also under consideration an amendment of the rules to ensure that radio sets are sold or transferred only to license-holders.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** May I know, Sir, if any unlicensed sets were detected during the last year in Delhi?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** I cannot give the figures for the whole year but I can tell the Honourable Member that in the month of December 1947 six cases of evasions were detected; in the month of January 1948 another six were detected.

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** Have any cases of unauthorised transmitters being used in Delhi also come to the notice of Government?

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

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** What was the action taken by Government against those who were detected using unlicensed sets?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** All those penalties which are provided for are usually imposed.

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** What are the penalties?

(No reply)

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** The Honourable Minister is labouring under the fact that he is not the Minister for Commerce. He is only officiating for him.

**Haji Abbas Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth:** The Honourable Minister's reply to part (c) was not clear to me. Did he say that one licence could cover more than one set?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** The licence is for the premises and the licensee can use more than one set. He can have as many sets as he can provided he has a licence in that particular place.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** May I know what is the machinery at the disposal of Government for detecting the use of unlicensed radio sets?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** The machinery that exists at present in the Department for the detection of unauthorised use of radio sets consists of anti-irregularity staff, namely, wireless inspectors and wireless investigating inspectors.

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** How big is the staff, Sir?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** As big as the circumstances permit.

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** May I know whether Government have considered the desirability of making it obligatory on the part of radio-dealers not to sell any set, unless it is accompanied by a proper license?

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** That is covered by my answer to parts (c) and (d).

#### ABOLITION OF DUTY ON SALT USED FOR INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES

**312. \*Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Industry and Supply be pleased to state whether it is a fact that during the existence of salt duty, salt used as raw material in industrial processes was not exempt from the payment of the duty?

(b) Upon the withdrawal of the Salt Duty, is there any new levy or cess imposed upon salt used for industrial purposes?

(c) If so, what is the nature and rate of the levy?

(d) Have Government received any representations from Industrial or Commercial bodies or concerns seeking the abolition of the cess now levied upon salt used for industrial purposes? If so, do Government propose to take any action on them?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** (a) It was exempt from payment of the duty.

(b) A small charge is collected by Government on all salt issued from Government and private salt factories, irrespective of the way in which the salt is meant to be utilized.

(c) The charge is made to reimburse Government for certain unavoidable expenditure incurred in connection with salt administration. In the case of Government factories the charge is As. 0-3-6 per maund and in the case of private factories As. 0-2-0 per maund.

(d) Yes. Two such representations have been received. The matter is under consideration.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Will Government be pleased to reject these representations, Sir?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I shall certainly bear the Honourable Members' advice in mind.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Is the Honourable Minister aware that the cost of salt used for industrial purposes is only 6 annas a maund, while the duty on it is 2 annas, which is as much as 33 and 1/3 per cent. Is it not too high a charge?

**Mr. Speaker:** That question need not be answered: it is more or less an argument.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Is it not a fact, Sir, that salt used for manufacturing purposes was exempted from excise duty?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Yes, that was so. The charge which is now collected is not only on salt used for industrial purposes, but on all salt. So far as the prices are concerned, it is Rs. 2-6 per maund in Madras and Rs. 4-9 per maund in Bombay. It will thus be seen that the charge is almost negligible.

**Shri O. V. Alagesan:** May I know, Sir, whether it is not a fact that Government has not given high priority for Caustic Soda and that salt is the principle raw material for the manufacture of caustic soda?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** That is so, Sir.

**Shri Jainarain Vyas:** Does Government impose any other duty on salt used for industrial purposes in the States?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** There is no special charge on salt which is used for industrial purposes as such. This charge applies to all salt.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** May I know, Sir, whether, in view of the fact that salt control is still in force and that we cannot get more than one or one-and-a-half anna worth of salt per week for a family and in view of the approaching season for mango pickles, Government will be pleased to relax this rule and make salt available on a larger scale?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** The small charge does not in fact affect the supply position of salt. I shall try to explain what the position is. At present Government has to spend about Rs. 75 lakhs per year on expenses connected with the administration of salt.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Honourable Minister has not understood the Honourable Member's question. He refers to the control on salt; that is, as a result of control, salt is not to be had in adequate quantities.

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Wherever there is scarcity of salt, we are arranging to send supplies and the position has improved considerably now. But I cannot say about the position of pickles in Madras.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** May I know whether Government took into consideration the fact that salt used for industrial purposes was exempt from excise duty while imposing this charge?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Government did take that fact into consideration. As I was just now explaining, Government is spending about Rs. 75 lakhs per year on salt administration. Out of this Rs. 44 lakhs are paid to the State which has given the Government of India the right to manufacture salt within its area. This matter is now being discussed with the State and I am hoping that within the next few months we shall be able to readjust things satisfactorily.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Is it not a fact, Sir, that Government does not spend anything particularly on salt used for industrial purposes?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Well, as I explained just now, if I were to exempt salt used for industrial purposes from duty, however small it may be that duty will naturally have to be transferred to the consumers, which, I hope it will be appreciated, is not fair.

**Mr. Tajammul Hosain:** Could the Honourable Minister enlighten the House on the total quantity of salt which has been imported recently, so that we may know whether the scarcity that is prevailing is real or artificial.

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** Out of six crores of maunds which is consumed by India, we are importing about fifty lakhs maunds of salt.

**Shri O. V. Alagesan:** May I know Sir whether certain manufacturers of caustic soda produce their own salt in leased factories and consequently no establishment need be incurred in such cases.

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I do not know of particular instances.

**Shri H. V. Kamath:** Are not Government aware, Sir, that salt is a very essential ingredient of pickles?

**Mr. Speaker:** The question does not relate to pickles.

**Mr. Hussain Imam:** Will the Honourable Minister be able to give us the price of salt in Calcutta? He mentioned the prices prevailing in Madras and Bombay.

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I have not got the figures for Calcutta with me. But it is likely to be a little more than the prices prevailing in Bombay and Madras, because Calcutta depends for its supply on salt imported from outside.

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Is it not a fact, Sir, that the cost of production of salt does not come to more than six annas per maund?

**The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee:** I have not got the figures with me at the moment.

#### ELECTION TO INDIAN OILSEEDS COMMITTEE

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the Assembly that upto the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Indian Oilseeds Committee, seven nominations were received. Subsequently one member withdrew his candidature. As the number of the remaining candidates was thus equal to the number of vacancies, I declare the following members to be duly elected to the Committee: Kazi Syed Kafiuddin, Shri S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao, Mr. R. K. Sidhva, Shri Upendra Nath Barman, Shri Brajeshwar Prasad, and Shri O. V. Alagesan.

#### RESOLUTION RE STATE RECOGNITION OF HOMOEOPATHIC SYSTEM OF MEDICINE

**Shri Satis Chandra Samanta (West Bengal: General):** Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution.

"This Assembly is of opinion that Homoeopathic system of treatment be recognised by the Indian Union and that a General Council and a State Faculty of Homoeopathic Medicine be established at once."

**Mr. Speaker:** I might invite the attention of Honourable Members to Standing Order No. 62, which gives the Mover of the Resolution and the Government Member replying time up to 30 minutes. The time-limit for all other speeches is strictly limited to 15 minutes maximum.

**Shri Satis Chandra Samanta:** Sir, the system of treatment according to Homoeopathy is well known to everybody. This system was discovered by Doctor Hahnemann who was born in Germany towards the middle of the 18th century. He administered drugs on a healthy human body in large doses and noted the changes produced. He atomised the drugs and administered the same to the patient, when symptoms arose resembling the disease. He was acquainted with recent medical science and he abandoned that and went on with this system of treatment and named it Homoeopathy.

[Shri Satis Chandra Samanta]

This system of treatment has been accepted and is being accepted in different countries of the world. It is accepted by Germany, by France, by England, by America, by India, and also by other countries of the world. Homoeopathy came to India in 1851. That this system is beneficial, I do not want to produce proofs. I only beg to draw the attention of Honourable Members to the fact that due to its beneficial action it was accepted by the predecessors of this House on 2nd April 1937. Although it is State recognised in England, Germany, America and elsewhere in the world, in India it is only recognised by the Provincial Governments of Bengal and U.P. and some Indian States. I hope that this system of treatment should be accepted by the Indian Union also. As I find, many of us use Homoeopathy. I know of many Honourable Members of this House who use it themselves and also who allow it to be used in their Houses. I know the Honourable the Home Minister has given a home to Homoeopathy in his family. The Honourable Minister for Labour presided over the ceremony where Doctor Hahnemann's anniversary was celebrated. When I scrutinise, I find that most of us use it. If we use it, and if we like it, why should we not allow it to be recognised by the State? I won't altercation other systems of medicine; only, I would beg of you to see that you accept this system of treatment. It should be recognised by the State that it is beneficial.

From my personal experience, I put before you the fact that as Congress workers, when we were living in the villages we saw the only solace that we could give to the villagers, to the agriculturists, was this system of treatment. They were benefited, they are benefited and they will be benefited. We have formed our Union; we have driven the British Government away; we are the owners of India and our first duty will be to give solace to the millions who live in villages. For medical help the poor cannot spend much. They die unattended. If they are to be relieved of bodily affections, then this system of medicine, when introduced in our country, will render them the greatest relief. They will bless us. So, Sir, I want to put before the House the fact that this system of medicine should be regularised. It is not at all regularised now, as the State as a whole has not accepted it. Provincial Governments may accept,—some of them have accepted,—but from the Centre we must have recognition of it simply because of its efficacy and cheapness. This system of treatment is praised by King George VI; so it has been recognized by England. President Roosevelt had the highest appreciation for this system of treatment; so America has recognized it. On 2nd April 1947 this House accepted this system of treatment according to a Resolution put forward by Mr. Ghiasuddin. I see here some of my friends who accepted that Resolution. If we have accepted this system then, it should be our bounden duty to carry it out into effect. Unfortunately the then Government did not give effect to it. I hope, Sir, the Members of this House will kindly accept the resolution I have put forward and I will beg the Government to give a speedy effect to it.

In order to give recognition to this system of treatment colleges should be established. At present there are colleges and institutions in India. I beg to draw your kind attention to Bengal where the Bengal Government has recognised this system of treatment. There are four recognised institutions which can be compared with other medical colleges, in India. They are well equipped. The Corporation of Calcutta is kind enough to give yearly donation of Rs. 9,000 to one of these colleges. There are Homoeopathic associations and institutions throughout the length and breadth of India. In Bombay, in Delhi, in Madras, in Agra and in Calcutta, there are associations. In Baroda, in Travancore in these states there are also associations. I may add that there are numerous charitable dispensaries and hospitals throughout the length and breadth of the country. Local Boards, District Boards, semi-Government organisations in many places recognise these dispensaries and hospitals and they give them regular aid and thereby millions of people are benefited. My submission, therefore, is

that this system of treatment should be recognised and for the teaching of this system, institutions should be established at once. I think this system of treatment will receive a high position if we also add to the existing medical colleges the system of post graduate teaching in Homoeopathy, so that researches will go on and this system will be beneficial to us. You will be glad to learn that from Indian plants also Homoeopathic medicines have been manufactured. So my first submission is that this system of treatment should be recognised by establishing a General Council and a State Faculty of Homoeopathy, so that the educated and reliable men may go out from these institutions, in whose hands our lives will be safe. Now Homoeopathy is being practised in most of our places irregularly. Anybody who can bring regularity in this system is this Government. So I beg of you, Sir, to take the system of treatment in your hands and do the needful. I also wish to state that literature on Homoeopathy has been published in different provincial languages throughout the length and breadth of this country and by using this book many quacks are practising and thereby our lives may be endangered and this is one of the reasons for which I beg of you to give recognition from the Centre.

I won't go into details about Homoeopathic institutions for pstronization. Almost every leading Indian has some sympathy for it; sympathy lies in his heart when the children are affected and all sorts of men, whether educated or illiterate, whether rich or poor all call for Homoeopathic doctors. I have seen with my own eyes that this system of treatment is welcome in very serious cases. My personal experience is that if this system of treatment be brought under a regular system, it will provide us with facilities with which we can easily render help to the healthless, to the poor villagers, to the agriculturists, to the labourers who cannot spend much for the treatment of diseases. For these reasons, Sir, our Free India owes something to these agriculturists and to the poor. They should be benefited. We are making legislations and thereby they will be benefited, it is true. If we legislate this system of treatment quickly they will get the benefit very soon and they will bless us. With these words, Sir, I commend the Resolution before the House for their kind acceptance.

**Mr. Speaker:** Resolution moved.

"That this Assembly is of opinion that Homoeopathic system of treatment be recognised by the Indian Union and that a General Council and a State Faculty of Homoeopathic Medicine be established at once."

**Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (U. P.: General):** Sir, I move:

"That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"In view of the fact that treatment by the system of homoeopathy is resorted to by many people, this Assembly is of opinion that the Government should consider—

- (a) the making of arrangements for the teaching of homoeopathy;
- (b) the advisability of having postgraduate courses of study; and
- (c) the advisability of regulating the profession and arranging for the registration of practitioners in order to raise and maintain a uniformity of standards."

I am not forestalling the Honourable Minister when I say that the Resolution is not acceptable to her. In fact the Mover and I had a talk with her and her Secretary about this and they explained their difficulties in accepting the Resolution as worded. The amendment that I am moving is in a form which I hope will be acceptable to her. In the course of that discussion it seemed to me that the greatest difficulty was about the word "recognition". Somehow it did not appeal to the Secretary or the Department to recognise this system as a scientific system of medicine or treatment. Whether or not we recognise homoeopathy as a science there are certain hard facts which cannot be ignored. Firstly, it is a fact that this system has been in vogue for over 150 years and in almost every country. In America, in Brazil and in certain other countries it has been given State recog-

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

tion and occupies the same position and status as allopathy. So far as India is concerned, it has been vogue for over a century. But during this period India had been tied to the chariot-wheels of British Imperialism and not only her indigenous systems of medicine have been neglected and allowed to fall into decay; but India did not have an opportunity of imbibing other systems from the West according to her needs and requirements. Great Britain has many good qualities but it cannot be denied that scientifically she is considered to be a conservative country. The decimal system of notation has been adopted by other countries but she has not been able to recognise it even now. Then there were the considerations of trade, because in India the import of medicines has occupied a very high place in the list of imports from Great Britain. Still it is a fact that in spite of this apathy of Government and no encouragement being given by them not only has the system flourished, but a number of eminent allopaths have been converted to it and have adopted this system. In Bengal this system of treatment is recognised by the Bengal Government; colleges have been opened where homoeopaths are trained and they are recognised by the Government there. But when people from these parts go and qualify there they are not recognised when they come back. Thus certificates for purposes of leave or their patients or even death certificates given by them are not recognised by Government here. In the course of a debate in 1937 the then Secretary of the Education Department—Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai—was pleased to say that there was no question of government introducing homoeopathy in the hospitals and the doctors could introduce it if they so chose. I do not know what was meant by that because there is no provision for Homoeopathic medicines in the budget and where outdoor doctors are allowed to practise in hospitals in honorary capacity homoeopaths are not taken. Moreover, in the centrally administered areas and also in Delhi deputations of homoeopaths have waited on the Chief Commissioner, and the reply has always been that he could do nothing as the matter rested with the Health Department of the Government of India. Recently many refugee Homoeopathic practitioners have come over to Delhi from the West Punjab among whom there are many qualified homoeopaths who had offered their services for working in the camps. The Honourable Minister was pleased to accept their offer; they waited and waited but no opportunity was given to them to practise in any of these camps though there has been a great dearth of medical help in these camps. Somehow or other the Health Department of Government of India does not look with favour on homoeopaths and their system of treatment.

Another fact to be considered in this connection is the cheapness of the medicines. It was pointed out to us that in hospitals 50 per cent. of the cost is on the staff, 30 per cent. on diet and nourishing food and 20 per cent. covered the cost of medicines. If that is true, I can say that the greater portion of this 20 per cent. of the cost on medicines can be saved if you introduce the homoeopathic system. I have not got any figures or statistics from Government records but the figures of the Delhi Cloth Mills where they have got allopathic, ayurvedic and homoeopathic dispensaries show that the cost per patient came to 4 annas in case of allopathy, 1 anna in case of ayurvedic and 1 pice in case of homoeopathy. Therefore taking into consideration the fact that at present a large number of persons resort to this system of treatment, because there is no other system which can reach the millions of our countrymen, I think it is only proper that the State should take advantage of it. Even in a country like America where there is no question of cost it has been recognised and adopted as a State System; so there is no reason why we should not give this question dispassionate consideration with a view to take fullest advantage of this system of medicine. As large numbers of our people resort to it, I suggest that the first step to be taken by the State is to make arrangements for its teaching, and also other steps as have been suggested in my amendment.



Here I may also point out, Sir, notwithstanding the fact that a large number of practitioners in Homoeopathy are quacks, still it can be stated without fear of contradiction that the large number of quacks have done less harm to the people than the practitioners of other systems by wrong diagnosis and over-dosing as in Allopathy. Lastly, there are opportunities available in other countries which are not available here for post-graduate studies. It may not be possible for sometime to come to make arrangements for post-graduate studies in India but State scholarships could be given to qualified doctors and students who might be sent abroad to America and other countries for receiving education and training in Homoeopathy, and I think the Honourable Minister will consider this question although it is not brought out in the amendment itself.

With these words, I move.

**Mr. Speaker:** Amendment moved:

"That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

In view of the fact that treatment by the system of homoeopathy is resorted to by many people, this Assembly is of opinion that the Government should consider—

- (a) the making of arrangements for the teaching of homoeopathy;
- (b) the advisability of having postgraduate courses of study; and
- (c) the advisability of regulating the profession and arranging for the registration of practitioners in order to raise and maintain a uniformity of standards."

I find there are two further amendments tabled by Shri Biswanath Das.

**Shri Biswanath Das** (Orissa: General): I am not moving them

**Shri Satish Chandra Samanta:** I accept the amendment.

**Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad** (West Bengal: Muslim): I rise to support the original resolution rather than the amendment.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya** (Madras: General): On a point of order. Is the original resolution before the House?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes. Both the resolution and the amendment are before the House.

**Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad:** The principle of Homoeopathy is well known. It is the ordinary allopathic medicines diluted several times—hundreds and millions of times—and then these medicines acquire a large potency. The theory of Homoeopathy is gradually being recognised and understood. It is that a particular allopathic medicine in crude doses will produce certain effects on the body and in homoeopathic doses this same medicine will cure the same effects that have been produced. Allopaths are rather unwilling to admit the efficacy of homoeopathic medicines, but any one who has practised Homoeopathy at home, especially in cholera cases, knows the tremendous efficacy of this system of medicine and in a poor country like this and in poor villages, where costly medicines are prohibited on financial grounds, Homoeopathic medicines which are very cheap would be extremely useful specially in the remote villages.

The latest idea about Homoeopathy is this: that certain crude substances are apparently so inert that they are incapable of producing any effect in the body. For instance charcoal: but when this charcoal is diluted thirty times and more, it acquires a potency which is remarkable. That is in Homoeopathy known as carbovegetables. This medicine in homoeopathically diluted doses produces wonderful effects. The reason is that, as has been suggested by scientists, that in apparently inactive bodies the atoms together by tremendous force produce only an apparent state of inertia or inactivity. That is due to the neutralisation of tremendous forces that lie in the atoms. The theory of the atomic bomb is merely to break up the atoms and then tremendous forces are released which may create tremendous effects for good or evil.

**Mr. Speaker:** May I point out to the Honourable Member that the scientific efficacy of this or that system is not the subject which is going to be voted upon by the House. The accepted proposition is that a large number of people are resorting to this kind of remedy and the question is to the advisability or otherwise as to whether Government should be called upon to recognise it immediately or be requested to consider the position. The merits of Homoeopathy on its own grounds will be a scientific matter in which, even if we speak for hours, there will be no end and we would come to no conclusion.

**Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad:** The reason that I mentioned this aspect of the subject is that the amendment seems to be extremely half-hearted. It begins to say that the Government 'should' consider, not 'do consider' and then what will they consider? The making of arrangements for teaching Homoeopathy and then the advisability of having post-graduate courses and the advisability of regulating the profession, and so forth. The amendment seems to suggest a very dilatory course. In fact it does not commit the Government to anything, but only to consider whether they will think. It is on account of this vagueness that I was tempted rather to speak of the scientific basis of the medicine but it is not necessary to drive the argument far.

I submit, Sir, that the medicine is extremely efficacious as must have been noticed by many. In cholera cases, as I have already stated, its effect is marvellous and then its principle is reluctantly admitted even by the allopathic system. In vaccination you inject the small-pox poison into an animal which produces mild small-pox. That is dilution number one. This poison is then injected into the body of another animal and after two or three dilutions it becomes the very medicine for and proof against small-pox. The principle depends on this. A poison diluted several times produces its own medicine. Considering its cheapness and the ease with which it could be learnt and administered, and the considerable amount of safety with which the medicine could be used by people, a diffusion of knowledge of Homoeopathy is extremely desirable. I therefore submit that though the Government would accept the amendment, still I submit that a speedy consideration and a speedy decision, one way or the other, should be arrived at. The vagueness of the amendment should not deter the Government from coming to a speedy decision and quick action.

With these words I support the original resolution but if the Government would be prepared to consider quick action, then of course I should be prepared to support the amendment also.

شری دیپھ بلندھو کہتا : جناب صدر ! میں اس تحریر کی تائید کے لئے کہہ رہا ہوں اور آپہ ذاتی تجربہ کی بنا پر یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک دہلی کا تعلق ہے دہلی میں اس وقت ایک درجن کے قریب ہومیوپیتھک چیئرٹیبل (Homoeopathic charitable) ہسپتال قائم کی گئی ہیں۔ اور یہ صرف شہر میں ہی نہیں بلکہ دیہات میں بھی بہت مقبول ہیں۔ جسوقت دہلی میں ہومیوپیتھک ہسپتال قائم کی گئیں تھیں تو اسکے خلاف ایلوپیتھک ڈاکٹروں کو قدرتی طور پر ایک prejudice تھا۔ چنانچہ جب میونسپلٹی میں اس گرانٹ کے متعلق سوال پیش ہوتا تھا تو اسکی سخت مخالفت کی جاتی تھی۔ اور جب اس قسم کے علاج کا تجربہ دیہات میں کیا گیا تو سمجھا یہ جانتا تھا کہ دیہات کے لوگ ہومیوپیتھک دواؤں کو مذاق سمجھنے لگے لیکن تجربہ سے پتہ چلا کہ دیہاتوں میں اور خاص کر ان دیہاتوں میں جہاں پر بچے دوائیوں کا کوئی انتظام نہیں تھا

جب یہ ہومیوپیتھک تسہینسریاں کھولی گئیں تو یہ وہاں اتنی زیادہ پاپولر ہوئیں کہ میں آج یہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ دوسری تسہینسریوں کے مقابلہ میں یہ کسی طرح بھی کم پاپولر نہیں ہیں۔

ہمارے اس غریب ملک میں جہاں کہ ہم مریضوں کے علاج کا مناسب انتظام نہیں کرسکتے ہیں - ہمیں اتنا کرنا چاہئے کہ ایک نئے سسٹم جو کہ لوگوں میں بہت مقبول ہو رہا ہے انکریج (encourage) کریں - برتھی گورنمنٹ میں اگر اس طرف کسی وجہ سے دھیان نہیں دیا گیا اور وہ اس لئے کہ ایلوپیتھک ڈاکٹری اُس سے پریجیڈس (prejudice) ہوتی تھی تو اب جبکہ ہمارا نیشنل گورنمنٹ ہے اور ہمارا ملک آزاد ہے تو ہمیں چاہئے کہ ہم اپنے اس غریب ملک کے غریب لوگوں کو ایک بہت ہی چھپ (cheap) (cheap) دوائی سے مستحروم نہیں رکھنا چاہئے - ہمارے نیشنل گورنمنٹ کا یہ فرض ہے کہ صرف ہومیوپیتھک کو ہی نہیں بلکہ تمام انڈیجینس ادویات کو جو کہ گذشتہ وقتوں میں یہاں سے ختم ہو چکی ہیں کو رائج کرنے کی کوشش کرے - اور میں آنریبل منسٹر صاحبہ کی توجہ خاص طور پر اس طرف کھینچنا چاہتا ہوں کہ انہیں اس بات کی ہر ممکن کوشش کرنی چاہئے - اور یہاں کے لوگوں کو ادویات کے بارے میں زیادہ سے زیادہ فائدہ پہنچانا چاہئے - اور اتنی مدد دینی چاہئے جتنی کہ وہ دے سکتے ہیں - اس سلسلے میں میں یہ گذارش کروں گا کہ ہومیوپیتھک کے علاج کا طریقہ ایک بہت ہی اچھا طریقہ ہے - اور اس کے متعلق یہ اب نہیں کہا جاسکتا ہے کہ یہ کوئی سائنس نہیں ہے - اور جس طرح سے پہلے اس قسم کے علاج پر مذاق اُڑایا جا رہا تھا اب نہیں ہو سکتا - اس طریقہ علاج کے نتیجہ سے اس وقت دہلی میں قریباً دس لاکھ کی تعداد میں لوگ فائدہ اُٹھا رہے ہیں - میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ اسوجہ سے حکومت اس کے ساتھ اس طریقہ سے ہمدردی کرے کہ یہ ریژولوشن صرف ایک پاس ویس ہی نہ رہ جائے بلکہ ایسے اقدام اُٹھائے جائیں کہ عام لوگوں کو اس سے سہولیت پہنچائی جائے۔

میں یہاں پر اس بارے میں یہ بھی ذکر کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اتفاق سے جو بدقسمتی پنجاب میں رونما ہوئی اُسکی وجہ سے پنجاب کے اونچے درجہ کے ڈاکٹر یہاں آئے ہیں - انہیں سے بہت سے ایسے ہیں جو کہ ایلوپیتھک میں بہت اونچی اونچی ڈگریاں مثلاً ایل آر سی پی (L. R. C. P.) وغیرہ حاصل کرنے کے بعد ہومیوپیتھک طریقہ علاج کو چلا رہے ہیں - اور اسی طریقہ علاج کو ایلا پروفیشن (Profession) بنا رکھا ہے - یہ لوگ آجکل یہاں دہلی میں موجود ہیں ان کی موجودگی کا فائدہ گورنمنٹ اُٹھا سکتی ہے - اسلئے میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ کچھ ایسا بندوبست کیا جانا چاہئے جس سے کہ ان ڈاکٹروں کی خدمات حاصل ہو سکیں - اور اس سے فائدہ اُٹھایا جاسکے

[شہی بلدھو گھتا]

مچھو اُمید ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کو اٹکا تعارن حاصل ہو سکیگا - اور ہمارے ملک کو ایسا  
ہوئے سے بہت فائدہ پہنچ سکتا ہے۔

ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اس ریزولوشن کی جو کہ نہایت ہی مفید ہے  
تائید کرتا ہوں۔

(English translation of the above speech)

**Shri Deshbandhu Gupta** (Delhi): Mr. Speaker, I support this motion. I want to say on the strength of my personal experience that so far as Delhi is concerned about a dozen homoeopathic charitable dispensaries have been established, and these are not popular in the city only but in the villages also. When homoeopathic dispensaries were established in Delhi the Allopathic doctors had naturally a prejudice against them. Therefore whenever the question of grant to these dispensaries was moved in the Municipal Board, it was severely opposed. When an experiment of this system of treatment was made in villages it was thought that the villagers would consider homoeopathy as a mere joke. But experience showed that when homoeopathic dispensaries were opened in villages and particularly in those villages where there was no arrangement for the supply of medicines, they became so much popular that today I can say that these are not in any way less popular than other dispensaries.

In this poor country of ours where we cannot make proper arrangements for the treatment of the sick, we must at least do this much that we encourage a new system which is becoming very popular among the people. If under the British Government due to some reason no attention was paid to it on account of the fact that Allopathic system of medicine was prejudiced by it, now that we have our National Government and our country is free, we should not deprive poor people of our poor country of a very cheap medicine. It is a duty of our National Government not only to popularise homoeopathy but it should also try to introduce all other indigenous medicines which have become extinct in the past. And I want to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister particularly to this fact. She should try her utmost to give maximum benefit to the people so far as medicines are concerned. In this connection I shall make this submission that homoeopathic method of treatment is a very good method. And now it can not be said about it that it is not a science. And now you cannot treat it as a joke as was being done before. At present in Delhi about one million people avail of this system of treatment. In my opinion the Government should sympathise with this system in such a manner that the resolution does not remain a mere pious wish. Steps should be taken so that people in general are given relief.

Here in this connection I want to mention this also that, due to the unfortunate happenings in the Punjab, top ranking Punjabi Doctors have come to this place. There are many among them who after having obtained very high degree in allopathy such as L.B.C.P., etc., practise Homoeopathic system of treatment and have made this very system of treatment as their profession. These days these people are present in Delhi. Government can take advantage of their presence. Therefore, I shall make this request that some such arrangement should be made by which the services of these doctors can be made available with advantage. I hope that the Government will be able to obtain their co-operation and thereby our country will greatly benefit.

In these words I support this resolution which will prove of great benefit.

**Shri Biswanath Das:** Sir, from the resolution moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Samanta it is clear that he wanted homoeopathy to be recognised by the State nay he goes further to demand that a State faculty of homoeopathy be established. My friend Mr. Saksena comes forward and improves upon it to an extent which is surprising. He gives a practical shape to it and wants to see that homoeopathy should be established in this country by State patronage to the fullest extent. In the sense that he desires the State to organise an efficient system of teaching of the homeopathic system, including post-graduate course, I do not know whether or not research would also be included. Probably it includes research. Then he goes further to state that the existing practitioners should be registered, graded and the system stabilised. All these go to show that in this unfortunate country of ours every other system of medicine except that of her own deserved encouragement. This is a condition intolerable. It is time that I should warn the House and the Honourable Minister in charge of the department, whether you like it or not, your little master, the electorate, will thrust his own system on you. If you do not mend you will have to end yourselves. This is the warning I give you on this floor: nothing more, nothing less. Your own system is full and complete in itself and that system has been in existence for thousands of years. Are you going to tolerate or allow the system to be still further neglected and thrown to the winds?

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** Sir, I do not see the relevancy of what the Honourable Member says to the resolution under consideration. This resolution relates to the system of homoeopathy and not to allopathy, hydro-pathy or ayurveda.

**Mr. Speaker:** The point which the Honourable Member is making is against the resolution. He says that in accepting this resolution, we would be neglecting our own indigenous systems of medicine.

**Shri Biswanath Das:** It does arise in this sense. I know the inclinations and tendencies of medical practitioners in the Allopathic system and those that have been trained and brought up in it. I want to make it clear to this House that if any money is going to be spent on a system other than the indigenous system of Ayurveda and Unani, I warn the Honourable Members of this House that it will be reflected on them and on the House itself by their little masters, the electorate. In this view of the question it is pertinent, it is relevant, whether my Honourable friend Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya likes it or not.

It remains only for me to congratulate the Honourable Mover and my friend who brought in his amendment and need I say also congratulate the Honourable Minister in Charge, because I feel sure that she will have no hesitation in accepting the amendment. I have nothing more to add. My difficulty is immense. I know the difficulties under which I am struggling. Your own system will assert itself and come out in the long run, whether we like it or not. With this warning I take my seat and let me hope that better sense would prevail and things would adjust themselves properly.

**Mr. Nasiruddin Ahmad:** May I draw the attention of the Honourable Member who has just spoken to the amendment which he has tabled. In his amendment he says that the indigenous and homeopathic systems should be established 'at once' and now he says that homoeopathy should not be encouraged but indigenous systems alone should be. There is some inconsistency which I shall be glad if the Honourable Member would explain.

**Shri Biswanath Das:** My amendment gives this alternative also.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** Mr. Speaker, at the outset I am troubled by a little technical difficulty as to whether the amendment could strictly

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be admitted but now that you have permitted it, I shall not labour the point farther than by saying that the amendment is practically a negation of the resolution in one sense and in another sense it repeats the wording of the resolution in the third clause or clause (c). The wording of the amendment unfortunately is not before us, but if I remember aright the amendment in the third clause says that steps be taken to study the homoeopathic system of medicine and popularise it. May I have the wording of the amendment?

**Mr. Speaker:** It reads:

"The advisability of regulating the profession and arranging for the registration of practitioners in order to raise and maintain a uniformity of standards."

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** For this rigmarole of verbose expression I would use the simple word 'recognize'. What is the meaning of recognition? Recognition is regulating the profession and arranging for the registration of practitioners in order to maintain uniformity of standards.

**Mr. Speaker:** If I may just intervene at this stage, the difference seems to be that while the mover of the resolution wanted immediate recognition the amendment wishes that Government should consider the question of recognition. That seems to be the difference between the two.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** In that view the objection of one of the speakers that this is a dilatory amendment appears to be well grounded. However that be, to take steps to recognize is one thing and to recognize immediately is another thing. But the real difficulty in this resolution seems to centre round the word 'recognition'. Unfortunately the British people having held sway over this country for 150 years, have introduced into the country a system of treatment with which they were primarily familiar and having introduced that, have made that the standard of measure—the yard stick, the foot rule and the measuring tape—by which we are to proceed to examine and judge every other system of treatment in this country. They have been allopaths, and being allopaths they have introduced the allopathic system of medicine and they have introduced their own degrees. I am a Bachelor of Medicine and a Master of Chirurgie. Most of the diagnosis in English medicine consists in giving Latin names for Anglo-Saxon names of diseases. A certain gentleman was suffering from drooping of the eye lid. Nobody could treat him. He went to an I.M.S. officer. He at once said 'You are suffering from Ptoxis' which in Latin means drooping. He was immensely pleased and he paid him Rs. 16. Yesterday a friend of mine came and told me that he was said to be suffering from *Paroxysmal tachycardia*. I told him "It only means what you have yourself said to be the complaint. The doctor has said nothing else. Paroxysm is a fit and tachycardia is quick beating of the heart. It is only the complaint you have made to the doctor, and he has put it in Latin". So, this word "recognition" is the thing that we have to examine. The English people have introduced this particular recognition. Where does this recognition come? Do you mean to say that the best of the legislators pauses to consider whether a certain degree-holder is recognized or not before he gets treatment from him? There is homoeopathy, hydropathy, chromopathy and then idiopathy. Idiopathy is the treatment by ignorance. You go through any text book by Osler or Price. After describing the various kinds of treatment there is mentioned also the idiopathic treatment, that is, treatment by ignorance. He does not understand the treatment. He treats it symptomatically and therefore it is idiopathic. Which of us, be he the biggest legislator, would pause to consider in his life whether a certain doctor is recognized or not? So far as practical treatment is concerned recognition is not an element of consideration. Even if it is an element of consideration with the officer who is afraid of the Government which is established by

law, his wife will not pause to consider it. There are Brahmos having wives who worship fire and idols and it is well known that teachers' sons fail in examinations. Lawyers can lose their own cases and doctors' wives can become widows. All these are possible. There is no finality in this matter. Recognition is a most mischievous word which has come into being on account of the Boards that had developed through recognition, the Boards that the recognized doctors have developed, and that consists exclusively and only in issuing medical certificates sixty per cent. of which are false and fraudulent. There was a doctor who was strict and who would never pass any man for public service. What could the future entrant to public service, do? He went to the doctor the previous day for medical examination for the purpose of insurance and got a first class certificate. The next day he presented himself for medical examination for government service. The poor doctor had no alternative but to pass him. He was the man who had been disqualifying every other person. Now these medical certificates have become a downright fraud in this country. You can get them in insurance policies. You often come across the statement, in answer to the question whether you were ever on medical leave, "Yes, last year. There was my daughter's marriage; therefore I took medical leave". It is within the experience of almost everybody. There was a Subedar-Major who came to me yesterday whose superior officer refused him leave. He went and got a medical certificate from a Colonel. According to the Army service convention he simply presented the medical certificate and absented himself for ten days. It has to be accepted. There is a certain Godly authority about it, and it is this authority that everybody covets whether it be homœopath, allopath, chromopath, hydropath or idiopath. They all want that authority. Once you take away that authority there is no power on earth in this country or in this Government which prevents any man from taking treatment from any person. Whatever cures is medicine. Sometimes faith cures. Sometimes waiting cures. I have been rather bad in my teeth in the last few days. I was being attended on by the dentist. Just as I was going there day before yesterday evening, a certain venerable looking man with a beard and a fine set of teeth, which attracted me more than anything else, came across my way and said 'I am a hydropath'. I said 'Very well, I have no time to look to you or engage you in conversation just now. Please come tomorrow morning because I am just now going to the dentist'. He asked 'Why?' I said 'To get two of my teeth removed'. He said 'For Heaven's sake don't do it. I will give you a simple "vapour" treatment and you will be all right'. He showed me all his thirty-two teeth, shining, glistening, striking with force and unassailable with dynamic power. That appealed to me more than his venerable look and beard. I told the Dental doctor what had happened and I got the extraction postponed. I am all right now. What is the treatment I have got? I simply waited. Waiting need not be 'recognized'. No. As a matter of fact in this life nature's power of recuperation is so great that in sixty to seventy per cent. of cases mere waiting will cure you. Nobody knows what has cured you. Or it may be that in the six days the Dental doctor has cured me and not the presence of the sporty or saintly figure. *Post hoc, ergo proter hoc* is a piece of foolish logic. The relationship between causes and consequences in this world is so glibly mixed up by people—be they the most eminent lawyers—that they go wrong very often. Simply because the stars have appeared after sunset, darkness is not due to the stars but is due to the disappearance of the sun. Therefore our connecting facts as causes and consequences is generally wrong. If you take away this recognition there is no trouble. Do not hang anything—the prestige or the importance of any system of medicine—upon the recognition extended to it by doctors who know nothing about it. What can our esteemed Minister do? She can only refer the matter to the Director-General, Medical Services, and what can he do? He is a man trained in the system of allopathic medicine who will probably accurse and execrate every other system of

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medicine. I can tell my friend Mr. Biswanath Das that I am a great supporter of Ayurveda. But I was only rising to a point of order in relation to the relevancy of the subject that he had introduced. If I was wrong I am sorry. But my advocacy of Ayurveda is nothing inferior to anybody else's. Only we must take each subject in its own context and not ride a hobby horse on every occasion. Who is the gentleman that can now recognize homœopathy? Not a man who is a pronounced opponent thereof. How can we test homœopathy? There is no power in the word to do it. If you refer it to the homœopaths, of course they will recognize it.

If you refer it to the allopaths, of course they do not recognize it. In between there is no *via media*. Therefore this question of recognition is a question that bristles with thorns, and it has been left as a legacy to us by the government that has left us. No doubt homœopathy is popular. Many of the I.M.S. officers, I have noticed, practise homœopathy. I have questioned whether they were in order, whether it was 'professional' for them to practise a system of medicine in which they had not undergone any training during the whole of their five years' course. Today it has become so widespread that it is more or less recognized by all people as an allowed irregularity. It is almost becoming validated. It is passing through a transitional stage, and if our friends the homœopaths, would exercise a little patience, they will very soon find that if they left the subject alone, the subject would assert itself on its merits. If one of the Ministers were to try allopathy and fail, and succeed by the homœopathic system of treatment either by chance or on its own merit, then of course he will himself one day come forward with lavish encomiums showered upon homœopathy.

The difficulty of superposing post-graduate studies is a real one. What is it that you superpose upon the study of allopathy? In allopathy you study anatomy, you dissect bodies, you dissect and anatomise them, you examine everyone of the bones, you examine everyone of the nerves, you examine everyone of the arteries, veins, and then you are told that the principle of treatment is based upon administering the like for the unlike. If the heart is going too rapidly, administer Digitalis which has the property of diminishing the number of beats and increasing their strength. In homœopathy they just give a medicine which increases the number of beats. In homœopathy they treat like by like. Here they treat like by unlike. How then can you come to a system of superposition of studies which are based upon principles utterly contrary to the principles which have been inculcated in the course of five years' study of pharmacopœia, of medicine, surgery, pathology, anatomy, histology and of physiology? There is something incongruous about it. Either you begin as a homœopath and end as a homœopath: either you begin as an ayurvedic doctor and end as an ayurvedic doctor. In Madras a crude system of ayurvedic teaching is introduced in which they teach anatomy, and physiology and then they have superposed a system based upon the three humours, *vayu*, *pitha* and *sleshma*. Where are these humours? I have dissected many bodies and I have not been able to find them.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari** (Madras: General): Probably you will find them in the brains.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** Brains also we examined. I know all my anatomy even now. They are not there. They are not visible, either in the ventricles or in the focamina or in the motor tract. I am not talking like a cynic or a pessimist. I know how they (the humours) will be reconciled to the modern system. One of these days some man will be born who has real imagination and sufficient spirit of speculation which is the basis of all research.



When speculation becomes successful it becomes research. You must have imagination to consider whether all these humours are not the same as vitamins which you are forced to swallow. When I passed my M.B.C.M in 1906, there were no vitamins and anybody who might be talking of vitamins would have been charged with talking superstition and would have been arraigned for unprofessional conduct. Today even for abortion they have discovered a vitamin, vitamin E.

**An Honourable Member:** Abortion, causing or prevention of abortion?

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya:** For preventing abortion. So what was considered superstition yesterday is science today. Where is the Valentine theory of chemicals? Where is that theory of Valency? That is all gone. What was considered superstition yesterday is science today and therefore science is the greatest of superstitions. That is the conclusion to which we are ultimately driven. So I say by all means ask for support. After all so many things are being supported. *Akhasas* are being supported; rifle clubs are being supported; aeroplane clubs are being supported. Why should not homoeopathy be supported. By all means support it and if the people are sensible enough to think there is potency for cure, let them have the cure. Otherwise let them pay for their murders. So the matter is to be taken away from the province of recognition altogether. That is obvious. But whether the amendment itself does not contain the wedge of recognition in it is what I am doubting. Therefore one of these days I hope that all recognition will be eliminated and doctors will be selected on their own merits, and when they are so selected, it will be open to them to treat and it will be open to the patients to be treated, but by all means let the Government support what it sees to be good and whatever is recognized by the people to be good and then support them.

With these words, Sir, I stand for supporting homoeopathy as an independent study, not as a superposition, not as a mixture of incongruities, not as a mixture of homoeopathy and allopathy, but as a pure study, as science from the base and plinth to the roof and top.

**Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena** (U. P.: General): Sir, I was really surprised to hear the speech of my friend Mr. Biswanath Das. I never thought there was in House anyone who could be opposed to Homoeopathy. I never thought anyone would be opposed to Ayurveda and that by supporting this resolution he was in any way injuring Ayurveda or that it would result in the masses going against him in the elections for the legislature. We have to discuss the problem from the point of view of the masses. As one who has spent long years in serving poor people, I find that the most important thing is that we must be able to give them the cheapest possible medicine and one which is as handy as possible. I think the homoeopathic system does contain all the elements needed for a poor country such as India where ignorance is so great. We all know that in homoeopathy, even if a small amount of money is available, we can help a whole village, whereas any other system of medicine will require a large dispensary and other paraphernalia. Our country requires a very cheap system of medicine and I think also it should be accessible to every poor villager. In our work in the villages, we of the Congress who have knowledge of homoeopathy have been able to do a great deal although without possessing any diploma or degree. I think by supporting the resolution and its amendment by my Honourable friend Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena, we shall be doing real service to the masses. I do not think the resolution is in any way in competition with the Ayurvedic system of medicine or any other system of medicine.

It is only for help by the State to a system of medicine which is now well-recognised to be a scientific system, which in many a modern State is practised, and helped by the State, and which as everyone of us knows has many

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

oures to its credit. I therefore do not think that there is any sense in opposing it or warning the Honourable Minister if she is opposed to the Resolution she will go against the spirit of it. I think the reverse is the case; if we go about and have our prejudices to this extent that we shall oppose this Resolution because we have a hobby, I think we are not fit to be in this Legislature. I therefore think that this question which is before us must be judged on its merits—whether a country like India requires that this system should be helped and encouraged. Our friend, the learned Doctor, has talked of recognition and how that recognition is cherished, and he also pointed out how much it is misused and how many certificates are real certificates. But this is not the question which we want to discuss now because as he has pointed out, if Homoeopathy gets the assistance of the State, I am sure it will also get recognition. Probably if straightaway we go and recognise it, there will be so many bogus certificates; there are so many and their number will be multiplied. I think that we should take the preliminary step which my friend Mr. Santhanam has proposed and establish colleges, post-graduate classes and help in other ways also. That way we shall be able to produce a band of Homoeopaths in the country who shall then be worthy of recognition. I know that there are very important and very eminent Homoeopaths now; I do not object that they should not be recognised. But I only say that if recognition is granted now there might be some difficulty; as Dr. Pattabhi has pointed out, the number of Homoeopaths might increase ten times. I think that problem should be studied separately and recognition should not be given to those Homoeopaths who are not properly qualified; it should be granted to only those persons who are men of integrity.

So far as the system of medicine is concerned, I think Homoeopathy is nowadays no longer in need of any discourses in this House that it should be accepted. The world accepts it; it has by its labours, by its endeavours and good done to the people, established its position and all great countries in the world recognise it. I therefore wholeheartedly support the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena. I hope the Honourable Minister will accept it and will put this important system of medicine in its proper place.

I only want to mention one more point. I am told that some time back a Resolution was passed by this House recommending that Homoeopathic system should be given assistance by the State. I do not know what happened to it. But if every Session we pass a Resolution and it is forgotten and nothing done about it, it would not be very helpful. Therefore, I wish that if there was a Resolution like this passed, it should be hunted out and action taken on it. In the present case I hope it will not be like the last Resolution and I hope that there will be general effort to see that medicine is available to the poor people who need it. I think for this the present Resolution will serve the purpose. With these few words I support the amendment moved by Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena.

**Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Bihar: General):** Sir, the question may now be put.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Minister for Health):** Sir, I do not think there will be any need for me to detain the House very long over this question. I have listened with interest to the speeches that have been made in favour of the system of treatment known as Homoeopathy, and the complaints against the Government for having meted out to this particular system so far, what may be termed, step-motherly treatment.

I think it is only right for me just to say a few words as to why I can not accept the Resolution as it stands. There is at present no prohibition in any part of the Indian Union to the practice of this system, and therefore the question of the "recognition" of any particular system of treatment does not really arise. If, however, by recognition is meant that Government should establish institutions which provide Homoeopathic treatment all over the Indian Union, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that medical education, medical administration, and medical treatment are all now Provincial subjects and this matter is one primarily for Provincial Governments.

If, on the other hand, by recognition it is desired that there should be legislation for the purpose of regulating the practice of this system and for registration of practitioners, well then, that matter certainly would have to be studied very very carefully.

In the second part of the Resolution the demand is for the formation of a General Council and a State Faculty. In this matter I would like to say that there is no Central State Faculty on medicine for any system of medicine—not even the "hated" allopathic system of medicine! Provincial Universities and Medical Faculties and some Provincial Governments have got State Faculties, but there again it is a Provincial subject.

It is also not clear as to what is meant by a General Council. If the Mover of the Resolution has something in mind on the lines of the Indian Medical Council, well, the Indian Medical Council, as is known to this House, is concerned with the maintenance of uniform minimum standards of higher qualifications in medicine. The question, then of setting up any such Central body would only arise if there were a sufficient number of institutions practising homoeopathy in the country.

Those are my main reasons for opposing the main Resolution as it stands. When I came into the Health Department first, I was approached by a number of Homoeopaths, and in view of their keenness that some help should be given to this system of treatment, I took pains to enquire from the U. S. A. and the U. K. about conditions that existed there. I have found out that in both the United Kingdom and in the United States, people practising homoeopathy are those who have undergone a regular course of scientific medicine, but they have also studied this particular form of therapeutics so that the question of separate recognition for them does not arise—they are all allopaths, they have undergone the basic training in those branches of medicine which are absolutely necessary from a scientific point of view. And if training in homoeopathy and the practice of this system of treatment is to be regulated in this country by legislation, presumably we shall have to adopt some such procedure. In view of the fact, however, that Members of this House are keen that something should be done to study the present position of homoeopathy and to encourage it and to raise its standards, I am willing to accept the amendment that has been placed before the House by my Honourable friend Shri Mohan Lal Saksena. In doing so, however, I would just like, to say one or two things. I do want the House to realise that the necessity for raising the standards of education and training of all those who are rendering medical aid and relief to our people, is extremely great. Anything short of that means exploitation of the ignorance of our masses. We have far too many quacks in this country who set up practice anywhere and everywhere and actually do very much more harm than good. Much stress has been laid on the matter of the cheapness of this particular system of treatment. I think that, if we recognise that we have got to raise the standards of education and training of Homoeopaths, we must realise that we have got to spend just as much money on them as we do on the students that go in for Allopathy, these days, and if they want modern equipped hospitals with practice in surgery and everything else, those too will mean money. Equipment, buildings and staff are

[Rajkumari Amrit Kaur]

really the main items of expenditure on these institutions and I am not at all sure that Homoeopathy will be any less cheap except in the actual medicine itself, which means a very little portion of the total expenditure. Be that as it may, I do not want the House always to think in terms of cheapness. We want to think in terms of what we can give of the best. The treatment that is to be given should be the best and the person who metes out that treatment should be of the best calibre. Therefore, I do not think that arguments are necessary for running down any other system of treatment. The thing is really to enable everybody who wishes to serve in the medical sphere to give of his best.

Finally, I want to assure those members of the House who feel that Resolutions of this nature have been passed before but have just been shelved, that I will try to set up a Committee or whatever means the Government wishes to follow in pursuance of this Resolution and that no unnecessary delay will be allowed.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall first place the amendment before the House.

**Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth (Madras: Muslim):** Before you put the amendment to vote, Sir, may I just say that the Mover has a right to reply? I do not know whether he wants to exercise that right.

**Mr. Speaker:** He has a right, if permitted by the Chair. Let me look up the relevant Standing Order. Sub-clause (3) of Standing Order 32 lays down that a member who has moved a motion may speak again by way of reply and if the motion is moved by a non-official member, the Minister concerned may, with the direction of the President, speak whether he has previously spoken in the debate or not, after the Mover has replied, provided nothing in this sub-order shall be deemed to give any right of reply to the Mover of a motion to reduce any demand for grant or to the Mover of an amendment to a Bill or a Resolution....., I am sorry, this refers to the right of reply to an amendment to a Bill or to a Resolution.

The Honourable Member may reply if he wishes to.

**Shri Satis Chandra Samanta:** I do not want to Speak, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That for the original Resolution, the following be substituted:

"In view of the fact that treatment by the system of homoeopathy is resorted to by many people, this Assembly is of opinion that the Government should consider—

- (a) the making of arrangements for the teaching of homoeopathy;
- (b) the advisability of having postgraduate courses of study; and
- (c) the advisability of regulating the profession and arranging for the registration of practitioners in order to raise and maintain a uniformity of standards."

\*The motion was adopted.

**Mr. Speaker:** As the amendment is adopted, there is no question of the main resolution being placed before the House. We shall go on to the next Resolution.

### RESOLUTION re- SOCIALIST ECONOMY FOR INDIA IN SERVICES

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (C. P. and Berar: General):** Sir, the Resolution that is put down in my name refers to the complaint of the communities residing in the rural areas regarding lack of representation in Government services. I do not propose to move it, but I hope that you will kindly permit me to make a few remarks which go to making up my mind not to move it. I would be very brief.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not a question of time, but I think if the Honourable Member speaks anything on the merits of the Resolution, then, of course, he gets the opportunity of putting before the House his own remarks without the House having an opportunity of expressing itself on the subject. So the question is, either he moves his Resolution or he does not move it.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** But, Sir, it is a matter of technicality only. I am going to save the House a lot of time by not insisting on moving my Resolution and this should be sufficient excuse for me to just put forward my reasons.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid the Honourable Member cannot go into the merits of the Resolution, but he may just give his reasons as to why he is not moving it.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** I will not go into the merits of the question, Sir, but I shall merely state the reasons why I do not move my Resolution. My reasons, Sir, are that the question embodied in my Resolution is so big that any Government worthy of its name cannot afford to neglect it. While therefore I have made up my mind not to move it, I am perfectly conscious that the immensity of the whole problem is apparent to the Government and the Government realises that there is in the country in the hearts of millions of people who come from rural areas, a sense of frustration, sense of oppression.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The Honourable Member is going back upon his promise.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Not at all, Sir. No Government is likely to forget their cause, especially because we all of us, at least now, vowed to follow the footsteps and the dictates of our revered Mahatma who lived and died for the *kisans*—and I am in this Resolution proposing to advocate and advance the cause of these very people. I think I need not elaborate it—I am sure the Government would take due notice of the circumstances governing the subject and they will also realise and fulfil what has been embodied in the Resolution without my taking the trouble to move it.

**Shri K. Santhanam (Madras - General):** There is a Resolution in my name. I am not moving it, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** The next one is by Kazi Syed Karimuddin.

**Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C. P. and Berar: Muslim):** There are, Sir, only five minutes left. Will it not be better for us to take up my Resolution after Lunch?

**Mr. Speaker:** Very well. The House may now adjourn and re-assemble at 2.30. p. m.

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

*The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock*  
**Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.**

### **RESOLUTION re- REPRESENTATION OF RURAL POPULATION**

**Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C. P. and Berar: Muslim):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the resolution which I propose is this:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the economic pattern of this country shall be socialist economy based on the principle of nationalization of key industries and co-operative and collective farming and socialisation of the material resources of the country and that the Government of India shall adopt the said principle immediately."

At the very outset, Sir, I want to make it clear that this Resolution is not brought with a view to show that there is any lack of confidence in the Government, nor, Sir, it is brought in the spirit of censure against the present policy of the Government. The Indian National Congress has accepted the principle of nationalization, as is evident from the Karachi Resolution and the report submitted by the Planning Committee set up under the presidentship of Pandit

[Kazi Syed Karimuddin]

Jawaharlal Nehru, who is the Prime Minister of our country. The Government of India had accepted the principle of nationalization even a little earlier. The urge for nationalization has gathered momentum with the inception of the popular Governments in the Provinces and the Centre. The Government of India in their statement of policy in April 1945 announced that the industries of national importance like iron and steel, chemicals, drugs, automobiles, tractors and others will be nationalised.

I am told, Sir, the other day by a Member of this House that a Committee which was appointed by the All India Congress Committee to report on this matter and which the Honourable the Prime Minister of this House was or is a Member also recommended for the nationalization of industries. In the speech, Sir, on the 'fundamental objectives' the Honourable the Prime Minister has already made it very, very clear that India will be a Socialist Republic and he has also given out what sort of democracy would be applied to India. But, Sir, the Finance Minister in his last Budget speech (on page 28) and stated "Whatever might be the ultimate pattern of our economic structure, I hold the belief that for many years, there is need and scope for private enterprise in industry. We cannot afford to lose the benefit of the long years of experience which private enterprise has gained in the building of our industrial economy. I believe that the general pattern of a country must be a mixed economy in which there is scope for private enterprise."

Then, Sir, the Industrial Finance Corporation Bill was introduced in this House. It was debated and debated very seriously for a very long time. In reply to the debate the Honourable the Finance Minister made a statement in this House "that the Government of India has not formulated their policy of industrial and economic development of the country especially with reference to the policy of nationalization." The Congress is committed to the principle of nationalization; the Prime Minister of this country, the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his report, as President of the Planning Committee, has recommended it; the Government of India in the past has accepted this policy, but the Honourable the Finance Minister the other day while speaking in reply to the debate, stated that the policy has not been formulated by the Government of India. It is very strange; it is really amazing that in view of this definite stand of the Congress, the definite stand of the Prime Minister, the Honourable the Finance Minister has stated that no policy has been formulated by the Government of India regarding the nationalization of industry. It is because of this drift, it is because of this indecision and against such statements, Sir, that I have brought this Resolution to clear the atmosphere. Sir, the Member in charge of the Industries while speaking before the Industrial Conference said: "Private enterprise in Europe and America has taken between 50 to 100 years to develop their present economic system where the major part of the income of the people comes from industrial pursuits." Then further it is said: "Leaving aside any theoretical discussion on the issues of State ownership *versus* private enterprise, Central Planning for the basically important industries is essential from the point of view of conservation of limited capital resources..."

My complaint on the floor of this House is this: that instead of giving a direct lead, instead of declaring the policy of the nationalization of industries, in the Budget speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister last time and in reply to the debate of the Industrial Corporation Bill, we find indefinite statements, we find evasive statements and there is no declaration of policy at all. Sir, that only shows that there is no common economic ideology. Because of this indefiniteness, the result is that the Industrial Finance Corporation Bill, which I may say if allowed to say and if it is Parliamentary language is 'a Black Bill'. The Opposition and the majority of the Members of this House opposed it tooth and nail. It was described as a Capitalistic measure, but due to the loyalty of the Members to the Party, which fact was given out openly on the floor of this House, it is to be enacted as a law. Sir, this is the state of affairs:

this is the economic policy of indefiniteness which is being adopted by the Ministry of Finance. Therefore, if this is the state of affairs; if this is the indefinite policy, it is up to this House, to make a declaration of the Industrial policy of this country and I maintain that nationalization of the key industries is the only means on which the progress of the country depends. There are many industries which will not be worked by private enterprise if it is not productive or if it is not profitable. The country with a view to have rapid progress in the socialist material resources of the country will have to take in its hand the nationalizing of industries. One of the biggest point in favour of nationalization is that profits will go to the State and with the nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India, it will be easy for the State to create money. The two Banks if nationalised would create money and it would be available for nationalising these things. The Deputy Prime Minister, Sir, of this country has made a noble appeal to labour and capital for having a truce.

Our production is falling, to the great detriment of the country, and I wish that capital and labour in this country should respond to his noble appeal and there should be truce. But Sir, looking to the economic trouble in Europe and here I think it is very difficult to proclaim a truce because in the very nature of things the capitalist wants to have high profits; he lives for profits and he dies for profits. Labour resents these high profits and agitates for higher wages. What is the remedy for the great fall in the production of commodities in India? According to me the only remedy is to nationalise the industries in which case labour would not feel that profits are going to private pockets, and would also feel that if higher wages are not given the State will be benefited. There will be amelioration in the condition of the masses and the class war which has taken root in the soil of this country will be solved to a great extent. I do not say, as perhaps some might think, that nationalisation of key industries can be done overnight. I know Government are faced with stupendous problems, like those of refugees and of Kashmir, and keeping the peace and tranquillity in India has itself become a problem. But what I want and the purpose of my moving this Resolution is that there should be a declared and definite policy on the part of the Government of India and there should be no vagueness, no indecision, no drift, as is evident from several speeches of the Finance Minister which give room for doubt, suspicion and apprehension in the minds of those who are interested in this problem.

The Second part of this Resolution relates to the introduction of collective and co-operative farming. There is a phrase in worldwide struggle which is still going on with many fluctuations and set-backs between the individualistic family farmer on the one hand and machinery on the other. We have a vast country and our main profession is agriculture. But in spite of this vastness of the country and of our resources we are half fed. We are one of the largest growers of cotton and cotton textiles, and still we are half clothed. The reason is that people are holding uneconomic holdings, they are indebted because there is no mechanised agriculture and capital is not available to them at cheap rates. It is not possible, in my opinion, to introduce mechanised agriculture without collective and co-operative farming; and I do not find either in the provinces or in the centre any large-scale scheme for the introduction of collective and co-operative farming. The laws of the land are being changed; the Provincial Governments are hastening with it and doing all that is possible to abolish the zamindari system and to create an interest in the soil for the tenants and cultivators. But merely that will not do unless co-operative societies are formed, unless collective farming is introduced, unless there is definite aid given by the State for running that show, and unless electricity is introduced on a very wide scale and unless agriculture is mechanised. One difficulty that is agitating the minds of experts is that there are not sufficient technicians in

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this country. In that case surely foreigners can be engaged, students can be sent out immediately for training; agricultural colleges can be opened in numbers. In my opinion self-sufficiency in food is very necessary in times of famine and in times of war; and even as it is we have to beg for our supplies in foreign countries and it is at the mercy of those countries that we have to depend for our supplies in India.

The third aspect of the Resolution—and it requires no comment—is that socialisation of the material resources of the country should proceed on a sound basis. We must know where we stand; the economic, social and agricultural policies must be defined. We cannot be allowed to grope in the dark. Our national industries have to be taken up in spite of tremendous difficulties. With these words I commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** Resolution moved:

"This Assembly is of opinion that the economic pattern of this country shall be socialist economy based on the principle of nationalization of key industries and co-operative and collective farming and socialisation of the material resources of the country and that the Government of India shall adopt the said principle immediately."

**The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru** (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): Sir, I should like to say a few words right at the beginning of this discussion in order to indicate the general policy of Government in this behalf. The Honourable Mover has referred to various statements previously made by the National Congress, by me personally and by others; and then he has drawn attention to other statements made by Members of Government and pointed out certain discrepancies therein. There may be different viewpoints and certain discrepancies if various statements are compared; but I think the real fact of the matter is—and I plead guilty to that—that Government as such have not put forward before this House or before the country any fully worked-out policy in regard to these matters. Not that the Government do not attach a good deal of importance to it, but for the simple reason that events of various kinds rather overwhelmed us, and the matter could not be dealt with—if I may say so with all respect—in the manner the Honourable Member suggests, by a kind of Resolution vaguely talking about nationalisation and putting everything into effect immediately. It is a much more intricate matter. We may call ourselves by any name we like,—socialists or any other name,—but if we have to tackle these problems we cannot tackle them in vague terms but have to do it precisely. And it is Government's business certainly to deal with long-term policies, but even more so with the immediate present and what they have to do with the immediate present. And so we have had these other difficulties to face, and many matters which probably we would have considered by now have had to be postponed. For instance, it was our desire to consider the appointment of a Planning Commission which would be given general terms of reference and which could then precisely lay down priorities, and how to plan and co-ordinate various sectors of economic life. We have been unable to do that, I am sorry to say. I hope that before very long we shall be able to take some steps in that direction. Meanwhile, as the House is aware, in a very small way we have appointed a Rehabilitation and Development Board which, though it primarily concerns itself with rehabilitation of refugees, is also intimately concerned with development and it will have to consider the various development schemes and try to plan them with the object in view of rehabilitating the refugees.

In the past many years I have had occasion to express my general views on this subject many times, and for some years I was Chairman of the National Planning Committee where all these matters came up. We did a lot of good work in that Committee. Unfortunately that did not bear fruit in the shape



of a final report, but a large number of sub-committees' reports and a considerable number of our-own resolutions bear witness to the work that was already done. I am glad to say that many of these reports of the sub-Committees are now available for such persons as are interested in this problem. If they read those reports as well as the other material which we have, they will find that these questions are extraordinarily intricate, overlapping and they cannot be solved by just some formula. The formula gives the mental outlook of the person who uses it. That is true, but a Government cannot speak in vague formulae. The Government has to consider every aspect of the question and more especially what it can do for the immediate present. Now it is well known and we have often stressed this that production is perhaps one of the most important things before us today: that is adding to the wealth in the country. We cannot overlook other factors. Nevertheless production comes first and I am prepared to say that everything that we do should be judged from the point of view of production first of all as well as other points of view. If nationalization adds to production, we shall have nationalization at every step. If it does not, let us see how to bring it about in order not to impede production. That is the essential thing. It is not so easy as the Honourable Member seems to think that we can legislate and then by some kind of jugglery we can produce results. Taking such steps may often lead possibly to some kind of petty disaster: actually graver crises may follow. So it is not merely a question of adopting a certain economic outlook, but of timing, of priorities, of how to do it, in what manner and when to do it—that is the most important factor. It is not enough to put aside or break up a certain system but you have to put another system in its place. All these factors have to be borne in mind.

The resolution that Honourable Member has put forward suffers from all manner of defects, including the kind of defect that he was blaming us for. It is vague. It has little meaning except to show the goodness of heart of the Honourable Member. It talks about things immediately all over the place in agriculture and industry. I just cannot conceive how any Government, whatever its views may be as regards economic problems can accept such a resolution. Most of us, and, so far as I am concerned I believe that the time has come for a rapid change of our economic system, not only in India but in other parts of the world. I think far too many of our friends and our countrymen here and those in other countries continue to think in terms which were applicable to an age which has more or less passed. They continue to adhere to what might be called 19th century economic ideology, which may have been very good in its time, but which is not applicable to-day in a large measure, and I think many of the ills in the world today are due to the fact that that particular economic system, which grew in the 19th century does not fit the circumstances of the middle of the 20th century. We find therefore all over the world an economic malaise, and it may be that many of our political ills are due to the fact that we do not settle down all over the world in a more sensible manner befitting the times. However that may be, the point we have to consider is not just destructive criticism but constructively what we can do to meet it. What we can do to meet it depends a great deal of course on circumstances in our own country: partly also on circumstances outside in the world, because these events act and react on each other.

In judging of the circumstances in our own country, we have to consider all manner of factors and we have to plan accordingly and go ahead step by step so as not to break up something we have got without replacing it immediately with something better. It is fairly easy to break up things. It is not so easy to construct. It is quite possible that in an attempt to change the economic system you may have a period of semi-disaster. You may even stop production which we aim at. Ultimately, perhaps very gradually, you may

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru]

build up a new kind of apparatus. But for the moment you may break up the existing apparatus. That is undesirable when all our energies have to be concentrated on production.

The Honourable Member referred to a certain report which came out of a sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, of which I had the honour to be Chairman. I would commend to him and to other members to read that report fairly carefully because that report was a carefully drafted document. It was not by any means a final report about anything. It was a report to be considered firstly by the Working Committee of the Congress and secondly by the All India Congress Committee. In the report itself it is stated that this is just a rough blue-print and these matters will have to be considered by the planning Commission which was recommended.

Certain other factors were laid down in it in regard to the nationalization of defence industries and key industries. Now it is perfectly true that so far as the National Congress is concerned, it accepted this principle about 17 years ago—the nationalization, ownership or control of defence and key industries and public utilities, and I do believe that such industries have to be nationalised some time or other. Then again the Congress in its various resolutions has also indicated that this process of nationalization should go a little further in other directions. But when you come down to giving effect to this you have to think as to which to choose first and how to do it without upsetting the present structure and without actually interfering with production.

Now this document which I have referred to by the Economic Programme Sub-Committee of the Congress has given rise to a great deal of criticism, or in any event to some criticism, on either side. Some people think it does not go far enough and others think it is a revolutionary departure which will upset our economy and that it is in fact a sudden jump to socialism. Of course it is nothing of the kind either way. It is very far from socialism. It is the continuation of a process which is going on all over the world, including the capitalistic countries of the world, excepting perhaps the biggest of them, all, the United States of America. In other countries you will see this process going on in some places and in some faster than in other countries. This report merely indicates a strong tendency towards socialism, with certain industries earmarked for earlier socialisation than the rest, and even in this report it is stated definitely that every step should be taken so as not to interfere with production.

I should just like to read out to the House one or two passages in it. First of all, "it is emphasized that the report is not a blue print but an outline programme the details of which will have to be filled in by the permanent Planning Commission which has been recommended." Then it referred to definite and key industries and here again may I say that the use of the word 'key' industry is very vague. Opinions may differ as to what is a key industry, whether we are referring to just a few or many. Deliberately it has been left vague there, because the next stage of defining them would be sometime later, when the matter is considered by the Planning Committee. Quite apart from defining them, the question of nationalising them and the timing of it would also depend on that commission or whatever authority might consider the problem.

There is another matter which has been referred to in this report and that is this. We have specially stated that apart from certain obvious industries of vital importance we consider the State should nationalise or start nationalising new industries of a particular type, that is to say, we should not waste our resources at the present moment in trying to nationalise existing industries except where it is absolutely necessary, but rather conserve our resources and start new industries. I thought that a very sound principle, because, after all, whatever we may do, it will have to be limited by our own resources. We

have to choose which to take up first. If we squander our resources in merely acquiring for the state existing industries (that we have acquired them may be for the nation's good) for the moment we have no other resources left and we would have rather stopped the field for private enterprise too. So it is far better for the State to concentrate on certain specific vital new industries rather than go about nationalising many of the old ones, though, as I said, in the case of some specific vital industry of national importance that might be done.

This has many advantages, one advantage being, as I said that the State's resources are applied to new industries according to production, etc., without interfering with the existing apparatus except where it is absolutely necessary. All the work that the State does would be constructively adding to production rather than merely being a changeover. After a period (which is hinted at in this report), after five years or so, the State may reconsider the problem and see what else it can do, how far it can go.

Now what is the point in putting in this five year period? As a matter of fact whatever period might be put in has little significance in the present changing dynamic world. One does not know and I doubt if any member of this House can say what will happen in India two years hence or three years hence either in the political or economic domain, so that putting down any time-table or programme does not help much, except that it gives us some picture in our minds to which we can work up to. Why five years was put down there was really to give a kind of assurance to those who might be somewhat put out by the prospect of these changes, that is to say, that we are not going to upset existing things, we are leaving them as they are more or less but that we are enlarging the domain in other fields, more or less specified fields, so that there may be no grievance that something is done which upsets much of the existing structure.

I have been surprised to read criticisms of this rough outline report, criticism from industrial magnates and others, because I had thought that this report had carefully considered many of the problems that face the country, even from the point of view of industrialists and others. We had provided for many of those things, may be some things had to be overlooked, which can be considered later, but generally speaking, we had carefully provided that there should be no sudden change in a way which might upset the present structure without its being replaced. Even since this report was drawn up this House decided on the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank of India. Changes go on taking place in that way. It may be that if we merely talk in terms of big changes all over the place the result would be no change at all, because that would be merely a paper decision, which could not easily be given effect to. Therefore I submit that the proper way to deal with this matter is not to pass a resolution of this kind but to consider it carefully in the context of what can be done, the general policy being laid down the general outlook, or if you like, the general objective. The ultimate objective may not have to be reconsidered but many of the things leading up to it may have to be reconsidered from time to time, because all manner of changes are taking place. For instance, if I may put one aspect of the case before the House, I think that the progress being made in technology and in science is so enormous and so rapid that within a fairly short space of time, let us say 15 years, the whole conception of modern industry will change completely. New sources of power will come in and those sources of power will upset all the methods of production that exist today, much more so than what the Industrial Revolution did 150 years ago in England and also in the rest of Europe. All these enormous changes are going to take place and I find that many of us, whether we call ourselves Socialists, Communists or Capitalists or by any other name, are singularly unaware of these big changes taking place. They are so unaware of this that they think merely in terms not of the greater wealth coming into existence by fresh methods but rather

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of only changing the ownership of industry which of course may be important from the point of view of creating equality and we should do that. Distribution is most important but what is far more important is the dynamic future. In the changed situation all over the world new sources are coming up which might completely revolutionise our agriculture as well as our industry. Therefore what I think is most important for the State is this. Whatever may happen to the existing sources of production, these new and novel sources of production should always remain in the hands of the State. We should not allow these new methods to go into private hands and thus become private monopolies. And in regard to the existing sources we should proceed step by step and avoid any drop in production or upsetting of the economic structure, in so far as is possible.

The House knows that we have got a large number of big schemes or projects dealing with river valleys. These schemes deal with constructing big reservoirs, hydro-electric works, irrigation canals, prevention of erosion and malaria prevention and so on and so forth. These schemes are going to require a vast deal of money and by far the most important thing is that they will be the basis of all future growth. They will go a long way in solving our food problem, in providing that power which is essential for all industrial growth. Once you have got that power you can go ahead pretty fast. So the Government decided to concentrate on the rapid development of these river valley schemes and not to fritter away their energy on more or less temporary expedients here and there. If we are going to concentrate on these big schemes are we going to divert our energy from them in acquiring this or that little industry which may make some or no difference at all, which will create upsets here and there and not lead to that basic foundation on which all industry should rest in future? Therefore, even from the point of view of socialisation we should proceed with the foundations first, lay them down, have a system of priorities and timings, take over any sector of the national economic and socialise it when the time is ripe for it. When the time will be ripe I cannot say. We require not only money but, what is far more important, trained human material. In fact that is the only essential thing in the ultimate analysis, whether it is industrial or any other department of life. Let us admit we have not got a sufficient quantity of that trained human material in any aspect of life in India today. We have produced very high class persons in every department of life—in science, in industry. We have some of the finest scientists in the world. Nevertheless they are few. They are not enough. They are also in industry. The House may remember that Government appointed a Scientific Manpower Committee some little time back because we attach the greatest importance to using the scientific manpower we have got, to increasing it and rapidly augmenting it. That Committee reported and its Report was considered by Government. Many of its recommendations were adopted. We are trying our best to increase our technical and other personnel by sending people abroad and getting people from abroad to come here to teach our students here. All this is the real basis, the foundation, that is being laid down for future progress and the other rather, if I may use the word, theoretical and doctrinaire approach of stating that we are going to make these big changes does not help much. On the other hand it gives a completely wrong picture to the people who do not realize what is to be done, what preparations have to be made before the various steps can be taken. Therefore I submit that a resolution of this kind will not be helpful at all. I hope that some time during this session, if it is possible, we may come up before this House with certain specific proposals or policy statements in regard to industrial programme. Naturally whatever programme we may adopt would have to have the sanction of this House.

To refer back to the Congress Sub-Committee's Report, naturally, if any

programme, economic or other, receives the final sanction of the All India Congress Committee and that Committee calls for that programme to be adopted, most of us in this House are bound by that mandate. The final authority no doubt is this House for any programme that has to be adopted, but most of us are bound by any programme definitely and precisely put forward by the All India Congress Committee and we shall have to place it for adoption before this House. But the All India Congress Committee after all is not an executive body: at the most it is a policy-laying body. It will lay down the general policy, again naturally leaving it to this House or to the Government to time it as it thinks it expedient, to give certain priorities and to go ahead with it at a pace which may be considered right and proper.

The House knows that in regard to the land system our general policy has been to put an end to what is being called the zamindari system. The pace has been slow, not due to any lack of effort but because all manner of difficulties cropped up. Still I hope that the matter will be gone through fairly soon. That again is one of the foundations on which we can build anything else. There has been talk about collective and cooperative farming. I should like collective and cooperative farming in this country. I hope that in any event, if not on large scale on a small scale, we shall begin soon with cooperatives and, may be, with collectives. But it is obvious that before you can think of them you have to put an end to the present land system which prevails in the greater part of India—first of all the big zamindari system. Then, may be, other aspects of it—and that is not such an easy matter. It is not a matter of a few, whom you might call capitalists, disliking it, but possibly a very large number of peasant proprietors disliking it. Obviously, whatever decision we may make must have the consent of the large number of people. We cannot force it down the throats of the vast majority of our peasants. We have to convert them. The best way to do that is to give a living example by cooperatives, how they will function, and then only can they be converted. India is a huge country. We may have various types of agricultural economy side by side and gradually the one that is best suited will prevail. Even in cooperatives there are so many types. I cannot say immediately which is most suited: may be that one type may be suitable in one part of the country and another in another part.

Finally therefore I would assure the House that so far as we are concerned we are very anxious to draw up a particular statement of policy in regard to our industrial programme. I do not think at this stage that statement will go very far into the future. It is risky to go far into the future. It is for non-official organizations to look far ahead into the future, but for a Government to commit itself in the long distance is not safe. We will come up before the House. I should like to assure others who may not be in the House that whatever we may do, we want to put production first. We think it is most essential. Production obviously depends on a very great deal of cooperation between those people who are most concerned in production. Obviously we want the good-will of the industrialists of the country. The question is often asked, "Have you got the personnel to nationalise industries?" Well, as I just now said, we have not got enough. But the question rather surprises me, because it is the same personnel that might be used whether industry is nationalised or not. The personnel which function in private industry will not leave the country when it is nationalised. It is the same personnel, including the captains of industry who will also be utilized because of their very special ability—managerial, executive, etc. Now, the point is that in any programme that we put forward we must have the largest measure of good-will. We must not allow it to affect production, etc. At the same time we must lay the foundations of future progress in the direction we aim at. That was the outlook with which we framed the Sub-Committee's Report. That is a document for you and the country to consider. We had

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paid very special attention in this to the fact of not having a break, of not having any big upsetting factors, but of gradually and nevertheless fairly quickly making a changeover in such sectors of economy which are most capable of bearing it to the national advantage and then making other changes. I would therefore beg the Honourable Member not to press a resolution which on the face of it cannot be given effect to.

**Mr. Hussain Imam** (Bihar: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, after the very lucid statement of the Honourable the Prime Minister I do not rise to press for the acceptance of the resolution but just to point out the condition of the things as they exist in India today because of the foreign rule that has been a maligning factor all these years. India is of enormous size. Nevertheless the essential items which go towards making a country industrial are very much lacking.

In the discussion the other day on the Electricity Bill, we learnt how small was the production of electricity and its consumption in India as compared to other countries. In coal we find that our actual production is less than 15 per cent. of the production of coal in the U. K. The United Kingdom is not bigger than one of our provinces, yet its production is nearly six to seven times higher than that of India. Coming to steel, we find that the production during the last 25 years in India is less than the production of the last three months in the United States of America. These are the conditions in which we are living today. We have, Sir, on the one hand a very welcome move by the Government. For instance a steel company is going to be started with the joint capital of the Governments—Provincial and Central. That is a welcome step. But what I wanted to urge today is that it is necessary that we should have an overall picture and a detailed programme for every item of the development of India as an industrial country. It is necessary that some kind of indication should be given to the present capitalists—whether they are likely or not to be taken possession of by the state at a stroke of the pen. I am not aware, Sir, but I am told that the capitalists are nervous. They feel that they cannot trust the Government. They do not know when a kind of order will be passed that a particular industry is to be nationalized when they will be out of the market. Just look at the Reserve Bank of India shares. They tumbled down immediately the announcement issued that it was going to be nationalized. The Government can, without in any way controverting the domain of private capital, start parallel industries of their own. I agree entirely with the Honourable the Prime Minister that the resources of India are not so great that it should waste much of them in acquiring the present industries. But there is one thing to be said. If in the important spheres it could be made clear that in such and such things all future industries will be started by the state, we will know where we are. If the government controlled concerns are run parallel with private industry, both the private capitalistic system and the nationalized system will be on their mettle. They will think that we have got a parallel system. The two will be examined every day. Every citizen will say which is working more efficiently and better and for the greater advantage of the state: and it is this spirit of healthy competition which I wish to see in India. It is not necessary that all the industries should be nationalized: but it is very necessary that those industries in which are the foundations for industrial development should be taken up by the state as a first measure. Even in the Tata-Birla Plan or the Bombay Plan it was said down that the Government should be given authority to run those plans. That at least is an agreed thing between capitalists and socialists. Both want that one part of the industry should be nationalized. Let us have a statement specifying industries in which government will not allow private capital to come in. Private capital need not be shy of coming out if it is assured of a just deal by the government. I am using this expression



because I come, Mr. Speaker, from a province which is grateful to the Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister for his statement about the much maligned class of landlords. Speaking there he stated the absurdity of suggesting a compensation of 25 lakhs for an income of more than 15 lakhs per annum. Sir, this is the thing which is causing trouble to the industries. It is not so much the idea of nationalization which is troubling them. It is the compensation which is troubling them, and it is for this reason that I welcome the announcement of the Honourable the Prime Minister that the resources of India should not be squandered on paying compensation to the already established industries. We have much work ahead and the field is wide enough for both private capital and government to operate. What is necessary is that production should be increased and it should be increased at a rapid pace and in those spheres only in which it can be most conducive to the increased resistance of India. I want that India should be self-sufficient both industrially as well as on the food front. I should have expected that the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture would be here to tell us something about the way in which co-operative or collective farming will be started. What is the Government's policy in that respect? The Palestine Jews have given a beautiful example of collective farming without communism. That experiment, Sir, is worth studying. From the Agriculture Department of the Government of India a deputation went to Palestine. It studied the situation. It has given a very exhaustive and illuminating report. We have got the material with us. The only thing is that India is too big. As the Honourable the Prime Minister pointed out, you cannot have uniformity here. There are so many differences, so many different conditions, that you will have to have systems adaptable to different parts which may differ from one another. It is the very diversity which has made the task difficult, but this diversity and difficulty should not stand in the way of making a beginning. I am only pleading for a beginning. For instance let us look at coal. The coal industry is nationalized in England. The Opposition benches in the Legislature have been asking all these years that coal should be nationalized. Coal is an item in which nationalization will not involve a very large capital. But those who are conversant with the working of the coal industry know how harmful the splitting up of the ownership is. Large quantities of coal are being wasted because there are two owners. One owner cannot work in place of the other. It is more convenient to work from one side, but it cannot be worked because it does not belong to him. All those economic factors come in and if as a beginning we were to start with the nationalization of coal and a declaration that all undeveloped mineral resources belong to the state, then we would be a long way on the path of nationalization without in any way encroaching on the preserves of the capitalists. I believe in 'live and let live'. I have no grouse against capitalists, but I do wish that this domain, which still remains for the nation to be exploited, should not be handed over to the capitalists. I would invite the attention of the Honourable Minister for Industries to the urgency of deciding these two questions of nationalization of the mineral and developmental resources, where no clashes are involved; and secondly, nationalization of coalmines. After that in the order of importance I place as third—Government is already taking up electricity—so, I am placing it as third that we must have more and more iron and steel factories. There too, I wish that whatever industries there are of private capitalist, they should be allowed to remain but no future capitalist investments in these two industries are required.

If we take these two or three concrete steps, we will go a long way to giving satisfaction to the Socialists that nationalization is taking place, giving satisfaction to the capitalists that their domain is for the moment at least safe, and thirdly we will go a long way in increasing the material wealth of the country.

**Kazi Syed Karimuddin:** Sir, in reply to the speech made by the Honourable Mr. Hussain Imam, I have very little to say. He has entered into a discussion as to which industry should be nationalized and which industry should not be nationalized. Then he had suggested a programme of competition and race between the privately-controlled and State-owned industries, which is most unhealthy as the private capital, in order to defeat the Government scheme, may not earn profit for two or three years.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh** (C. P. and Berar: General): May I know, Sir, if this is the speech in reply? There are other Honourable Members who want to speak.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody sought to catch my eye, and I called up Mr. Karimuddin to reply—Members have to be on their alert. The Honourable Member may go on.

**Kazi Syed Karimuddin:** Sir, in view of the assurance given by the Prime Minister and his agreement with me in the collective and co-operative farming and the gradual nationalization of industry, I do not press my Resolution and desire to withdraw it.

**Mr. Speaker:** Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution?

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

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#### RESOLUTION *RE.* ABOLITION OF ENTRIES OF CASTES AND RELIGION, ETC., FROM GOVERNMENT REGISTERS, FORMS AND RECORDS.

**Shri B. B. Diwakar** (Bombay: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have the honour to move:

"This Assembly is of opinion that for any purposes connected with the State or its services, the Government of India shall not recognise any caste, sub-caste, sect or religion and that in future it shall abolish the mention or entry of caste, sub-caste, sect or religion in any forms supplied by Government or in any records or registers kept by Government."

This is a Resolution, Sir, which touches one of the aspects of what may be called the communal problem in our country. Of course the communal problem is a very vast one. It has a number of aspects, but here I have picked up only a small part of it and just pointed out what the Government can do to discourage what may be called communal consciousness, or communal patriotism or communal hatred.

Of course of the many bad legacies left by the British Government, I look upon this communal problem as possibly the worst. There are other legacies, one of them being the States problem, for instance. Another we might say is the bad Provincial map that the British Government has left, which involves polyglot or composite Provinces in which it is very difficult to work on a really democratic basis. Another legacy which I may point out is what may be called the huge Services machine; it is very good, very efficient, for centralized Government, but at the same time for easy, democratic working, summary decisions and quick results, it seems to be too heavy a machine. All the same, here I want to take up only the communal problem.

The communal problem as I said was the worst of the problems in so far as it is very broad-based, it is very subtle, it is psychical, social and what not, and therefore it permeates practically the whole of our social, economic and political life. It creates fissions, groups and cross-sections in the body politic which are absolutely harmful to the collective good of the whole community or the whole Nation.



**Kazi Syed Karimuddin** (C. P. and Berar: Muslim): May I know, Sir, who is in-charge of this Resolution from the Government Benches?

**Mr. Speaker:** At present at least there is the Honourable Education Minister attending to it. The Honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power is just coming. It is quite all right. The Member may continue.

**Shri E. R. Diwakar:** So, that may be said to be the worst of the legacies left by the British Government; I also pointed out how it is very widespread, broad-based and subtle.

I think we will have to study the problem from a very scientific point of view and see as to why this problem is on our heels in every activity that we take up, whether it is educational, industrial, social or economic. Everywhere we are faced with small groups almost seeming to act against each other and cancelling the energies of each other. In fact, very recently certain things have happened in the country which I think must open our eyes much more to the enormity of the problem and make us tackle this problem not only piecemeal as I am doing now from a single point of view, but on a very large scale in the educational field, in the social field, and try to create common interests and common memories for the whole of the Indian Nation. The tragedies and the great calamitous events that have recently happened, have affected individual life, group life as well as national life, and therefore the enormity of the problem has touched almost everyone of us. But as I said just now, rather than going about that big problem, I have taken only an aspect of it and just tried to see how the Government can discourage the caste consciousness or the communal consciousness which is at the root of the whole matter.

**Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan** (Madras: General): On a point of order, Sir. In the New Constitution we have given recognition to caste and seats are reserved for Muslims and Scheduled Castes.

**Mr. Speaker:** That will be a matter for the Honourable Member to argue when her turn comes.

**Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan:** But I want to know whether the resolution is in order?

**Mr. Speaker:** That is after all a proposal.

**Shri E. R. Diwakar:** Caste or communal consciousness is at the root of communal patriotism or caste patriotism, communal hatred or caste hatred with the resultant conflicts. That is why I am just trying to probe into the matter and see as to how far the Government can discourage the growth of this kind of consciousness.

If we look back on recent history, especially during the British period, we can very easily see that caste and communal consciousness has been encouraged in a number of ways by the British Government. They had a purpose in encouraging it and they took advantage of every occasion to do so. It was in the interest of the rulers at that time to see that these group patriotisms fought against one another and stood in the way of a consolidated national consciousness. In fact for years, possibly for decades, they thus succeeded in prolonging their rule. Since 1857 their policy in regard to recruitment for the Army, their policy with regard to distribution of seats under the reforms and their policy in drawing up the census has been obvious. In these three fields we can very easily mark how they tried their best to create castes where there were none and made people more caste-conscious where they were already so by promoting new rights and new privileges. In fact, there is clear evidence that they tried to encourage and promote this kind of caste-consciousness. If not anything else, this evidence itself should be sufficient for us to look upon this vicious system that they promoted as something which is dangerous, something which is antinational.

[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

I do not want to take the time of the House by giving very long quotations. I would just mention for the information of Honourable Members a scholarly book by Mr. Ghurye, "Caste and Race in India" where he has clearly shown by exhaustive quotations how the British Government encouraged the poison of caste-consciousness in the three fields of Army, the legislature and local bodies and census reports.

When this is the case, we have really to see as to how we can undo much of the mischief that has been done. Even today as we go along almost from birth to death, at every stage, we are made conscious of our caste or community. We are made to feel that we are a very small group or a very big group, as the case may be, that we have an individuality of our own, that our interests are suffering and that we have to struggle hard by consolidating ourselves as a group or as an organisation by asking for rights and privileges as against other groups or castes. All this is the consequence of what I may call caste-consciousness or communal consciousness. Now, there is the birth register, for instance. In the birth register, in addition to all other details, there is a column for caste. If we go right up to the end, I think the funeral register, or the death register also contains a column for caste. Even after death possibly this consciousness is not allowed to leave us.

Then, supposing we go to school, in the school register we have a column for caste. Then, if we apply for a government service, our caste has to be mentioned. Supposing I am a witness in a court, there too, I have to say that I belong to a particular caste. If I file a complaint, well, there too I have to say that I belong to a particular caste. And there is no end, I might say, to the caste-consciousness that is generated in a number of ways and we are made conscious every moment of our life. In fact, I was amused to find just now that in a railway risk note you are asked to mention caste. This is only an illustration to show how we are made caste-conscious at every step. Therefore, I have been thinking as to how far the Government can discourage this kind of caste-consciousness. As I said just now, it is a very big problem and it has to be taken up on a very wide scale, in the educational, the social and other fields. But at the same time that does not mean that we should not take it up from the point of view of Government and try to discourage it to as great an extent as possible.

My Resolution is very modest and it really wants to undo what has been done. In the first place, it says "that the Government shall not recognise any caste, sub-caste, sect or religion" so far as the State and the State services are concerned. This is the first part. Now, here, certain vested-interests have been created by conventions or by rules or by deliberate administrative action, and it is natural for those people to think that this is possibly an attack against such vested interests. I positively deny any such charge, simply because, if at all there are any educationally backward or economically backward sections in the body politic, it is the duty of every Government, much more so of a National Government, still more so of a democratic National Government, to see that all backward peoples, whether they are backward in the economic field, in the social field or in the educational or cultural field, are supported and given special facilities for culture, for education and for the improvement of their economical condition. I shall fully support anyone who would suggest any method of improving the condition of the backward peoples in this country. There is no question about it. Therefore, I say that this first part which says that there should be no recognition of any caste, sect or religion in the matter of the State and the State services is a very desirable and necessary one, and I fully believe that any kind of privilege or right bestowed on any person of any group on account of his or its caste is really not so much a healthy and good encouragement, but I say positively

that it is a part of the vicious circle which is created by caste consciousness and caste patriotism. It only perpetuates that particular consciousness and by perpetuating that consciousness it brings in evils which it really wants to negate or to destroy. Therefore, that is not the proper remedy for really removing that kind of backwardness which is the cause for asking for certain special privileges or rights. I would therefore suggest that while trying to remove the causes of this kind of consciousness, let us try by all means possible to see that everyone in our nation, be he of any caste, be he of any creed, or be he of any religion, is really brought up to a certain common level of education, of economic condition and of culture.

Then, the second part of my Resolution says: "Government shall in future abolish the mention or entry of caste, sub-caste, sect or religion in any forms supplied by Government or in any records or registers kept by Government". I think this part is also in piece with the first part, but then there need not be any apprehension as regards the other part, because it does not mention here any Services or any particular privileges or any vested interests at all. The Government, by keeping these records or issuing such forms as contain the mention of caste or creed or sect or religion, are perpetuating in a way this caste consciousness, which I said is at the root of all consequential evil effects flowing from it and which are unfortunately anti-national. The second part does not lend itself to any apprehension on the part of any vested interests so far as I can see; but all the same, if there is any general apprehension, as my Honourable friend just now pointed out, that since certain seats have been reserved in the next constitution, and if the mention of caste, sect and these things is prohibited, how are we to know that particular groups belong to particular sections or particular castes or particular communities? Well, that is a difficulty, but I may point out that even as regards these reservations and certain privileges or rights, I am one of those who would see that these reservations really disappear at the earliest possible moment from our constitution. Still, some might ask, "Supposing we continue them for the next ten years?". Well, then, I might point out there is the 1941 census. That should suffice for any such reservations to continue for a small span of time; but in no case, the mention of caste, creed and other things in all these forms and Government registers is justified, because every time that we make mention of these things and we keep such registers, we somehow become a part and parcel of the vicious circle which has been once set round, and therefore I would point out that this is a very small beginning of tackling the problem from the Government side. There might be a number of positive things that may be suggested. In fact, when we talk about this problem, many people say "Well, intermarriage is the only thing that is effective." If there is a possibility of a legislation on that score, I am willing to go to the extent of saying that for the next twenty years, no caste marriage should be recognised! Only inter-caste marriages should be recognised. But then, that does not serve our purpose. Nor do I think that only a few members sitting here are "the people". We may pass such a Resolution or we may pass such a legislation, but still I do not think that we shall be in that case representing the vast number of people outside. So it is not a question as to how many other things can be done or cannot be done; it is a question as to where are we to begin it and how to begin it. I thought that in a modest way I can suggest this Resolution and commend it to the House for acceptance. I have tried no doubt to allay certain misapprehensions, but at the same time, I

4 P. M. do not go into the details here because this is not a matter merely of convincing by arguments. When such steps are about to be taken by the Government, which affect the privileges or the rights of backward peoples in this nation, I am sure Government would never allow backward people to suffer. I believe that this particular resolution

[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

can be very easily operated in that spirit. When this is operated and when certain difficulties arise as to preserving the rights and privileges of certain sections of backward peoples, I think a *modus operandi* can be very easily worked out which would not in any way act prejudicially against such backward sections of our nation. With this few words, I would commend this Resolution to the House.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Hussain Imam (one of the Panel of Chairmen)].

**Mr. Chairman:** Resolution moved:

"This Assembly is of opinion that for any purposes connected with the State or its services, the Government of India shall not recognise any caste, sub-caste, sect or religion and that in future it shall abolish the mention or entry of caste, sub-caste, sect or religion in any forms supplied by Government or in any records or registers kept by Government."

پنڈت تھاکر داس بہارگو : جناب چیر مین صاحب ! یہ ریزولوشن جو ہاؤس کے سامنے پیش کیا گیا ہے - ایک طرح سے ایک بیماری کے ایک (Symptom) کا علاج ہے ابھی یہاں پر آنریبل موزر نے فرمایا ہے کہ دراصل وہ اس علاج کے برخلاف نہیں ہیں - جو کے اس اصلی بیماری کا حقیقی علاج ہے لیکن تاہم وہ اس علاج سے اتنا دور بھاگتے ہیں کہ وہ اس علاج کو پروبلیمیکل (Problematical) اور سہیکولیٹو (Speculative) بات کہہ کر آگے نہیں چلتے ہیں - اسکی صحیحو سخت شکیت ہے - اگر ایک بیمار گھر میں پڑا ہے جسکو کہ نمونہ ہے - اور اس کو کھانسی بھی آتی ہے تو جو شخص اسکا علاج صرف کھانسی کا ہی کرے تو وہ اسکا دوست نہیں ہے اصل مرض تو پھیپھڑوں کی خرابی کا ہے اور کھانسی محض علامت ہے دراصل جو بیماری آج ہندوستان میں ہے اور جو یہاں کے لوگوں کے وائٹلز (Vitals) کو کھا رہی ہے وہ کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) ہے - میں یہ ماننے کے لئے تیار ہوں کہ برتھی گورنمنٹ نے اسکا بے جا فائدہ اٹھایا ہے - برتھی گورنمنٹ نے آدمی میں اور دہلوے میں اور بہت سی جگہوں میں اس چیز کا فائدہ اٹھایا ہے - لیکن اگر انہوں نے اسکا فائدہ اٹھایا ہے تو یہ صرف ہماری غلطی کی وجہ سے ہوا ہے برتھی گورنمنٹ کے زمانے سے پہلے اس کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) نے جو خرابیاں پیدا کیں انکی طرف ناکہ ڈالنے - میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جب ہندوستان میں مرہٹہ راج تھا تو اس ایمپائر (Empire) کے متعلق ہم ہسٹری میں پڑھتے ہیں کہ اس کے ٹاؤن فال (Downfall) کی وجہ صرف کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) تھا - آپ دو سو یا تین سو برس کی ہسٹری کو دیکھیں تو معلوم ہو گا کہ راجپوتوں اور جاتوں میں ذات برادری کی بناء پر جو لڑائی ہوئی تو اسکا یہ نتیجہ ہوا کہ ہندوستان پر باہر کی قوموں نے آکر قبضہ کیا - اسکی وجہ صرف یہی تھی کہ ہندوستان میں کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) تھا - آج پاکستان کہوں بنا اسکی وجہ میری رائے میں یہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کے ہندوؤں کے رگ و ریشہ میں کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) بہرا پڑا ہے اور اسکا اثر یہ ہے کہ ہم انسان کو انسان ماننے کو تیار نہیں - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ شاید میرے چند بھائیوں کو میری کچھ باتیں پسند نہ ہوں لیکن میں اپنے اصلی خہالت اس ہاؤس کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں - اگر ہم ہندوستان کی ہسٹری کی طرف

نظر ڈالیں تو آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ آج سے کئی ہزار برس پہلے بھی ہمارے جو بزرگ ہوئے ہیں وہ بھی سب کے سب اس کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کے خلاف لپتے ہوئے مر گئے ہیں لیکن پھر بھی اب تک یہ بیماری ہم سے دور نہیں ہوئی ہے۔ زیادہ ۱۰ دور جانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے اگر آپ مہاتما گاندھی جی کی زندگی کو دیکھیں گے تو آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ وہ اس کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کے خلاف کتنی کوشش کرتے رہے ہیں۔ اُنکا یہ کہنا ہے کہ اگر ہندوستان میں کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کی یہی صورت رہے جو کہ اس وقت ہے تو ہندوؤں کا ناش ہوگا اور یہ سوسائٹی (Society) ترقی نہیں کریگی۔ ہسکو یہ معلوم ہے کہ انہوں نے اپنے عمل سے اپنے صاحبزادے کی شادی شری راجکوپال آچاریہ کی لڑکی سے کی۔ اس سے پہلے شری دیانند سوامی بھی ہسکو یہی سکشا دیتے آئے ہیں کہ اس کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کو ختم کر دیا جائے۔ سکھوں کے سب گوروں نے بھی کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کے خلاف جہاد کیا ہے۔ مہاراج بدھ اور مہابیر سوامی اور جتنے بھی شوشل ریفارمرز ہوئے ہیں انہوں نے کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) کے خلاف جہاد کیا ہے۔ لیکن یہ اب ہمارے رگ و ریشہ میں اس طرح سے گھس گیا ہے کہ وہ زمین چنبد آسمان چنبد نہ چنبد گل متھد ۲۲ انگریزوں کے متعلق تو ہم یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ انہوں نے ہمارے ساتھ اس بارہ میں اچھا سلوک نہیں کیا لیکن اب ہماری قسمت ہمارے ہاتھ میں ہے اور اگر ہم آج بھی تھیک طریقوں پر نہیں چلتے ہیں تو یہ کس کا قصور ہے تیس برس ہوئے ہمارے پریزیڈنٹ شری وٹھل بھائی پتیل نے ۱۹۱۸ء میں یہاں پر اس ہاؤس میں ایک بل پیش کیا تھا جو کہ ہندوؤں میں انٹر میریج (Intermarriages) کے متعلق تھا۔ لیکن آج تک اسپر کوئی عمل نہیں ہوا۔ اس قسم کا ایک بل کانگریس میں نے چند روز ہوئے دیا ہے۔ اور امید ہے کہ ۲۶ تاریخ کو وہ اس ہاؤس کے سامنے آئیگا۔

ڈاکٹر بی پتا بھی سیتارامیہ : ہم اس بل کو قبول کریں گے۔

پلڈت تھاکر داس بھارگو : میں ڈاکٹر پتا بھی صاحب کا شکر گزار ہوں۔ اور انکی بلیسنگز (Blessings) کے لئے شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں۔ میں اُنکے حکم اور فرمان کو عزت کی نگاہ سے دیکھتا ہوں اور جیسا کہ انہوں نے فرمایا اگر وہ اس بل کو قبول کریں گے تو مجھے کوئی شبہ نہیں کہ دیہی اُنکے پیچھے چلیں گے لیکن اس میں بہت ہی کوشش کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔

میں نہایت ادب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ انگریزوں کے متعلق آپ یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ ہندوستان پر اپنا قبضہ رکھنے کی وجہ سے ہسکو قیوائد (Divide) کرنا چاہتے تھے۔ لیکن ۱۵ اگست کو جب یہاں پر ۱۵ منسٹر صاحب مقرر ہوئے تو کیا میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ ایک سولہواں منسٹر شوشل تھمکریسی

[ پینڈت تھاکر داس بھارگو ]

(Social Democracy) و شوشل ریفارم کے لئے کیوں مقرر نہیں ہوا - میں نے چند روز ہوئے یہ کہا تھا کہ اگر آپ دراصل ترقی کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو آپ کو بہت کچھ تبدیلی کرنی ہو گی۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جو 15 منسٹر صاحبان مقرر ہوئے ہیں۔ کیا وہ اس بات کے لئے قسم اٹھانے کے لئے تیار ہیں کہ وہ اپنے بچوں اور لڑکے لڑکیوں کی شادی غیر برادری میں کریں گے - کانگریس کمیٹی کے ممبر جنہوں نے کھدر پوشی کو اپنا کریڈ (Creed) رکھا ہے کیا وہ سب کے سب پارٹی میں شامل ہونے سے پہلے اور ممبر بننے سے پہلے یہ قسم اٹھانگے کہ وہ اپنے لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کی شادی غیر برادری میں کریں گے - اگر کانگریس کمیٹی کے ممبران اور آل انڈیا کانگریس کمیٹی کے ممبران سچے دل سے گاندھی جی کے سبق پر چلیں تو مجھے یقین ہے کہ اس دیہ کی کاپا پلت جلد ہو جائے - لیکن مجھے یہ امید مبہوم سی نظر آتی ہے - کیونکہ ہمارے رگ و ریشہ میں کاسٹ سسٹم (Caste system) اتنا گہس گیا ہے کہ آسانی سے نہیں نکل سکتا ہے - مجھے ریزولوشن زیر بحث بہت ہی انفوسنٹ (Innocent) معلوم ہوتا ہے - لیکن کئی اصحاب اس ریزولوشن کے اثر کو یوں سمجھتے ہیں کہ وہ لوگ جو آجکل نوکریوں پر چھائے ہوئے ہیں وہ ایسی برادری و ذاتوں کو نوکری میں نہیں آنے دیگی جو کہ چھوٹے چھوٹے ہیں لیکن میں یہ عرض کرونگا اور دیکھنے کی چوت پر عرض کرونگا کہ یہ خیال تھیک نہیں ہے اور ایسے توہمات و شہوات رکھنا جائز نہیں ہے - مسٹر دیواکر صاحب کے پوتر دل و دماغ میں ایسا پاپ سما نہیں سکتا -

میں اپنے دوست مسٹر دیواکر صاحب کی تقریر کو ویلکم (Welcome) کرتا ہوں لیکن یہ کہہ بغیر نہیں رہ سکتا کہ شاخ اور پتے کو کاٹ کر کیا فائدہ ہو سکتا ہے جب تک کہ بیماری کی جڑ کو آپ نہیں کاٹتے ہیں - اگر آپ یہاں پر سچی اور متعصده قومیت بنانا چاہتے ہیں اور جس کا ذکر کہ اس کانسٹیٹیوٹ ایوٹ اسبلی اور بچھکتو ریزولوشن (Objective Resolution) میں بار بار آتا ہے تو آپکو چاہئے کہ آپ اس موجودہ خرابی کی جڑ کو کاٹ دیں اور اصل اوبجیکٹ (Object) کو حاصل کرنے کی صرف یہی ایک ہی ترکیب ہے جسکو مسٹر دیواکر سپیکولیٹو (speculative) کے طور پر کہتے ہیں اور میں اس کو یقیناً صحیح (panacea) پیغسیا سمجھتا ہوں - سچ تو یہ ہے اگر میں ہندوستان کا ڈکٹیٹر ہوتا تو میں فوراً ایک آرڈیننس پاس کرتا کہ جو شخص اپنی برادری میں اپنے لڑکے لڑکیوں کی شادی کریگا اسکو چھ مہینے کی سزا دی جائیگی اور اسو عمل کرانا ایک آریبل ممبر خدا مجھے بھی ناخن نہیں دیگا لیکن خدا گنچے کو ناخن نہ دے آج کون صحیح دماغ رکھنے والا اس حقیقت سے انکار حقیقت کر سکتا ہے کہ انٹرمیج (Inter marriage) متعصده قومیت کی بھدروک (Badrock) ہے اور ہندوستان کی بیماری کا ایک واحد علاج ہے

ہے۔ آج ہر ایک متعصب وطن اور ہر کانگریس مہمن کے لئے امتحان کا وقت ہے آج چھوٹی چھوٹی برادریاں ہماری ذات پات نہیں ہیں بلکہ سارا ہندوستان ہماری برادری ہے۔ اور انسانیت ہمارا دھرم ہے جو مرد عورت اپنی برادریوں کو چھوڑ کر غیر ذات سے شادی کرینگے وہ ہندوستانی قومیت کے سچے سپاہی بنینگے۔ انسانیت کے اصول کو چھوڑ کر ہم نے باہمی تباہی برپا کی لیکن اب اتنی مصیبتوں کے بعد اتنے ہندوؤں اور مسلمانوں کو مار کر اگر ہم نے اتنا بھی سبق نہیں سیکھا تو میں نہیں جانتا کہ اصل سبق ہم کب سکھیں گے مصیبت تو یہ ہے کہ کسی افس میں چلے جائیے۔ اگر بڑا آفسر مسلمان ہے تو اس کے ماتحت مسلمان ہی مسلمان نوکر پارینگے۔ اگر ایک برہمن کو کسی بڑی نوکری پر بٹھا دیا جائے تو وہاں سب کے سب اس کے دفتر برہمن ہی برہمن نظر آئیں گے۔ برہمن کا کیا سوال ہے کہ کو بٹھا دیجئے سکھ ہی سکھ نظر آویں گے اگر بہارگو کو بٹھا دیجئے تو بہارگو ہی بہارگو نظر آینگے۔ کشمیری کو بٹھا دیجئے تو کشمیری ہی کشمیری نظر آئیں گے اس کے علاوہ اگر مدراسی کو بٹھا دیجئے تو سب مدراسی ہی مدراسی نظر آئیں گے لیکن اسکا علاج کیا ہے۔ میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ اگر ظفرعلی کی لڑکی کی شادی یہاں پرمانند کے لڑکے سے ہوتی یا پرمانند کی لڑکی کی شادی ظفرعلی کے لڑکے سے ہوتی تو یہ ہندو مسلمان تصادم کیسے ممکن تھا ہندو مسلمان اور سب برادری والے اس میں رشتہ دار ہوتے۔

کیا صرف ہندوستان میں ہی مسلمان رہتے ہیں۔ چھین میں بھی مسلمان رہتے ہیں جاپان میں بھی مسلمان رہتے ہیں۔ تو کیا وجہ ہے کہ ہندوستان کا مسلمان پاکستان کا خواہاں ہو اور دوسرے ملکوں کا مسلمان اپنے ملکوں کا دم بھرتے ہوں۔ اب وقت آگیا ہے کہ اختلاف مذہب سے بھی بڑھکر جو مختلف ذاتوں کی خطرناک بیماری ہے اسکو ختم کر دیا جائے پرانے زمانے میں پیدائش کی بنا پر ذات پات نہ تھی اور مختلف ذاتوں میں شادیاں ہوتی تھیں۔

مہابھارت کے زمانے میں اچھاریوں کی برہمنوں سے شادی ہوئی ہے اور ان سے اولادیں پیدا ہوئی ہیں میں یہ چیلنج کرتا ہوں کہ کوئی شخص یہ ثابت کر دے کہ ہندو شاستروں کے مطابق ذات پیدائش کے بنا پر ریگنڈائر (recognise) کئے گئے ہوں۔ لیکن آج پریکٹس (Practice) میں اس کے بالکل بر خلاف ہے اور یہ پریکٹس (Practice) ہماری تباہی کا باعث بن ہی ہے۔

آج یہ کیا بات ہے کہ ایک مسلمان ہندو اور ایک ہندو مسلمان بن سکتا ہے لیکن ایک چمار برہمن نہیں ہو سکتا نہ برہمن چمار ہو سکتا ہے جات راجپوت نہیں بن سکتا اور راجپوت جات نہیں بن سکتا اسکی تہ میں کیا راز ہے سمجھ میں نہیں آتا اگر میں ہاوس کے سامنے مختلف برادریوں کے تفویقات کا ذکر کروں اور انکی کہانیاں سنانے لگوں تو گھلتوں اور دنوں میں ختم نہیں ہو سکتیں لیکن شاید اس ہاوس کے بہت سے مسلمان نے یہ نہ سنا ہوگا کہ ہندوستان کے ایک حصہ میں اگر مزارعہ جات ہے تو انکو  $\frac{1}{4}$  بٹائی دینا پڑتی ہے اور اگر راجپوت ہے تو اسکو  $\frac{1}{4}$  دینا پڑتی ہے یعنی اس زمین کی بٹائی ذات پات کی وجہ سے گھٹتی اور بڑھتی ہے آج بھی کتنے علاقے ایسے ہیں جنکے اندر جات راجپوتوں کے گلوں میں اونٹ پر نہیں چڑھ سکتا نوکرناں ذات پات کی بنا پر ملتی ہیں۔ اتنے کہ مدرسہ اور کالج کا داخلہ ذات پات کی بنیاد پر ہوتے ہیں ابھی چند نے مدرسہ اور کالج میں دوستی کے جو ایک M.L.A. ہیں 3 4 با انکے

[ پلڈت تھاکر داس بھارگو ]

لڑکے کو انٹیجیولہرینگ کالج (Engineering college) کے اندر داخل نہیں ہونے دیا گیا کیونکہ اسکی ذات برہمن تھی اس ساری وحشت دیوانگی اور بیماری کا علاج صرف ایک ہے اور وہ ہے انٹرمیج (Inter marriage) اگر یہ اصول آپ اختیار نہ کریں گے اور اسپر عمل نہ کریں گے تو میں نہایت ادب سے عرض کروں گا کہ آپ کبھی بھی کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتے اگر آپ اس ریزولوشن کے ساتھ انٹرمیج (Inter marriage) کے اصول کو مان لیں اور اسپر عمل پھرا ہوں تو میں اس ریزولوشن (Resolution) کے خلاف نہیں ہوں کیونکہ ریزولوشن (Resolution) پھر انٹرمیج (Inter marriage) کے ہیڈ (Hand maid) کے طور پر قبول ہو سکتا ہے۔

سمجھتا ہوں کہ ۱۵ ملت میرے ختم ہو چکے ہیں آخر میں میں پھر دھرانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہماری متحصصہ قومیت کے راستے میں جو ذات پات کی رکاوٹ ہے وہ صرف انٹرمیج (Inter marriage) سے ہٹائی جا سکتی ہے اور کوئی دوسرا علاج اسکا نہیں ہے اگر آپ اس اصول کو مان کر یہ پرستار پاس کریں تو مجھے اعتراض نہیں ہے ورنہ میں اس پرستار کا رووڈہ کرتا ہوں۔

(English Translation of the above speech)

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava** (East Punjab: General): Sir, the Resolution placed before the House is in a way a cure of only a symptom of the disease. Here the Honourable Mover has just said that as a matter of fact he is not opposed to this cure which is the sure remedy for the real disease, but however he shuns this cure so much that he calls it nothing but 'speculative and problematical' matter. I have a serious complaint against it. For instance, the man suffering from pneumonia develops cough and if any man gives him medicine for cough only he is not his friend. The actual disease is due to the trouble in the lungs, and the cough is only a symptom. As a matter of fact, the only disease which is in India today, and which has been eating up the vitals of the people is the caste system. I am prepared to accept that the British Government have taken an unfair advantage of it in the Army, the Railways, and in many other places. If they have done so, it is due to our mistake. Just have a look at the evils done by this system before the time of the British Government. I want to say that history tells us that the cause of the down fall of the Marhatta Rule in India was the caste system only. If you review the history of the last two or three hundred years you will come to know that the fight which took place between the Rajputs, and the Jats on the question of caste and sub-caste had this result that foreign nations took possession of India. Its only cause was the caste system in India. Why Pakistan came into existence? The cause in my opinion is that in every vein of the Hindus the caste system permeates. The effect of it is that now we are not prepared to recognise a human being as a human being. I am sorry that a few of my Brethren, perhaps do not relish my words, but I would like to place before the House my real ideas. If we glance at the Indian history we would know that even several thousands years ago all of our ancestors died fighting against this caste system. Still this disease has not been eradicated. We need not go very far if, you would survey the life history of Mahatma Gandhiji, you would see how much effort he had been making against this caste system. He said that if the caste system remains as it is today the Hindus will be annihilated and the society shall not progress. We are aware of the fact that on his initiative he married his son to the daughter of Shri Rajagopalacharya. Before that, Shri Daya Nand Swami also had been teaching us to put an end to the caste system. All of the Sikh Gurus also crusaded against the caste system. The



Great Budha and Mahavir Swami and all other Social Reformers, without exception, vigorously opposed the caste system. But this has now so much permeated our system that it cannot be eradicated. '*Zamin Jumbad Asman Jumbad Nah Jumbad Gulmohammad*'. (Let the world change, but the caste system remains unchanged.) As regards the English we may say that they behaved ill with us in this matter but now our fate is in our own hands and if we do not go on right paths then who is to blame?

Thirty years ago, in 1918, the Honourable President Shri Vithalbai Patel, placed before this House a Bill regarding Inter Marriage among the Hindus but no practical result has followed so far. I gave a notice of one such Bill a few days ago and I hope that it will come before the House on the 26th instant.

**Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya** (Madras: General): We will accept that Bill.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava**: I am thankful to Dr. Pattabhi for this, and also thank him for his blessings. I look upon his orders with great regard. And if he would accept this Bill, as he has said, I have no doubt that the country will follow him. But it requires very great efforts.

Most respectfully I beg to state that you can say about the British that they wanted to divide us to keep their hold on India, but when here on the 15th August, 15 Ministers were appointed, may I ask you why the 16th Minister for Social Democracy and Social Reform was not appointed?

A few days ago, I said that if you really want to make progress, you would have to make many changes. I mean to say whether the fifteen newly appointed Ministers are prepared to take the pledge that they would marry their children out of their caste. And also whether all the Members of the Congress Committee who have made the wearing of Khaddar their creed swear that before joining the party and becoming members of it they would inter marry their sons and daughters. If the members of the Congress Committee and those of the all-India Congress Committee follow with their pure hearts the lesson taught by Gandhiji, then I am sure that the country will soon change for the better. But, this appears to be vain hope, as the caste system has so much permeated our blood that it will not leave it easily.

The Resolution under discussion seems to me very innocent, but several gentlemen understand the effect of this Resolution thus that those who have monopolized services in these days, would not allow to get into service such castes and sub-castes which are lower than theirs. But I will state and will state even by beat of drums that this idea of theirs is not true and that to entertain such doubts and suspicions is not proper. Such an idea cannot, I am sure, enter the pure mind of Mr. Diwakar.

I welcome the speech of my friend, Mr. Diwakar, but I must say what is the use of cutting only branches and leaves if you do not strike at the root of the disease. If you want to make a true and united nationality which has repeatedly been mentioned in the objective Resolution of the Constituent Assembly, you should then cut the root of this existing evil.

For the attainment of the real object this is the only remedy which has been called as 'speculative' by Mr. Diwakar but which I am sure will prove sure and certain 'panacea'. To speak the truth, had I been the Dictator of India, I would have at once issued an ordinance that the person who would marry his sons and daughters in his own caste would be punished with six months imprisonment and would have seen it worked.

**An Honourable Member**: Khuda Ganje Ko Nakhun Na De. Yes, God will not give me nails, I know. But today, which man of sound mind can deny this fact that inter marriage is the bedrock of the United Nationality and the unique remedy of India's ills. Today is the time of test for every patriot and every Congressman. Small communities do not constitute our caste but

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

the whole of India is our community and humanity is our creed. Whosoever, men and women, would forsake their own castes and inter marry, would make true soldiers of the Indian Nationality.

We abandoned the principle of humanity and indulge in internecine quarrels. But now after undergoing so many misfortunes, and after killing so many Hindus and Muslims if we have not even learnt the simple lesson of harmony, I do not know when we will learn the real lesson? The tragedy is that if in any office if the chief Officer is a Muslim you will find the whole of his staff Muslims and if a Brahmin is appointed on a big post, you will see all Brahmins in his office. What is the question of Brahmins, Appoint a Sikh, you will see all Sikhs; appoint a Bhargava, you will see all Bhargavas; appoint a Kashmiri you will see all Kashmiries; and also if you appoint a Madrasi you will see all Madrasis.

What is its remedy after all, I would ask if Zafar Ali's daughter could marry Parma Nand's son or *vice versa* how was this Hindu Muslim collision possible? Hindus and Muslims would have been relatives of one another. Do Muslims live in India only? They live in China also, they live in Japan too. Then how is it that a Muslim of India may be a well wisher of only Pakistan, whereas Muslims of other countries should be loyal to their own countries. The present time demands that the dangerous disease of multifarious castes is far more worse, than the diversity of religion and must be rooted out.

In ancient times caste was not determined by birth, and marriages took place among various sub-castes. In the age of Mahabharata Kashtriyas married Brahmins and children were born of them. I challenge the man who proves that according to the Hindu Shastras caste was recognised on the basis of birth, but it is quite a different practice now and this practice has been a source of our ruin.

How strange it is, that a Muslim can become a Hindu, and a Hindu can become a Muslim, but neither a cobbler can become a Brahmin nor a Brahmin can become cobbler. A Jat cannot become a Rajput, or a Rajput a Jat. I do not understand what mystery lies at its bottom? If I were to mention the distinctions between diverse castes and sub-castes and to relate stories about them, they would not be finished in hours and days, but perhaps a number of members in the House have not heard this that in a certain part of India an agriculturist jat has to pay one third of the produce, while a Rajput has to pay one fourth, i.e., the taxation of that land increases and decreases according to the caste and community. These days also there are still many districts in which a Jat cannot ride a camel in a Rajputs village.

Services are secured on the basis of caste and so much so that even admissions to schools or a college are regulated on the basis of caste and creed. Quite recently, a few days ago a Madrasi friend of mine who is an M.L.A. related to me the fact that his son was refused admission to an Engineering College, because he was a Brahmin.

There is only one remedy for this wildness, madness, and disease and it is inter-marriage. If you would not adopt this principle and would not act upon it then most respectfully I would state that you can never succeed. If you accept the principle of inter-marriage along with this resolution and act upon it, I do not oppose the Resolution, because this resolution can then be accepted as an handmaid of the Inter Marriage Bill.

I suppose that my fifteen minutes' time has finished. In the end I would like to repeat that the obstacle of caste and creed in the way of our united nationality can be removed by inter-marriage only and there is absolutely no other remedy. If you pass the Resolution by accepting this principle I

would have no objection, otherwise I oppose the Resolution.

**An Honourable Member:** Let us have the views of Government.

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil** (Minister for Works, Mines and Power): Sir, if it is the desire of the House I can intervene at this stage, if the Chair so directs.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Government Member has a right of double intervention. He can intervene now as well as at the end. If it will facilitate discussion I would like to call upon him to speak now.

**Shri Ramnarayan Singh** (Bihar: General): Sir, does the subject relate to the Department of Works, Mines and Power?

**Mr. Chairman:** The Honourable Minister has been placed in charge of this Resolution.

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** Government functions on the principle of joint responsibility.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh** (C. P. and Berar: General): Sir, I would like to request the Honourable Minister to make his statement after I have spoken.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Honourable Member will be called afterwards.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** I wanted to request him not to commit Government in any way.

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** Sir, I have listened with great attention to the speech delivered by my honourable friend Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava. I feel that after the 15th August last there can be only one caste—that of Indian—and one religion—that of humanity. But Government have to deal with practical aspects of administration and have no clean slate to write upon. I should therefore like to put forward the views of Government as precisely as possible. In so far as the Mover's object is to abolish distinctions of caste, religion, community, etc. from public administration, public services and other spheres of State activity, I do not think there can be any serious controversy or difference of opinion. In fact it is what we have been fighting for over a period of years and what we have tried both to preach and practise. Our struggle for the abolition of untouchability in all forms is not only symbolic of our outlook but it is in itself a clear testimony of the sincerity and the conviction with which we hold this view. Indeed we have already gone some way to achieve the object which the Mover has in view. In the census of 1941, for instance, no caste or religion tabulation was done; instead it was confined only to classification by communities. The result was that instead of presenting statistics under hundreds of heads we tabulated them under half a dozen. I am sure Honourable Members will appreciate that this was a notable advance in the direction of simplified sub national classification.

Then in the public services the alien Government introduced all sorts of water-tight compartments in the so-called desire to give minorities a fair deal. Their main object was to vivisect rather than integrate the nation; and they sought to do it systematically and in an orderly fashion. They first started with patronising the Anglo-Indians and Christians; that was understandable. They then took kindly to Mussulmans, an affection, which grew as the years rolled by until it became an overmastering passion. Then they thought as a purely side business about scheduled castes. The Sikhs were soon added to the fold. In provinces backward classes, the advanced classes and intermediate classes were devised. The tribal classes were also impoverished. It is curious that all this solicitude was manifested since 1923. That is only after our peaceful struggle for freedom. I am mentioning all this not with a view to have a fling at those who have gone. It is not my habit to indulge in such a pastime, but to say how during the last 25 years of British

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rule in India, divisions and further divisions have been created and what a legacy we have succeeded to. Nevertheless, as soon as we started we initiated action to abolish these anti-democratic trends. It has been the constant endeavour of this Government to rid the public services of communal reservation and we have now reduced reservation in services to which recruitment is by competitive examination to only one, that is in favour of the Scheduled Caste.

In the constitutional field also, we have now abolished reservation on the basis of separate electorates. We are also doing away with recognition of communal and caste distinctions.

Our attitude to the Honourable Mover's resolution therefore is not only of sympathy, but of continuing action directed to achieving the objectives laid down in it. At the same time, I would remind him and the House that we have a legacy of years to live down. The Gordian Knot which man and time have combined to tie in ever increasing complication cannot be cut in one stroke but has to be smilingly unravelled. So long as we are still used to think in terms of the past and act by force of acquired habit, so long as we have to deal with entrenched vested interests, it would not be possible to abolish these distinctions by one stroke of the pen. We have to acquire a new outlook. We have to take a new vision. All that will take some time. Until we have gone a long way in changing people's habits and minds, such distinctions will persist. But I have no doubt that their intensity will not only gradually but rapidly decrease. With people becoming used to democracy and acquiring the new idea of human dignity and seeing national viewpoints in action, the progress towards the goal which the mover has set in his resolution will be more quickly reached than we ever believed it could be. It would then be a new India, an India throbbing with a new life, instilled with a complete sense of unity among its people. That is what we have aspired for and that is what we hope to achieve, if not in this generation, then at least in the generation to come.

I would ask the mover of the resolution not to force the pace too much but to have patience until the unmistakable forces at work themselves bring about the consummation of our joint efforts to make this caste-ridden country a caste-less nation. We have made some progress in that direction. We have to make more and quicker progress than we could have done some years ago. We shall examine afresh in what further directions we can proceed on the lines chalked out in the resolution and I may assure the House that we shall not hesitate to act in the spirit of the resolution in so far as it may be immediately feasible.

I hope that in the light of this assurance, the Honourable Member will withdraw his resolution.

At the same time, Sir, whatever legislative or administrative measures this Government may take, the real, solid and abiding progress will depend upon social conscience and social conduct. And in so far as they are concerned, nothing is calculated to stir them more than the suggestion made by my Honourable friend, Pandit Thakurdas Bhasuaya, that everybody who calls himself a member of the Congress, or for the matter of that an Indian citizen, should take up the pledge here and now that neither in his word, nor in his action, nor in his thought he will think except in terms of nationalisms.

**Shri R. R. Diwakar:** Sir, with reference to the statement just made, I have a question to ask.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Honourable Member may ask his question.

**Shri R. B. Diwakar:** Sir, there is a reference to what is called 'examination' of the question. I would like to know in what particular manner it will be done.

**The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil:** I think I have indicated the lines of progress by way of legislative and administrative measures. Over and above all, the real progress, the abiding progress, the enduring progress, will depend on social conduct and social conscience.

**डा० धर्मप्रकाश** सभापति महोदय, प्रस्तावक महोदय ने जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने उपस्थित किया है, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि उस प्रस्ताव में उनकी शुभ कामनाएं निहित हैं जो स्वतंत्र भारत के लिये बहुत आवश्यक हैं। परन्तु प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करने से पहले हमें थोड़ी देर के लिये इस बात पर विचार करना है कि जिस आधार पर हम इस साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटाना चाहते हैं, वास्तव में वह साम्प्रदायिकता किस प्रकार से मिट सकती है और किस हद तक उसकी जड़ें मजबूत हो चुकी हैं। आज अगरचे हम यह प्रस्ताव पास भी कर लें तो भी हमें इस बात पर विचार करना होगा, और थोड़ा पीछे जाना पड़ेगा, कि जिस विधान-परिषद् में हम कानून बनाने बैठे हैं और जिसमें हमने इस आधार पर कि हम मुसलमानों को मुसलमानों की जन-संख्या के अनुपात से एंग्लोइन्डियन्स, पारसियों, ईसाइयों को और सिक्खों को उनकी अपनी अपनी संख्या के अनुपात से और ख़ास तौर से हरिजनों को उनकी जन-संख्या के अनुपात से स्थान देना स्वीकार किया है तब यह कहना कि सर्विसेज और गवर्नमेन्ट के रेकार्ड्स से इस प्रकार की भावना, मिट जाय, यह अव्यावहारिक बात है। हम इसे क्रियात्मक रूप (practical shape) नहीं दे सकेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें इस बात पर थोड़ा विचार करना है। अगर हम वास्तव में इस साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटाना चाहते हैं तो जो परिस्थित इस वक़्त पैदा हो चुकी है उसके अनुसार यह समझने से प्रस्ताव के लिये उपयुक्त नहीं है। आज एक मुसलमान अगरचे किसी रजिस्टर में अपना नाम दर्ज कराना चाहता है या कोई Application किसी Department में पेश करता है तो उस वक़्त वह यह लिखाता है कि मेरा नाम करीम बक्श, वल्द अमानुल्ला है। उस वक़्त ख़ामुखाह मालूम हो जाता है कि वह मुसलमान है। इसी तरह हिन्दू लिखता है 'रामदास वल्द सीताराम' तो पता चलता है कि वह हिन्दू है। इसी तरह सिक्ख लिखता है 'सर्दार बलवन्त सिंह वल्द सर्दार राम सिंह' तो पता चल जाता है कि वह सिक्ख है। ऐसी अवस्था में आप कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेन्ट के रेकार्ड में यह चीज़ न रहे और गवर्नमेन्ट ऐसा कोई कागज़ न रखे जिसमें उसे मजबूर होकर अपनी जाति-उपजाति लिखानी पड़े। तो इन कागज़ों के होते हुए भी जिनमें जाति-उपजाति हटा दी गई है आपका उद्देश्य पूरा नहीं होता। आप अगर इसे मिटाना चाहें तो ऐसा समय और सद्भावना पैदा कीजिये जिसमें एक मुसलमान बड़ी खुशी से अपना नाम रामलाल रख कर भी मसजिद में नमाज़ पढ़ सके और एक हिन्दू

अपना नाम करीम बक्श रख कर मन्दिर में घंटा बजा सके। ऐसी अवस्था आ सकती है तो काम चल सकता है, वरना आप इस साम्प्रदायिकता को इस रूप में मिटा नहीं सकते।

मेरा कहना यह भी है कि आज इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि साम्प्रदायिकता के विषले प्रभाव के कारण हम परेशान हैं और देश का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति दुखी है साथही हमें दुनियां के विदेशी राष्ट्र लांछित कर रहे हैं कि हममें साम्प्रदायिकता है और हम जातियता की संकीर्णता में फंसे हुए हैं जैसा अभी स्वयम् भार्गव जी ने भी कहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी बात बहुत उचित (reasonable) है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ मुसलमान और सिक्खों से अपील करने के बजाय खुद हिन्दू-हिन्दू से अपील करें और भेद-भाव को मिटा दें तो हमारा अधिक लाभ होगा और हम देश से साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटा सकेंगे, अन्यथा मैं बड़े अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग आज कल जात-पातका भेद-भाव मिटाना चाहते हैं और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय तथा अन्तर-जातीय विवाह करना चाहते हैं; उनसे मैं पूछता हूँ कि जब तक वे अपने नाम के आगे, भार्गव, सारस्वत, शुक्ल, चतुर्वेदी, त्रिवेदी, सक्सेना, श्रीवास्तव आदि लगाते रहेंगे तब तक यह कैसे सम्भव हो सकता है कि आप साम्प्रदायिकता को मिटा सकें और यह भेद-भाव की भावना भुला सकें। मैं सबसे पहले तजवीज करता हूँ कि जो लोग अपने नाम के आगे जाति उपजातियों का नाम लगाते हैं उसको मिटाएं और तब दूसरों से अपील करें।

उन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव को अव्यवहार्य समझता हूँ। और यह practice में आने वाला प्रस्ताव नहीं है। इस लिये मैं प्रस्तावक महोदय से कहूंगा कि इसी उद्देश्य को ले कर जो फैसला विधान परिषद् ने किया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में अल्प-संख्यकों की सुरक्षा का अधिकार रहेगा, यदि इसे ध्यान में लाएंगे तो उसकी आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी। आवश्यकता इस बात की आज जरूर है कि जो व्यक्ति अपने को कट्टर हिन्दू कहता है वह अपना कट्टरपन भूल जाय और मुसलमान अपना मुसलमानपन भूल जाय जिस कारण वह दूसरों को काफिर समझता रहा है। और तभी सच्चे राष्ट्र का निर्माण हो सकता है अगर हम यह भावना लाएंगे, तो हम अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करेंगे और स्वर्गीय पूज्य बापू का आदर्श जिसको क्रियात्मक रूप देने के कारण उनकी मृत्यु हुई, उसको हम पूरा कर सकेंगे।

यह भावना हमारे अन्दर आती है तो न इस प्रस्ताव की जरूरत है न प्रचार की। जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम अपना कर्तव्य पालन करें और अगर हमने वह किया तो यह भेद-भाव की भावना अपने आप मिट जायगी।

• • (English translation of the above speech)

**Dr. Dharam Prakash** (U. P. : General): Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt that the Resolution brought before the House by the Mover contains his good wishes that are quite essential for Independent India; but before presenting the Bill we must be able to find out as to what is the real way of abolishing communalism which is now so deeply rooted in the country. Even if we may pass this Bill today we should remember that under the very roof of this House, where we are framing our laws today, we have agreed that seats will be allotted to Mohammadans, Anglo-Indians, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs and the Schedule Castes in particular, on the basis of their population; we have no right therefore to say that this feeling must disappear from services and Government records. I am afraid we shall not be able to give it a practical shape and I think we should give a little more thought to this. If we are really very keen to abolish communalism then under the conditions which have already developed it is not the proper time to introduce such a Bill. Today the conditions are such that if a Mohammadan desires to have his name registered or presents his application for appointment in some Government Department, he gives his name as Karim Bakhsh son of Aman Ullah which clearly states that he is a Mohammadan. Similarly when a Hindu turns up and gives his name as Ram Das son of Sita Ram, it is made clear there and then that he is a Hindu and in the same manner when a Sikh comes up his name is taken down as Sardar Balwant Singh son of Sardar Ram Singh and it becomes quite evident that he is a Sikh. In such conditions you are asking that the Government must not have such registers or forms in which a man need have to state his caste or sub-caste. I am afraid your purpose will not be served even if such records and papers come into existence on which the question regarding the caste or sub-caste does not appear. If you really want to do away with the feeling of communal hatred in the country you must create an atmosphere of goodwill and trust among people so that if a Mohammadan calls himself Ram Lal he is freely allowed to offer his prayers in a mosque and a Hindu who styles himself as Karim Baksh is permitted to enter a temple and ring the bells there. If that stage of mutual trust and goodwill is possible then you would be successful otherwise you cannot abolish communalism as we see it today.

I would no doubt add that due to the poisonous effect of communalism we are quite perplexed and every man in the country is sick of it today. Moreover the people of other countries are mocking at us for communalism exists here and as stated by Bhargava Jee himself we are entangled in the complexity of the caste system. That may be quite correct, I agree and it may be quite reasonable too, but I feel that instead of appealing to Mohammadans and Sikhs, a Hindu should now appeal to a Hindu and both should sink their difference of caste: This will help us a great deal and we shall be able to destroy communalism. Otherwise, I have to submit that so long as the people who are advocating inter class or inter national marriages do not themselves refrain from using suffixes after their names such as Bhargava, Saraswat, Shukla, Chaturvedi, Trivedi, Saksena, Shrivastava, etc., how is it possible to stamp out communalism from this country. I, therefore, propose that those who are using these suffixes should first stop that practice and then they should appeal to others. With these words I regard this resolution as impracticable. I would, therefore, request the Honourable the Mover that if he bears in mind the decisions taken by the Constituent Assembly that has kept in view this ideal that the responsibility and right of the defence of this country will always rest with the masses, he would find that there is no necessity for this Bill. Of course we do need today that every individual who calls himself a staunch Hindu should forget his orthodoxy, and every Mussalman sinks his fanaticism which makes him regard the non-muslims as Kafirs, then alone, a real nation can come into being. If we cherish this

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view we will be doing our duty and will be fulfilling the ideal of the late venerable Bapu who laid down his life for putting it into practice.

If we have this feeling we need neither this resolution nor any propaganda. What we need is that we should do our duty and if we do that, this feeling of communalism will die its own death.

**Shri H. R. Guruv Reddy (Mysore State):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I wish I was also able to speak in Hindi but I do not know. So I am reluctantly ignoring what has transpired in Hindi and shall proceed.

I would draw the attention of this Honourable House to the language employed in this resolution and for the benefit of clarity I would read it. I will mark the particular words that practically decide the fate of this resolution:

"This Assembly is of opinion that for any purposes connected with the State or its services, the Government of India shall not recognise any caste, sub-caste, sect or religion."

We should note the words 'any' and 'shall not recognise'.

That is the first part of the resolution. As the Mover himself said there is a second part and "that in future it shall abolish the mention (the words 'abolish the mention' should be noted) or entry of caste, sub-caste, sect or religion in any forms supplied by Government or in any records or registers kept by Government". These are the most important words of the resolution to be noted. I wish the Mover of the resolution my Honourable friend Mr. Diwakar had put the objective of it definitely and clearly and set a time limit also to it. If the resolution is accepted by the House or passed by the House it would come into operation at once and under the existing circumstances of society in India. Without the mention of this time limit by the Mover himself I shall take it that he means that the resolution shall come into force at once, if it is moved and accepted by the House. Therefore after examining the language employed in the resolution I am inclined to think that a mature and astute politician like Mr. Diwakar is using these words quite deliberately and he should be presumed to know the consequences of a resolution in these terms moved and passed in an august House like this. This is the Parliament of India and any decision taken here is binding on the whole nation. Therefore I would say that the language of this resolution is calculated to wage a silent and treacherous war against the dumb millions of the oppressed, depressed and backward peoples of this great country. It would be a war waged by the forward classes and groups and against the dumb millions. I would amplify it by saying that the Honourable Member Mr. Diwakar has been thinking of one thing in his mind and he has explained it in another way and he has written down his resolution in an altogether different form and is perhaps likely to act in an astute manner when the resolution is passed. I would beg of this Honourable House not to accept the resolution in any form. When the very basis of any services or any of the documents to be maintained in the country are to be taken away, it is destruction of positive evidence to prove a certain thing. (Interruption) If my friends suggest that such a destruction is a penal offence, it would come under the Penal Code. It is destruction of evidence which is available to us and therefore the resolution should not be accepted. (An Honourable Member: "I am trying to correct the Honourable Member"). It is not possible for my Honourable friend to correct me. The presumption therefore from the language of the resolution is that the Mover has been silently introducing merit as the only other way. I am one of those who believe in merit and I am not afraid of accepting merit. In fact we want merit, we cannot get on without merit. It is the dictum on which we should act and we have acted on it even in the past. But what is merit?



Has my Honourable friend come forward with any definition of merit? Has he put down what merit is the basis of service? Shall I say that a book-worm is a meritorious boy? Shall I understand him to say that all brain and nobody is merit or that quibbling is merit or that hair-splitting argument is something which is merit, or treachery otherwise called diplomacy is merit? There are certain other traits in certain people like crow-catching is that merit? There are people who are prepared to sell away office secrets for a couple of rupees or probably with ten chips more even their country itself is that merit? What is merit? Again merit is a thing which has got to be defined and I wish my Honourable friend had defined it and yet it has been subtly introduced. We are not afraid of subtlety, because we can dive deeper than this subtlety. I do not know what is meant by these words. I wish my Honourable friend the Mover had defined what is meant by merit. I am the first one to accept merit. You must be on *terra firma* when you are going to act but that has not at all been shown to the House. Therefore fundamentally he has failed in his arguments.

Then again we must be very constructive when we are putting forth such damaging resolutions before the House, damaging from the point of view that nothing constructive has been shown. It is possible, I believe, to achieve what all Mr. Diwakar has intended here or ever intended at all by a few suggestions. You have to prepare the entire population with free primary, at least, and compulsory education. That is the foundation for improvement of the nation. There is nothing else which my friend can take up to achieve the thought that he has been engendering. That is the only solution left to the nation to achieve all the things that my friend wants—free, primary and compulsory education. If crores of rupees are thrown away in that direction and if a planned education for the next five years is launched—I am not prepared for a ten years programme because we are marching too fast—if within the five years we could achieve our objective by a compulsory education, the masses would come up to a higher level, people would be prepared to mix more freely and caste and creed would not be cared for very much and a unity of the nation would certainly be more possible than it ever could be under the existing circumstances. Therefore, I expected my friend Mr. Diwakar to say that compulsory, free, primary education must be the basis, the fundamental, if he were to think of success of his resolution. But he has failed to do that. He has never uttered that. I could catch my Hindi friends talking here. I also believe in an inter-marriage, a free inter-marriage without any obstruction. There is going to be a Validating Act and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said he would accept it forthwith. I want to be the forerunner and I would do it even before him. Unless and until there is intermarriage between caste and caste, between sub-caste and sub-caste, this nation, particularly the Hindu nation, cannot be built up easily. Therefore I would suggest as a practical measure that immediately after the Bill is passed, or if there is any such law to validate the marriages taking place now, State aid must be given as an inducement to such marriages. The State may come forward and say "we will perform the marriage at the cost of the State". There may be group marriages. Certainly it can be done and it would not be very difficult for a nation to do. Then let my friend Mr. Diwakar wait and get all that he wants. I would even put a premium on those things. If a man of the so-called higher community marries a lady of the so-called lower community he should be enabled to get some benefit from the State. Let us take human psychology. If a man of the so-called higher community—I do not recognize it as such—takes in marriage a woman of a community which is supposed to be of a lower community then the State may give him aid. What sort of aid? Not only free marriage, he need not spend a copper coin and all the marriage expenses are to be borne by the State—not only free celebration of the marriage by the State, but he could

be tempted with a little employment for winning his bread—not a Ministership as Dr. Patlabhi tempts me to say—but some livelihood could be ensured for him. He could be given certain concessions in business if he is a businessman. You can subsidize him in any manner. If he begets many children one child may be maintained at the cost of the State. Thereby you would be encouraging inter-communal and inter-caste marriage. That is one way of doing it.

**Mr. Chairman:** The Honourable Member's time is coming to a close.

**Shri H. R. Guruv Reddy:** I am coming to a close. I find Mr. Kamath [Shri H. R. Guruv Reddy.]

is very anxious to speak. Let him speak after me. Coming back to the resolution, if all these things are ignored and the resolution is passed, what would be the consequences? Let the census records and any other record that is available be perused. You will find those forward blocs, those forward communities, those forward groups, are occupying more than 80 per cent. of the State services. All the political power, all the social power, all the economic power of the country is today concentrated in the hands of these very small per cent. of the forward community. If this evidence is destroyed, which is a crime in my humble opinion, and if we are groping in the dark for the next decade or two to come, what would be the result? The eighty per cent. benefited small community will rapidly multiply itself to 100 per cent. and wipe out all the other oppressed the depressed and backward classes. It shall not be allowed. Under no case should this resolution be allowed.

**Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P.: General):** Mr. Chairman, I wholeheartedly associate myself with the resolution. While Honourable Members have argued on the different aspects of the question the real point has been missed by them. We know that the Englishman has gone out. But the fact remains that this hoary land of ours is still bound by strong chains: the chains of the past, the chains of the caste and the chains of want. You have still got to be freed from the past, freed from the caste and freed from want. On our shoulders is the burden of centuries. You should remember that for a simple proposition that the girl should be educated no less a sage than Swami Dayanand has to refer to the Vedas. This is the bondage of the past. Unless you bury the past you cannot go ahead. You have to remember that only a hundred miles away from this place there are different laws for the Rajputs and different laws for the Jats. Under the law of Manu there are different laws for Brahmans and Thakurs and there are no laws practically for the depressed classes. This is the bondage of caste. Till you break these chains India cannot be made free. Your forms of life, in the words of a great writer on physiology and history, are lifeless because they are caste-ridden. So the problem of caste is not so simple as to be solved by resolutions, or by correcting mistakes in commas or changing the words here and there, or by assurances from a Minister. The problem can be solved by one thing only and that is to think and act in the term of the common man and to move on in the term and in the name of the common man. To think in the term of caste or in the term of the past is a crime. It is a crime against the people and it is a crime against God. For thinking and acting in terms of the past and caste we have paid dearly—more dearly than any nation or any race in the world. We have pelted stones on Buddha simply because he cried in the name of divinity of the soul—the soul in every being. For that the people pelted stones on him. He cried aloud and called in the name of the Gods 'Take my limbs away because the soul that is in the animal is as precious to me as my own soul; the body of the animal is as precious to me as my own, so take my limbs.' But Great Buddha was pelted with stones. Then came Swami Dayanand. He simply cried in the name of the depressed classes 'Think not of untouchability, think

not of pollution by the touch of these people' and he was poisoned. And what happened to our great Gandhiji? He cried aloud humanity is to be loved and served. Everyone is as dear and as precious as anyone else on the earth. So for crying for humanity, this great man was shot dead. Remember it is not one mad man's deed. It is the poison of caste. It is the poison of class. Of that poison this great man has been made victim. Anybody who today thinks in terms of caste, thinks in terms of class, at this moment is as bad as the man who actually shot Gandhiji. That man did not shoot Gandhiji. It is the poison of the caste, it is the poison of the class. It is the historical bondage of the class and past that bind our culture, that bind our history today. This is, Sir, a crime against history. How did it happen? I have not much time left for me to speak at length. The Hindu culture was a culture of classes. It was a cultural mode of life but that had its consummation in the time of Buddha. After that, class or caste should not have found any place in our history. We paid dearly in the fall of Rana Partap. Many of our great teachers who brought about a revival of the classes thought in terms of caste. They gave us great thoughts, great teaching and great system of philosophy, but revived forms without life so much so that in the modern age we have forms without life and therefore the whole nation as a nation and community has an unnatural life. Unless you create new forms altogether forgetting the past and thinking and acting in terms of the common man, your future is marred and the dream of freedom is a dream without any meaning whatsoever. Therefore in the name of our glorious past, in the name of the bright future that we are trying to build, I appeal to you, gentlemen, not to think in terms of the past, not to act in terms of the caste, but to think and act in terms of the common man and build this great nation and this great country.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, my task of speaking on this resolution has been considerably lightened both by the fact that quite a good many speakers have already expressed themselves strongly against the resolution and also because Government has declared its policy on the matter. In the beginning, Sir, I would like to assure my Honourable friend Mr. Diwakar that I am one with him so far as he aims at the elimination of this poison from the Hindu society. I also agree with him that caste considerations react badly and are bad for society and they have also far-reaching political repercussions: But, Sir, where I differ from him is in the potency and efficacy of the remedy that he has suggested. I do not wish to be autobiographical. I do not consider myself a big enough man to do it. And yet I am sure the House will bear with me if I say that it was full 21 years ago that I actually acted on advice which has found favour with some of the members today. In the year 1927 I married out of caste and at considerable sacrifice. I could have easily, by marrying within the caste, got property, etc., worth 10 lakhs of rupees as dowry. So, Sir, if I say that I am not in favour of this resolution, I hope my friend will not mis-understand me. I do not question his motives, I do not question his intentions. I also accept the ideal towards the realization of which I have made a substantial contribution by my own example. But the remedy that he has suggested is at the present moment not the proper one. Elimination of caste distinctions must come about out of the development of the Society, as my friend Mr. Chettiyar has said, out of the progress of people, and mere compulsory primary education will not do. Inter-caste marriages will start in right earnest when we have large-scale higher education in the country. It is everybody's knowledge that recently caste barriers are disappearing automatically. Young girls and young boys who go today to colleges and mix among themselves do not care to enquire about the caste or sub-caste to which he or she belongs. No sooner they dis-

[Dr. P. S. Deshmukh]

cover there is affinity between them and find they are in agreement on the broad aims and fundamentals of life, so to say, than they decide without waiting for the permission of their parents and in many cases against the wishes of their parents, and they inter-marry. What has been suggested by Mr. Diwakar here is at the present moment, Sir, highly suspect. The whole of India at the present moment, feels especially concerned with regard to the very two items which have been specifically mentioned in this resolution, namely purposes connected with the State or its services. Curiously enough these are the two items that have struck my Honourable friend, and it is exactly here that there is considerable heart-burning among the masses of people. It is probably well known even in this House that the Konkanesth Brahmin from the Maharashtra monopolise the services. If somebody else gets in, it is seen that he is chucked out at the earliest possible moment. It is common not only to the Central Provinces and Berar, but the whole of the Southern Peninsula. It is a matter of history that people rose in rebellion against this sort of partiality and domination of the Brahmin as my friend is talking about non-mention of caste only in Government records and for purposes of services. I cannot see Sir, what we can achieve by requiring parties and witnesses not being required to mention caste in witness boxes. My friend has not yet really studied the subject. It is not merely not stating your caste in the witness boxes that can help. What about the Hindu Law? Is he going to abolish Hindu Law today? Has he considered this? This resolution, really speaking, ought to have been declared out of order since it goes against the principles which this very Assembly accepted sitting for the purpose of drafting a constitution has as fundamental for the future governance of India. I am surprised that the Government should have been indiscreet enough to make a garbled and unnecessary statement on the subject. I think the Government went too far and showed itself too solicitous in making a lengthy statement which was absolutely unnecessary. That is why I wanted to speak before the Honourable Minister and appeal to the government that this was a matter which was being considered differently by a very large number of people and that there was considerable opposition in the House. As my Honourable friend Mr. Diwakar himself admitted, we are only few and far between here and we cannot abrogate to ourselves either the wisdom or the representative capacity to represent everybody and every interest in this country. And so I wish to tell him that the vast masses of people are looking on this resolution with suspicion and are most vehemently opposed to it. My friend tried to blame the British Government that is wrong and irrelevant. Will my friend tell the House who created the castes? Those people who are shouting against it today, they are the creators of castes. All these years and centuries they preached it. They perpetuated it and profitted by it. They told the masses that secrets were embodied in ununderstandable Sanskrit books. They deliberately kept people from study of Sanskrit. Nay they prevented them . . . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** Does the Honourable Member wish to continue for some time?

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** Yes, Sir.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then, the House will adjourn.

*The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday the 18th February, 1948.*