

26th March 1940

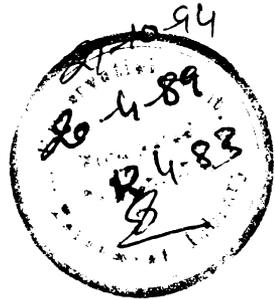
**THE**  
**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

**Official Report**

**Volume II, 1940**

*(6th March to 26th March, 1940)*

**ELEVENTH SESSION**  
**OF THE**  
**FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,**  
**1940**



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# Legislative Assembly

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SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 26th March, 1940.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### SENIORITY AND PROMOTION OF MINISTERIAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

†510. \*Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state whether it is a fact that ministerial establishments employed in the various Branches of Army Headquarters are not borne on one common roll for the whole of Army Headquarters?

(b) Are Government aware that the present system of seniority and promotion obtaining in Army Headquarters is productive of genuine grievance in the ministerial establishments of Army Headquarters? If so, what steps, if any, are proposed to be taken to remedy the present state of affairs? If no steps are contemplated, why not?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) Yes.

(b) No.

#### ACTING ALLOWANCE GRANTED IN ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

†511. \*Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Defence Secretary please state whether it is a fact that, in the Secretariat, the Assistant actually in charge of a Section during the absence of the Superintendent on leave, is granted acting allowance, but that, in Army Headquarters, the man actually performing duties does not receive acting allowance which goes to the man senior on the office roll irrespective of whether he is called upon to take over the duties or not? If so, why?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Every Branch in Army Headquarters is split up into a number of sections. Some are in charge of Superintendents and some of Assistants. When a Superintendent goes on leave, the allowance may either go to the Assistant in the same section who does his work, or to the Assistant-in-charge of another section.

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

**FEMALE CLERKS IN ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

†512. \*Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state the number of female unqualified clerks recruited for service in Defence Headquarters since the 4th September, 1939, and how many of them are either:

- (i) wives, or
- (ii) daughters

of permanent employees of the Government of India who are in receipt of salaries over Rs. 300 per mensem?

(b) Is it a fact that these female clerks get double the pay received by male clerks? If so, why?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) 24

- (a) (i). 9.
- (a) (ii). 1.
- (b) No.

**STAFF IN THE ARMAMENTS DIRECTORATE, ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

†513. \*Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state whether it is a fact that a Principal Foreman getting pay at Rs. 800 per mensem has recently been posted in the Armaments Directorate, Army Headquarters, to assist the clerical establishment of that Directorate in technical matters?

(b) Will the Defence Secretary please lay on the table a statement showing the pay and allowances drawn at present by each Superintendent, Assistant and clerk of that Directorate?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) A principal foreman on Rs. 775 per mensem, who is a specialist, has been posted to Armaments Directorate, Army Headquarters, to deal with certain technical problems.

(b) A statement is laid on the table.

*Statement showing the pay and allowance drawn at present by the staff of the Armaments Directorate, Master General of the Ordnance Branch.*

	Pay.		Duty allowance.	
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
1. Mr. Raghunath Pershad, Superintendent . . .	700	0 0	..	..
2. Mr. Shiv Ram Dass, Superintendent . . .	660	0 0	..	..
3. Mr. Imman-ud-Din, Superintendent . . .	620	0 0	..	..
4. Mr. Amar Nath Jerath, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	404	0 0	50	0 0
5. Mr. B. S. Bhatnagar, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	380	0 0	..	..
6. Mr. M. Joshi, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	404	0 0	..	..
7. Mr. U. C. Banerjee, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	404	0 0	..	..
8. Mr. C. W. Bateman, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	308	0 0	..	..
9. Mr. T. Johnstone, L. T. S. Assistant . . .	272	0 0	..	..
10. Mr. Dharam Das, Second Division Clerk . . .	242	0 0	..	..

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

Statement showing the pay and allowances drawn at present by the staff of the Armaments Directorate, Master General of the Ordnance Branch—contd.

	Pay.	Duty. allowance.		
11. Mr. Harbans Lall, Second Division Clerk . . .	242 0 0	..		
12. Mr. Amrit Lal, Second Division Clerk . . .	210 0 0	..		
13. Mr. A. C. Rewal, Second Division Clerk . . .	194 0 0	..		
14. Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Second Division Clerk . . .	178 0 0	..		
15. Mr. M. N. Bose, Third Division Clerk (Offg. 2nd Division Clerk) . . .	150 0 0	4 0 0		
16. Mr. M. M. Roy, Third Division Clerk . . .	150 0 0	..		
17. Mr. Mahan Singh, Third Division Clerk . . .	138 0 0	..		
18. Mr. Mohd. Hanif, Third Division Clerk . . .	134 0 0	..		
19. Mr. Ishwar Dayal Gupta, Third Division Clerk . . .	114 0 0	20 0		
20. Mr. A. K. Biswas, Upper Division, I. A. C. C. . .	120 0 0	..		
21. Mr. K. R. Goel, Upper Division, I. A. C. C. . .	120 0 0	..		
22. Mr. Anwar Ahmad, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	79 3 0	..		
23. Mr. U. S. Bhatia, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	69 10 0	..		
24. Mr. Bihari Lal, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	69 10 0	20 0 0		
25. Mr. S. A. R. Jesudoss, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	88 13 0	..		
26. Mr. Partap Singh, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	60 0 0	..		
27. Mr. Mohd. Nur-ul-Huda, Lower Division, I. A. C. C. . .	60 0 0	..		
28. Mr. Madan Lal Sharma, Temporary Indian Clerk . . .	60 0 0	..		
29. Mr. Mahmudul Hassan, Temporary Indian Clerk . . .	60 0 0	..		
		Other. allowances.		
30. S/Sgt. J. T. Ashenhurst, Soldier Clerk, I. A. O. C. . .	250 0 0	160 10 0		
31. S./Sgt. L. R. Warr, Soldier Clerk, I. A. C. C. . .	280 0 0	161 0 0		
32. S./Sgt. F. C. Scarlett, Soldier Clerk, I. A. C. C. . .	250 0 0	150 9 0		
Total	7,471 4 0	566 3 0		

#### COMMANDEERING OF RESIDENCES FOR NON-INDIAN EMPLOYEES OF THE DEFENCE DEPARTMENT IN SIMLA.

†514. \*Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state whether it is a fact that Government have decided to commandeer residences in Simla only for non-Indian employees of the Defence Department? If so, what is the reason for excluding the Indian employees from the proposed commandeering?

(b) Are Government aware that Indians are similarly situated with regard to the difficulty in securing houses in Simla?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF SUBJECTS OF INDIAN STATES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DEPARTMENTS.

†515. \*Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state the conditions for appointment of a subject of an Indian State in the Departments of the Government of India?

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

(b) Is an exemption from the provisions of the Government of India Act to be obtained by a subject of an Indian State or does the Department appointing him obtain it after his appointment? If it is the former, what steps should the candidate take in order to obtain an exemption? Is there any prescribed form on which an application should be made? If not, what are the points which he should state in his application and to whom should it be sent?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) The conditions are the same as for British subjects. The only difference is that a subject of an Indian State is not eligible to hold office in the absence of a declaration of eligibility under section 262 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

(b) The candidate should submit an application to the Political Officer of the State of which he is a subject stating the service or post in respect of which a declaration is required and should furnish necessary evidence to show that he belongs to the State in question. No form of application has been prescribed. The Political Officer transmits the papers to the Government of India. A declaration is, however, issued only in the case of a candidate definitely selected for appointment.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF SUBJECTS OF INDIAN STATES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DEPARTMENTS.

†516. \***Bhai Parma Nand:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether the Public Service Commission permit a subject of an Indian State who has not secured an exemption from the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, to appear in one of their examinations?

(b) Can a Department of the Government of India appoint, in a purely temporary vacancy, a subject of an Indian State who is not in possession of such exemption?

(c) Is a subject of an Indian State required to obtain a fresh exemption when he is re-appointed in another Department after the termination of his services?

(d) What is the duration of the period for which an exemption is granted to a subject of an Indian State under Article 262 of the Government of India Act, 1935?

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell:** (a) Yes. The bar imposed by section 262 of the Government of India Act, 1935, applies only to actual appointment.

(b) Under the proviso to sub-section (4) of section 262, the Governor General may authorise the temporary employment for any purpose of a person who is not a British subject.

(c) Yes, if the subjects of the State to which he belongs have not already been declared eligible to hold the office or class of offices to which he is re-appointed. Under the India and Burma (Miscellaneous Amendments) Act, 1940, fresh exemption will no longer be necessary from the 1st April 1940.

(d) No time limit is specified in a declaration issued under section 262.

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

**RECRUITMENT OF RELATIONS OF EMPLOYEES IN THE INCOME-TAX DEPARTMENT,  
PUNJAB, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND DELHI PROVINCES.**

†517. \*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that relations of departmental employees were debarred by certain Indian Civil Service Commissioners from appointment in the Income-tax Department, Punjab, North-West Frontier and Delhi Provinces, and are Government aware that this practice has since been changed?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, what were the reasons for the restriction and the relaxation?

(c) What is the communal composition of relatives so far admitted in this department since the year 1934, who are still in service?

(d) Is it a fact that some of these entrants, belonging to the majority community were made permanent in the initial lower grades and were promoted to the next higher grades? If so, was relationship a factor?

(e) Are Government aware that men of equivalent or even better qualifications were available amongst minorities and Muslims but were superseded by the relatives of the majority community employees?

(f) What is the communal composition of permanent and officiating hands in the grade of Head Assistants?

(g) Is it a fact that officiating hands include non-matriculantes?

(h) Is it a fact that the next junior grade includes matriculates and even graduates of communities poorly represented in the grade of Head Assistants? If so, how many and of which communities?

(i) What action do Government propose to take in the matter?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

**INCOME-TAX OFFICERS AND EXAMINERS IN INDIA.**

†518. \*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state the total number of Income-tax Officers and Examiners serving in India and state separately the number of Muslims, Hindus, Anglo-Indians and Europeans?

(b) How many Examiners were appointed as Assistant Income-tax Officers from the 1st January, 1939 to the 31st December, 1939, out of the total number?

(c) Will the Honourable Member please state the number of the Examiners and their qualifications, their grades and whether promotions mentioned above were effected strictly in accordance with seniority?

(d) Is it a fact that some Muslim senior Examiners have been superseded by junior Hindu Examiners in Bengal and other places?

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

(e) What was the reason for supersession, if any?

(f) Is it a fact that all Examiners were appointed as temporary Income-tax Officers a few months before? If so, what was the standard of efficiency for higher promotions within such a short time?

(g) How is it that most of the Muslim Examiners, though found quite efficient at the time of appointment as temporary Income-tax Officers with wider powers, have not been promoted to higher grades along with Hindu Officers? What is the reason for this difference? Do Government propose to look into their record of services and reconsider their cases?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** The collection of the detailed information asked for would involve expenditure of time and labour which in my opinion would not be justified by the value of the results obtained.

#### INCOME-TAX OFFICERS AND EXAMINERS IN THE COMPANY DISTRICTS AT CALCUTTA.

†519. \*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state how many Income-tax Officers and Examiners there are in the Company Districts at Calcutta?

(b) How many of them are Muslims, Hindus, Anglo-Indians and Europeans?

(c) How many Muslim were appointed in these Districts either as an Officer or as an Examiner since the creation of the Districts, and what was their number and duration of service in Calcutta?

(d) Why are shorter durations of service given to Muslims in Calcutta?

(e) Is it a fact that an extra allowance is given to the Officers in these Districts?

(f) Is it also a fact that those who work in these Districts are given and have been given preference during promotions?

(g) On what policy and principle are Government keeping the Muslim Income-tax Officers and Examiners mostly out of these Districts?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

#### INCOME-TAX OFFICERS AND EXAMINERS IN THE COMPANY DISTRICTS AT CALCUTTA.

†520. \*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state the qualifications of Income-tax Officers and Examiners now posted in Company Districts?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of putting more Muslims and for longer durations in these Districts which are situated in the Province where Muslims are in majority?

(c) If the reply to part (b) be in the negative, do Government propose to explain the policy and the guiding principle for the same?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** (a) Generally speaking, the Income-tax Officers and Examiners selected for appointment to Company Districts are men who show special aptitude for that kind of work. They are not selected merely because of any special academic qualifications.

(b) and (c). No. The selections are made in the interest of efficiency and I cannot undertake to make them on communal considerations.

#### EXAMINATION FOR RECRUITMENT TO THE INDIAN ARMY ORDNANCE CORPS.

†521. **\*Bhai Parma Nand:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary please state whether an examination for recruitment to the Indian Army Ordnance Corps was held on or about the 5th March, 1940?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, what was (i) the probable number of vacancies which were to be filled on the result of the examination, (ii) the number of candidates which each depot or centre was authorized to select for the examination, (iii) the number of those who applied at each centre, and (iv) the number of those who were accepted for each centre, and (v) the number of those who actually sat for the examination at each centre, separately?

(c) Are Government aware that almost all the candidates who were allowed to sit for the examination were either the relatives or friends of the clerical staff at the various centres?

(d) Are Government also aware that most of the prospective candidates who made enquiries about the examination were not given any replies?

(e) Is it a fact that the number of applicants at each centre was comparatively very small?

(f) Do Government propose to consider the question of declaring the examination void and issuing instructions that for future examinations, application forms should be supplied to all the candidates who may ask for them to enable them to be considered at the preliminary selection?

(g) When do Government propose to hold the next examination, and for how many posts?

**Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie:** (a) Two examinations, one for storemen and the other for clerks, were held on the 5th March at various centres.

(b), (i), (iii), (iv) and (v) and (e). Information is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

(ii) A statement is laid on the table.

(c) No.

(d) No reply was given to such candidates who did not fulfil the necessary qualifications.

(f) No. It would be a waste of public money to supply forms of applications, etc., to unqualified candidates.

(g) When more vacancies occur.

## Statement.

(b) (ii) The number of candidates which each depot or centre was authorised to select for the examination is shown below :—

	Storemen's examination.	Clerks' examination.
<b>Assistant Director of Ordnance Services—</b>		
Northern Command . . . . .	10	5
Southern Command . . . . .	10	5
Eastern Command . . . . .	10	5
Western (Independent) District . . . . .	10	5
<b>Deputy Assistant Director of Ordnance Services—</b>		
Rawalpindi District . . . . .	6	3
Meerut District . . . . .	6	3
Deccan District . . . . .	6	3
Peshawar District . . . . .	6	3
Kohat District . . . . .	6	3
Waziristan District . . . . .	6	3
Lahore District . . . . .	6	3
Lucknow District . . . . .	6	3
Bombay District . . . . .	6	3
Madras District . . . . .	6	3
Presidency and Assam District . . . . .	6	3
<b>Chief Ordnance Officer—</b>		
Rawalpindi . . . . .	82	41
Ferozepore . . . . .	72	36
Quetta and M. T. Workshop . . . . .	60	30
Kirkee . . . . .	70	35
Allahabad . . . . .	60	30
Lahore . . . . .	82	41
<b>Ordnance Officer—</b>		
Drigh Road . . . . .	20	10
Bombay . . . . .	20	10
Fort William . . . . .	20	10
Shahjahanpur . . . . .	20	10
Chief Inspector of Stores and Clothing, Cawnpore . . . . .	20	10
<b>Officer Commanding—</b>		
" A " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" B " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" C " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" E " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" G " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" H " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" I " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" J " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" K " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
" L " Ordnance Workshop Coy. . . . .	6	3
31 Independent Ordnance Workshop Section . . . . .	3	2
32 Independent Ordnance Workshop Section . . . . .	3	2
33 Independent Ordnance Workshop Section . . . . .	3	2
Chief Ordnance Officer, Ordnance Depot, Chaklala . . . . .	82	36
<b>Ordnance Officer, Ordnance Depot—</b>		
Bannu . . . . .	12	6
Deolali . . . . .	12	6
Inspector of Mechanical Transport, Chaklala . . . . .	12	6
Commandant, I. A. O. C. Training Centre, Jubbulpore . . . . .	82	41
Director of Ordnance Services, A. H. Q., New Delhi . . . . .	80	40

TENDERS INVITED FOR THE PRINTING OF THE *FAUJI AKHBAR*.

- †522. \*Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Defence Secretary kindly state:
- if it is a fact that tenders were invited for the printing of the *Fauji Akhbar* in Simla on a weekly basis, and that at the time the printing of a daily supplement was not contemplated;
  - if it is a fact that it has now been decided to print the weekly edition in Delhi, and in addition, to print a daily supplement since the commencement of the war;
  - if fresh tenders will be invited for printing the weekly edition in Delhi; if not, why not;
  - whether tenders were invited for the printing of the daily supplement, which is entirely a new piece of work; if not, why not;
  - how many copies of the supplement are printed and how they are distributed; whether it is printed on two qualities of paper, one for officers of the Army Headquarters and the other for the rest of the recipients; what the cost of its printing is; and
  - if it is a fact that, in the printing of the supplement, the pictures are sometimes blurred and indistinct and the ink used very uneven; if so, whether any penalty is imposed for faulty printing?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, for the duration of the war; but the supplement is issued twice a week.

(c) No, because the present rates are considered reasonable.

(d) No, because the supplement is not a new piece of work. There have been monthly supplements for a long time.

(e) Approximately 99,000 copies are printed on one quality of paper only. They are distributed by post. The cost of printing is approximately Rs. 400 an issue.

(f) Pictures have only once appeared in the supplement since the outbreak of war. They are blurred because the Indian made paper which has been used since the outbreak of war is not suited to the reproduction of picture blocks. The latter part, therefore, does not arise.

## PERSONS EXTERNEE FROM THE DELHI PROVINCE.

†523. \*Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) how many persons have been externed from the Delhi Province during the last two years; and

(b) what their names are, and what the reasons for their externment are?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am making enquiries and will lay a reply on the table of the House in due course.

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

## UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### INCOME-TAX OFFICERS AND ASSISTANT INCOME-TAX OFFICERS IN INDIA.

**103. Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing:

- (a) the total number of Income-tax Officers and Assistant Income-tax Officers including Officers serving as Appellate Officers in various Provinces of British India, with their educational qualifications and nationality;
- (b) the number of such officers recruited since 1st January, 1935, up to 29th February, 1940, for every Province; and
- (c) the total number of staff serving in the Department in every Province with their nationality, creed and educational qualifications together with the name of their native Province?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** (a), (b) and (c). The information is available in the Establishment Lists of the Income-tax Departments of the different provinces. Copies of the latest issues of these lists have been placed in the Library of the Legislative Assembly.

### IMPOSITION OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND PROPERTY TAX ON PERSONS SERVING UNDER THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BY DISTRICT BOARDS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

**104. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Will the Honourable the Finance Member please refer to the reply given to unstarred question No. 37 on the 26th February, 1940, and state the number and date of the official letter to the Government of the United Provinces conveying the previous sanction of the Governor General to the imposition of "Circumstances and Property Tax".

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me to part (a) of his unstarred question No. 65 on the 11th March, 1940. The number and date of confidential correspondence cannot be disclosed.

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### ELECTION OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 Noon on Tuesday, the 19th March, 1940, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce four nominations were received. Subsequently one candidate withdrew his candidature. As the number of remaining candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare Seth Hajī Sir Abdoola Haroon, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya and Mr. J. D. Boyle to be duly elected.

## MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

**Secretary of the Assembly:** Sir, the following Message has been received from the Council of State:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State at its meeting held on the 21st March, 1940, agreed without any amendment to the following Bills, which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meetings held on the 1st and the 6th March, 1940, namely:

1. A Bill to amend the Coal Mines Safety (Stowing) Act, 1939;
2. A Bill to amend the law relating to income-tax; and
3. A Bill further to amend the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934."

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### THE MOTOR VEHICLES (AMENDMENT) BILL.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow** (Member for Railways and Communications): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939."

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow:** Sir, I introduce the Bill.

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### THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL—*contd.*

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now resume consideration of the Indian Finance Bill.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi** (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, for the last five years, we have not had the advantage of discussing the Finance Bill, as our friends who were sitting in front of us used to reject the Budget. This time we have got the opportunity, and we want to discuss the Finance Bill. I shall not be very long, but I shall be brief in giving my points.

The first point that I wish to raise is about the appointment of controllers and liaison officers. Sir, the principle is objectionable—to appoint persons from the trade—because that gives an opportunity to the person to learn the secrets of the trade of his rival competitors in the trade. Before I deal extensively on that subject, I will only read a few extracts from the *Economist*, an English journal published in England. This is a very long article but as I said I shall read only a few extracts. After discussing about appointments of Controllers, it says:

"This weakness is that with very few exceptions the Controllers have been drawn from the trades they control."

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Then, the journal says something else which I shall not trouble the House with: Sir, it continues:

"In a large number of important trades, one dominant personality is learning how his competitors run their businesses. There is not the slightest need to suggest that any of the Controllers are consciously grinding their private axes. Most of them are keenly anxious to avoid anything of the sort, but it will be so fatally easy at the end of the war to suggest that an official control shall merely be transmitted into an unofficial "ring," without any hampering duty to a supervising state. To endow the representative of a trade with legal powers inevitably creates suspicion in the minds of his customers."

Now, I will read the second paragraph:

"Once again it is not necessary to accuse the Controllers of conscious bias in their own favour. They may be convinced in all honesty that justice and equity are on their side. Nevertheless, it is a sound principle that no one should be a judge in his own cause and the fact remains that there have been many acts of the Controllers which place the supplies of materials in a more favourable position *vis-a-vis* their customers than prevailed before the war broke out and very few which work in the buyers interests. This is of course largely inevitable when a buyer's market becomes a seller's market overnight. But it would be easier to believe that justice had been done if the Counsel for one side had not been promoted to the Bench."

One more sentence, and I shall be done with this extract:

"The Prime Minister said a fortnight ago as follows: The idea that we cannot have a controller who is 'interested in trade seems to leave out of account the fact that it is just those who have been in a trade who are most fitted to be controllers because of their knowledge of the trade."

Then, the paper says:

"But it is not a very convincing argument . . . . Is a timber broker an expert on the production of pit-props, or a steel manufacturer on the needs of the canning industry or a wool spinner on the problems of cloth export? And, secondly, there is no suggestion that persons with expert knowledge should not be used to the fullest in the position for which they are best fitted, the giving of advice. But the distinction must be kept clear between advice and executive action; the one must be expert and the other must be independent . . . Without exception, the persons in charge of main divisions of the Ministry had no previous knowledge of the foods with which they were dealing. The chairman of the Wheat Commission was the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; the successive Vice-Chairmen were a shipowner and a solicitor. Meat, milk and fats and fish, fruit and vegetables were under civil servants drawn from Health Insurance and Education respectively while bacon, tea, dried fruits and other provisions were controlled by a very distinguished chief of criminal investigation in India. This does not mean that experts were not employed and experience duly regarded in the Ministry. Of experts in the more ordinary sense of men accustomed to deal in the way of business with particular foods, the Ministry had an abundance. . . . But the business experts were always supervised by laymen; the co-ordination of two or three different branches of work was done not by an expert in any one of them, but by someone equally ignorant of all."

Sir, here in India we have a number of liaison officers and controllers, and except one all are non-Indians, the one exception being Mr. Mohindra of Hayman-Mohindra punch fame. As the English Journal said, and I agree with it, that these liaison officers are just and conscientious, but after all they are human. One of the biggest men in one trade has been selected as liaison officer, and whatever the Honourable Mr. Dow may say, it is he who makes the contract and settles the price and then sanction is given by the Director-General of Supplies. I will deal with one or two of these Liaison Officers.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has read the article almost *in extenso*. The Chair hopes he is not going to read any more of that article.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I will take one instance only, as the Honourable President is anxious that I should finish early.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair only desires that the time of the House should be properly utilised.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I will take the case of Mr. Inskip, the liaison officer for leather, who was supposed not to have anything to do with hides. But let us see what he himself says about his duties in a letter which he had written to the Bengal Chamber to circularise to the hide merchants.

"Will you kindly advise all members of your Association who are interested in hide, leather and tanning materials that I have been appointed adviser to Government for these industries?"

And still, Sir, we are told that he has nothing to do with hide, but is concerned with leather only. As regards his functions, he says:

"To advise the Department of Supply from time to time on the question of control of exports of hides."

If he is Liaison Officer for leather, and not hides, then what does this mean? Hide and leather merchants are all Muslims, and the biggest leather trade is in Muslim hands in Madras; but not one Muslim is consulted as Liaison Officer. An Englishman is appointed who belongs to the big firm of Cooper, Allen & Co. in Cawnpore, a man who is interested in the very business and is learning, thanks to Government, all the trade secrets of the hide business of his competitors in India. Later on, after the war is over, he will be in a better position to compete with his rivals in the hide and leather business. He will advise as regards the control of exports of hides. That means that the hide merchants will be at his mercy for if he advises the stoppage of exports, they can do nothing. His advice will naturally be to stop the export of hides, so that he can get his hides at a cheaper rate for his leather business. Then, the letter goes on to say that he will advise on the question of control of exports of hides—he says:

"with a view to ensuring that adequate supplies are available to meet the requirements of this industry in India, having due regard to the requirements of His Majesty's Government in England."

He is the head of Cooper and Allen and Company who make boots for the Government, and the Government factory also makes boots. He wants leather from the trade. He is the first man to know the quantity of leather required and is in an advantageous position to quote his own rates; and he is the man to purchase. He will advise the Director-General of Supplies to buy from a certain person at a certain rate. The trade is reduced to an awkward position by this unnecessary and unwarrantable control by a man who is himself interested in the trade. I make no insinuation, but it is only natural for anyone to take his profit first. Then he goes to the market to buy at the cheaper rate, because he has himself sold his boots at a certain price and so he is in an advantageous position. A man not in the trade would not have done that, because he would have no axe to grind. But here the Muslims have a monopoly of the trade, and not one Muslim has been taken. And when questions are asked here about these appointments, the usual reply is, (a) "Yes", (b) "No", (c) "Does not arise". The trade is in the hands of Muslims, and did any Hide or

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Leather Association, except the Cawnpore Association, which is controlled by Europeans, agree to this appointment? No, still he has been appointed. And as Liaison Officer he is supposed to advise, but in fact he purchases for the Government.

Then, Sir, take shipping. There the Controller is Sir George Campbell, a good friend of mine for whom I have high regard. All of us know that feelings are strained between Indian and British shipping. Indian shipping feels, rightly or wrongly, that one of them should have been taken as Joint Controller or Liaison Officer. But they have been completely ignored. An Englishman who is the head of a British shipping company which competes with Indian shipping is the gentleman to decide which boat is to be requisitioned, what freight is to be given, how the export trade is to be regulated, etc., through shipping which is entirely under his control. My successors, who will follow me, will develop this point a little more than I have been able to do . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Leader of the House): It is an ill-omened expression.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** One word more with regard to the Supply Department. A huge list has been published in the newspaper. Except one or two, not a single Indian has been associated with this Department and those one or two have ben taken recently. All of them get fat pay—a total of Rs. 1,28,000 a month: and why? The Indian Stores Department, if I am right, was organised after the last war. I admit that in the last war they had these controllers, but that war came on all of a sudden and no arrangements were made. But here the arrangements have been going on for months and months. The Indian Stores Department and the Director of Contracts were existing, and they could buy any amount of goods for His Majesty's Government, and no Supply Department was at all necessary. Either you must admit that the Indian Stores Department is not well organised and they are incapable—otherwise you can have no answer to this charge why a third agency has been created to supply His Majesty's Government with the goods they are now supplying. What is the Indian Stores Department doing? And then, why do you want liaison officers? Is not the Indian Stores Department aware of the particular trades and where to buy and where to sell? Why are these officers required now? They were required in 1914 when no agency was in existence. But here there are two agencies, and yet you have created a third agency, the Supply Department, with a huge paraphernalia, composed almost entirely of Britishers and all having a good time.

Sir, the next point I shall deal with is sugar. We are very grateful to the Honourable the Finance Member for all the concessions he has made; and when I read the article in the *Hindustan Times* yesterday, it truly portrayed him as a thoroughly fine gentleman: he has acceded practically to all that we asked for and beyond our expectations: he himself perhaps felt when the sugar trade made representations that this extra duty on sugar is a little severe; but the trade also realises that these are hard times due to the war, and money has to be found and they are willing to accede to the wishes of the Honourable the Finance Member. All that they want is this—and I feel it is a very reasonable request—that this extra duty should not apply to sugar manufactured or which is in the godowns

up to the 29th February, 1940, but should apply only to sugar manufactured or in the factory or elsewhere after the 1st of March 1940. I do hope the Honourable the Finance Member will give his best consideration to this request of theirs.

I am sorry, the Honourable the Defence Secretary is not here. For many years past we have demanded a national army. But the authorities paid no heed to this legitimate demand, even though the Defence Subcommittee of the Round Table Conference stated with emphasis that the defence of India should be the increasing concern of Indians, and not of Britons alone. But curiously enough the British authorities in this country have never paid any serious attention to this legitimate demand of ours. The publication of the Chatfield Committee's Report has been hailed in certain quarters: His Excellency the Viceroy, in his address to both the Houses of the Legislature last year, stated that His Majesty's Government's decision on the Committee's recommendations marked an epoch in the history of Indian defence. The Chatfield Committee has done a great service by emphasising the ante-diluvian character of the Indian Army and the necessity of modernising it. This course of modernisation and mechanisation will do away with the fallacious distinction made by the authorities between martial and non-martial races in India. It has no historical or practical foundation. Immediately after the war broke out, we in Bengal demanded that there must be a Bengali Regiment, and there was unanimous agreement among all shades of opinion in Bengal to that effect and we were crying hoarse over it. Even that is denied to us. We want to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British army. Train us: ask us to shoulder the burden with our British comrades. Even that is denied to us. What were the achievements of the Bengal Regiment in the last war? I shall read from one of the letters written by a British officer who once commanded a company—the 49th Bengalis—in the last war, to one of the Bengal ex-servicemen. He says:

"Why think only of a Bengali regiment or infantry? If Bengal is to seek regular military service, I believe from my own knowledge and experience that Bengal is capable of being more useful in the other corps, such as signallers, motor and armoured regiments and such like mechanised and combatant arms."

The House will note that the Bengal is have been very successful—it is a great pleasure to me to know this, that the Bengali officers of the French Army, particularly in the artillery and the air force, are very successful, and they are still there. What we beg of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is this, that he may be good enough to give Bengal a permanent opportunity to serve in the permanent regiments and units. This question has been shelved too long, but let us hope that we shall achieve our object now, so that Indians may feel that they have their honour and home to defend, and that by India's sons.

I am glad, Sir, that Sir Gurunath is here, because I propose to discuss the Posts and Telegraphs Department. I am not here with a cut to reduce his postcard rates, but I am here to show to the House that he has made complete arrangements for a big loot, but let him not forget that the day of reckoning will come. What has he done? He has taken the fullest advantage of the present situation. His first loot was to reduce the half rate telephone which was from 8 P.M. to 10 P.M. in the evening and from 6 A.M. to 8 A.M. in the morning. His second loot was that he has devised what may be called ordinary and urgent telephone messages. If

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I want to send an urgent telephone message, I have to pay double, that is to say, an urgent call would cost Rs. 16, but with a fixed time call it will be Rs. 18. With Rs. 30 I can talk with London, but from Delhi to call some one at Calcutta and talk to him for three minutes I have to pay Rs. 18. Then, the other thing is in fixed time calls or personal calls, there is no half rate, The charge for a fixed time call is 25 per cent. of the full rate, whether the particular person called is available or not. I think a year ago my friend was discussing with me the possibility of introducing quarter rates from 10 or 12 o'clock in the night, but, instead of that to 6 o'clock in the morning, he actually increased the rates by 100 per cent., because the full rate goes on till 10 P.M. I had one day asked for a fixed time call at half past five. Three hours notice has to be given, and this I gave, but no call came up to half past five. I waited and waited, and as my train was leaving I had to leave the place, but the bill came all the same, because a fixed time call cannot be cancelled. I had to wait for 15 minutes, and as I had only 25 minutes more for the train, I had to leave the place, but as I said, the bill came all the same, and I had to pay for it, because if I did not pay their bill, no more telephonic call would be accepted from me. Now, Sir, I take the case of the Bengal Telephone Company in Calcutta. A regular loot is going on there. In the old days we had fixed annual rate, I perhaps started with Rs. 150 and it went up to Rs. 250 or Rs. 300 a year. But then it was pointed out to us that it was not fair for a man who will have 100 calls an hour and for a man who will have hardly two calls in a day to pay the same rate. That is quite right, but look at the charge. The Bengal charges, I think, are 12 calls a rupee. When are the Government going to take over the Bengal Telephone? I understand their agreement expires next year. I want an assurance from Sir Gurunath that the Government have decided to take over the Bengal Telephone and make it a Government concern.

Then, Sir, there are the postal censors. Will you believe me if I tell you, Sir, that there is not one Indian in the whole of that service? After the war, the censor service has been established, but there is not even a single Indian in it. Let Sir Gurunath reply . . . .

**Sir Gurunath Bewoor** (Director General of Posts and Telegraphs): The censor is under the Indian Defence Department, and not under the Postal Department.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I am sorry. Here is a cutting from the *Statesman*,—with the headlines "Postal Censors at Work, Watch on Letters". How such a small office has been expanded and a huge number of jobs given to brothers-in-law and sons-in-law and all laws excepting Indian laws!

Sir, I shall now say a few words about the Indian Broadcasting Department. Mr. Fielden is leaving us for a better appointment, and so I shall not be harsh on him, but I feel I am in duty bound as an elected member from the *Dacca-cum-Mymensingh* constituency to mention here the acts of commission and omission for which Mr. Fielden is responsible in the Broadcasting Office at Dacca. Discussing about publicity, our revered leader, Mr. Jinnah, referred in one of his speeches somewhere at Karachi

to the necessity of a Muslim press, and I agree with him. There are the Hindu Press, the Mahasabha Press, the Congress Press and the Anglo-Indian Press, but we have not got a press, but there is a press known as Indian Broadcasting which is often used for broadcasting Congress news. Its first function is to broadcast Congress news. The Congress gets very useful assistance for their propaganda by this Radio in India without paying anything for it. Seditious speeches of the Congress are broadcasted, and we have listened to them.

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): I object to the word "seditious".

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: My Honourable friend cannot object. He may object, but I consider the speeches seditious. I can express my own opinion. This is a matter of opinion. He may call them not seditious, but I say it is sedition.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I object to that word.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: At Government cost their propaganda is going on. Turning to my Honourable friend, Mr. Fielden, who will be leaving us very shortly,—he opened a station at Dacca. He has not employed a single Muslim, not even a Muslim sweeper, in a place where 80 per cent of the population are Muslims. Even the sweeper is a Hindu. A Muslim Member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and the Honourable Sir Khwaja Nazimuddin, Minister, brought this matter to my notice as I represented Dacca *cum* Mymensingh Muslim constituency in this House. I wrote a letter to Mr. Fielden asking him how it was that in Dacca, where 80 per cent of the population were Muslims, he had opened a radio station, and had not appointed a Muslim even as a sweeper. He wrote back to say:

"I have looked into the question raised in your letter of the 22nd December. Perhaps I should explain that the communal composition of this Department is maintained on All-India basis, and not according to individual stations or offices. It may be that Members of a particular community are over or under represented at a particular station, but I assure you that the various communities are adequately represented in the services as a whole.

I may add that the rules of communal representation do not apply to the posts of Station Director, Director of Programmes, Station Engineer and inferior staff such as peons, etc."

I questioned the validity of this argument and of this information. My information is what he stated is not correct, and I was asked to take this matter up before this Honourable House, which I have done, and it is for the House to decide whether Mr. Fielden was right in not appointing a single Muslim in the radio station at Dacca.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: The House cannot express an opinion.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: The House can express an opinion by saying that he is not right.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: Only by throwing out the Finance Bill. There is no other way of doing it.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Sir, in this connection Mr. Salim wrote to me as follows:

"I am not satisfied with the reply given by Mr. Fielden regarding the communal ratio in the staff of the Dacca Broadcasting Station, unless you ask a question in the Central Legislature, giving you information regarding the All-India basis, it is difficult to say whether what he says is correct."

I did not think that it was necessary to put questions. The Honourable the Communications Member is not here, but I hope Sir Gurunath Bewoor will convey this to him.

**Sir Gurunath Bewoor:** I will.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** This is a very legitimate grievance of the Muslims of Dacca. In a station where 80 per cent. of the population are Muslims, there is not a single Muslim.

Now, Sir, I come to the closing of the Calcutta Port to Haj traffic. My Honourable friend, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, is here and he will listen to what I have to say in this matter. By a notification, the Calcutta Port was closed to Haj traffic. After 26 years of fight, with the greatest reluctance and difficulty, the port was opened. The opening of that Port was not liked by our friends, the British shipping company with the *benami* name of Muslim. It belonged to Muslim Moghuls, but they were throttled and they had to sell the concern to non-Moghuls, the Britishers.

**An Honourable Member:** But the name continues.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya** (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions : Non-Muhammadian Rural) : Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon is there.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I am coming to that. It is a very big subject, I hope he will be here when I take up that subject. The Port of Calcutta was closed. What is the reason? War. "We cannot keep the Port of Calcutta open. We have not got sufficient boats." Deputation after deputation came to see the Honourable the Education Member. The first deputation which came and saw him was told that it was only a temporary measure and that next year it would be opened. But we instinctively felt that that would not happen. Government issued another communiqué wherein it was stated that if and when the time came the question would be considered whether they were to open the Port of Calcutta or not. Who does not want this Port of Calcutta? The British Moghul line. They were all fighting to close the Calcutta Port, and they took advantage of this occasion by closing the Port of Calcutta. They had been continuously fighting for the last 26 years not to have Calcutta as a Haj port. Five years ago, when this matter came up before the Calcutta Port Haj Committee of which Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin is the Chairman, and myself a member,—we discussed the matter and asked the representative of Messrs. Turner Morrison and Co. in the Calcutta Port Haj Committee whether they would agree if we could find another company to start a service from Calcutta. Their contention was that they could not get a large number of Hajis. They used to get about 300 or 250 which was not paying to carry pilgrims from Calcutta to Jeddah. The question, we asked was "If it did not pay the Moghul Line, if we

could induce another company to start, were they agreeable not to compete with them in Calcutta?" The answer was that it was for the head office at Bombay to reply and their representative said that he could not give a reply to that. Negotiations went on between the Moghul Line and the Port Haj Committee of Calcutta. Ultimately, we induced the Scindias to open the Haj traffic and they constructed three special steamers to convey the Haj passengers. Sir, there was a revolution in Haj traffic—excellent steamers, excellent food, excellent service and high speed. In eight days they could carry the pilgrims to Jeddah, seven days from Karachi, and eight days from Bombay. Formerly, before they came into existence, it took 29 days, 25 days, and so on, and then if any one had seen those boats prior to this company starting its service, he would have seen that the Hajis were taken as so many cattle, similarly as the railways had done in carrying of Hindu pilgrims in wagons when they had no sufficient passenger carriages. They had been doing exactly the same thing with the Hajis. There was no good food. Look at the fare. It was prohibitive and exorbitant. That condition continued. When the Scindias opened, they did discuss with the Government of India and were sympathetic. They said they would render them every assistance. They started this line. In the very first voyage from Calcutta, where the Moghul Line said it did not pay them because they could not even get 250 Hajis, both the boats of Scindia and the Moghul Line had the full complement, namely, 1,300 and 1,400 passengers and no less than three boats had to carry the Hajis from Calcutta to Jeddah.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban) : In what year was that?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Immediately after the Scindia Company opened their show. It is about three or four years ago. Now came this cut throat competition. I would refer here to what a great man has said. He is loved and admired by the British people and by every one of the Indians, and I will only quote what that gentleman says. It can be appropriately quoted in connection with the subject I am discussing. It is Mahatma Gandhi. Great man, says the Britisher, friend of the Government, says the Government, and we, of course, all admit that he is a great man. That is Mahatma Gandhi. Here is an extract from an article written by Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India* under the caption "The Giant and the Dwarf" on the 26th March, 1931:

"The cottage industry of India had a perish in order that Lancashire might flourish. The Indian shipping had to perish so that the British shipping might flourish. In a word we are suppressed in order to enable the British to live on the heights of Simla."

Sir, this is not my quotation. This is a quotation from Mahatma Gandhi, who is admired and loved by all Britishers and by Government. This is what he said in 1931. It is equally true in 1940.

**Mr. M. S. Aney**: I am afraid there is no quorum in the House.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural) : I may point out that it has been the practice in the House always that a representative of all departments used to be present at the time of the discussion on the Finance Bill to take down notes. It is not necessary

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

that all the Honourable Members may be present, but one man from each Department used to be present to take down notes and give replies. Here we find . . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not make a speech on that. The Chair does not know whether the Departments are properly represented here. If they are not, they ought to be.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Therefore, Sir, I submit that the closing of the Port of Calcutta was in the interest of the Moghul Line and to that the Government had acceded. Let me tell this to my Honourable friend, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, so that he may not use the same expression again because the facts are in my possession. Want of steamers was principally in their mind when closing the Port of Calcutta. One boat from the Moghul Line did berth at Calcutta. It went to Jeddah with rice, but with no Haj pilgrims, although that boat was a pilgrim boat and they could have carried the Hajis from Calcutta. But they did not want to. Therefore, their contention that there was want of boat is not correct. That boat was in Calcutta and carried a cargo of rice to Jeddah, but we insisted that they should also carry Hajis as far as possible. That was denied to us and still the Honourable the Secretary of the Department of Education, Health and Lands has said "What are we going to do? The Calcutta Port Haj Committee would not render us any assistance and render the Moghul Line any assistance and, therefore, the special train that we had arranged to take Hajis from Calcutta to Bombay was unsatisfactory in the sense that there was non-co-operation of the Haj Committee in Calcutta." Sir, when that telegram of the Government of India came to our Haj Office in Calcutta, we discovered that it was a propoganda of the Moghul Line to utilise the Haj Committee of Calcutta for their purpose, and certainly we could not be a party to that and we refused. The Government have closed the Port of Calcutta by an executive order. We, the Port Haj Committee of Calcutta, are there to look after the comforts of the Hajis who are to sail from the Calcutta Port and we have nothing to do with the Bombay Port Haj Committee in Bombay. The Government were asking us to assist the Moghul Line in their endeavour to take Hajis from Calcutta while Government would not allow the Hajis to go to Jeddah from Calcutta; they wanted us to be a party to that, which we certainly refused. Sir, even after the closing of the Port of Calcutta, we could have the advantage of these fast steamers of Scindia Service, but look how the Indian shipping is treated. A Conference is called in Delhi. They do not think it worthwhile to send for the representatives of the Haj Committees of Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi, but they decide their fate, fate of the Hajis as to how they are to travel. They decide without consulting any body. The Chairmen of the Haj Committees in Calcutta, Karachi and Bombay should ordinarily have been invited to advise about closing the Port of Calcutta and the allocation of the percentage of pilgrims that these two lines should carry. They considered the position of the Scindia and the Moghul Line and according to the number of boats that these two Companies possessed they allotted the Moghul Line 75 per cent. and the Scindia 25 per cent. But my friend did not take into consideration the capacity of those boats. Three could carry more than the seven of the other Line could. We go

by numbers, by counting heads. One had seven boats, other had three the proportion was, therefore, 75 to 25. Certainly the Scindia refused to have any thing to do with it, and, therefore, the Moghul Line had the fullest advantage to exploit the Hajis this year at the expense of Government completely. My Honourable friend said the other day, "Yes, yes, but again you see the Moghul Line did not want to raise the fares but the Scindia did". The answer is simple: the Moghul Line wants to crush this new Line, they have made tons of money, they can afford to lose while Scindia cannot.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Not at all. Only a lakh of rupees.

12 Noon.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Please do not interrupt me.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has already spoken for an hour.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** But this is an important subject, and I have not repeated a single line.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Other Members are also interested in important subjects.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Other Members will also have time and they can talk.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Have minimum fares been fixed by Government between Bombay and Jeddah, and Karachi and Jeddah?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** They have failed to do that. That is what we want; let the Government fix a fair rate, an economic rate and end this rate cutting, so that both the companies can go on. It is admitted, Sir, and my Honourable friend will see it that when there was no competition with the Calcutta tramways, things were very bad, but immediately the buses came in the field conditions improved considerably. Look at the advantage we have now got in Calcutta travelling. We want not only one, but we want several companies to be started to carry these Hajis to Jeddah. That will be a competition, and then every thing will be all right.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** How can you achieve that by the fixation of fares?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Fixing of fares will stop competition.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** At the expense of whom?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Let him go on. He has already taken a long time.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I read out a resolution from the proceedings of a special emergency meeting of the Port Haj Committee, Calcutta :

"The Port Haj Committee of Calcutta have read with great regret the telegram of the Government of India, dated the 1st December, 1939, addressed to the Government of Bengal and are very much disappointed at their refusal to reconsider their decision regarding suspension of sailing of pilgrim ships from the Port of Calcutta this year. They are, however, relieved to some extent by the assurance given by the Honourable Sir Jagdish Prasad, the Member in-charge of the Portfolio of Education, Health and Lands Department to the Government of India to the deputation organised by the All-India Hajee's Welfare League to the effect that the suspension of sailings from the Port of Calcutta this year is purely a temporary and emergent measure which will not be repeated in future. The Committee have carefully examined the facilities offered and are definitely of opinion that the facilities suggested by way of special train will not in any way minimise the inconveniences which pilgrims of Bengal and Assam will be put to by having to embark at the distant ports of Bombay or Karachi."

A request came to the Calcutta Port Haj Committee to give facilities to the Moghul Line, because no other Line was then existing and the Port was closed down. We said in this resolution that if this is a temporary measure, we have no objection, but, if this is not, certainly we object and the subsequent announcement by Government has given us that apprehension in our mind that this is not a temporary measure. But this is going to be some thing again to be fought for. As I have mentioned already, we fought for 26 years before we got this Port opened, but perhaps another fight will have to be continued if we have to get this Port opened in Calcutta. The Calcutta Port having been closed we decided to have nothing to do with the Government telegram asking us to help the Moghul Line in carrying passengers by special train to Bombay. I will not mention further telegrams and correspondence that went on between the Government of India and the Haj Committees of various provinces, not only of Calcutta, but also of Bombay and Karachi. They unanimously condemned the Government for closing down the Port of Calcutta and also for fixing the percentage to the Scindia of 25 per cent. instead of a higher percentage. I will only read a few sentences and then close this subject :

"The Government of India," says the Communiqué, "therefore, decided to intervene and consulted the two shipping companies engaged in the trade both on the share of the allotment of traffic between the companies, and on the rates to be charged. The Scindia Steam Navigation Company advanced the claim for a fifty per cent. share of the traffic but were prepared to agree to alternate sailings. They also proposed an increase in rates of 25 per cent. above last year's maximum rates."

Sir, the last year's maximum rate was uneconomic and both the Companies have lost money; but, as regards the Moghul Line, they can afford because they have made tons and tons of money.

Then the Communiqué proceeds to state :

"The Moghul Line, while not admitting the claim of the Scindia Company to any fixed share of the traffic, agreed that Government should make an allocation. They also expressed their willingness to carry pilgrims with no increase above the maximum rates fixed last year."

Last year, when the two lines could not come to an agreement about the economic rate, a rate was fixed by the Government of India. What did we find then? I will not say that the Scindia Company was not a party but when both the Companies found that they could advantageously break

that rate, they did so. But in the case of the Scindia Company, it was one of their agents in Jeddah who was responsible for it. But in the case of the Moghul Line in Bombay itself, after the last boat of the Scindia Company had gone, they raised their rate by 100 per cent, and they did not pay heed to the telegrams of the Premiers of Bengal and Sind to the Government of Bombay asking them to persuade the Moghul Line to carry the Hajis who had gone to Bombay from Bengal and other places at the rates they had advertised before. My information was that they could not do so, because they could not get any more boats and the time was nearly up, with the result that many of the Hajis were left behind. What has happened this year? I have heard the answer to the question that was asked in this House. These Hajis were taken in a special train, and the result was that they were all stranded in Bombay. If my Honourable friend, the Honourable Secretary of the Education, Health and Lands Department, says "No", then I shall have to read the telegrams of the Hajis which I have with me. The telegrams, not only of the Hajis, but of important persons in Bombay did certify that these Hajis were stranded and the Government did not do anything for them. That has been the result of closing down the Port of Calcutta on absolutely fictitious grounds of war. The war had nothing to do with the Hajis. One steamer had already sailed from Calcutta, but instead of taking the Hajis, it had taken rice to Jeddah.

Now, Sir, I will discuss only for a few minutes the budget of the Calcutta Haj Committee. Sir, the Government of India are not even inclined to give us a little money to carry on our duties in Calcutta. We submitted our revised budget. We gave our reasons that that was the lowest amount that we required. What was the answer we got? They said they had not got the money to give us.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** What was the amount you wanted?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** We wanted only Rs. 9,331. They did not give us even that amount. They gave us much less than that. This information was communicated to me rather too late, otherwise I would have taken up the matter with the Department concerned. I now place it for the consideration of my friend, the Honourable the Education Secretary. I hope he will reconsider the matter and bring in a supplementary grant so that the Haj Committee may have the amount that they require to carry on their business successfully at the Port of Calcutta. I would also request him to give an assurance on the floor of the House that there would be no bar for the Calcutta Port to carry the Haj traffic next year, whether there is war or no war.

Now, Sir, I will come to the wonderful conversion of the Moghul Line into a Muslim line. Our revered leader, Mr. Jinnah, was approached by the Moghul Line and he deputed his Foreign Secretary, my Honourable friend, Sir Abdoola Haroon, to negotiate. . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What has that got to do with the Government of India?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I am coming to the Government of India just now.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member cannot go into matters with which the Government of India are not concerned.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: If that is your ruling, Sir, then I will not pursue that matter any further. But is it not relevant to the Moghul Line?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is not relevant at all.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: I will conclude about the Moghul Line service which is so much admired by the Government of India by making a remark or two. The Moghul Line was good enough to make a mischievous propaganda, and, in spite of all that, the support of the Government of India is for the existence of the Moghul Line and no other Line. Finding that they needed some backing from the Mussalmans, they announced that they would be prepared to take three Muslims on their Board, thinking that this might be appreciated by the Government. They thought it better that some interest of that company should be in the Muslim hands. Sir, I have been in business for the last 43 years. In fact, I have been in business since my childhood, and I have never heard a proposition of this kind in my life. The proposition is that I will buy the shares of a company, but shall have no right to sell them. I can only keep them.

**Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya**: But you do not pay the money out.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: No. I pay.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is that the proposal of the Government of India?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: They will come before the Government of India.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must confine himself to the motion before the House. He must not go on dealing with irrelevant points.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: I hope the speakers who come after me will take up that point.

Now, Sir, I come to the Income-tax Department of Bengal. The position of Muslims in the Income-tax Department of Bengal is this. In the grade of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, the number of posts is 8, four of which are held by Hindus, one by a Muslim, and three by others; Rs. 500 to Rs. 900, number of appointments 35, Hindus 27, Muslims 8, and others nil.

Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, number of appointments 15, number of Hindus 9, Muslims 6, and others nil.

**An Honourable Member**: There you are.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: There you are, says my friend.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) The Honourable Member must have some respect for the House. That is not the way of addressing the House. He must address the Chair.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I was answering my Honourable friend.

Rs. 175 to Rs. 450, number of appointments 33, number of Hindus 21, number of Muslims 10, and others 2.

There you are.

Rs. 150 to Rs. 425, number of appointments 17, Hindus 9, Muslims 7, and others 1. I will not go any further.

This is the state of affairs in the Income-tax Department of Bengal. I appeal to my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, to look into the matter and see whether the communal ratio laid down by the Government of India is observed.

The gentleman who has brought this to my notice says:

"After dealing with the whole subject, this communal ratio has been fixed. I pray that you will be graciously pleased to move the proper authorities to grant us our legitimate prayer in this particular department during your discussion on the Finance Bill."

Now, Sir, I will deal with one or two aspects of Indian railways which we could not discuss during the railway budget discussion. This is a very important subject, and I am sure the House will appreciate it when I place some facts before the House.

The most serious problem that confronts us today is the shortage of wagons. This is a very serious matter. During the last war also there was shortage of wagons. I know that wagons used to be sold for Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 each during the last war. It was not due to any real shortage of wagons, but the railway people would not supply a wagon unless the man paid for it. I will give a few extracts from the speech of the Honourable Sir Guthrie Russell in the Council of State to show the reason for this shortage of wagons. After discussing about the shortage of wagons; Sir Guthrie says:

"With these objects in view the Government of India have appointed Rai Bahadur N. C. Ghosh as Transport Advisory Officer to assist the two railways principally concerned with coal traffic—the East Indian and Bengal Nagpur railways—in dealing with demands for wagons . . . . He scrutinises indents for wagons with a view to ensuring that wagons are not supplied for consumers on the priority list maintained by the Coal Wagon Supply Committee in excess of their actual needs and that as large a supply as possible is made available for other consumers. From the reports already received it would appear that the Transport Advisory Officer has already considerably helped the situation, but to secure that the most effective use is made of the available wagons the co-operation of the consumers and the coal trade is most important."

Then, he says:

"The Railway Board have also, at the instance of the Indian Railway Conference Association, appointed a committee to go into the question of the better utilisation of railway wagons. This Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. B. Moody (Chief Operating Superintendent of the North Western Railway, is touring various railway systems. So far their report has not been received, but the Railway Board have every hope that as a result of their investigations, it will be possible to make normally available for traffic a considerable number of additional wagons. The main function of the committee is to see if the turn round of wagons can be improved. By "turn-round" is meant the time employed from the despatch of a wagon under load to its being ready for another load, and is one of the most important features of railway operation. The shorter the turn round, the greater the number of wagons available."

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

Then, he goes on and describes about "wagon pool", but I shall not trouble the House by reading what he said.

This shortage of wagon, in my opinion, is due to this that the wagons are not loaded or unloaded on Sundays. So, there must naturally be shortage. The Port Trust Railway in Calcutta observes all the holidays. There is no work for them on Sundays, and naturally the wagons are blocked and there is shortage of wagons. If you take the percentage of wagons loaded and unloaded, you will find it is very unsatisfactory. The Railways should insist that loading and unloading should be done on Sundays and all holidays also. This will release the wagons. But that is not done at present.

We are told that the Moody Committee is looking after this. We do not know the terms of reference to this committee. But from the method and manner which the Moody Committee is pursuing, I am sure the report that the committee may submit will not be worth the paper on which it would be written. What is the Moody Committee doing? They are spending a few hours in one railway and a few hours in another, and so on. In this way they cannot know the ins and outs. They must devote much longer time to examine the condition of a particular Railway to enable them to find out the exact position. It really requires months to do even one railway thoroughly. This summary method of touring the various railway systems, one day in Calcutta, the next day in Bombay, and a third day in Madras, will not do. What is the reference to this Committee? We do not know that. The reference with regard to examination should show how many hours do the work of loading and unloading take. Why should they not take Sunday into consideration? Why should they not make the railways responsible for not working on Sundays? I understand that, in a number of railways, wagons sometimes lie empty, because there is no work. Take for instance, the E. I. Ry. Why should it go to the B. N. Ry. for more wagons when its own wagons are lying empty and not being loaded because it is a Sunday? The enquiry by the Moody Committee should take this into account, namely, the number of hours the railways work for loading and unloading. Why will not they work on Sundays; why will not they work after sunset? With light, they can work even after sunset and load and unload wagons. They do not do that now. Then, Sir, our experience of the last war was shortage of wagons and each wagon was sold to the highest bidder. This war is now on and the Railways must see that there is no shortage of wagons. The time of loading and unloading must be extended and Sundays should be counted as working days.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** What does the Honourable Member mean by a wagon being "sold"?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** It means that bribe had to be given; I did not want to use that word, that's all.

Sir, we know that busy season extends from September to December during which period at least the Railways should work on Sundays and after sunset. They do not start unloading before 10 o'clock. Why not after sunrise?

Coming to the East Indian Railway, the condition has been very serious. We travel from Calcutta to Delhi on trains run not by East Indian Railway

engines but by the B. B. and C. I. and N. W. R. engines. There is shortage of engines and so there is delay in arrival. There is a very useful train known as the Toofan Express. A year ago it used to reach Calcutta at about 4 or 5 P.M. and leave Calcutta at about 3 P.M., arriving here the next day at about 3-30 to 4 P.M. Now we reach Calcutta at 9 o'clock at night and leave Calcutta at 1 P.M., arriving here the next day at 3-40 P.M. If you take it up with the Time-Table Committee they say it is a matter for the Railway Board. If you ask them why they cannot regulate the timing so as to have more convenient hours of departure and arrival the reply is that they have only one train now instead of two as formerly, and the same train which arrives here has to leave for Calcutta. And the cost of another train is 3 lakhs, for want of which we cannot get another train between Calcutta and Delhi. And we reach Calcutta at 9 P.M., standard time. Only now they have shortened it by 20 minutes. And the carriages are not repaired and not looked after. If you open the tap, it will not close and if you close it, it will not open. If you complain, they will say they have no money. But now they must have enough money with this increase in fares and freights. And because the train is often late by an hour or an hour and a half, and has to leave again at 6 P.M., the carriages are not even washed or cleaned. Only at Calcutta they get some time to clean it.

Then, again, look at the timings of 1 Up and 2 Down trains on the East Indian Railway. Formerly the Down Mail used to leave here at 8-30 A.M., but now it leaves at 6 A.M. How can one go to the station at 6 A.M. specially in the cold weather? Then the Up Mail is due here at 9-30 o'clock at night, but seldom arrives here before 11 P.M. If you have to go to the station to meet your friends you will have to wait for an hour and a half before the train comes.

Then, Sir, it was settled that we would have the Dacca-Aricha Railway and money was provided for it; but it was stopped. The scheme showed a profit of 7 per cent., but it was shelved because the interests of the two British Steam Navigation companies were at stake; and they manipulated it in such a way that when the work was about to commence it was suspended. The ostensible reason was that the culverts would make the land unhealthy and give rise to malaria; the real reason was that it would touch the pockets of the two inland British Steamship companies. It would have been of great advantage to the railway because the railway would then carry all the jute from East Bengal which is now being carried by the steamers from East Bengal right up to Calcutta by the river route.

Then on the Eastern Bengal Railway by which I travel to go to my home we notice on the boards at the stations letters in English although 99 per cent. of the people cannot read English. And they are so written that no one can read. If we ask for Bengali letters on the boards we are told that the Railway has no money. There is one more matter so far as the railways are concerned. The three Indian Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta have asked me to press before the Honourable the Railway Member whether he will introduce air-conditioned travel between Howrah and Delhi. It already exists between Bombay and Howrah and it can be introduced on this line also. The three Indian Chambers—the National Chamber, the Muslim Chamber and the Indian Chamber—would prefer the system which prevails on the B. B. and C. I. Railway where the whole coupé carriage is air-conditioned.

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

The last point which I wish to mention is in regard to the Indian Mercantile Marine. Everywhere in the world, except in India, the Government supports the national mercantile marine. Here we get no support whatever. If a company is floated, there is no subsidy, no assistance whatever. Look at the position. At the present moment there is a deadlock about the agreement between Indian shipping and British shipping. That agreement has expired, but nothing has yet been done to bring about another agreement between the British and Indian Shipping concerns: it is high time that something is done and that Government took the initiative. As you have remarked, Sir, that I should now close my observations. . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member really has more to say, he had better go on and not waste the time of the House like this.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** The necessity of establishing a ship-building industry in India has now been felt for years past. The present war has again emphasised the importance of every maritime country building its own ships in its own yards. Only very recently a ship-building industry was established in Australia and the Government of Australia decided only the other day to give a bounty varying from £10 to £12-10-0 per ton for the ships built in the Australian ship-yards. Therefore my submission to the Government is that they should do all they can to encourage the starting of a shipbuilding industry in this country and give it such financial help as it may need for the purpose of its stability and progress. In this connection I will read a few lines from the report of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee of 1923-24:

"Having given our best consideration to the various points set forth above, we recommend that for the present the most advantageous course to be adopted is to give construction bounties as indicated in paragraph 56. If a shipbuilding yard is projected by an Indian Company, the Government may aid that enterprise by (a) advancing a cheap loan to the extent of one-third of the paid up capital of that Company and assistance in acquiring suitable sites, etc. etc."

Now, what has the Australian Government done? I shall give an extract from *The Shipping World*, dated the 24th January, 1940. It says:

"In its report, the Tariff Board reported that the high protective system against imported vessels up to 500 tons had not succeeded. All the data available tended to confirm the view that the price of a completed vessel from an Australian shipyard was roughly twice the price in sterling at which a similar vessel could be supplied from the United Kingdom. So in place of the duty bounties amounting to £150,000 spread over three years are to be granted. The schemes are as follows . . . ."—  
and so on—

"In the opinion of the Prime Minister these payments should stimulate the shipbuilding industry in Australia and thus provide employment besides ensuring facilities for the construction and repair of vessels in time of emergency."

There is one other point that I wish to refer to. During the last war we had some enemy ships and working those enemy ships we had made profits which stand in the name of the Secretary of State in suspense account, because that amount is legitimately due to India. It amounts to £3,584,646. It is held in cash account of the Secretary of State.

What the Indian shipping firms have been contending all these years is this; in a letter to the Secretary, Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, dated the 4th January, 1924, they say:

"In continuation of our answer to our written statement dated 3rd April 1923 to your question No. 70, we beg to submit that the Government should utilise the Undisposed Profits amounting to £3,790,192-19-8 resulting from the working of Enemy Ships under the control of the India Office up to 31st March 1922 in assisting the building up and development of an Indian Mercantile Marine. . . . May we therefore request you to make your strong recommendation to the Government of India to earmark these profits for the development of the Indian Mercantile Marine?"

Sir, it is high time that we developed the Indian Mercantile Marine. It is also high time that the Government came to our assistance in building ships in India. What is the position today with regard to shipbuilding industry in this country? If we had a ship yard ready, we could have continued to make ships as is the case at Home. For every ship sunk we could have built two here. But what is our position here? For ships sunk, we cannot build even one ship here. Therefore, Sir, I appeal to the Government of India to assist Indians in starting a shipbuilding yard and to ask the Secretary of State to release this amount which he is holding on behalf of the Government from the profits made during the last war from the working of the enemy ships by Government and give subsidy to Indian enterprise to start a shipbuilding industry here.

Before I conclude, Sir, I should like to say something about the Tata Company. I would have said more if my friend Sir Homi Mody had been present here. My friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, always gets up to speak whenever the question of Tata Company comes up, but as he points out, it is a subsidised company. He says that they ought not to make more than 6 per cent., but he forgets that when the Tatas started the concern they did not make anything at all. They lost all their money which was sunk in the industry. How on earth does my friend expect them to make only 6 per cent. and no more as the Tariff Board has recommended? 6 per cent. of what? He puts 6 per cent. of the Rs. 15 of the Tata Deferred shares which was in existence 30/40 years ago with the present price, and from that he concludes that they are earning 40 to 50 per cent. That is not so. What is the actual return today? It is not even 6 per cent. at today's price of its shares. This in brief is the history of the concern. But my grievance, Sir, is that the Tatas is too much Parsieised. We Muslims also want a share because Tatas gets a subsidy from the Indian exchequer. . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It has nothing to do with the Government of India.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: I hope Sir Homi Mody will take this point into consideration and see that Muslims also have a share in that big concern. My friend, Dr. DeSouza, made a very able speech the other. . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better go on with his own speech.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: He made a vigorous speech the other day in which he complained that his community was not getting a just

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share either in the Government of India or in the Railways in proportion to the services his community have rendered, and that they were nowhere. May I tell my friend that they are everywhere, not that they are nowhere, but they are everywhere, that his community people are holding high appointments. And if he will look up the Bengal Civil List, he will find that many of the Indian Christians, who are friends of mine, are holding high posts. But may I also remind him of this, that Britishers have taken this country from us when we were the kings. India at one time belonged to us, and have we not a better claim than he has for appointments, because it was at one time our kingdom and we were the kings here?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai** (Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands): Mr. President, the present First Lord of the Admiralty described the discussion on the Finance Bill in the House of Commons as one long dreary drip of disparaging declamation. I do not know that here in this House, the course of debate is very different, and I have ventured to rise at this stage, because the House may wish to listen for a change to a note of sweet reasonableness, a quality in which we, on these Benches, seek to specialise.

Sir, alphabetically I ought to begin with Archæology which was discussed by Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan in the course of his remarks on the opening day of this debate. He showed, and if I may say so, rightly showed, great solicitude for the preservation of Tajganj or the Taj Mahal. Let me assure him that we regard this as a legacy of beauty to all communities in this country, not to any one community, that it is a national monument which deserves the utmost care that we can bestow upon it for its preservation. I may also inform him that I took advantage of the Easter holidays to summon here the Superintendent in charge of the buildings in Agra. I have had a discussion with him. He assured me, not merely on the strength of his own opinion, but on the opinion of his Engineer, that there is no such thing as imminent or immediate risk to the Taj Mahal, and that the task of scaffolding, on which the Public Works Department insisted as a preliminary to a correct diagnosis of what is wrong with the dome, is going to be taken in hand as soon as possible. I hope, Sir, that that will re-assure my friend in so far as the security of the Taj is concerned.

Next, Sir, I shall pass on to a subject which rouses considerable interest especially amongst the Muslim Members of this House.

1 P. M. —I refer to the Haj. My friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, was very vigorous on the subject this morning, but in point of priority he comes only second, as Khan Bahadur Piracha held forth at great length on this subject the other day, and I think it would be convenient if I were to deal jointly with the major points made by the two Honourable Members. Now, Sir, the first point, I think, of importance which Khan Bahadur Piracha made was that many pilgrims were denied the privilege of performing the Haj this year. That, Sir, even though we are living in war conditions and it is absolutely necessary to conserve shipping as much as possible, because of the heavy strain that is thrown upon it

owing to the shortage of shipping generally, in spite, I say, of the war-conditions would be a very grave charge indeed if it were true. Let me give to the House some figures which I have before me. There were in all five sailings during the last Haj season. The first four ships, according to a statement which I have before me here, sailed actually with a shorter complement than their maximum. I will give a few illustrative figures. The "Islami", for example, which sailed from Bombay on the 4th and from Karachi on the 7th December, sailed 341 short, the "Rizwani", 603 pilgrims short, the "Khusro", seven pilgrims short, the "Islami", again 59 pilgrims short. The only ship—that was the last ship of the season—about which it might be said that it might have left some persons behind was the "Rizwani". But, in order that this might not happen, we relaxed the ordinary rule—the rule which we are required to observe in conformity with international conventions—and allowed the ship to carry an excess of pilgrims. My information is that when it left Bombay, there was not one pilgrim who was in a position to perform the pilgrimage, who did not find a berth by that ship,—this was by the "Rizwani" which sailed on the 2nd January from Bombay,—that the excess was only at Karachi, and there, in conformity with the recommendation of the Chairman of the Port Haj Committee and with the consent of the mercantile marine officers, we allowed an excess of ten per cent., of 141 pilgrims. I may also inform the House that actually the number in excess was 153 deck passengers, and the number 141 is arrived at by reason of the fact that twelve of these passengers were allowed to travel in first or second class cabins. We have had no information so far from enquiries which we have made both in Bombay and in Karachi that any pilgrim who was in a position to afford the cost of the Haj stayed behind because of the lack of shipping. If Honourable Members have in their possession information to the contrary, and will be good enough to furnish it to me, I can assure them that I shall have enquiries made. It will, of course, be impossible, if an investigation proves that there is justification for the complaint—it will be impossible to do redress to those who may have been left behind this year, but we shall see to it that next year precautions are taken to prevent a repetition of any such thing. But let me repeat that, according to the information which we have, there was no pilgrim in a position to perform the pilgrimage, who was actually left behind.

The next point on which Honourable Members from Bengal in particular feel, and feel strongly, is the alleged closing of the port of Calcutta. Let me say this. The Honourable Member from Calcutta, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, who spoke last, referred to a certain communiqué of the Government of India which he said had created a misapprehension in his mind that a battle of 25 years had been lost for all time, that Government, in order to assist the Moghul Co., or with some other motive, had decided to close the port of Calcutta permanently. Let me assure him that nothing is further from the intentions of Government. Government do not propose, they have no intention whatsoever of closing the port of Calcutta to Haj permanently. But, as I have endeavoured to explain in answer to a series of questions that have been asked on this subject before, this year the position was that, because of the shortage of shipping, we had to conserve shipping in the sense of minimising the use of it to such extent as was absolutely necessary for the particular purpose in hand, and, from that point of view, we found that it would

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not be possible to open the port of Calcutta in the ordinary way for the performance of Haj. And, in order that the inconvenience to pilgrims in Calcutta who wanted to go to Bombay be minimised to the extent utmost possible, provision was made for the running of special trains or the attaching of special carriages to ordinary trains. My Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, referred with pride to the attitude of the Calcutta Port Haj Committee in that the Committee refused to co-operate with Government. I can only express regret that the Port Haj Committee misunderstood the intentions of the Government in this matter. It certainly was not the intention, as I have said already, that the port of Calcutta should be closed permanently. I think myself that the pilgrims and Government both would have had greater reason to be grateful to the Port Haj Committee if they had recognised that the present year is an emergency year and done what they could to assist the Hajis congregating in Calcutta to find a comfortable way down to Bombay.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** May I ask the Honourable Member whether this travelling by special trains from Calcutta to Bombay required the pilgrims to pay more than they would have had to pay if they had sailed from Calcutta?

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** No, Sir. As a matter of fact, even allowing for the special train for which they had to pay the ordinary fare and nothing extra at all, and also including the steamer fare from Bombay to Jeddah—I am speaking from memory, something like Rs. 2 less per pilgrim than they would have to pay if they travelled direct by boat from Calcutta to Hedaz. That is the position.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** That is because they wanted propaganda.

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** There is no question of propaganda here at all. I am trying to inform my Honourable friend that we were not in any way, at any time, to any extent, influenced by the propaganda of which, if I may say so at this stage without offence, no one particular company had the monopoly. If propaganda is done by the Moghul Line, it is also done by the Scindia Line, and I assure my Honourable friend that we were not influenced by that propaganda at all.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** But who says 'No'? Here I state that it is the propaganda of the Moghul Line.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** I may assure my Honourable friend that my question had nothing to do with propaganda at all. It was only as a matter of information which I was seeking to obtain.

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** The position, as I have already explained to the House, is that we were not influenced in any way by anybody's propaganda. We closed the port of Calcutta temporarily as a war measure.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** May I interrupt my Honourable friend? Will he kindly explain how it was possible for a steamer leaving Calcutta without the Hajis and only with rice . . . .

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** There, again, my Honourable friend, although he has been most zealous in his advocacy of the claims of Calcutta, has not done me the honour of reading the answers that I have given to the questions on that subject in the course of this very Session. The ship to which he refers was loaded with rice. We had reason to think that rice was needed for the Hedjaz. If we had made the ship unload the rice and take on the pilgrims, and there had been a shortage of rice at the other end, my Honourable friend would have been the very first to get up and trounce the Government for having diverted the ship from its ordinary task of carrying rice to taking pilgrims to the Hedjaz.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** May I . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not go on interrupting.

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi again rose in his seat.]

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not interrupt.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Shout out, not correct.

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** How can he say that it is not correct when it is correct?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** No, no. It is not correct.

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** My Honourable friend cannot make a second speech. I am afraid I must go on with my own speech. My Honourable friend had a good deal to say with regard to the step-motherly attitude of the Government towards the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. in the matter of allocation of pilgrims as between the Moghul line and the Scindia line. Sir, strictly speaking that is a thing which is not within the purview of my Department as such, because, normally, shipping comes within the province of the Honourable the Commerce Member. We intervened this time because of the war emergency; my Honourable friend would probably remember that it was suggested that no shipping may be available for the purpose of the Haj at all. It was at the intervention of my Department that shipping was made available for the performance of the Haj, and we took into account, again without prejudice to the claims of the rival companies in normal times, as to what allocation, if any should be made between the two of them. We made an allocation on what seemed to be a suitable working basis, namely, the carrying capacity of the two companies. My Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, has made a great point of the faster ships which the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. is supposed to possess. He has conjured up visions to us of the equivalents of the "Normandie", the "Queen Elizabeth" and the "Queen Mary" crossing their way from Bombay to Jeddah. He has told us that the Scindia Company carried the pilgrims from Karachi to Jeddah, as it were, in the

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twinkling of an eye. Actually, I have got before me the speeds of the ships of the rival fleets, and there is only one ship, the "El Madina", which, according to the record of the ships engaged in the voyage between India and the Hedjaz last year, did the journey between Karachi and Jeddah in one day less than the ships of the other company.

Now, Sir, as it happened this time, the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. advertised only one ship, namely, the "Englistan" as a ship which they would be prepared to run from Calcutta if the port were open. Taking that additional sailing into account along with sailings that may have taken place from Bombay and Karachi, I have made a calculation, and come to the conclusion that the Scindia Steam Navigation Company would have carried 26 per cent of the pilgrims as against 25 per cent of the pilgrims that we were prepared to allot to them. I do not think that my Honourable friend can, in reason, contend that, in the circumstances, any very grievous injury has been done to the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. My Honourable friend being the Nationalist that he is, is most anxious that national shipping interests should be encouraged. I wish him all success in his effort to secure advantages for national shipping interests. All that I am concerned to point out is that in this particular field of trade, namely, the Haj trade, the treatment accorded by the Government of India as a purely emergency measure during this year to the Scindia Steam Navigation Company was neither unfair nor unjust.

Then, Sir,—it is nearing lunch time and I do not wish to follow the example of my Honourable friend who preceded me and detain the House unnecessarily long—I would mention one other point which arose in the course of the discussion the other day; that was the accommodation provided for the pilgrims in Karachi. The position with regard to that is this. Three years ago, I think, after an inspection of the port, we decided that a sum of a lakh and 64 thousand rupees should be expended upon improving the pilgrims' camp at Karachi. Unfortunately, financial stringency supervened, and we were unable to spend as much money as the original estimate, but a sum of Rs. 38,000 has already been spent, and a double storeyed block for the accommodation of pilgrims has been set up. For the rest, it is a matter really of funds being available, but, as and when they become available, my Honourable friends may rest assured that the accommodation and the amenities provided for the pilgrims at Karachi will be improved.

Then, Sir, before I resume my seat, I shall deal with the final point raised with regard to the pilgrimage; and that was also by my friend, Mr. Piracha, with regard to Kamaran. He suggested that we should not detain ships at Kamaran and he also ventured upon a figure which is not in conformity with the facts, namely, that the detention of ships at Kamaran ran to 15 hours. Actually, in recent years, there has not been, in normal circumstances, a detention of no longer than two hours at Kamaran. Actually the detention there is not because of our desire but because of the obligations of the International Sanitary Convention which we have accepted to carry out along with the Dutch East Indies Government who are our partners in the administration of this island. That is all, Sir, I have to say.

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. M. S. Aney, one of the Panel of Chairmen, in the Chair.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** (Presidency Division Non-Muhamadan Rural): Mr. Chairman, the Finance Bill of this year presents to the critical eye certain features which are of a paramount importance to the country. No doubt it embodies certain additional taxation proposals of the Government.—taxation on sugar and on petrol, but this is the only aspect which seems to have attracted the attention of the Honourable Member of this House.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** No Government Member is here.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** That does not matter. Their Secretaries are perhaps there; the Honourable Members are paid high salaries, they must have some rest to digest the money.

Sir, while the Railway Budget and the Central Budget were presented in this House, we had from the Honourable Members concerned a description of the condition of the country which, however, does not at all tally with what we see all around. We had the rosy picture of prosperity in all directions,—prosperity in the Railways, prosperity in trade returns, prosperity in the yield of Income-tax, prosperity in the Excise Revenue, prosperity all round. They hold that it is reflected in the budget proposals that they have brought before this House. Sir, this view of the commercial prosperity of India is being mooted in this country not for the first time this year but it is being done for a number of years past. The first time I came into this Assembly in 1935, the then Finance Member held that though India had passed through a period of acute economic depression with the rest of the world, she had turned round the corner and she had actually entered upon a new career of financial recuperation. That was his first budget and that a surplus one. But, Sir, all he had to say in explanation was, though he was conscious that Government had not taken any initiative to arrest the steady deterioration of Indian financial position it must have been due to India's wonderful power of recuperation. That was the explanation given.

Sir, this Government seems to be a great believer in repetitions. They think that if they constantly din into our ears that there is prosperity and prosperity all round, some day we might come actually to believe in it. But those of us who come from the country and are in touch with its masses and middle classes, know the appalling poverty, the indescribable misery and hardship in which they live. When we read the budget proposals such a statement from the Honourable the Finance Members sounds to us as a mockery. The statement of India's financial prosperity seems to receive support from another agency of theirs, namely, the Reserve Bank of India. We read in the address of the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India the following:

"India is remarkably in a strong position both from the point of view of Government Finance and of Industry. Agriculture is still lagging behind. India's financial position is still very sound and there is no reason to anticipate any unnecessary stringency of money or curtailment of credit."

But while here we have got this kind of picture, it is curious, Sir, that in his report to the members of the Central Board of Directors for the year ending the 31st December, 1939, the Governor of the Reserve Bank has to

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say something different about the financial condition of this country. He observes:

"In India, as in Great Britain, the growing tension in the international situation militated against any sustained recovery in the first eight months of the year and the nervousness which it engendered dominated the financial markets generally and almost nullified the effect of other favourable factors such as, a slight improvement in the foreign trade position and a rise in the prices of certain commodities such as, jute and sugar. To this was added the depression in the prices of wheat and cotton and the difficulties of the cotton textile industry, which has been experiencing one of its worst slumps owing, among other reasons, to overproduction and the increased cost of labour."

Sir, this creates in us a feeling of utter bewilderment. To me it appears that the theory of India's progressive prosperity has been deliberately propounded in order to demonstrate to the world that the stewardship of these bureaucrats is quite all right and that under their control and management finances of India are making a steady headway. Sir, if one scrutinises the budgets that have been presented to this House during recent years, one feature that must arrest the attention of every sensible Member is that the anticipations in the budget do not generally turn out correct but they always err on the side of excess perhaps of caution. What I mean is this: that if they anticipate that they will be getting five lakhs under a certain head, actually it comes to eight lakhs, and at the time of explaining this excess in receipts it is said that it is due to prosperity or that they did not expect the prosperity to go as fast as it actually did. Sir, this has been the policy of this Government. I will illustrate what I want to say more fully by reference to the Budget. I will only refer to certain portions of the Budget speech of the Honourable Member. A casual glance at the Budget figures would indicate that they are drawn up, not with the meticulous care which the importance of the subject demands but in a somewhat arbitrary and slipshod manner without a close calculation of all the reasonable probabilities and chances of the situation. Take, for instance, their estimates of the financial year 1938-39 which are embodied in the budget proposals here. The Finance Member says:

"In our revised estimates for that year we had expected to end with a deficit of Rs. 2.65 lakhs, but in the event this proved to be no more than Rs. 64 lakhs."

The Honourable the Finance Member has already been out by two crores. He goes on:

"This unexpectedly satisfactory result was due to an improvement of Rs. 1.51 lakhs in revenue and a reduction of Rs. 50 lakhs in expenditure."

Why could he not anticipate this when he was preparing the budget,—that he will be in a position to make a reduction of 50 lakhs in expenditure? What is the use of giving a figure which proves wholly wrong even before the year is out? Take, again, the revenue side. This is what he says:

"On the revenue side the yield of Customs and Central Excise Duties improved considerably in the last months of the year, by 37 and 41 lakhs respectively, while Taxes on Income produced as much as Rs. 1.24 lakhs more than our revised estimate."

But, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member himself seems to have been struck by this wild range of variation in this case and he has sought to put up an explanation like this: "Well, it is a very difficult thing. We are going to set up a machinery by which accurate statistics will be collected in future and we shall then be able to get correct figures." For the time

being, we have to be content with things as they are. If you proceed further with the Finance Member's speech you will find that this year Government expected a very small surplus of Rs. 3 lakhs, but it turned out to be a very big surplus of Rs. 508 lakhs though, of course, the war intervened in the meantime and entailed additional expenditure which has been met out of this surplus. Now, it cannot be contended that war alone brought in the heavy import Revenue. As a matter of fact the estimated yield from the import duty on sugar far exceeded the expectations of my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, and war had little or nothing to do with it. Last year when the excise duty on sugar was enhanced and the figure of income was put at that, we protested that that was an abnormally low figure and that far greater imports were expected, but no heed was paid to that. It has now been found that the import duty on sugar has far exceeded the anticipations of the Honourable the Finance Member. And he has no explanation to offer.

Let us now take the Posts and Telegraphs Department. He says:

"Although we had expected to close the year with a small deficit, the present indications are that we shall actually have a surplus of nearly 86 lakhs."

That is another glowing illustration of the way in which the budget figures are arrived at. He expected to close the year with a deficit but came out with a surplus of 86 lakhs.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): We did not budget for war.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: I know that will be a handy and an omnibus excuse for covering all your misdeeds, both of omission and commission.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: It is a very big accident.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: But it passes my understanding how war can bring in this kind of profit in the Postal Department. Is it seriously contended . . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: Very seriously contended.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: I can understand that in the Telephone Branch of the Postal Department there might be a windfall because of the rush of telephone calls from the speculators and there might also have been a rush on the Telegraph Branch by commercial people who had to communicate with the business world.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: The large surplus in the Posts and Telegraphs Department was entirely due to the war.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: I demur to accept the view be that as it may, the fact remains that no figures relating to the matter in issue have been placed before us by any Member of the Government Benches. For instance, we do not know the actual income of the Posts and Telegraphs Department up to the month of August, nor do we know what has been earned by the same Department as a result of the war, in the months

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following the month of August. No data have been placed before us and we cannot jump to that kind of conclusion, to which my Honourable friend would like us to do. My point is, that the policy of the Government has been to indulge in an under-estimation of yield from important sources of revenue, and when they prove incorrect, to come forward with all manner of fantastic explanations.

We have protested against this policy and we have pointed out that it is not a sound policy. If you pursue that policy, the inevitable result would be that people would refuse to have any faith in your budgetary estimates and they will not take you seriously. If on every item, as I have pointed out, you are out not by a few thousands but by lakhs and crores, then what is the use of having such a budget and of basing all your calculations of national economy on that? The idea seems to be, as I was saying, that somehow or other they want to show to the world that India has a balanced budget and has a sound economic position. When the yields actually register heavy increase, they come forward with the story that there must have been prosperity going all round during the interval. I admit that there has been prosperity, but prosperity only of certain people who are in the high ranks of service. Every year they get increments. They are being benefited even by promotion and by transfer from one Department to another. I am sure this war will give them many more additional advantages. Government have not brought forward any proposals for the retrenchment of their heavy salaries. So, prosperity is there, but it is the prosperity of only a microscopic section of the country and it is not widespread. Sir, this is one kind of financial jugglery to which the House is now getting more and more accustomed. The financial policy that is being pursued by this Government, particularly in the budgets, after the outbreak of the war, seems to be dictated by one and only one purpose, namely, how best India can be exploited for the purposes of the war. In fact, the Honourable Member puts the whole thing in a nutshell when he says:

"The full utilisation of India's resources is an important element in ensuring the victory of that cause on which alone rests the hope of our civilisation."

I do not grudge the Honourable Member that feeling but what I myself feel is that if the civilisation of the whole world is to depend largely on the exploitation of the resources of my country it will be a very poor comfort indeed to me and to my people. You want us to be bled white so that the world may have its civilisation. It will be very cold comfort to the poor masses, the men behind the plough, the men in the street, that, after all, they shall have to behave like sheep to be mercilessly shorn in the interest of others. You cannot create any enthusiasm in them by saying: "Do not mind all these trouble and tribulation for Poland will some day have to get back its freedom or Finland will get its liberty restored." This kind of argument will not reassure our people nor will this prospect of restoration of lost freedom of others console them in their troubles and travails which the reckless fiscal policy of the Government has involved them in.

Sir, we know that in Great Britain and France they are pursuing policies of rigid economy and they are harnessing everything to the cause of the war so that they might win. India has been taken by surprise in this war in the declaration of which she had no voice, and without even being

shown the formal courtesy of consultation she has been made a belligerent country. India is making her war efforts, both voluntary and involuntary. I submit that the way in which the Government are receiving involuntary, unconscious, unconditional and unrecognised contribution from India is not fully appreciated by Honourable Members of this House. Ever since the declaration of war, a series of measures have been taken by this Government and I need hardly say that in this matter also neither the Legislatures, nor the commercial community nor any responsible public opinion in this country have been consulted. The inevitable effect of this will be to cripple trade and industry of this country and to bring about its virtual ruination in the course of a few years. Sir, the Government have enforced a number of measures whose sole object is to make India the principal country for the supply of raw materials for the Allies at the cheapest possible rates. With this end in view, they have issued all sorts of orders, they have imposed all manner of restrictions on shipping, they have inaugurated price control, they have introduced exporting licences to people who will be engaged in the business of exporting commodities, they have imposed restrictions on shipping of raw materials by private shippers outside India. They have appointed a Controller of Indian shipping. This controller is not an Indian. He was not appointed in consultation with the Indian mercantile community. In his appointment not a single responsible Indian public man or body was consulted. He has been put in charge of shipping and his duty is to see that 70 per cent. of the tonnage available is earmarked for the despatch of raw materials to His Majesty's Government in the first place and the balance of 30 per cent. is available for private shippers for despatch of merchandise to other countries. That also is not fully available to them. Out of that, 25 per cent. will be reserved for those goods which are in the United Kingdom priority list. After that is disposed of, there is only five per cent. of tonnage left for private shippers to ship their commodities to foreign countries.

May I ask why when such a step was taken the Government did not consult Indian mercantile opinion? Have the Government so far done anything to help the Indian shipping interests? Have the Government encouraged in any way even such a modest demand as the reservation of coastal shipping to Indian Companies for which my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, has been pleading in season and out of season? They have done nothing of the kind. They have shown cold shoulder every time such a demand has been brought forward in this House. It is only after a long period of ten years and more that India now gets an opportunity of recouping her losses. As a result of the war in Europe, India may now be able to despatch her goods to countries outside, but she is very much handicapped in this. Then, Sir, there are also the exchange restrictions which stand in the way. Against such odds, India has to contend. The Government have established shipping licence agents, in other words, for exporting articles from this country, export licenses have to be taken and we can well imagine how these export licenses are granted. Added to all these difficulties, the recent further restriction enforced by the Government of India with regard to export of jute and manufactures of jute and rubber will tend to impede the flow of Indian trade and industry. As regards these, shippers have to produce the receipt of payment before they can be shipped outside. We can easily understand what the underlying object of all this is. The object is to ensure that Indian raw materials may not reach enemy countries in any way. In other words, the

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Government are very careful that any leakage in the blockade of the Allies against the enemy countries is effectively checked. But in effect they have closed the outlet for Indian raw materials to countries which are favourably disposed to India and which have been India's best customers. They have thus alienated the sympathies of the rest of the world from India with the result that India is impoverished and there is sluggishness in the demand for Indian products.

Sir, I think it will not be denied by the Honourable the Finance Member that though during the early months of the war, as he himself admitted in his budget speech, there was a great demand for Indian commodities outside India, that demand has now died down. I can give the House the figures which go to show that the exports have dwindled to a considerable extent. In the four months from September to December 1938 linseed was exported to the extent of 119,723 tons, but in the same period in 1939, it dwindled down to about 48,985 tons. Groundnuts, from 2,93,984 tons during the same period in 1938 dwindled down to 87,959 in 1939. The total of oilseeds during the same period in 1938 was 3,98,557 tons and it dwindled down to one lakh 67 thousand tons in 1939. Export of Raw cotton was one lakh 45 thousand 587 in the said period in 1938 and in 1939, it was one lakh 10 thousand 126. Export of raw jute in 1938 was 2 lakhs 86 thousand 148 tons and in the same period in 1939, it dwindled down to 2 lakhs three thousand 325 tons. I have given comparative figures of export of a few commodities only. But from this it will appear that there has been an appalling decrease in exports and though there has been a growing demand from foreign countries for these products, especially from non-empire countries, India has not been able to despatch them to meet that demand and the result is there has been an accumulation of stocks in the country and the consequent fall in prices. It does not require a very great economist to understand the net result of this position of things. Sir, by the accumulation of these heavy stocks, the agriculturists have been hard hit. Owing to the advent of war, all countries not directly involved in it have been exerting their utmost to utilise the situation to rehabilitate their finances. It is only natural that India also should utilise this opportunity to the fullest extent and recoup herself as best as she may but this she finds herself unable to do owing to the interference of the Government. Sir, the prices of raw materials have fallen abnormally during the last few months owing to the manipulation of Government. In December 1939, the price of cotton per candy was Rs. 332.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** What was it in August?"

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** It may be have been a little less.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Less than half.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** But in March, 1940, it is 260, thanks to the introduction of the Excess Profits Bill and the promise you  
3 P.M. held out to the country.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** That is still 60 per cent. up.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** No, it is not so. And the price of wheat was Rs. 5/8/6 per maund in December, 1939, and in March, 1940, it is Rs. 4/9/-. The price of ground-nuts was Rs. 49 per cwt., in December, 1939 and today it is Rs. 39/6/-. Linseed was Rs. 9/15/- in December, 1939, and in March it is Rs. 7. I find there is laughter on the Treasury Benches; I do not know if there is any desire to challenge my statements

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**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** We do not want to challenge the figures. We are merely interested, to put it mildly, because the Honourable Member has taken the peak of all prices as his standard.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** I have to put my case in my own way and if there is any case on the other side I am prepared to meet it. But smile or laughter is no substitute for argument. I am quoting statistics and I am glad to see that the Honourable Member admits them. But his grievance is that I am quoting the peak figures. My position, however, is that if the prices of the Indian commodities were at a higher level that should be a source joy to the Finance Member because he would be able to reap the harvest. But because it is not the case and because the accuracy and implications of the figures are going home, he is getting fidgety. At the outbreak of war, I am prepared to admit with the Finance Member, there was some spurt in industrial and agricultural activity. And if they had allowed the country to carry on for at least six months more it could have stabilised itself and recuperated the loss which it had sustained in the ten years of terrible depression that immediately preceded. I am sure the Honourable the Finance Member knows how in Great Britain they recuperated their position. After the Munich surrender, Great Britain entered on a vigorous programme of rearmament which helped her to completely rehabilitate and improve her economic position and bring about all-round prosperity. Was there any such thing in my country? We Indians could not anticipate that war would break out on the 4th September. Therefore, in the nature of things, with the outbreak of war, there was bound to be some industrial and agricultural activity. But you did not allow them any breathing time and rushed at them with the Excess Profits Bill. The result was that as soon as it was introduced and people came to know of it and learnt that 50 per cent. of the profits were going to be snatched away, overnight the prices dwindled down. That has been the position, and from that position it will be difficult for industry and agriculture to recover. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, in the course of his long budget speech, was careful enough to see that not a single sentence was introduced there about the industrial advancement of this country. In his whole speech you do not find a word of encouragement to the industry, trade and agriculture of this country. When every country in the world during the war is trying to become self-contained, here in India we expected the Finance Member to come forward with a definite scheme for promoting or encouraging new industries in this country; but it is notoriously absent in his speech. Sir, does the Finance Member or his smiling colleague know that as soon as the war broke out ordinary chemical commodities which are in daily use in this country, things like bleaching lime, were completely exhausted and were not to be had anywhere in India? Hospitals, dispensaries, municipalities and district boards all clamoured for the supply of bleaching lime

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but it could not be had because we could not get supplies from outside. And you never took it into your heads to see that these things were manufactured in this country. Take the case of caustic soda, soda ash and potash which are largely used for the manufacture of soaps, and other articles. There is no factory here to manufacture them. Have you taken any steps to see that India may not have to close down her glass and soap factories for want of these basic materials?

While taxing this country, they have been pursuing a policy which is shortsighted and suicidal. If alongside of the taxation proposals the Finance Member had put in one or two small measures for the economic amelioration of this country he would have won glowing tributes from Indians. I know they can do without them, without any tributes from us they can carry on merrily. They have got their political baptism from their political gurus at White Hall who have taught them that the dogs might bark but the caravan would go on. Sir, a sound financier who is in charge of the exchequer of a country should realise the economic needs of the country and protect and promote the interests of trade, commerce, industry and agriculture, if he is to do his duty honestly and properly. Otherwise he may win the applause of his admirers but he will not win the confidence of the country. Sir, I do not mean to address these words to my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, in person. He simply represents a principle or a policy which he has inherited as a legacy from his predecessors in office and which he cannot shake off. But I say that he should have, in his first budget, made some departure from the old beaten track if he wanted to enlist the country's sincere sympathy and support in the war. While asking the country to make sacrifices for the purpose he has in view, he should have made a gesture by which he could have won the hearty co-operation of the people which he has not done.

Sir, during the debate on the Excess Profits Bill which was passed into law the other day there was a lot of discussion on the probable repercussions of the measure on the trade and industries of this country. But whatever may be the fate of the trades and industries, one great thing which staggers is the steady economic stagnation that has set in among the masses. For the purchase of raw materials at the cheapest possible rates without Indians coming to know of or perceive it, without having any acknowledgment to make for it, Government have appointed liaison officers in several parts of India. A number of such officers has been appointed in Northern and Southern India but not one of them is an Indian. They did not think it necessary to appoint a liaison officer with direct, thorough and first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions. Was it impossible for Government to find out one or two Indians to act as liaison officers? And what are the functions of these officers? We do not know; it is a sealed book to us. The way in which these officers are reported to be functioning reveals to us a state of things which no one who has the love of his country at heart can view with equanimity. They have not got to pay the excess profits tax or any tax whatsoever. They get into direct touch with producers and the agriculturists and purchase materials at the lowest prices. My grievance is that it is not only they who are purchasing these for their own war, but even countries, other than Britain, are taking the fullest advantage of this and they are also purchasing my country's produce at the minimum. I saw that the joint and cumulative

effect of all this is to ruin my country financially, and for this policy my friends over there are responsible. The taxation on sugar and petrol is bad enough : but they are the two articles which seem to have engrossed the attention of my countrymen more than these other matters. Sir, I feel that all this will result in the lowering of the prices of commodities to an abnormal level, decreasing the purchasing power of the people of my country and bringing about complete dislocation of India's financial structure, from which it will be very difficult for India to recover even in a decade after the war.

I will, now, say a word or two now about the taxation measures. My Honourable friend, Mr. Ramsay Scott,—who is not in his seat now—made a very valuable contribution to the debate on sugar. It was a highly informative speech, full of facts and figures, and he put the case of the sugar industry in an admirable form. He proved almost to demonstration how the industry had already been hard hit and how it would be further affected by this proposed taxation. We have often expressed our appreciation of the Government inaugurating a policy of discriminating protection; but it seems that after that policy was put into practice, a period of recanting followed. My Honourable friend's predecessor in office was a rabid freetrader; he had no faith in the doctrine of discriminating protection, far less protection; and sugar, which is the second greatest protected industry and the second largest industry in this country, came in for hammering at the hands of the Finance Department on several occasions in the past. The result is that the excise duty today stands at the figure of Rs. 3 per cwt. It is infinitely better not to give an industry any protection at all, than to give protection in a halting and half-hearted manner. It is hardly fair to allow an industry to grow under the policy of protection and then give knocks on its head year after year. Not knowing how long they are to be protected, not knowing their exact future position, the sugar mill owners have been carrying on manufacture of sugar and have already invested several crores of rupees in the industry. How can it stand now the heavy duty of Rs. 3? Has not its deadly effect been realised in the customs returns of last year? What is the position today? Indian sugar is suffering from over-production: Java sugar is also suffering from over-production, but Java can manage to dump her sugar into India : and if Java can do so, in spite of the countervailing duty which the Honourable Member has imposed, what hope is there for the Indian industry? We know that by a convention you have prohibited Indians from selling sugar abroad. You did that the year before last. We had an exportable surplus, you closed the markets of the world against us by a convention. No elected Indian gave his approval to it. India happens to be the second greatest sugar producing country : and the industry which she has built for herself without any State help—only under the aegis of discriminating protection—is now going to be ruined . . .

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Thanks to the Provincial Governments in two provinces!

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Thanks to the Provincial Governments on the one hand and thanks to the Central Government on the other which led the way. It is the Central Government which showed the way—I hope my Honourable friend will admit that. If the Central Government had not imposed the excise duty, the Provincial Governments would never have taken it into their heads to fix the prices of cane. So, in between

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the pressure of the Central Government for revenue and the inordinate anxiety of the Provincial Governments for the canegrowers, the industry has been so squeezed that it is going to be smothered out of existence. To an Indian interested in the country's economic advancement it is a very distressing sight. We know that in this thin House it will not be possible for us to do anything to save the industry. But our experience has been that even when the House was full and motions regarding this sugar duty were passed by it the process of certification over our heads was always there. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, is particularly fortunate this year in that he will not have to get his Finance Bill certified. It will be the first time in the history of the Assembly of the last six years that the Finance Bill of the Government of India will be passed by the Legislative Assembly. That may be a glory : that may be a victory of which one may or may not feel proud : I am speaking more in sorrow than in anger that our own vital industries like this do not have the protection of the Central Government. Could not the Government select any other article for taxation? They could have. We never thought that sugar would again be selected for this impost. Sugar will now have to shift for itself.

It may be said that petrol duty is a tax on the rich; but those who know the part petrol is playing in the economic advancement of India will demur to accept the view that petrol is an article of luxury in India. If petrol is an invaluable commodity for war, petrol is equally invaluable for industry and for ordinary existence.

**An Honourable Member:** It is inflammable!

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Inflammable it is, but with its inflammable character it has also its character of great utility. The motor transport industry, which is meeting a very great want of this country in the rural areas and areas not served by the railways, will be very hard hit by this taxation. Of course, it has been done to line it up with the policy of the railways where there has been flat increase in the rates by 12½ per cent. The net result of all these measures will mean economic ruin for my country.

I have many more things to say, but time is pressing. I will, however, address only one or two remarks to my Honourable friend, who has been laughing all along—Sir Gurunath Bewoor.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor deserves well of us for his very able administration of the Posts and Telegraphs Department. He has been able to manage his Department in such an able way that today it is calculated that the profits of his Department would come up to 86 lakhs of rupees. My one great grievance against him is that as he is getting bigger and bigger he is becoming more and more irresponsible to our demands and to our requirements. I do not know why my Honourable friend is hiding his face,—I can't see his face from my place here. I find my Honourable friend, Mr. Sanjiva Rao, is shielding him. But, Sir, if my Honourable friends have carefully studied the postal finances of the last four or five years, they will find that this branch of the Communications Department has been making very steady progress. From 1935 onwards, this Department has not only ceased to be a liability which it used to be,—thanks to the manner of presentation of matters by my friend and his Department,—but it has

become admittedly a paying and popular department, a department with which we have the least quarrel, and in the successful administration of which we have always accorded our friend, Sir Gurunath, our heartiest co-operation. Of course, our co-operation has always been coupled with criticism, sometimes pungent, in his opinion, but let me assure him that our criticism has always been of a constructive character. My friend used to plead a very tall excuse of lack of funds, whenever there was any demand from our side either for reduction of postage rates or for some amenities or for better postal facilities or for some provision for amelioration of the lot of the vast body of poorly paid postal people that work under him. He used to point to me the colossal arrears of three crores of rupees sitting as a dead weight over his small head. It is a small head, but with a big brain. Sir, today the deficit of three crores has been wiped off. I have got figures before me, and as a student of postal economics, I have often felt amused at the manner in which Finance Member after Finance Member has disposed of this highly complicated subject. They expected a deficit this year, but it turned out into a big surplus, and my friend, the Finance Member, while expressing the hope that the Department expects to cope with the increasing traffic said: "It is gratifying that the Department expects to cope with the increased traffic". He has several times interrupted me in the course of my speech and has asked me to accept his view, that during the war the work of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs has been far too heavy and all the increased profit has been due to the war. Notwithstanding this heavy increase of work, my Honourable friend expresses the hope,—and I am quite sure it is a well-founded hope,—that his staff will be able to cope with the extra work, but at the same time keeping the expenditure within the sanctioned grant. In other words the work will be much heavier, the income will be far greater—increasing the anticipated receipts by nearly a crore,—but mind you, without giving anything extra to the underpaid staff. I don't say that because you are making more money this year you should make a free gift of it to the people, but my friend, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, knows more than anybody else here what are the grievances, the multifarious grievances of the people working under him in the postal and R. M. S. Department. On a recent occasion I had to give a public expression to them; my friend knows it. This was not the first time I have done so. I have been associated with the Postal unions for a number of years, and if Sir Gurunath can count on one who is a sympathetic friend of his Department, who has always offered him helpful criticism and co-operation, perhaps he will not hesitate to concede that it is my humble self. I have seldom pestered him with interpellations on the floor of this House. If I had chosen to do that, I could have made his life miserable, but I have never done it; I have always believed in negotiations with him. I believe that the staff working under him should be a contented lot, and they should have their grievances removed. From 1935 onwards this Department has been earning a surplus till it has reached the peak figure this year, and the House perhaps does not know that all this steady progress, the crescendo of income has been possible in spite of the extravagances of which this Department is guilty,—I say these colossal extravagances—thank God, the war has given us at least one benefit, the All-up-Air Mail Scheme—and many other fantastic schemes which might have been racking their brains must have disappeared before the spectre of war. I would now appeal to him to take into consideration the miserable lot of the poorly paid new entrants in the services.

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A Department which makes a profit of 86 lakhs could easily set apart a few lakhs for ameliorating the lot of those whose loyal devotion to duty earned for the Department this huge profit. I know in his departmental reports he has paid very glowing tributes to the postal staff. The Honourable Member for Communications has also paid a similar tribute in equally glowing terms. Sir, it has now become a fashion for the bosses to pay tributes to the staff, but mere wordy tributes will never fill empty stomachs. My friends over there ought to remember that. If Honourable Members in charge of that portfolio were paid small salaries like Rs. 200 or Rs. 300 a month and if every day we gave them fulsome praise for their work, they would have realised whether that surfeit of praise would be a proper substitute for promotion or emoluments, whether handsome compliment would by itself make up for their meagre salary.

The lot of extra departmental agents who are said to be "not whole-time servants of Government", but whose number is about two per cent. of the total strength of the Department is very miserable. They have to do all manner of jobs on a pittance of Rs. 10 and Rs. 12 a month. It is a most disgraceful state of things I should say. And my friends' pet reply is that if we could get the proper type of people for the salary we offer there is nothing wrong in it; but, Sir, on the very floor of this House about a month ago we heard a high flown homily on the removal of social injustice. Please do not forget it so soon. It was propounded with eloquence by the Honourable the Finance Member from within a yard of the seat which Mr. Bewoor is occupying now.

**An Honourable Member:** Sir Gurunath.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** We congress people are not accustomed to address one as "Sir". "The rose by any other name smells as sweet", and I hope my Honourable friend, Sir Gurunath, will not mind if I sometimes forget to associate him with the Knighthood.

**Mr Chairman** (Mr. M. S. Aney): The Honourable Member has already taken one hour.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** I will close in a couple of minutes. I have very many things to say about the Postal Department, but as you have pulled me up, I do not want to take any more time of the House. All I say is that the Finance Bill of this year and the budgets that preceded it, have placed India under such tremendous strain that we apprehend that India may not be able to bear, and she will take many long years to recover from the blow that has been dealt to her trade, industry and agriculture. Even after the Finance Bill is passed, if it is possible to mitigate the rigours of the measures which have been introduced, that may go some way towards easing the situation, but if the policy as I have described is vigorously pursued, a policy of subordinating every consideration to the one supreme object of draining away the resources of this country regardless of our own needs, regardless of our economic conditions, and regardless of the interests of the people of India, then ruin is writ large on the face of my country.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** I have heard many speeches by my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, and he is always at his best when there are interruptions. But, unfortunately, his friends are all absent and so he could not be at his best because there was nobody to pull his legs when he was speaking.

I heard the reply of my Honourable friend, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, but there are two points which he omitted when replying to my friends Mr. Piracha and Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi. The one which was made by Mr. Piracha was that Ibn Saud's Government fined the Moghul Line Company one thousand pounds on account of the insanitary condition, and overcrowding of the ships allowed by the Government of India. My Honourable friend, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, has not said whether it was or was not correct. The next point which he did not deal with, and which I asked repeatedly on the floor of this House several times—that was that there is always separate room for passengers and for goods in every boat and when "Rahmani" was about to sail from Calcutta, she no doubt had space for cargo, but at the same time she could also take some passengers if the Government of India had pressed them. However, I leave these things and I now come to the main question.

**Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai:** I would just like to give my Honourable friend information on that one point, namely, the fine of £1,050 alleged to have been levied from the shipping company. If the fine had been levied, we are pretty certain to have heard either from His Majesty's representative at Jeddah or from the shipping company. We have not heard from either of them.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** That is rather important. It was necessary to deny that statement because it was made on the floor of the House.

The budget proposals are very modest and I shall briefly refer to them at the present moment. One is the increase of petrol duty by two annas. This was a thing which we had expected, as it is really a consequential proposal to the one made in the Railway Budget to raise the fares and rates by 6½ per cent. and 12½ per cent. When these rates were raised by the railways we, naturally, expected that there would be an increase in the petrol duty as well so that we may not place the road in a position of advantage as compared to the rail. In this connection I will tell an anecdote to my Honourable friend, Sir Andrew Clow: While proposing this rise in rates and fares my Honourable friend thought that there was general prosperity everybody was being benefited, there was the excess profits duty, and he said to himself, why not the railways also be benefited on account of this prosperity? There was a groom who went to his master asking for an increase in his salary. The master told him to ask for increment when he found him happy and laughing. So, one day the whole stable was on fire, and instead of extinguishing the fire at once, the groom went to his master for permission to extinguish the fire. On hearing this the master laughed, and the groom immediately asked him for an increase in his salary reminding him of his promise before. Sir, our house is on fire, we are in the middle of the war, we are all having privations, but my Honourable friend misunderstands it like the groom, as a sign of happiness and cheerfulness, misunderstands the occasion and raises the rates and fares by the proposals which he has made.

Now, let me come to sugar. My Honourable friend, Mr. Ramsay Scott, gave a little story, and I shall give a little anecdote on sugar. There was

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a gentleman from Central Asia who came to India and became the Governor of Rohilkund. This is a true anecdote. Then some of his relatives in Central Asia wanted to pay a visit to him. They considered what present would be a suitable one for their relative as he was the Governor of a Province. They thought of carpets, but said that carpets were owned even by poor people and, therefore, it was not a suitable present. They thought of fruits from Kabul, but they gave up that idea also. Then they came to Peshawar. There they saw a big cake of *gur*, and said, "Here is something which is very novel. This will form a suitable present for our governor relative". They bought a cake of *gur* and wrapped it up in one cover, over it another cover, over it still another cover, and so on. When the governor opened the bundle he found it was a cake of *gur*. Then he asked his servants to take his relatives to the place where the cakes of *gur* were stocked in the house. The relatives were surprised to see a big mound of *gur* cakes and told their governor relative, "You are a very rich man. You have cakes of *gur* on each side of the bed when you sleep, you will be eating *gur* each side when you turn in sleep".

*"Jab udhar karwat ki, udhar munh mara, jab idhar karwat ki, idhar gur khaya."*

This shows clearly that India was really the birth place of sugar and its sugar was famous all over the North-West Province and Central Asia.

Now, I shall deal with subjects connected with the Finance Department. I was reading an article the other day on Niemeyer award published in the latest issue of the *Finance*. I think the writer did not appreciate certain points. The Niemeyer's Award was essential at the time when this convention was arrived at. Since then certain things have happened, and the convention does not hold good. In the first place we know that the railways are paying their contribution which they were not doing in 1935, on account of the revival of trade, and the trade depression is not so acute now as it was in 1935. On account of the depression in trade which resulted in a loss in income-tax collection and on account of non-payment of the contribution to the general revenues by the railways, Niemeyer came to the conclusion that the Central Government ought to keep 13 crores to themselves and the balance should be distributed among the provinces. Now, the third factor which has now become very important is the war condition. On account of war conditions, the expenses of the Central Government have gone up and the expenses of the Provincial Governments, on account of certain political happenings, have now gone down. Therefore, considering all these events it is very desirable that we should reconsider the whole position. We know that necessity is the mother not only of inventions but also of conventions and, therefore, if there was necessity to have some kind of convention in 1935, the circumstances have changed and the conventions must also change. Therefore this thing cannot hold good in 1940 and it should be replaced by another convention on the allocation of the shares of the provinces *vis-a-vis* the share of the Central Government.

I should like to say a few words about the Standing Finance Committee and the Estimates Committee as well. An Estimates Committee, during war time, is almost an impossibility. No person can make any estimate of the expenditure for the current year as we do not know what would be the conditions of the war. Therefore only the Standing Finance Committee is possible at the present moment.

There are some points which I should like to press and that is that we should make every effort to conserve the resources of the country. Now, we know that gold is the only currency which is recognised during the war and we should make every effort to see that we keep in India sufficient stock of gold as it may be required at any moment during the war. The other thing which I pressed last time and which I press today is that we ought to make every effort to attract the small investors by giving good prospects in the form of Post Office Cash Certificates. The present prospects are not good enough and I request the Finance Member seriously to consider whether he can allow  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on these certificates which is not too much because  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will really mean in practice about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., as we do not pay for the whole year and taking everything into consideration and taking the figures for the last 25 years we will find that  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will work up to about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and, therefore, if we can issue the Cash Certificates at 77-8-0 or about, subject to the ordinary restrictions that no one should have more than Rs. 10,000 at one time, we shall be doing a great service to the smaller people. It is very desirable that the smaller people should have some kind of interest in the financial stability of the country. If all these people are interested in the financial stability of the country by having their own money invested in post office certificates it will itself be an asset to the stability of the country during the war. Therefore in matters like this, it is absolutely essential that we should attract the smaller people to take interests in the prosperity of the country and to the stability of its financial position.

Now, as regards the Excess Profits Tax, we have passed the Bill. We have given concessions and I am not going to repeat them today but, at the same time, I hope that the Government will watch that the profits realised during the war should not be squandered owing to giving large dividends to shareholders as was pointed out by the Honourable the Finance Member the other day. They should not give very large dividends but they should conserve their profits to be utilised by them during the depression which is sure to follow immediately after the war.

Now, I do not propose to repeat what I have already said but I would suggest a few points which the Finance Member may keep in mind. I have repeatedly mentioned here on the floor of the House those points so much so that:

*"Gufta gufta man shudam bisyar go."*

By repeatedly telling this, I have got the fame of talking too much.

My friend may keep in mind that there are certain sources of income which he should like to derive from his Honourable colleague, the Member for Communications. First, I shall quote a passage from the *Economist*. This is about the Excess Profits Tax in England:

"Lord Horne's reference to the liability of the railways to Excess Profits Tax deserves quotation in full:

Although the income received by each of the companies will be subject to Excess Profits Tax, I cannot suppose that any basis would be fixed which would be likely to diminish appreciably the amount available for distribution on our ordinary stock."

They were really contemplating in England to levy an excess profits tax on the railway companies, while our railways are really exempt from all kinds of income-tax.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Olw** (Member for Railways and Communications): Our railways are going to pay more than half their profits to the Government.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** That is one per cent. of the capital at charge. I am coming to that point. I have been pressing that we are depositing  $4\frac{1}{2}$  crores too much on the depreciation fund and I hope that in his leisure hour the Honourable the Finance Member will look into the matter and the point which I should like to press is this, that this basis of 1/60 is entirely wrong. They have an over-capitalised value of their assets. It is like my old pair of shoes which was bought originally for 11s. which has been resoled several times and the present value of it is estimated at 21s. The Railways are over-capitalised and you are charging depreciation on the over-capitalised value of the railways. If you charge at present on the true value of the railways which exists at present then I think you will come to the same figure which I have quoted. Then the second source from which his colleague can also make a contribution with perfect honesty is this and there is nothing wrong. According to the convention of 1924, the Railways have to pay an arrear of approximately about 38 crores for non-payment of their contribution during depression years. If you like I can tell you how much exactly it is.

They have to pay 37.74 crores as arrears, and it is the convention of 1934 session that they can deposit in the reserve fund after paying these arrears. Therefore, now that they have deposited about three crores in the Reserve Fund, please request the Railways to pay the arrears according to the convention of 1934. Here is an amount of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  plus three or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  crores to fall back upon in case a great emergency if it arises in connection with the War. This is one source of income which the Finance Member may keep in mind, but I do not want to press it immediately. There are certain fundamental principles laid down by Mr. Keynes. We should be ready for all kinds of taxation not only from Railways but every person who has a capacity to pay. He ought to pay for the successful prosecution of the War. Now, in this case, I just quote Mr. Keynes' three fundamental principles which can hardly be challenged:

"The first is that some contribution must be asked from all, save only those who are already on or under the poverty line. The second is that a graduated tax on wages is a much more equitable method of taxing the small incomes than any other that has been suggested. The third is that, if the wage-earner is to be heavily taxed, social equity would certainly be served and economic stability probably advanced by the issue of rights to future consumption."

It is on some such lines as that that the solution of the problem of war finances, if there is to be any orderly solution, will have to be found. He says that the excess profits on account of the war conditions in United Kingdom were estimated at 825 million pounds and he suggests a method by means of which 800 million pounds may come to the State. I therefore quote Mr. Keynes in order to impress that, in the case of War, every person who has got a capacity to pay ought to pay for the successful prosecution of the War and we should get ourselves ready if the War conditions continue for a second or even a third Finance Bill, if it becomes absolutely necessary; but I hope such emergency will not arise and I hope we will be saved from a second and third Finance Bills and my

friend, the Railway Member, will not have the unpleasantness to pay the amount which, of course, he badly needs in order to build up his reserve fund.

Sir, I next take up two important points dealing with the Department of Education, Health and Lands. The first is about the University of Delhi. In regard to this I tabled a cut motion on the general budget which, unfortunately, could not be discussed then. Though I am rather in favour of providing money for education, I would very much like that some kind of plan should be thought out before we make any commitments. Now, I first put this question. Is the University of Delhi a Provincial University for the benefit of the people of Delhi or is it an All-India University for the people of India and will take the problems of all-India interest? I assume first that it is really a Provincial University for the benefit of the people of Delhi. In that case, I think that it is a fundamental mistake to waste money on shifting the present colleges to a new site and attempt to make it a Unitary residential University. This experiment of shifting all the colleges to an out of the way place has been repeatedly tried at several places and failed. It was tried in Paris, it was tried in Berlin, it was tried in London, and it was tried in Calcutta. When I was on the Calcutta University Commission, we spent days and days to make out a scheme for transferring all the colleges to Manicktalla site and we found that such a scheme was impossible, and I am sure the same difficulties would be encountered in every big town. You cannot expect the residents of New Delhi to send their small boys between the ages of 16 and 18 to about 12 miles to the old Viceregal Lodge. Similarly, you cannot expect people living near Ajmeri Gate to send their boys to such a distance, especially when the transport facilities are not very good. This is, therefore, a thing which ought to have been thought out clearly and the expenditure to be incurred on shifting these colleges from their present position to the old buildings in order to have a teaching, residential and unitary University is as unnecessary as impossible in a place like Delhi. Moreover, there are no colleges outside Delhi which could be affiliated. But if the plan is to make it an All-India University which may be worth the name of Delhi—the capital of India—then the proposition is different. Then in that case they ought to establish a Department of Agriculture and all the research work now done in the Imperial Institute of Agriculture ought to have been done under the auspices of the University.

[At this stage, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

To this University can also be associated the Sugar Technological College at Cawnpore and we can have the experts from all over India in Delhi. If you want to make this Delhi University as a model University for the whole of India then I think you must have a plan by means of which all your research institutions should be moved to Delhi or at least associated to Delhi University. But if you spend your resources in shifting the colleges it would be a waste of money and ought not to be undertaken at all. This is a point which I repeatedly requested that you must first have a definite plan before committing yourself to anything. Unfortunately, there is no Committee to advise the Honourable Member on a scheme of this kind and, probably, the matter was not referred to any

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such Committee except that it must have been examined by the Commissioner of Education who committed himself beforehand as he himself is a member of the Delhi University Senate. Therefore, I do beseech the Government that even now they should make up their mind whether the shifting of the various colleges to one place is at all desirable in view of the fact that this particular system has failed repeatedly wherever it was tried. If the Government of India want to have a University worthy of the capital, then they will have to shift their Museums, Botanical institutions and so on, from various provinces to the Centre. Now I leave this subject and I do beseech that they would make enquiries about this point before making a definite proposal and spending money over it. I do not grudge the expenditure. The expenditure is justified but it must be spent according to a well-devised plan.

Sir, I wish to discuss just now only those points on which I will not have an occasion to speak afterwards. Now, Sir, I come to the question of competitive examinations. I wish the Honourable the Home Member were here to listen to my remarks in this connection. First of all I would like to quote a few passages from the Islington Commission's Report. On page 29, they said:

"We now turn to the case of India. Here competitive examinations have had a more chequered career than in England. The Public Services Commission of 1886-87 tentatively recommended their introduction for the executive branches of the civil services 'wherever the Government of India thinks it not inexpedient.' The system was accordingly tried, but it was abandoned after a short experience."

Further on they said:

"It is true that it has never been, and is not now, exempt from hostile criticism, and we do not affirm that the written examination is an infallible or a final test of the best results of education."

I will quote only a small passage more:

"When schools and colleges there are improved, and when education is more equally diffused among all communities, it may well be possible to introduce a system of competitive examinations in India with the same good results as in England, particularly in those services in which a large number of appointments have to be filled, and where the candidates are young, and general ability rather than special qualifications are required. Meanwhile we are of opinion that, whilst competitive examinations should ordinarily be continued where they are now held, the time is not yet ripe for the general adoption of any such system."

Things have enormously changed since then and I would like now to  
4 P.M. develop my point about the Public Services Commission.

Before I discuss the competitive examinations, I would like to discuss as a background the general principles of examinations because, after all, the background is there on which the whole system is based. We know that there are three distinct methods of examination in the world. One is known as the English system of examinations which we follow in this country. The fundamental basis of this system is that the examiners and the examinees do not know each other and there should be a great secrecy about the whole examination. The second system is the German system, which is really the old Indian system, in which the examinee chooses his own examiners and then it is the duty of the examinee to call on all the examiners a day or two beforehand and discuss with them what he has learnt. Then, there is another system of examination which is French.

According to this system, every answer book is kept at a public place and anybody can go and look into the answer book and see for himself whether the marks are correctly allotted or not. In the oral examination any person can be present in the examination hall. There is no secrecy in the French system. The answer books are kept in open places where anybody can go and have a look at them and the oral test is really open to the public where parents and professors and teachers and men in the street can watch the oral test and the marks allotted to individual candidates. These are the three systems of examinations which are prevalent in the whole world and the system that we follow in our country is the English system. It has got several distinctive disadvantages which are really inevitable and which are inherent in the system. There exists a great uncertainty. I will also give one or two illustrations. There has been a good deal of discussion on this point among educationists and several books have been written on this subject. First of all, I will give an illustration which is quoted by Dr. Ballard.

This is what he says:

"In an examination in History in the year 1920, the papers were evaluated by six professors of History working as a panel. The candidates were required to get 60 out of 100 marks for a pass, and it was agreed that any paper which secured less than 60 marks should be circulated among the examiners in order to ensure fairplay to all border-line cases. One of the professors, who was exceedingly conscientious, began by writing out what he considered model answers to the question, but inadvertently his model answer-paper got mixed up with the papers of those whom he had ploughed and was sent round to the other five professors for their appraisal. His paper was read by them as a *bona fide* answer-paper of an examinee and some of his colleagues ploughed him, the marks ranging all the way from 40 to 80."

The subject was very carefully examined by Professor Edgeworth who has written several memoirs on the subject. Now, I will mention just a few of his researches. He had his papers in geometry where it is supposed that it is not possible to have much variation, he took up an answer book and sent it round to about 28 highly competent examiners, each of these highly competent and experienced examiners marked the answer book of a particular candidate. He found that the marks varied enormously. The minimum mark was 45 and the maximum was 100. Two of these highly competent examiners gave the candidate 100 marks, one gave him 99, another 88 till the number of marks obtained came down to 45. Now, the subject was again taken up by Mr. Kuppaswami, a professor in the Trivandrum Training College and his results are published in the Educational Supplement of the *Hindu* of Madras. He took up the answer book of a candidate whom he declared to be the first class candidate, also the answer book of another candidate described as moderately good, and a third candidate declared as poor and not capable to pass. These answer books were sent to different examiners and their marks are tabulated in this book and you will find that every candidate got all possible marks. Therefore, we find that the marks depend upon the personal equation of the examiner to whom they are sent. Why should we have all these vagaries of the examiners? If the marks depend upon the personal equation of the examiners, then do away with them altogether. Why not put the marks in a basket and pick them up by lot? What is the use of sending the answer books to the Examiner A with one kind of personal equation and then to another Examiner B with another personal equation and waste so much time? My friend, Mr. Aney, was rather surprised when I quoted the other day a passage from my book. Kuppaswami concluded that no justice will be done to the candidates if,

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instead of going through the answer books and giving them marks according to the personal equation of the various examiners, you simply draw the marks from a basket and give the marks on the top of the answer book without reading it and, thus, do away with the intermediary position of the examiners altogether. This is really the uncertainty of all the examinations which is unavoidable.

Now, this subject was examined very carefully and statistical tables were prepared by Professor Hartog and myself when we were on the Calcutta University Commission and he and I together read about fifty thousand answer books of different candidates who had appeared in different examinations and prepared the graphs of various sub-examiners and so on. We went through certain errors which they called unavoidable errors. We put down the mathematical values of these errors and we found that our conclusions were just the same as the conclusions arrived at independently by Professor Edgeworth and published in one of the Journals. I do not want to go into the details but anyone who is interested will find it very useful to read the Sixth Volume of the Calcutta University Commission report where all these things are given and where charts are drawn up. There we came to the conclusion that within a limit of 7.5 per cent. it is certainly impossible to put down the marks very correctly however conscientious the examiner may be, provided he is a man and not an angel. He may have the best possible experience and the best possible knowledge and yet within 7.5 per cent. it is certainly impossible to fix the marks of any particular candidate. This is so far as the general examination goes. There are two classes of errors. One kind of errors are called the unavoidable errors, whose value is 7.5 per cent. We have got all these measurements and I do not want to go into the details because I want to finish this subject quickly. Then, there are the errors due to the personal equation of the examiners. Taking all these things into consideration, it is very hard indeed to determine by the English system of examination as to who is the best candidate. The candidate who scores the highest marks may not be the best candidate intellectually. He is certainly fortunate as he may have been affected by the unavoidable errors on the favourable side and not on the negative side. That is marks within 7.5 per cent. may be above and not below. Then the personal equations of the examiners may be in favour of and not against him. These two things are unavoidable. This is the general condition of our examinations as they are now practised and which I call the English system. On the top of this you come now to inherent errors of competitive examination. In addition to all these errors which are inherent in the general system of examination, additional errors are present in competitive examinations which I now desire to outline here. In competitive examinations, you have got alternative subjects. A person may take up history, another, Persian. It is humanly impossible to compare marks of these two candidates together. The answer books of one candidate may have gone to a person with a lenient personal equation while the answer book of another candidate may have gone to a strict examiner whose personal equation will be widely different. The marks obtained by these two candidates will also widely differ. Then, there is the question of equal difficulty. It is impossible to set a question paper on two different subjects which you may call questions of equal difficulty. Professor Hartog and I took great pains in 1916 and 1917 to

work out the personal equations of two different examiners and whether they can be brought to the common level of a mean examiner. Prof. Hartog and myself worked at the graph of various sub-examiners in a particular examination. I think there were 37 sub-examiners and we discovered a special formula by means of which marks given by all these examiners could be brought together to the standard of mean examiner. I submit that something of this kind will have to be done in competitive examinations also. You have to use some kind of formula by means of which the marks given in various subjects could be brought together under what you call standard examiner.

The next difficulty which I should like to point out is this. At present in the country both among teachers and students of Universities, there is a lot of complaint against the Federal Public Service Commission for their arbitrary method of admitting candidates to sit for competitive examinations. They simply say; "you cannot appear for such and such an examination". The poor candidate has spent time and money in preparing for the examination and at the last moment when his application is sent to the Public Service Commission, the Secretary to the Commission simply says "you are not fit to sit for this examination". Of course, there is a good deal of misgiving in the country about this practice adopted by the Public Service Commission. What is the standard it adopts to admit or not to admit a particular candidate. I also heard a good deal of complaint and so I took steps privately to ascertain from a friend who was an Educationist and who was connected with the Public Service Commission and I discovered that if a candidate has passed his B. A. examination in the first division he was considered fit to sit for the competitive examination, on the other hand a candidate who was only a III division in his B. A. was not allowed and a candidate who took his B. A., in second division may be allowed on the ground of his marks in other examinations. Now, Sir, I submit this is an extraordinary and arbitrary procedure. My submission is that the standard of pass for first division varies among the different universities. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the House to page 48 of my book on examinations. In the Calcutta university, the percentage of passes in first division was 43 per cent., 48 per cent., sometimes 53 per cent., and even 58 per cent. In the Punjab the standard of passes in first division was 13, 11, 11 and the maximum was always 13. In Allahabad university the percentage in first division is 1·6 per cent., ·9 per cent., ·6 per cent., ·8 per cent., and ·4 per cent. Therefore the standard of passes in first division varies from 58 per cent., in Calcutta university to ·4 per cent., in the Allahabad university. By merely seeing the application of a candidate how on earth can the Public Services Commission say that he is fit or not fit to sit for the competitive examination. This is very arbitrary and it has created a good deal of dissatisfaction among the candidates, and those who do not know the real secret are apt to think that there is some *golmal* in the Public Service Commission and that only those who get strong recommendation are allowed to appear at the competitive examination. I think this impression ought to be removed for the good reputation of the Public Services Commission. The examinations also should be devised in such a way that they will inspire confidence in the students and in the teachers which, unfortunately, does not exist at present.

Before leaving this subject of examinations, I should like to touch upon a small difficulty felt by teachers and students alike. They do not know

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the difference between elementary mathematics and higher mathematics and lower mathematics. The teachers of mathematics are all anxious to know what exactly the Public Service Commission means by mathematics. The teachers and the students say "for goodness sake, please give us some standard by which you define mathematics". Some of the teachers in India have been writing to me and to the Public Service Commission. I do hope that the Public Services Commission will convene a conference of teachers in Mathematics and definitely lay down the scope of 'mathematics' for the purpose of examinations conducted by the commission so that all this vagueness and uncertainty in the minds of the students may be cleared. It will be not only in the interest of the students and teachers but it will also be in the interest of the teaching of mathematics.

We cannot alter the whole system of examination. The Islington Commission pointed out that the system of written examinations does not help us to pick out the best candidates, but that in the absence of any other test, that is the only method which we have to fall back upon. I would have very much liked to change the system of examination, but, unfortunately, we cannot do it. It will be a big job to change the character of all examinations. There are certain things which we cannot do immediately in order to remove all these defects and drawbacks, which I have pointed out. I will make some suggestions to minimise these defects. As regards the valuation of answer books of examinees, each answer paper should be valued by two different examiners, so that each examiner might be careful. If an examiner comes to know that the marks awarded by him will be compared with the marks given by another examiner for the same answers, then he will be more careful than he would otherwise be if his valuation was taken to be final. The first principle that I wish to lay down is that every answer paper ought to be valued by two different examiners. In case of wide divergence and discrepancy in the marks awarded by two examiners—supposing the marks in one case are 40 per cent. and in the other case 80 per cent.,—in that case the answer paper should be re-examined by the chief examiner whose decision should be final.

The second suggestion is that all question papers should be moderated. However conscientious an examiner may be, there are always small points which he may overlook but which from the point of view of candidates might be very important, and in order to be fair to candidates, it is desirable that the question papers should be moderated. The person who sets a paper should be a person not connected directly with the teaching in the University although he must have had teaching experience in the past. The man who moderates should have plenty of teaching experience, and he should be a teacher in a University.

The third point is that at a certain stage there should be some weeding out of candidates. That is absolutely essential. My Honourable friend, Sir Andrew Clow, suggested at one time that we should hold a wholesale examination at the age of 16, and those who pass that examination should be declared eligible for all posts later on and those who fail at that stage should be kept out. I do not agree with him. From my experience of boys, I can say that a large number of them develop their faculties only after 16. Up to 16, they play about and they do not take life seriously. It is only after 16 that their faculties develop and their

brain power develops and I, therefore, submit that you cannot lay down definitely at the age of 16, that a candidate is fit for higher work and that a certain other candidate is fit only for clerical work. What I suggest is this. First you should fix a standard for an appointment, say Matric, B.A., or M.A. or anything else. And every person who has passed that standard should be permitted to sit for the examination if he produces a certificate of good character from the Principal of his college. Then, the answer books should be examined by two examiners. The question paper should be moderated and on the result of the examination you should pick out ten times the number of candidates required for recruitment, so that you can select the best men. Then, there should be an oral test by a committee which should have an expert on that particular subject. If it is a selection for the I. C. S., there must be an I. C. S. expert, if for the accounts service then an accounts expert, and so on, so that this expert will know everything about the requirement of the department for which recruitment is made. Secondly, you must have at least one educationist, whether from the Public Service Commission or elsewhere, who will be able to compare the standards of the various universities or colleges and will give proper advice. This cannot be done by men who are not familiar with the working of the universities. The committee should consist of five to seven persons. To satisfy all communities there should be one Englishman, one Hindu and one Muslim. This committee should award marks and the method of awarding marks varies in different places. I cannot at this stage lay down any definite principles for awarding marks, but we know that the members of this committee after consultation among themselves come to some sort of common agreement, and this agreement on the results of the oral and written examination will lead to fairly good results. Although this method has some difficulties it is still the best means of selecting suitable candidates. I request the Honourable the Home Member to restore the confidence of the candidates in these Public Service Commission examinations, and also restore the confidence of the universities and also the public.

There are two other points concerning the Home Department which I will mention. One is that it is desirable to raise the number of C. I. D. officers. The C. I. D. officers in the provinces cannot act strongly and courageously on account of misgivings in regard to their future on the change of Government. And they cannot push their inquiries for fear of trouble later on when the Government changes. There have been a number of murders and even of Police officers and in order to improve matters I think these inquiries should be conducted by the Government of India C. I. D. There have been murders of police officers but these inquiries were not pushed on as the Police officers were afraid of their future prospects being adversely affected by change of Government.

**An Honourable Member:** Who will finance these officers?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Either the Provincial Governments or the Government of India.

I wanted to say something on constitutional matters but as my friend, Sardar Sant Singh, is not here I will not dwell on it.

My next subject is the Woolley report, which relates to archæology. I asked for a day to discuss this report but, unfortunately, that could not be given and so I will discuss it now. The Department of Archæology has

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three branches, *viz.*, conservation of monuments, excavation and museums, and now they have added a fourth, *viz.*, publication of old manuscripts. I am glad they have undertaken the publication of a chapter of Canoon Masudicus book written by Alberuni, *i.e.*, Chapter V dealing with geography. Alberuni is a very famous scholar and Professor Sachan who edited his books India and Chronology said to me that he was the greatest intellect that ever lived on this globe and he advocated the editing and publication of the whole of his book Canoon Masudi. It was the dream of my life to edit this work which was left undone on account of the absence of anyone who knows all the subjects dealt with by Alberuni. I welcome their undertaking to publish the 5th chapter dealing with geography, but, surely, it is not included among the legitimate duties of the Department of Archæology. I think I could have edited that chapter at one-fourth of the cost they will now incur.

As regards conservation, they have divided monuments into three classes; (1) those which they repair and keep in an up-to-date condition, (2) patch work, and (3) those they allow to go waste. This division is not good because there are some monuments which, though they may not be of very great historical interest, are of great engineering interest and they should be kept up from the point of view of engineering. I, therefore, suggest that this business of conservation should be divided into two distinct categories: the first is the preservation of the building. That ought to be entrusted to the Public Works Department because they are the proper men to look after buildings and repairs. It is not the function of the Archæological Department anywhere to take up engineering work, because they are not trained as engineers. The second part is the historical, and that should be done by the Archæological Department because they should study the style, character and inscriptions and they are the proper persons for that work.

Before I leave this matter I suggest that there is a large number of good monuments belonging to the three distinct periods of Indian History and which are lying between the four roads here and which have been entirely overlooked. They have got *kuchha* roads running in between, but they are no good to us: I once had occasion to visit them on foot and examine those buildings but I should think that pucca metalled roads should be constructed and the Public Works Department can do that. They are the buildings lying between the Muttra Road and Qutab Road and the Lodi Road and the Badarpur Road: they belong to the various dynasties and it is desirable that they should be studied: it will throw no doubt a great deal of light on the history of those periods. From the point of view of engineering also it will benefit us. As for instance, they had in those days constructed air-conditioned houses: if you sit down in those houses in the hot weather you feel as if you are in an ice house absolutely cool. If those people know three or four hundred years ago how to construct these air-conditioned houses, it is really worth while for us to know how they did it as we have to stay in Delhi during the hot weather hereafter. The Public Works Department will be able to examine them and find out how they did it. It is remarkable that when Akbar travelled, there was an air-conditioned house every twelve miles built for him and for his army. I am sure modern science and engineering will be benefited if these buildings are handed over to the Public Works Department for study and examination and we will be benefited by their discoveries.

Now for the other two departments—excavation and museums: and here I come to the Woolley report. This report is very damaging to the Archæological Department and since we will not have any other opportunity to discuss this report at all, I may be permitted to quote a few sentences from it. In the very beginning the report says:

“In reviewing the work done by the Department in recent years I have been disagreeably impressed by the lack of any coherent plan for its archæological activities.”

He was reviewing only recent years. About the author of this report, Sir Leonard Woolley, I shall read from the *Statesman* of the 8th July, 1939:

“It is fortunately not often that a government department is the subject of so adverse a report as Sir Leonard Woolley has written about the Archæological Survey of India. Sir Leonard is the excavator of Abraham’s city, Ur of the Chaldees, and is one of the world’s leading archæologists. His opinion of work of this type in India is therefore important . . . . .”

The head and front of the Survey’s offending is that it is without personnel trained for the work it has to do.”

As I pointed out Sir Leonard Woolley is a person of world reputation and he knows his subject very well and his opinion is worth consideration and it is very desirable that we should carry out his suggestions. Again, he says:

“Unfortunately, the small sums available for excavation in 1931 had been spent on haphazard excavations initiated for no good scientific reason on new sites or carrying on a minor scale, the clearing of old sites which had already yielded their essential information.”

And then about Taxila he says:

“This is not because I consider the work done there to be sufficient or the results of future work unimportant but because it is a mistake to concentrate on a particular period, when the great need is for correlation.”

Later on, he says about ‘later programmes’ in North India:

“Apart from this I should recommend as a general policy that there should be none of those small and sporadic excavations which have of late dissipated the energies and the finances of the Department . . . .”

**Captain Sardar Sir Sher Muhammad Khan** (Nominated Non-Official):  
What is that book you are reading? Is it on Railways?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** I am reading from the Woolley Report. This reminds me of a story of Yusuf Zulikha who after listening to the whole story wanted to know whether Yusuf was a man or a woman! This is Archæology I am talking about and not Railways. Sir Leonard Woolley then says:

“At Nalanda the only justification for excavating more and more monasteries is the mere chance that there may be found another hoard of bronzes such as one building out of the dozen already excavated has produced . . . .”

Repetition is really a waste of energy. He says further on:

“A highly-trained staff is as essential to an excavation conducted by the Government of India as to a foreign expedition, and the Archæological Department is sadly lacking in trained men; there are but few men in the department with experience in digging, and the experience of those few has not been of a sufficiently high grade to qualify them to conduct important excavations and still less to train students. It is essential that the rising generation at least should be taught in a better school, and for this full advantage should be taken of foreign expeditions.”

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Questions have been repeatedly asked in this House, but the opinion prevailing in the Department, apparently, is that any person who can read and write is good enough to be a trained archæologist. They had put a draughtsman in charge of archæological excavation and others who have absolutely no knowledge of the subject at all. He says further on:

"An increase of staff is obviously essential if efficiency is to be secured, but the prospects of training recruits are nil. firstly because the present organisation of duties within the department makes impossible demands upon officers and secondly because there is in the department no one capable of giving the training."

The other thing he criticises is that they are doing fraudulent work in this sense: there are old buildings and they are trying to imitate by modern work several things as if they were built about 3,000 years ago. This attempt to reconstruct old monuments in the way they would have been built in the opinion of the person in charge reminds me of the story about Alberuni whom I have just quoted. There was a gentleman called El Ghazanfer who wrote the *janam-patra* or horoscope of Alberuni, which I doubt whether it was prepared at the time of his birth. I made a good deal of investigation with the help of Professor Andreas and I came to the conclusion that this person who wrote the horoscope of Alberuni did it by retracing his steps backward: that is, he first took the events in his life and he said: "If these are the events, then what should be his horoscope" and he recast the horoscope from those events of his life; instead of reading the life from the horoscope, he prepared the horoscope from the facts of his life. The same is really the attempt made by these Archæologists. They are building and constructing some of the monuments by using the bricks as if they were so many years old. An attempt of this kind is really a fraudulent attempt, and I will just quote a relevant passage here:

"At Mohendjo-daro I examined carefully what purported to be a well preserved private house of about the 26th century B. C. and it was only after some time that I was able to realise that no single brick visible in it was more than five years old. Fraudulent reconstruction similar to this, though not so thorough going has been carried out over the whole vast site of Mohendjo-daro; it has cost and costs a large sum of money; it is not in the interest of the layman, for of the few who annually visit the place none examine the whole of it; for the archæologist it destroys the value of the ruin; it is not in the interest of the future generations, who want to see the building of 2600 B. C. not of 1935 A. D., and it is useless because it is not permanent."

They have changed the whole character of buildings at Mohendjo-daro from 2600 years B.C. to 1935. They tried to copy out the old buildings from memory alone, and have put up buildings not of the type of those that existed 2600 years ago, but of the type which exist in 1936.

Then, he says it is waste of time to do digging work, because the work is so successfully copied that even the experts are deceived. This is what he says:

"But all thirteen excavations have been elaborately 'conserved' with special bricks imitating the old so successfully as to deceive even the expert."

Then, speaking about the quality of the work, this is what he says:

"The adverse opinion which I have formed of the excavation work done by the Department in recent years was expressed in my covering note and was to some extent justified by the comment in Chapter II, but while I was there concerned with the failure of the Department to secure the necessary ground work for the archæology of India, I have yet to make it clear that the failure has been due not only to lack of judgment in drawing up a programme of research but to the quality of the research done."

Then, there is another passage here which says:

"But where excavations have been conducted by the regular officers of the Department the effects of inexperience are not less marked."

"Again, I do not propose to multiply illustrations *ad nauseum*, but I can say that on almost every site which I have visited there was evidence of the work having been done in an amateur fashion by men anxious indeed to do well but not sufficiently trained and experienced to know what good work is."

A person like myself or a Member of the Assembly not sufficiently trained and experienced to know much about the subject of Archæology will not be able to find out whether it is amateurish or professional work that is done by the Department. So, really speaking, the whole work of the Department is done by amateur engineers or photographers who know nothing at all about the subject and who carry out the work without knowledge.

Then, as regards students, he says that the present officers are not capable themselves to discharge their duties, and, naturally, they are unable to train up their successors to any higher standards than their own. Indeed, as regards the students it is a question of the blind leading the blind and in his opinion the quality of the Department is progressively deteriorating. Therefore, he says you should take a certain number of probationers and train them properly by experienced people.

Then he criticises the annual report. He says that the annual reports published by the Department do not really give a true picture. This is what he says here:

"The expensive and indigestible Annual Report and the equally esoteric Memoirs are the only official issues of the Department and there is actually a ban upon its officers publishing privately an account of their work."

So, really speaking, the report they publish is not worth anything at all.

Later on he deals with the question of Museums. He says that museums in India are not well kept because there is nobody who understands how museums ought to be kept. Therefore, this Report of the Archæological Department is the most damaging report, and the sooner we close the Department the better it is. I am not for closing it down completely, but I suggest that either we should mend it or end it. We have asked a number of questions about the working of this Department, but most of these questions were put, unfortunately, on communal lines. I do not mind whether you have more Hindus or more Muslims,—I don't mind whom you employ, but the Department should be really one which will deal with all matters relating to Archæology, and it should not be a mere apology for Archæology, and nobody, who understands nothing about the subject, should be employed in it. Sir, I think the time has come when the Finance Member should put his foot down and see that it should not be the close preserve for a few individuals so that people who don't find openings elsewhere might be absorbed in it and condemned persons are put in charge of responsible work. The object should be to establish a particular Department which will really lay the foundations for proper excavations and establish proper museums. In this case, as pointed out in the Report, it is very difficult to find one individual who can be called an expert in all subjects. The Report recommends that we ought to appoint an expert Adviser. I entirely agree with this proposition, but I think this expert Adviser should be the Director General himself. Otherwise if he simply advises and his report goes to some one else who knows nothing about the subject, he will

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be laughed at. Therefore, if you really want to keep up the Department, I am very strongly in favour of mending it, and we ought really to appoint an expert who knows the whole subject. He should be the Director General himself, and under him we should have a trained staff, and then we should work out the whole scheme of the department. This Department should not be run on communal lines, as it has, I claim, been hitherto run, because it is a question of national interest, and we should entrust this to a person who knows the subject. I do not want to go into the history of the high appointments made in this Department because it is outside the scope of my discussion. I am anxious that this Department should be re-organized so that it may be a glory to our country and it can take up the work of excavations and museums to the greatest possible utility. If they give up the publications of the older manuscripts, it will be much better, because it is clearly outside the scope of the Archæological Department to undertake the publications of these books.

So far, I have said about the Archæological Department. One word more before I finish the Department of Education, Health and Lands. The Central Advisory Committee for Education has been very inactive during the whole of last year so much so that not a single meeting of the Committee was held in the year 1939-40. After many speeches made by me here on the floor of this House on the occasion of the Finance Bills and otherwise, I was able to induce Sir Frank Noyce to organise this particular Committee and he agreed in the end. But, at present, this Committee is not doing the work which was expected of it, and I think we ought to give a lead in matters of education. The Committee has educational experts from all the provinces including experts from the Government of India, and a representative body like it ought to give a little lead in matters of education. The question regarding the Delhi University which I discussed a few minutes ago could have been referred to a sub-committee to be nominated by the Central Advisory Committee. The Education Department has got this important body and along with the Inter-University Bureau, they have at their command two very expert bodies and they ought to make a greater use of the opportunities which they already possess. The Government ought to utilise the services of these experts in order to come to the right decisions, and I am certain that these people will place all their knowledge at the disposal of the Government of India which will enable them to frame a policy which will really be good to the country. I do beseech that these services of these two expert bodies should be utilised more freely in order to frame a sound policy.

There is the Central Library, but I think it is rather backward. We should have a first class educational library here and Members should be at liberty to borrow books. I would also request the Government to revive what they used to have in the past, the system of writing memoirs on important topics. From 1913 to 1926—I have not seen later issues—a large number of memoranda dealing with important subjects were published, and I know that if they asked influential men who know the subjects well to write some important memoirs on various aspects of education—the compulsory primary education is a very important question, the Wardha scheme is a very important question, technical education is an important question—these are matters which can be referred to a committee and the memoirs ought to be prepared for the benefit of the provinces. I do not want to encroach on the provinces, but we have already given a lead

in agricultural matters, we are doing that through the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The provinces have educational experts but they have got limited experience. Here if you have men from all parts of India trained in the various universities, knowing the traditions of the different provinces and they are brought together to deliberate on any particular problem of education, I am sure that good results will come out of it.

I now come to the Department of Labour. I am sorry that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is not here and also Sir Andrew Clow is not here, because the first thing that I want to take up is the question of recognition of unions.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Chair may inform the House that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar is unable to attend the Assembly under doctor's advice.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: I am very sorry that on account of illness he is unable to come. I pray that he may have a rapid recovery through the grace of God and that he may be here probably day after tomorrow. I would like to bring to the notice of the Honourable Member a paragraph written by the Whitley Commission about unions. The Royal Commission on Labour said at page 518 of their report:

"The Trade Unions Act should be re-examined in not more than three years' time; all limitations imposed on the activities of registered unions and their officers and members should be reconsidered so as to ensure that the conditions attached to registration are not such as to prevent any well-conducted *bona fide* union from applying for registration."

Here the Royal Commission has recommended that after a period of three years the whole policy should be revised. In 1932, that is eight years ago, the Executive Council passed a resolution that communal unions ought not to be recognised, but eight years have passed away and many things have happened. The whole political fabric has altered and I think the time has now come when we ought to recommend to the Government of India that, as recommended by the Whitley Commission, they ought to reconsider their entire policy with regard to the recognition of unions. In this connection, I should like to state that there are certain predilections in India, which I call an Indian fiction. There is an academic fiction, namely, that every student must complete 75 per cent. of the lectures and even though he has attended 74·9 per cent. of the lectures, that won't do, and the candidate cannot appear in the examination. Another fiction is that ticketless travel should be made a cognisable offence. That is the hobby of the Indian Railway Conference Association. Similarly, there is the bugbear that communal unions should not be recognised. This I call a trade fiction, in the same way as I call the other one an academic and Railway fictions. So many things have passed since they passed this Resolution that it is now high time that they reconsidered the whole subject. In 1932 nobody recognised the Muslim League and that its voice impressed few persons. But now the position is very different and the political conditions have altogether changed. After the passing of the 1935 Act there has come the Provincial Autonomy and there is a change in the mentality of the people. Therefore, whatever was true in 1932 is certainly not true in the year 1940, and according to the recommendation of the Whitley Commission itself it is very desirable that this revision should be

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made. I have studied all the leading reports of the International Labour Office and we find that in every country communal unions are recognised, there is no bar against their recognition. But it is one of the idiosyncrasies of India that we must have this restriction, which does not exist in any other country of the world, and this I call a labour fiction, in the same way as I call the academic fiction in the case of boys who must attend 75 per cent. of the lectures and nothing less.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is the Honourable Member concluding his speech now?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: No, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He can continue his speech next day.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 27th March, 1940.