

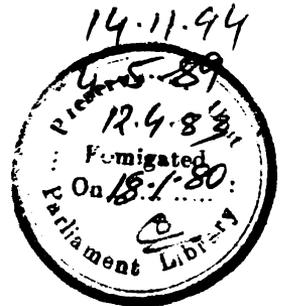
11th November 1940

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

Volume IV, 1940

(5th November to 18th November, 1940)

TWELFTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1940



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, 11th November, 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

†34*—42*.

TRAINING OF INDIAN PILOTS AND MECHANICS FOR THE AIR FORCE.

43. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state how many Indian pilots and mechanics have been trained in India by Government for the Air Force since the commencement of the war? At which places did they receive the training and at what cost?

(b) Do Government propose to train in India pilots and mechanics for the Air Force? If so, how many each year, and at which places will they get the training and on what terms?

(c) How much will be the cost of training each pilot, and who will bear the cost?

(d) Will these pilots and mechanics be trained for permanent purposes for the Air Force in India, or for the present war purposes only?

(e) Have Government received any applications from candidates for pilots and mechanics' training? If so, how many and from which nationalities?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) and (b). Government are training Indian pilots and mechanics for the Indian Air Force. In order to provide a reserve of trained pilots and mechanics Government have arranged to train 300 pilots and 2,000 mechanics in one year under the Civil Aviation Training Scheme at Civil Flying Clubs and in addition 72 pilots and 327 mechanics have been or are being trained by the Air Force itself at service training schools in Risalpur, Ambala and Lahore. The Initial Flying Training School which has now been established will train 50 officers at a time.

(c) The cost will be approximately Rs. 4,300 for each pilot and 1,350 for each mechanic under the Civil Aviation Training Scheme and the cost of the more advanced training at Service Training Schools is approximately Rs. 16,000 for each pilot. This cost in each case will be borne by the Government of India.

(d) It is impossible at this stage to say what will happen after the war.

† For these questions and answers, see pages 283—97 of these debates.

(e) Yes, many thousands of initial applications and enquiries have been received. Approximately 18,000 for pilots and 38,000 for mechanics. 3,297 who appeared *prima facie* suitable returned completed application forms for recruitment as pilots, and 2,900 for recruitment as mechanics. A statement showing the origin of the candidates is laid on the table.

CIVIL AVIATION FLYING TRAINING SCHEME NO. 2.

Statement showing the number of applications in the prescribed form received from the various provinces, and the number selected for interview at each centre.

Place of interview.	Name of Province.	No. of applications received.
New Delhi	Delhi	175
	Jaipur and Jodhpur	12
Karachi	Sind	38
Lahore	Punjab	867
	Punjab States	65
	N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan	46
Lucknow	United Provinces	442
Patna	Bihar	155
Calcutta	Assam	54
	Bengal	472
	Orissa	12
Cuttaek	Madras	367
	Madras States	159
Secunderabad	Hyderabad	13
Nagpur	Central Provinces	87
Bombay	Bombay	259
	Central India and Rajputana States	49
	Bombay States	25
	Total	3,297

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: With regard to clause (a), my question was how many Indian pilots have been actually trained—not how many have to be trained?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: My figures relate to those who have been or are being trained and in various stages of completion of training for the Indian Air Force.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know how many have been trained up to this time?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I shall require notice of that.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: The question is, how many up to now have been trained. Are they working or not?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I have given the best answer I can.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if any has been sent to England for work?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: 24 have been sent to the United Kingdom, but their training is by no means complete.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: May I know how many training centres you have in India?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: There are training schools for the Air Force squadrons at Risalpur and Ambala and another one for initial training at Lahore.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: With reference to clause (d), may I know if these pilots and mechanics have been informed that they are not being trained for permanent purposes, but only for the purposes of the war, and that, after the war, they will have to go?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Yes. Every one is now enlisted for the emergency only.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know why they are not being taken permanently, so that we may have these men permanently?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: It is quite impossible to know what the permanent requirements will be after the war.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: If the pilots are being trained for permanent purposes, we can know that they will be useful hereafter?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: They will certainly be eligible for permanent commissions after the war.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: Are there any pilots who are in charge of squadrons?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Yes, the Indian Air Force is under the command of an Indian squadron leader.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: How many Indian pilots are in charge of air squadrons?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I shall require notice of that.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What is the strength of the ground engineers at the present moment?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: 327.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: How many of these are Indians?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: All of them are Indians.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: With reference to clause (e), may I know how many pilots have been accepted and selected, and by whom?

Mr. O. M. G. Ogilvie: The Air Force have selected those for whom they had vacancies, and the remainder have been selected by the Director of Civil Aviation.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Do Government propose to have these training centres in every province or not?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Not at present.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: In view of the fact that these men have to serve in the Air Force in England, may I know whether any arrangement has been made by which the expenses of training them are met by the British revenues?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: The expenses of training all these 24 men are being met entirely by the United Kingdom.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I know whether in the list of these candidates Anglo-Indians have been shown separately or they have been included among Indians?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I have got no separate figures for Anglo-Indians here.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I know if an overwhelming number of these are Anglo-Indians?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: No, Sir.

Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member lay down the proportion of the Anglo-Indians to genuine Indians?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform us whether he can say what a genuine Indian is?

Sardar Sant Singh: I think the Honourable Member has been long enough here to know that.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: I do not know. I want you to tell me.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. Next question.

ISSUE OF ONE RUPEE NOTES WITHOUT THE AGENCY OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.

44. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether it is not a fact that the Government of India issued one rupee notes directly and not through the Reserve Bank?

(b) Is such action not contrary to the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act?

(c) In case the issue of notes is a war expedient, do Government propose to modify the Act by an ordinance or amend the Act?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the Currency Ordinance, promulgated on the 24th July, 1940.

Mr. Lalchand Navairai: May I know from the Honourable Member whether this one rupee note is a note with a "promise to pay" or merely a paper promise?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: It is a token coin.

Mr. Lalchand Navairai: What is the backing of it?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: The backing is the same as that behind the rest of our token coin.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Was this note printed before this war or printed during the war?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the Press Communique which was issued at the time when these notes were first put out.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I know what is the total amount issued by Government of the one rupee notes which are now current?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am afraid I cannot give the Honourable Member that impromptu; I shall require notice.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I know whether it is intended to withdraw these notes and issue notes of a bigger size and of more amenable or convenient use in the near future?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Yes, Sir, that is the intention.

Mr. Lalchand Navairai: May I know if the backing of these paper notes is silver or sterling?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: The question of backing does not arise in regard to a paper rupee; it is not a currency note.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is it not a fact that these notes had been printed long before the declaration of war, but were not put into circulation because it was thought that these notes were not suitable?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: No, Sir. It is true they were printed a considerable time before the declaration of war, but the reason why they were not put into circulation was that the emergency for which they were prepared did not actually arise.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Have Government received complaints with regard to these notes that the working classes and the agriculturists find it difficult to take care of these notes and how they are either being mutilated or dropped down or spoilt by perspiration, and so on? Have Government received any complaints from district officers or the Reserve Bank on this subject?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Up to the present, these notes have not percolated very widely in rural areas, and in urban areas they have been received with satisfaction and have contributed greatly to the solution of an exceedingly inconvenient problem.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Are Government aware that the industrial employers everywhere in the country are much perturbed, and that the workmen are finding it difficult to carry these notes and to convert them, and has their attention been drawn to a letter in the *Statesman* sometime ago where it was stated that there was a discount on these notes in the Jamshedpur area?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am not aware that these notes have gone to a discount anywhere. I am aware that the occasion on which they were issued was one in which great inconvenience was being felt by the general public because of the absence of a one-rupee coin or note, and that the issue of these notes did greatly relieve that embarrassing situation.

Manjuna Zafar Ali Khan: Will the Honourable Member please tell us what is the number of traders who were actually prosecuted for having refused to cash currency notes?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I have not got that information in my head.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: Are Government aware that agriculturists and tenants find great difficulty in cashing these notes in rural areas?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: No, Sir. I am not aware that these one-rupee notes to which I presume the Honourable Member refers come up against that particular difficulty.

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

RELAXATION OF THE FINANCIAL CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OVER THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT.

45. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether he gave sanction to all the new posts created by the Supply Department?

(b) Were he and his Department satisfied that the salaries demanded were not extravagant?

(c) Will the Honourable Member please state the reasons for excluding the Supply Department from the financial control which the Government of India are exercising over the expenditure of all Departments?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: (a) Sanctions to new posts are accorded with the prior concurrence of the Finance Department, when such concurrence is required under the rules.

(b) Yes.

(c) The expenditure of the Supply Department is subject to the same financial control as expenditure of other Departments of the Government of India.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I know whether, with regard to (b), these salaries were demanded by the parties engaged or whether they were offered by the Government?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I do not think it is appropriate to say that the salaries were demanded; the salaries were proposed by the Department after considering all the circumstances.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I know whether it is not a fact that the salaries in almost all cases except one were higher than the salaries which they were getting in their own Departments?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I do not think that that is correct, Sir.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know whether the cost of the Supply Department is being recouped by a small commission on supplies?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: That was the position originally. I believe there has been some change in that respect, but I am not in a position to explain the exact position at this moment.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know what part of the cost of the Supply Department is being recouped at present by these commissions?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: If the Honourable Member will put down a question, I shall endeavour to answer that.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: May I know whether it is a fact that members of the mercantile community have been offering sometimes double the salaries what they were offered in those positions?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am not aware of that.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I think I heard the Honourable Member to say that there were some of these posts for which higher salaries were given which were not under the control of the Finance Department of the Government of India.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I did not say that. It is the case that every Department of the Government enjoys a certain amount of financial discretion but that is very limited and it is so hedged about that for practical purposes it may be said that all the salaries of the Supply Department above a certain limit have been fixed with the concurrence of the Finance Department.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I know whether in the case of all higher posts the sanction of the Finance Department was obtained or not?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if it is a fact that all the higher posts have been given to non-Indians in the Supply Department?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: That question should be addressed to my Honourable Colleague in charge of the Supply Department.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: The Honourable Member said he is not aware of the fact that higher salaries had been given; will he then appoint a Committee of this House to go into these details and put the figures before him?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: That is a simple question of fact which does not require a Committee for investigation.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Will he appoint a Committee to enlighten him as to whether this is a fact or not?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: The Honourable Member asked me if I was aware of the fact of so and so, and I said I was not aware of that fact; in other words, I denied that it was a fact.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I know whether the higher salaries were offered by Government to the Supply Department officers in order to get higher efficiency or higher honesty?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: The salaries which were proposed were the salaries which were considered appropriate to the circumstances of the case.

Mr. M. Thirumala Rao: May I know if the Honourable Member's attention was drawn to the Press comment that there is jobbery going on in this Department?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: That does not arise.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Would these extra salaries be regarded as excess profits under the Excess Profits tax? (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: No, Sir.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: I only heard the laughter of the House, but not the reply to my question.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I did reply; I said that the salaries were not subject to the excess profits tax.

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

STEPS FOR THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

46. ***Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Defence Secretary give a brief resume of the present state of war?

(b) In view of the reported attacks on India, as published in the *Statesman* of the 29th October, 1940, will the Defence Secretary be pleased to state what steps the Government of India are now taking for the defence of the country?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: (a) and (b). A statement is being prepared and will be laid on the table in due course.

Sardar Sant Singh: Will it be after the termination of the war?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Not unless the war ends very quickly.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know whether, in view of the fact that Assam and Bengal are within bombing distance of Japanese aeroplanes, Government are alive to that danger, and what steps they are taking towards that end for the defence of Bengal and Assam?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I submit that this question does not arise.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: In view of the fact that India is a belligerent country in this war, do not Government think it necessary that a full statement on the position of the war should be laid on the table of this House so that Honourable Members may know how matters stand?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: All I have said is that I am prepared to have such a statement prepared for the information of the Members of the House and if, from time to time, they would like to have further statements, I would do my best to meet their wishes.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Is it not the practice of the Mother Parliament to place before the Members of the House of Commons a weekly or fortnightly report? When we are considered to be the partners of the war, we have a right to know what the actual position is.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Not so far as I know.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: In view of the fact that even in the House of Commons the Premier has been giving regular statements of the position of the war, do not Government think it desirable to take the Assembly into their confidence at least when it is in Session and let it know what the actual position of the war is?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: No, Sir. I should have thought that my answer to the question was a sufficient reply to that, namely, that a statement is being prepared.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Do I understand the Honourable Member to say that a statement will be prepared and laid on the table of the House only when it suits their purposes or when it is convenient to them? What I want to know is this. Now that the Assembly will be in Session for another week or so, will the Honourable Member give an undertaking that before the Session closes he will be able to place on the table of the House a statement showing the actual position of the war?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: It will be laid on the table of the House before the termination of this Session.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: May I know from the Leader of the House if it is the intention of the Government to call for all the details that are given in England to the Members of the House of Commons so that we may know what steps you are taking for the defence or offence of India? It is a very important question and I want an answer.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is not the day for the Leader of the House to answer questions.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask the Honourable Member if the Defence Department as such has been taken into confidence as to the actual state of war so far as it relates to India? If it is so, what is the difficulty in not informing the House as to the present state of those conditions relating to the war?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: Sir, I fail to see what complaint the Honourable Member can have in my answer, which is, that I am prepared to do as I am asked. Such a statement, if it is to be of any value or interest

to the Members of the House. must be prepared with care and it requires contributions of a number of experts, all of whom are extremely busy men. As soon, however, as it can be properly put together, it will be laid before the House.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Do I understand the Honourable Member to say that to make a statement about the actual state of things as they prevail at present, expert advice is necessary?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: War is a complicated business.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I ask if the Honourable Member is unable to give a summary of the things relating to war?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie: I should think that the Honourable Member must know that perfectly well for himself.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I ask if the Government regard this House only as a place where they can come and ask for money, and that it is not the place where they are bound constitutionally to place full details of the war which they are carrying on?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is making a speech.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Is it not a fact that the defence of the country is completely and absolutely assured by the working of the Defence of India Act and the Rules thereunder?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim); Next question.

DESIRABILITY OF ENLARGING THE APPELLATE JURISDICTION OF THE FEDERAL COURT.

47. ***Dr. P. N. Banerjea:** (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Horiram Singh versus King-Emperor* reported in the *All India Reporter* 1940 Privy Council 54, which makes the appellate decisions of the Federal Court final for all practical purposes?

(b) Are Government aware that important questions of constitutional law have been raised in appeals in the Federal Court whose decisions are practically final according to the Privy Council ruling?

(c) Do Government propose to remove the anomaly that, while practically final decisions are given by the Federal Court in appeals involving important questions of constitutional law, appeals under ordinary civil law must be taken to a higher tribunal, namely, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council? If so, how?

(d) Are Government aware of the dissatisfaction among the litigant public that there should be two forums for final appeals, and that while a few can get their appeals decided in India, others are forced to go to England?

(e) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of bringing into operation section 206 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and

investing the Federal Court with the powers permissible under that section with the least possible delay?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: (a) to (e). I do not think that the Honourable Member has rightly interpreted the Privy Council decision to which he refers, but the question of the extension of the Federal Court's jurisdiction is certainly an important one and is at present receiving the careful consideration of the Government of India.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: Are Government aware that on account of the difficulties in communication due to the war it is extremely difficult to take appeals to the Privy Council, and that even if appeals are taken to the Privy Council, it is difficult to manage these appeals there by keeping in touch with the lawyers?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Government have not received any complaints on that score, but, in so far as that is likely to be the case, the probability is being taken into consideration.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I ask if the opinions of the different High Courts were obtained on this question of the expansion of the powers of the Federal Court?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: Yes, Sir; the opinions of the High Courts were received through the Provincial Governments.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I ask if the Honourable Member is going to lay on the table of the House the opinions received by him on this question?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: No, Sir.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I know the reason why?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: It is not usual to lay on the table of the House the correspondence leading up to a decision of the Government on a matter which is under consideration.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am only asking for the opinions as expressed by the different High Courts in India upon this specific question. I do not want any correspondence to be laid on the table of the House.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have said that opinions received through official channels are not usually laid before the House.

TRANSFERRED STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.†

PENSIONS OR GRATUITIES GRANTED TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AT THE KAMARAN QUARANTINE STATION.

34. ***Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha:** (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands please state when the Government of India assumed control over Kamaran Island?

†The meeting of the Assembly that was to be held on the 9th November, 1940, having been cancelled, the answers to starred questions for that day were, in pursuance of convention, laid on the table of the House today.—*Ed. of D.*

(b) How many employees of the Quarantine and Civil Administrations of Kamaran have been granted pensions or gratuities for ten years' service or more?

(c) Was there any condition in their contract or letter of appointment that they would be given pension or gratuity?

(d) How many employees of Kamaran who have rendered more than ten years' service, have not been given a pension or gratuity? If there are any such persons, will their cases be reconsidered on the analogy of those who have got such concessions?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) The Government of India assumed control of the Island of Kamaran in 1915.

(b) to (d). The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

PROPAGANDA AND EXPENDITURE THEREON BY THE PORT HAJ COMMITTEES.

35. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazi-i-Haj Piracha: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands please state whether it is one of the statutory duties of the Port Haj Committees to collect and disseminate information useful to pilgrims?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, how much money was spent by each Committee in 1938-39 and 1939-40 on publicity?

(c) What amount was spent by each Committee on press advertisements, and in which papers were advertisements published?

(d) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands, kindly place on the table of the House a copy of the literature issued by Port Haj Committees during the years referred to above for the information of pilgrims?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) Yes.

(b) A statement is laid on the table.

(c) No expenditure was incurred. Certain newspapers published advertisements free of cost, and in addition many newspapers included in their news-columns items containing information of value to pilgrims.

(d) A list of the publications issued by the Port Haj Committees is laid on the table and copies of the publications with the exception of one Guide Book which is out of print have been placed in the Library of the House.

Amount spent on publicity by Port Haj Committees.

	1938-39	1939-40.
	Rs.	Rs.
Port Haj Committee, Bombay		260
" " Calcutta	808	679/13
" " Karachi	Nil	Nil

List of publications.

1. Manual of Instructions for pilgrims to the Hejaz (English and Urdu editions of 1938).
2. Supplements to the above manual.
3. A notice (English and Urdu).
4. 'Hejazer Pathe'.

CREATION OF THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT AND ITS FUNCTIONS AND WORKING.

36. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state when the Supply Department was created by the Government and whether the Central Assembly was consulted? If so, when?

(b) How much money has been spent on purchases for purposes of war up to now?

(c) Is the Department created for purposes of war only, or is it dealing also with the purchases for other purposes of the Government of India?

(d) How are the purchases made, by tenders or otherwise, and are they given to the lowest tenderer? If not, why not?

(e) Is this Department subsidising or giving contributions to any commercial or industrial concerns in India or abroad in order to encourage them to increase their output for purposes of war? If so, to which and who bears that cost?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: (a) The Department of Supply was created on the 26th August, 1939. The Central Assembly was not consulted.

(b) The total value of orders from all sources for civil and war purposes placed by the two Purchasing Organizations under the administrative control of the Department of Supply from the beginning of the war up to the end of September amounts to Rs. 56½ crores approximately. In addition to this, the Timber Directorate of the Supply Department had by the end of October of this year placed orders for timber worth over Rs. one crore.

(c) The function of the Department is to procure supplies of all kinds required for the prosecution of the war. Other demands which were in the past dealt with by the Indian Stores Department and the Contracts Directorate are still being received by them direct and disposed of as before. These two organizations have been placed under the administrative control of the Department of Supply and this arrangement will continue for the duration of the war.

(d) I would draw the Honourable Member's attention to the answer given by me to part (e) of Mr. Muhammad Nauman's starred question No. 413 on the 18th March, 1940.

(e) Only in one case has a subsidy been given to a firm to start the manufacture of a certain article. There have, however, been some cases in which Government have agreed to finance the erection of plant to be operated on their behalf by commercial concerns.

THE CONTINUING FIRE IN THE COALFIELD IN SUDAMDIH AREA COLLIERY.

37. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether it is not a fact that the coal-field in Sudamdih area colliery caught fire in 1918?

(b) Was that colliery worked by Messrs. Andrew Yule and Company Limited?

(c) What action did they take to extinguish the fire?

(d) Is it not a fact that the fire is still going on?

(e) Have Government estimated the loss of national wealth?

(f) Is it not a fact that the amount of coal that has already been burnt is 200 million tons?

(g) What action do Government now propose to take?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: (a) There are two collieries in Sudamdih mouza: (1) The Empire Coal Company's Sudamdih colliery, and (2) The Sudamdih Coal Company's Sudamdih colliery. Fire broke out in the former colliery in 1916 and spread towards the latter colliery and in September, 1921, smoke issued from one of its inclines.

(b) Messrs. Andrew Yule and Company Limited were the Managing Agents of the Sudamdih Coal Company.

(c) It was not possible to take any steps to extinguish the fire in the two collieries in question although steps were taken to prevent its spreading from the former colliery to the latter colliery.

(d) The fire is not now active.

(e) No.

(f) No. The quantity lost could not possibly be more than a few million tons. The total quantity of coal lost by fires and collapses in both the Jharla and Raniganj coalfields up to the end of 1936 was about 51 million tons.

(g) It is for the present owners to decide what action should be taken.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MANAGER IN RESPECT OF THE COAL-MINE DISASTER AT KURHURVARI.

38. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether it is not a fact that in the coal-mine disaster at Kurhurvari (Joktiabad) fifty-two persons were killed on account of the accident?

(b) Is it not a fact that the Manager was not absolved by the inquiry committee?

(c) What was the verdict of the inquiry committee about him?

(d) Is it not a fact that he was transferred to a post carrying higher salary?

(e) Is it not a fact that he was brought back again to the same place at a higher salary?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: (a) 62 persons were killed in the accident.

(b) and (c). The Court of Inquiry appointed under section 21 of the Indian Mines Act, 1923, to inquire into the accident observed that they could not absolve the management from the major responsibility in the matter. A subsequent Court of Inquiry appointed by the then Local Government of Bihar under regulation 48 of the Indian Coal Mines Regulations, 1926, came to the conclusion that certain charges had been proved against the Manager of the Kurhurbaree Colliery. Neither of the Courts recommended any action against him.

(d) No, when he became ineligible to hold charge of a colliery owing to the suspension of his certificate by the Government of Bihar, he was appointed to a post carrying a lower scale of pay and given the lower pay.

(e) When the order suspending his certificate was cancelled, he was reposted as Colliery Manager and granted the rate of pay he was entitled to before his certificate was suspended.

PLAYING OF MUSIC THROUGH LOUD SPEAKERS DURING PRAYER TIME AT DELHI.

39. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Education Secretary please state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the loud-speakers fixed up in Delhi town at all public places?

(b) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the fact that these loud-speakers play music at the time of prayers, and especially *Jumma* prayers?

(c) Who has installed these loud-speakers?

(d) Who is the person who draws up the programme for these loud-speakers?

(e) Are Government prepared to issue instructions to the authorities concerned not to work these loud-speakers at prayer times and particularly at *Jumma* and *Maghrif* prayers?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Home Member.

CONTRACTORS FOR THE WAR PURCHASES.

40. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will the Honourable the Leader of the House lay a detailed statement before the House giving the names of persons to whom the contracts were given with the amount by all the departments connected with war purchases?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer given to part (c) of Mr. Muhammad Nauman's starred question No. 413 on the 18th March, 1940, and to the answers given to the supplementary questions that followed.

RECRUITMENT, COMMUNAL COMPOSITION, SALARIES, ETC., OF CERTAIN STAFF IN THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT AND ALLIED OFFICES.

41. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state the number of persons drawing more than Rs. 800

per mensem in the Supply Department including its allied offices, such as, the Indian Stores Department and the Director of Contracts?

(b) How many of these are European?

(c) Will Government please state in each case the salary which they were drawing before appointment in the Supply Department and the salary which they are now drawing?

(d) Are these appointments made after duly advertising the posts and a regular selection by the Federal Public Service Commission or the Departmental committee?

(e) If the answer to the above be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state the method of recruitment?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: (a), (b) and (c). I place on the table a statement giving the required information.

(d) No.

(e) Appointments to Gazetted posts, other than Secretariat posts held by members of the Indian Civil Service, are made on an *ad hoc* basis and selection is made having regard to the qualifications necessary for the work to be done.

Statement showing the information in connection with Assembly Question No. 41 regarding number of persons drawing more than Rs. 800 per mensem in the Supply Department.

(This statement does not include Military personnel transferred to the Supply Department with their own posts which they continue to hold.)

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Department of Supply.</i>					
1	The Honourable Mr. H. Dow, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Vice-President, War Supply Board.	European	Rs. 4,000 p. m. as Secretary, Commerce Department.	Rs. 5,000 P. m.	
2	Mr. E. M. Jenkins, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 3,000 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	Rs. 3,000 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
3	Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Controller General of Purchase.	Indian	Rs. 3,000 as Chief Controller of Stores, Indian Stores Department.	Rs. 3,000 P. m.	
4	Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam, I.C.S., Joint Secretary.	European	Rs. 2,450 plus £30 O. S. P. as Offg. Deputy Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department.	Rs. 3,000 p. m. plus £13-6-8 O. S. P. (Normal pay of Joint Secretary to the Government of India).	
5	Mr. J. A. Mackeown, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 1,700 in the senior time scale of the I. C. S. plus Rs. 400 S. P. plus £30 O. S. P. as Deputy Secretary, Legislative Department.	Rs. 1,800 in the senior time scale of the I. C. S. plus Rs. 400 S. P. plus £30 O. S. P. (increase due to normal increments).	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Department of Supply—contd.</i>				
6	Mr. M. Ikramullah, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary.	Indian	Rs. 1,500 as Deputy Indian Trade Commissioner, London (Free of Income-tax).	Rs. 1,500 plus Rs. 400 S. P. Senior time scale of I. C. S. plus the allowance given to Deputy Secretaries.	
7	Mr. H. M. Patel, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 1,500 as Deputy Indian Trade Commissioner, London, plus £250 per annum. (Free of Income tax).	Ditto.	
8	Mr. S. Bhoothalingam, I.C.S., Under Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 1,200 as Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, Madanapalle Division, Chittoor District, Madras.	Rs. 1,200 plus Rs. 150 S. P. (Normal allowance of Under Secretary to the Government of India).	
9	Rai Sahib Djp Chand, Under Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 1,000 as Administrative Officer, Office of the Controller of Broadcasting, All-India Radio.	Rs. 1,200.	
10	Mr. G. Corley-Smith, Under Secretary.	European	Rs. 1,400 as Assistant Collector of Customs, Bombay.	Pay not yet determined.	
11	Mr. J. Byrne, Assistant Secretary.	Do.	Rs. 580 in the scale of Rs. 500—40—700 plus Rs. 100 S. P.	Rs. 1,050 in the scale of Rs. 1,000—50—1,250.	
12	Lieut.-Col. T. H. Bat-tye, Director of Statistics.	Do.	Rs. 1,325 plus pension.	Rs. 1,325 plus pension.	
13	Major E. C. Ormond, Director of Indents.	Do.	Recruited from Civil Life.	Rs. 1,530.	
	<i>Directorate General of Supply.</i>				
1	Colonel E. Wood, M.C., Director General, Supply.	European	Rs. 2,070 p. m. as Officer Commanding, 2/7th Rajput Regiment.	Rs. 3,000 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
2	Mr. R. W. Targett, Deputy Director General, Supply.	Do.	Rs. 3,200 p. m. in scale of Rs. 3,000—100—3,500 as Chief Controller of Stores, Indian Stores Department.	Rs. 3,500 p. m.	
3	Mr. L. Mason, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C., I.F.S., Deputy Director General, Supply.	Do.	Rs. 3,250 as Inspector General of Forests and President, Forests Research Institute, Dehra Dun.	Rs. 3,000 p. m.	
4	Mr. D. M. Passmore, Director of Textiles.	Do.	Recruited from business.	Rs. 2,250 p. m.	
5	Mr. D. Stewart, O.B.E., I.F.S., Director of Timber.	Do.	Rs. 1,750 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P. as Joint Timber Advisory Officer, Railway Board.	Rs. 1,950 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
6	Mr. A. E. Hampson, Director of Miscellaneous Stores.	Do.	Recruited from business.	Rs. 1,500 p. m.	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Directorate General of Supply—contd.</i>				
7	Mr. P. R. Crerar, Director, Chemicals.	European	Rs. 1,200 p. m. in scale of Rs. 1,200—100—1,600 as Assistant Civilian Technical Officer, Office of the Late P. S. O. C. (India).	Rs. 1,500 p. m. (fixed).	
8	Mr. C. T. G. Hooper, Director, Co-ordination.	Do.	Recruited from business.	Rs. 1,500.	
9	Mr. W. E. Flewett, Deputy Director, Timber.	Do.	Rs. 1,350 plus Rs. 300 S. P., and £30 O. S. P. as Joint Timber Advisory Officer, Railway Board.	Rs. 1,750 plus Rs. 300 S. P.	
10	Mr. J. Walker, I.F.S., Deputy Director, Timber.	Do.	Rs. 1,250 plus £30 O. S. P. as Divisional Forest Officer, Working Plans, Belgaum.	Rs. 1,250 plus Rs. 250 S. P. and £30 O. S. P.	
11	Mr. Lloyd Knibb, Assistant Director of Textiles.	Do.	Recruited from business.	Rs. 900 p. m.	
12	Mr. P. N. Suri, Assistant Director of Timber.	Indian	Rs. 750 in the scale of Rs. 250—25—550—750. Belongs to Punjab Forest Service.	Rs. 750 in the scale of Rs. 250—25—550—750 plus Rs. 150 S. P.	
13	Raj Sahib Bishamber Dass, Assistant Director of Miscellaneous Stores.	Do.	Rs. 1,000 as Offg. Assistant Financial Adviser, Military Finance Department.	Rs. 800 plus Rs. 200 S. P.	
14	Mr. V. S. Kuppuswamy, Officer on Special Duty.	Do.	Rs. 1,100 in the scale of Rs. 575 to Rs. 1,350 as Deputy Conservator of Forest attached to the Utilitation Division, Madras.	Rs. 1,100 in the scale of Rs. 575 to Rs. 1,350 plus Rs. 150 S. P.	
	<i>Office of the Director General, Munitions Production.</i>				
1	Sir Guthrie Russell, K.C.I.E., Director General, Munitions Production.	European	Rs. 5,000	Rs. 5,000.	
2	Mr. S. R. Zaman, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department.	Indian	Rs. 2,050	Rs. 2,050 plus Rs. 400 special pay.	Ordinary scale applicable to Deputy Secretaries in Government of India Secretariat.
3	Mr. F. H. T. Ward, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department.	European	Rs. 800	Rs. 1,000	Minimum pay of Assistant Secretary's scale.
4	Mr. G. S. Butler, C.I.E., Deputy Director General, Armaments Production.	Do.	Rs. 2,350 plus £13-6-8 overseas pay.	Rs. 2,750.	
5	Mr. H. I. Matthews, Co-ordination Officer.	Do.	Rs. 1,750 plus £30 O. S. pay.	Rs. 1,750 plus £30 O. S. pay.	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Office of the Director General, Munitions Production—contd.</i>				
6	Major W. J. K. Viney, Assistant Co-ordination Officer.	European	Rs. 1,530	Rs. 1,530.	
7	Mr. N. Hackney, Development Officer.	Do.	Rs. 1,375 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,375 plus £30 O. S. P.	
8	Mr. K. H. T. Gilbertson, C. E. A. to D. O. F.	Do.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	
9	Mr. A. D. McClancy, A. C. E. A. to the D. O. F.	Do.	Rs. 700 plus £25 O. S. P.	Rs. 700 plus £25 O. S. P.	
10	Mr. Madhusudan Singh, Officer Supervisor.	Indian	Rs. 900	Rs. 900.	
11	Mr. W. L. D. Martyn, Officer on Special Duty.	European	Rs. 1,025 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,025 plus £30 O. S. P.	
12	Mr. B. C. Case, Director Civil Production.	Do.	Rs. 2,750 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	Rs. 2,750 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
13	Mr. R. K. Innes, Deputy Director, Civil Production.	Do.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	
14	Mr. J. B. Durning, Assistant Director of Civil Production.	Do.	Rs. 1,250 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,250 plus £30 O. S. P.	
15	Mr. R. C. Frain, Industrial Planning Officer.	Do.	Rs. 1,250 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,250 plus £30 O. S. P.	
16	Mr. F. A. Scott, Industrial Planning Officer.	Do.	Rs. 950 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 950 plus £30 O. S. P.	
17	Major G. B. Vinycomb, Assistant I. P. O.	Do.	Rs. 1,530	Rs. 1,530.	
18	Col. F. B. Piggot, Chief Engineer, Factories.	Do.	Rs. 2,260	Rs. 2,305.	
19	Capt. I. H. F. Boyd, R.E., Staff Officer, R.E. (II).	Do.	Rs. 1,195	Rs. 1,195.	
20	Mr. F. G. S. Martin, M.C., Deputy Director General, Engineering.	Do.	Rs. 2,750 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	Rs. 2,750 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
21	Mr. J. Humphries, Director Engineering.	Do.	Rs. 2,500 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	Rs. 2,500 plus £13-6-8 O. S. P.	
22	Mr. R. A. MacGregor, Director Metals.	Do.	Rs. 2,350	Rs. 2,350.	
23	Mr. H. Sparrow, Deputy Director Eng. (Mech.).	Do.	Rs. 1,025 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,275 plus £30 O. S. P.	
24	Major L. G. Sillar, Deputy Director, Engineering (Elect.).	Do.	Rs. 1,630	Rs. 1,530.	
25	Mr. P. C. Mukerjee, Deputy Director Engineering (Civil).	Indian	Rs. 1,025	Rs. 1,025.	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Office of the Director General, Munitions Production—concl'd.</i>				
26	Engr. Commdr. J. Beggs, Director of Shipbuilding.	European	Rs. 1,830	Rs. 1,830.	
27	Mr. J. M. Smith, A.I.P.O.	Do.	£1,000 p. a.	Rs. 1,000	Emoluments in private employment before joining present post.
28	Mr. A. D. Wilks, A.I.P.O.	Do.	Rs. 600 plus £25 O. S. P.	Rs. 600 plus £25 O. S. P.	
29	Mr. J. Aitken, A.I.P.O.	Do.	Rs. 600 plus £25 O. S. P.	Rs. 600 plus £25 O. S. P.	
30	Mr. G. Richards, A.I.P.O.	Do.	Rs. 950.	Under consideration.	
31	Mr. G. C. Mills, Deputy Director Metals.	Do.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	Rs. 1,350 plus £30 O. S. P.	
32	Mr. J. Oswald, Assistant Director Progress.	Do.	Rs. 1,600	Rs. 1,000	Emoluments in private employment before joining present post.
	<i>Indian Stores Department.</i>				
1	Mr. H. Sur, Officiating Chief Controller of Stores.	Indian	Rs. 2,500	Rs. 2,800 minus pension admissible to him.	The ordinary scale of pay of C. C., I. S. D. is Rs. 3,000—100—3,500.
2	Mr. H. F. Davy, Deputy Chief Controller of Stores.	European	Rs. 2,450 plus £13-6-8.	Rs. 2,750 plus £13-6-8.	Increase due to promotion to a higher scale.
3	R. B. Kirpa Ram, Deputy Director of Administration and Intelligence.	Indian	Rs. 1,725	Rs. 1,800 (on leave)	Increase due to usual annual increments earned in sanctioned scale of pay.
4	Rao Sahib V. Subrahmanyam, Assistant Director of Administration and Intelligence.	Do.	Rs. 1,100	Rs. 1,150	Do.
5	Mr. M. Hashim, Officer on Special Duty (Admn.).	Do.	Rs. 950	Rs. 950 plus Rs. 150 S. P.	
6	Mr. A. N. Banerjee, Assistant Director of Administration.	Do.	Rs. 800	Rs. 1,000	Minimum pay of the sanctioned scale of Assistant Director Administration and Intelligence.
7	E. B. D. Sadasivam, Offg. Director of Purchase.	Do.	Rs. 2,000	Rs. 2,000	
8	Mr. G. T. Thadani, Offg. Director of Purchase.	Do.	Rs. 1,725	Rs. 2,000	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
9	Mr. K. K. Bose, Deputy Director of Purchase.	Do.	Rs. 1,800	Rs. 1,800	...
10	E. B. D. N. Chatterjee, Offg. Deputy Director of Purchase.	Do.	Rs. 1,575	Rs. 1,575	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Indian Stores Department—contd.</i>				
11	Mr. D. W. Lewis, Offg. Deputy Director of Purchase.	Indian .	Rs. 1,500 . .	Rs. 1,575 . .	Increase due to usual annual increments earned in sanctioned scale of pay.
12	Mr. J. Munro, Senior Purchase Officer.	European	Rs. 1,150 . .	Rs. 1,350 . .	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
13	Mr. K. C. Pakrasi, Controller of Purchase, Karachi.	Indian .	Rs. 1,200 . .	Rs. 1,200
14	Mr. B. P. Mathur, Controller of Purchase, Bombay.	Do. .	Rs. 1,150 . .	Rs. 1,150 . .	
15	Mr. T. P. Barot, Assistant Director of Purchase.	Do. .	Rs. 650 . .	Rs. 1,000 . .	Increased due to promotion to higher class.
16	Mr. P. G. Bhagat, Officer on Special Duty (Mechanisation).	Do. .	Rs. 1,000 . .	Rs. 1,000
17	Mr. E. Dixon, Deputy Controller of Jute (Purchase).	European	Rs. 1,150 plus Rs. 150 S. P.	Rs. 1,150 plus Rs. 150 S. P.	...
18	Mr. A. K. Malik, Officer on Special Duty (Tents).	Indian .	•	•	*He draws grade pay plus Special pay of Rs. 300 P.M.
19	Mr. N. M. Adyanthaya, Purchase Officer, Madras.	Do. .	Rs. 900 . .	Rs. 1,000 . .	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
20	K. B. A. G. Khan, Offg. Director of Inspection.	Do. .	Rs. 1,750 P. P. Rs. 150.	Rs. 2,250 . .	Do.
21	Mr. E. C. Arbery, Controller of Inspection (Metallurgical).	European	Rs. 1,250 . .	Rs. 1,500 . .	Do.
22	Mr. B. G. Burt, Offg. Controller of Inspection, Calcutta.	Do. .	Rs. 1,250 plus S. P. Rs. 100.	Rs. 1,350 plus S. P. Rs. 100.	Increase due to usual annual increments earned in sanctioned scale of pay.
23	Mr. A. V. Humby, Assistant Controller of Inspection.	Do. .	Rs. 1,200 S. P. 150.	Rs. 1,200
24	Mr. P. Hinde, Offg. Deputy Metallurgical Inspector.	Do. .	Rs. 1,200 S. P. 50	Rs. 1,250 . .	
25	Mr. B. N. Datta, Assistant Controller of Inspection.	Indian	Rs. 1,200 . .	Rs. 1,200 . .	
26	Mr. J. B. Glass, Offg. Deputy Director of Inspection.	European	Rs. 1,200 . .	Rs. 1,250 . .	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
27	Mr. E. D. V. Ellison, Controller of Inspection, Bombay.	Indian .	Rs. 1,150 . .	Rs. 1,200 S. P. 150	Increase due to usual annual increments earned in sanctioned scale of pay. The S. P. is attached to the post.

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
28	<i>Indian Stores Department—conold.</i> E. B. Dr. E. N. Chaudhuri, Offg. Assistant Metallurgical Inspector.	Indian.	Rs. 1,150 .	Rs. 1,200 .	Increase due to usual annual increment in sanctioned scale of pay.
29	Mr. C. S. Sarkar, Offg. Assistant Controller of Inspection, Karachi.	Do. .	Rs. 1,150 . .	Rs. 1,200	Do.
30	Mr. F. Ashmore, Offg. Assistant Controller of Inspection, Calcutta.	European	Rs. 950 . .	Rs. 950 . .	
31	Mr. M. N. Goon, Assistant Engineer (Inspection).	Indian .	Rs. 810 .	Rs. 810 .	
32	Mr. S. S. Iyengar, Offg. Assistant Controller of Inspection (Calcutta).	Do. .	Rs. 750 plus S. P. 100.	Rs. 950	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
33	Mr. A. N. Bose, Inspector-in-Charge, Cawnpore.	Do. .	Rs. 750 .	Rs. 750 plus S. P. 100.	S. P. is attached to the post.
34	Mr. T. B. Merchant, Offg. Assistant Director of Inspection.	Do. .	Rs. 750	Rs. 1,000 .	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
35	Mr. R. Alauddin, Offg. Assistant Controller of Inspection, Lahore.	Do. .	Rs. 750	Rs. 850	Do.
<i>Contracts Directorate.</i>					
1	Major F. H. D. Teal, Deputy Assistant Director of Contracts.	European	Rs. 1,250 .	Rs. 1,530	Increase due to promotion to higher class.
2	Captain A. E. Haseler, Staff Captain.	Do. .	No information, Private Employment.	Rs. 1,090	
3	Captain H. H. B. Gill, Staff Captain.	Do. .	Do.	Rs. 1,090	
4	Captain E. V. Hammond, Staff Captain.	Do. .	Private employment Rs. 1,000 plus allowances.	Rs. 1,090	
5	Captain G. N. P. Hodder, Staff Captain.	Do. .	Private employment Rs. 1,230 inclusive of allowances.	Rs. 1,090	
6	Captain P. C. Tutton, Staff Captain.	Do. .	Private employment Rs. 1,566.	Rs. 1,090	
7	2nd Lieut. J. Bannerjee, Attached Officer.	Indian .	Rs. 900 .	Rs. 900	
<i>Controllers of Supplies.</i>					
1	Lt. Col. J. R. Marriott, Controller of Supplies, Bengal Circle, Bengal.	European	In business . .	Rs. 2,150	

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Whether European or non-European.	Salary before appointment in the Supply Department.	Salary now drawn.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<i>Controllers of Supplies— contd.</i>				
2	Mr. G. E. Bennett, Controller of Supplies, Bombay Circle, Bombay.	European	Retired Officer of Bombay Port Trust. Pay on retirement Rs. 3,000.	Rs. 1,950	
3	Mr. E. M. Souter, Controller of Supplies, United Provinces Circle, Cawnpore.	Do.	In business	Rs. 2,500	
4	Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan, Controller of Supplies, Madras Circle, Madras.	Indian	Rs. 1,300 Mysore State Servant.	Rs. 1,600	
5	Mr. S. C. Latif, Controller of Supplies, Sind Circle, Karachi.	Do.	Rs. 1,150	Rs. 1,150 plus S. P. 250.	
6	Mr. Bashir Ahmed, Controller of Supplies, Punjab Circle, Lahore.	Do.	Rs. 540	Rs. 1,000	
	<i>Advisers, Liaison Officers, etc.</i>				
1	Mr. E. C. Forbes, Deputy Adviser to Government Woolen Industry, Cawnpore.	European	Private employment. Pay not known.	Rs. 2,000	
2	Mr. J. A. Stuart Williams, Assistant to the Adviser on Engineering Supplies, Calcutta.	Do.	Rs. 1,000	Rs. 1,200	
	<i>Mica Organisations.</i>				
1	Mr. J. Podger, Mica Inspector.	Do.	No information. Private employment.	Rs. 1,500	

RE-EMPLOYED STAFF IN THE SUPPLY DEPARTMENT AND ALLIED OFFICES.

42. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state the names of all those persons who are re-employed by the Supply Department, including the Stores Department, the office of the Director of Contracts and the Defence Co-ordination Department, after retirement?

(b) Are such persons entitled to draw their pensions along with the salary of their present posts? In how many cases does the total of these two allowances exceed the substantive salary which these persons were drawing before retirement?

(c) Are Government aware that the general public is very much dissatisfied with the extravagance in giving high salaries to their employees and also higher prices for the articles purchased by them than the marked prices?

(d) If so, are Government prepared to appoint a committee to scrutinise and control the extravagance of the Supply Department?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (a) and (b). I place on the table a statement giving the necessary information.

(c) and (d). No.

Statement showing the information regarding the personnel re-employed after retirement in the Supply Department and Defence Co-ordination Department.

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Present pay.	Whether pension drawn in addition to pay in the present post.	Pay drawn prior to retirement.	Whether the two allowances exceed the substantive salary drawn by these persons before retirement.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	<i>Department of Supply (Secretariat).</i>	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1	Lieut.-Col. T. H. Bhatye, Director of Statistics.	1,325	Yes. (£743 per annum or Rs. 825-9-0 per mensem)	1,700	Yes. 450 9 0	
2	Rai Bahadur S. K. Banerjee, Officer on Special duty.	500	Yes. (Rs. 400 per mensem.)	1,250	No.	
	<i>Office of the Director General of Supply.</i>					
3	Mr. Faqir Chand Ball, Timber Directorate.	100	Yes. (Rs. 49-9-0 per mensem)	100	Yes. (Rs. 49-9-0)	
4	Mr. Gonslves, Assistant Officer.	400	No.	500	No.	
5	Conductor Old	420	Yes. (Rs. 190).	420	Yes. (Rs. 190).	
6	Conductor Walkin.	420	Yes. (Rs. 182.)	420	Yes. (Rs. 182).	
7	Rao Bahadur Sakharan Patwardhan.	200	Yes. (Rs. 225.)	450	No.	
	<i>Office of the Director General, Munitions Production.</i>					
8	Rai Sahib J. C. Gangull.	200	Yes. (Rs. 275)	550	No.	
9	Mr. Syamapati Bhattacharjee.	200	Yes. (Rs. 220)	440	No.	
10	Mr. T. P. Mukerjee	45	Yes (Rs. 62).	250	No.	
11	Mr. P. N. Moltra	80	Yes (Rs. 88-10-0).	185	No.	
	<i>Indian Stores Department.</i>					
12	Mr. H. Sur, O.B.E., Offg. Chief Controller of Stores.	2,800 less pension.	No.	2,500	No.	Pension not yet sanctioned.

Serial No.	Name and Designation.	Present pay.	Whether pension drawn in addition to pay in the present post.	Pay drawn prior to retirement.	Whether the two allowances exceed the substantive salary drawn by these persons before retirement.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	<i>Indian Stores Department—contd.</i> Rao Sahib K. V. Appaya, Offg. Asst. Director of Purchases (Textiles).	Rs. 740	Rs. No.	Rs. 750 plus S. P. of Rs. 100.	Rs. No.	Employed on C. P. F. basis.
14	Mr. K. K. Mukerjee, Offg. Superintendent. <i>Contracts Directorate.</i> <i>Nil.</i> <i>Controllers of Supplies.</i>	400 <i>less pension, of Rs. 151-5-0.</i>	No.	440	No.	
15	Mr. G. E. Bennett, Controller of Supplies, Bombay Circle, Bombay.	1,950	No.	3,000	No.	
16	Mr. P. A. Davies, Personal Assistant to the Controller of Supplies, Bombay.	500	No.	1,350	No.	
17	Mr. Kinsville, Personal Assistant to the Controller of Supplies, U. P. Circle, Cawnpore. <i>Advisers, Liaison Officers, etc.</i> <i>Nil.</i> <i>Mica Organizations.</i>	400	Yes. (Rs. 500).	1,100	No.	Present pay will be drawn with effect from 28th November, 1940.
18	Mr. M. K. Sambasivarao. <i>Controller General of Purchase.</i> <i>Nil.</i> <i>Defence Co-ordination Department.</i>	45	Yes. (Rs. 37-8-0).	75	Yes. (Rs. 7 8-0).	
19	Mr. H. D. Roy	Under consideration.	Yes	500	No.	

ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that up to 12 Noon on Saturday, the 9th November, 1940, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the election of a Member to the Standing Finance Committee, only one nomination was received. As there is only one vacancy, I declare Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt to be duly elected.

THE INDIAN FINANCE (No. 2) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to alter the maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to increase the rates of the taxes on income imposed by the Indian Finance Act, 1940, by a surcharge for the purposes of the Central Government, and to increase the rate of super-tax payable by companies, be taken into consideration."

Sir, as I made a full and exhaustive speech on the opening day of the Session on the financial position in which I gave the background out of which these proposals have arisen, I do not propose to detain the House with a speech of any length. I shall, therefore, merely make a few remarks on the provisions of the Bill itself.

The provisions relating to the increase in postage rates are of a simple and self-explanatory character. It is, of course, the case that in normal times our policy in regard to postage rates has been to produce a state of affairs over a sufficient period of time in which this public service results neither in a profit nor a loss. And it is true that the present proposed increase is, in effect, a proposal to use the Posts and Telegraphs as a vehicle for an indirect tax. But I think that action of that kind is defensible in certain circumstances and that the present emergency is one which justifies the levy of an indirect tax of this character.

Coming, Sir, to clause 3 which deals with income-tax and super-tax, the object, as I stated in my speech the other day is to levy a 25 per cent. surcharge for four months of the current year. But as rates of income-tax have to be fixed for the whole of the year at a time that intention is carried out by levying a surcharge of 1/12 on the income-tax rates and super-tax rates. The provisions in sub-clauses (2) and (3) are necessitated by the following facts. Certain types of income have the tax deducted at source at the time when the income is received and for practical purposes it may be broadly stated that those types of income undergo assessment or undergo the payment of tax at the time they are received. It has not been the practice, therefore, to subject the recipients of such income to a double increase at the time when the increase is made. That is to say that their income received in the previous year which would ordinarily be subject to an increase in tax is not subjected to an increase at the same time as their contemporary income is subjected to additional deductions at source. This has been our practice in regard to changes of income-tax both up and down. The result is, therefore, that a man whose income last year consisted both of salaries and other forms of income is liable to different rates of tax in respect of those two types of income and the provisions of these two sub-clauses are intended to provide for that state of affairs. They follow the model which is already set by sub-section (2) of section 17 of the Income-tax Act which deals with the method of applying the slab system of income-tax to an income of which certain portions are exempt from tax.

Sub-clause (3) of clause 3 will enable the surcharge to be deducted in the form of a 25 per cent. surcharge on salaries drawn during the remainder of the current year. In this connection, I may perhaps take the opportunity to correct a slight mistake which was made towards the end of the speech which I delivered on 5th November. I said that:

"In the case of incomes other than salaries there will be a supplementary assessment increasing the tax already assessed for 1940-41 by one-twelfth and in the case of incomes from which tax is deducted at source, that is salaries, interest on securities and dividends the previous deductions will be treated as short by one-twelfth."

That, Sir, was not strictly correct. It is only in the case of salaries that the previous deductions will be treated as short by one-twelfth so that for the remaining four months of the year, deductions will be increased by 25 per cent.

That, Sir, is all I have to say on the provisions of the Bill and as I have already stated, I do not propose to cover the ground which was already covered in the speech which I made on the opening day of the Session. Sir, I move.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved.

"That the Bill to alter the maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to increase the rates of the taxes on income imposed by the Indian Finance Act, 1940, by a surcharge for the purposes of the Central Government, and to increase the rate of super-tax payable by companies, be taken into consideration."

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 15th December, 1940."

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Amendment moved:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 15th December, 1940."

The discussion will now proceed on the original motion as well as the amendment.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I oppose this motion. The Honourable the Finance Member is a very prosaic gentleman, nothing seems to move him in this world. He moves this Bill as if we are living in times of piping peace, as if India is only anxious to do what the Honourable the Finance Member bids her to do, and as if all the foundations on which the modern civilised world has been built do not seem to be falling around us; and he evidently expects this House to imitate his childlike simplicity and move a set of formal amendments to reduce a thing here or reduce a thing there and then let him walk away with the Finance Bill. This pose of simplicity will deceive nobody whatever. It seems to me that this Finance Bill is an invitation, in spite of all indications to the contrary, to the people of India to tell the world and all neutral countries and to enemy countries that all is right in India, that nothing is wrong, that the Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman is the Finance Member, that God is in Heaven, and, therefore, India is wholeheartedly co-operating in this war.

In the concluding para. of his speech, to which he referred today, he says:

"That brings me to the end my statement. It is a truism that in time of war Finance is the handmaiden of Defence,"

Perhaps in free countries, but in India what is true in this time of war is that India is the handmaiden of Great Britain,—

"for no country can afford not to take the measures necessary for its own survival."

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

I am glad the Honourable the Finance Member has used the Churchillian phrase, forgetting the old phrases, reminiscent of great wars, talking of creating a new world and a new order for all mankind now. In one of his last speeches, Mr. Churchill, with that brutal frankness for which he is famous, said, we are fighting this war to survive. And, therefore, the Honourable the Finance Member says, "no country can afford not to take the measures necessary for its own survival". But I want to know what country he is speaking of. India is bound to survive whatever the fate of this war may be; England may or may not. Is it suggested that because the war may go one way or the other, India may not survive—400 hundred millions of people of a huge country like this? What is the idea of survival? Why should any man or any country survive except it be for great objects? Is survival not a thing to be exhibited in museums? Surely a great nation asking another great nation to help her in the war must put something higher, more dignified, more self-respecting and more appealing than the mere appeal to the physical desire of survival:

"In relation to the needs of the present situation the sacrifices which I have to ask of the community at this stage are not excessive."

He asks the community to make sacrifices. At question time today my Honourable friend was asked about these high salaries; he seemed to be quite happy about them. If he wants to ask the community to make sacrifices, why not begin with his own community? The order of things in this country seems to be, every community to sacrifice except the Indian Civil Service, specially the European members of the Indian Civil Service. No sacrifice there but the other communities must sacrifice, Indian and European, and they are not "excessive". We shall presently see whether they are excessive or not. And he concluded by this warning to us:

"Clearly they are not the last that we shall be called upon to bear if India is to play a worthy part in securing the victory of civilisation over the dark forces that would engulf it."

What is the India he is speaking of, I want to know. "If India is to play a worthy part",—which India is he thinking of, Mr. President? The India of the people who are professional loyalists? I want, if I may, to warn the Government even in their last days against this class of professional loyalists. There are some men in my own country as in all countries, who will worship the powers that be, whatever they are. If, God forbid, Hitler comes to India, these loyalists will learn German, buy rose garlands and garland him and say: "*Na Vishnu Prithivi Pati*" (There is no Lord of the earth except Vishnu) and they will worship him. Do you want these professional loyalists? I do suggest that when the Honourable the Finance Member talks of India, he must give us some indication of what the India is that he is thinking of. And what is this "victory of civilisation over the dark forces that would engulf it"? Of course, the Britisher has got a snug self-complacency; he is God's chosen and the other people are all God's enemies. He is the final repository of all civilisation. I want to know, if it is the methods of warfare, which is the civilised warfare, the bombing of London or the bombing of Berlin? Both are bad according to us. Our heart goes out to the women and children and the innocent men who are being killed by this indiscriminate bombing from the air. But what are you doing? I find the British broadcast says, "Aeroplanes flew over Berlin, houses destroyed, casualties" etc. Of course, it is always the

other way; the other fellow does it, you do not. The other fellow bombs civilians, you do not bomb them, you only bomb armament factories, railway stations, aeroplane factories; as if, at a height of 30,000 feet, you can distinguish so clearly that your bombers are always accurate and observe civilised canons and their bombers are so inaccurate as to bomb only civilians and not objects of armament manufacture. It seems to me, Sir, that we want some more definition of what this civilisation is. And as for "dark forces" what are these dark forces? Germany, Italy, Russia, France and all the countries of Europe? If all Europe has become a dark force, why not say "Europe"? What is the civilised country in Europe, according to the Finance Member, who is fighting with England against these dark forces? It seems to me, Sir, this is a tame ending to a tame speech. Evidently the Honourable the Finance Member himself does not feel enthusiastic, and that is why he is not able to put any enthusiasm into his speech, or even in the concluding paragraph where he tries to be enthusiastic.

Now, Sir, my first point in support of my suggestion that this Bill should be rejected by this House is that at the declaration of this war India was not consulted. I wonder if the Government of India were consulted. I do not know if they will give an answer, but I am sure Lord Linlithgow declared the war at the dictation of Whitehall or of Downing Street. I do not think the Government of India as an entity were at all consulted about the declaration of this war. I can certainly say that the people of India were not consulted; this House was not consulted. Indeed, Sir, this House was not even called in Session for many months even after the declaration of war. And I read the other day a report of a debate in this House in which when a question was raised as to why the House was not summoned, the House gave leave, but the Viceroy turned it down on the ground that this House was not competent even to discuss why it was not summoned earlier. That is the respect which the Government of India pay to this House. Apart from this House, Sir, where the non-official parties function as the Opposition, there were eleven ministries in office in the neighbouring provinces, including the seven Congress ministries. I want to know whether any of these provincial ministries,—whether my esteemed friend, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, even was consulted. India was dragged into this war without so much as "by your leave". Colonel Amery in one of his speeches said: "The complaint seems to be that India was not formally consulted before this war was forced on India". I join issue with him and say, "India was consulted neither formally nor informally". This war was forced upon India without her consent. It is not so in respect of other countries. Mr. Anthony Eden, the peripatetic British politician, goes to America and tells the admiring American people, "Look at our Commonwealth; Australia, New Zealand, Canada,—all these dominions enter into this war of their own free will. They had the right to stay out; they decided to come in". What about India? The answer is, "India is rapidly on the way to become a Dominion". That may deceive American audiences, but it will not deceive any Indian audience. The point I am making is that while other countries were given the freedom and enjoy the freedom to say whether they will join this war or not, this country alone was treated as a door-mat, and the British Government compelled a state of belligerency upon us without our consent at all. Moreover, Sir, in the case of these Dominions this power to join the war or not to join the war is not a mere formal power.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

In South Africa General Smuts by the bare skin of his teeth is trying to keep South Africa on the side of Britain in this war. If General Hertzog and Dr. Malan had their way South Africa would by now have made peace with Herr Hitler. Indeed, Sir, some months ago General Hertzog made a motion in the South African House of Representatives that the South African Government ought to negotiate for a peace with Herr Hitler: and, if today General Smuts orders a general election in South Africa, I have no doubt in my own mind that the vote may be entirely different. And therefore South Africa is in this war after a frank and full discussion in its Parliament and by a pure majority vote.

Ireland which is at the back of England and is its Achilles' heel is neutral. Although she has been given a status slightly higher than a Dominion, there is an Anglo-Irish treaty; and only the other day Mr. De Valera said that, if Britain tried to violate the neutrality of Irish ports, there will be bloodshed in Ireland. Why talk of Ireland? Take Egypt, between whom and England there is an Anglo-Egyptian treaty guaranteeing Egyptian independence, but subject to various safeguards in the mutual interests of Egypt and Britain. Italy has invaded Egypt and do you know, Mr. President, that Egypt has not yet declared war on Italy? Egypt is neutral, and Egypt is not even a dominion. It seems to me, therefore, that to have forced this war on India without the consent of the people of this country is a sufficient insult to the manhood, to the self-respect, and to the patriotism of this country for us all to tell this Government, "If you want to declare war over our heads find the money from your own pockets; we are not going to pay for a war in the declaration of which we had no part or lot". I am not saying for one moment that there may not be Honourable Members here or friends outside who may say that this war is a good war and that we should support Britain. But I ask my friends, whatever their views may be, whether it is right for a self-respecting nation or for a self-respecting individual to be forced to do what he may willingly do. After all there is nothing higher in human life than the freedom to do the right, as well as the freedom to do the wrong thing. I claim that this nation has and had a right to declare whether she will join this war or not join this war. We have been denied this right. This Government has no moral right to call upon us to help us in this war. On this matter I am not alone. A writer in the *Round Table*—undoubtedly an Imperialist magazine—said:

"The one discordant note is the refusal of the Congress to back the war effort unless its political demands are first conceded; and even that note might never have been sounded if only means could have been found for obtaining the assent of politically minded India to the inevitable decision to go to war."

I am not saying this—a writer in the *Round Table* says it, that no attempt was made to get the consent of politically minded India to the decision to go to war:

"As it was the crisis caught India when she was still standing on the threshold of dominion status, so that while all the dominions were free to choose, India was committed to war by a constitutional procedure which though legally correct provided for no consultation of the Indian people. That was bound to affront the self-respect of Indian nationalists since the essence of nationalism is the claim to a footing of equal freedom in the society of nations."

That is my first indictment against this Bill. We can have no lot or part in a Bill which seeks to finance a war which has been foisted on us, and on this country, without its consent.

May I ask if even now the Government of India know—let alone this House—how the war is going on? This morning at question time, the Honourable the Defence Secretary, when pressed by questions as to how the war is going on, parried and thrust and ultimately said that his experts are too busy to inform this House how the war is going on, and whenever they got time, he will make a statement or place it on the table. While the experts are busy about other matters, we have to contribute the funds to a war about whose progress they will tell us nothing. Can insult go further?

I wish to appeal to those who want to support England in this war: assuming they are right and we are wrong, is it consistent with their self-respect that they should be asked to shell out of their pockets money for a war about the progress of which the experts whom we are paying are too busy to inform us? Do the Government of India know what the next moves in this war are going to be and how it is being fought? Above all, do the Government know what the war or peace aims are, any more than the average Indian citizen, who reads newspapers or listens to the radio, knows? What are the war aims? As I said, Mr. Winston Churchill has come down to "survival". By all means survive; but why should I be frightfully enthusiastic about your survival? How does it interest me? When my own freedom and my own country are placed in jeopardy, why should I bother about your survival?

"Mandhata cha mahipati—krita yugalkankara bhuto gatah."

Many emperors have lived and gone: the world has not gone with them. You have had two centuries of empire. Go. Why should you survive? By all means, tell me why you should survive, and why you want to survive, and then I shall consider. Tell me the great things which you want to do for civilisation and for humanity. But you say merely "I want to survive". Survive. Why ask me to bear you on my back? What has British civilisation brought to this country for the last two centuries? I ask all friends here, to whatever parties they may belong: India today is one of the poorest countries in the world, with the highest percentage of illiteracy, disease, poverty and hunger stalking the land; and the badge of slavery is upon us; and yet you want that we should help you to survive. By all means survive if you can, but do not ask me to help you to survive.

It is not as if Mr. Winston Churchill spoke in a mood of absent-mindedness about survival. In a later speech reported yesterday, he says in a very expansive mood "Since we have been left alone in this world struggle, we have reaffirmed or defined more precisely all cases of countries with whom or for whom we drew the sword". What are those countries? Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and the greatest of all, France, and the latest of all, Greece. "For all these we will toil and strive and the war of victory will lead to the liberation of them all." What about India, asks plaintive India? Echo answers "What?" Mr. Churchill, for whose coffers Sir Jeremy Raisman wants this House to find the money, has got a place in his large heart for all countries—Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and Greece, but no mention of India whatever. They will strive their best to secure the liberation of them all; and having secured their liberation they will sit more tightly on us if they can. That is what Mr. Churchill means when he talks about survival and civilisation.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

Now, Sir, we have a Secretary of State called Colonel Amery. I wish he takes to some other job, for he always puts his foot into it. Latterly he has never spoken without giving offence to India. In a speech at Nagpur Lord Linlithgow said that there are times when silence is better and I wish Colonel Amery follows the advice of his Viceroy. He spoke at Blackpool or some such place about two or three weeks ago, about a new order in Europe. That is the war aim and it had no reference to India at all except when he said that India may be attacked from the middle east. In Colonel Amery's mind—that is the mind of the Secretary of State for India—India does not exist except as a possession of Great Britain; and he is the Secretary of State for India! This new world order for Europe is an over-worked phrase. What is this Europe? A monstrosity of the Treaty of Versailles; and you want to build up a number of small nations fighting among themselves in order that you may create a new world order. Of course, Britain was very lucky: for two centuries she was able to make the European nations fight among themselves, advance them money, and then come in at the peace table for the spoils. But the gods awake, though sometimes too late. The tables are now turned upon Britain, and Europe is an armed camp against England. England is fighting alone, and therefore the idea of creating a new order in Europe is, I think, an impossibility.

Turning back to the Honourable the Finance Member's speech, he says:

"The threats to India's security from land, sea and air have, in the changed world conditions, become infinitely more menacing and clearly necessitated the taking of further measures."

What are these threats? Will he kindly tell us from what countries he expects these threats, and what are the steps which are
12 NOON. being taken? No information at all,—but we must be told and we must believe,—for us not to reason, not to question, but to vote and pay. I trust no self-respecting Member of this House will agree to this position that Government will not tell us even what these measures are.

And then Sir Jeremy Raisman sheds what I call crocodile tears when he says:

"It is clear that passing under German domination of many of those European countries with which India had flourishing trade relations must for the time being exercise a serious adverse effect on India's export and import activities."

What has the Government done to help the agriculturists, in whose products there is or there was till recently a slump in prices, to help them to tide over these crises

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend told us that we must defend ourselves, but may I ask him and the Honourable the Defence Secretary one question—what are our defences? How many aeroplanes have we got; how many fighters have we got: how many bombers have we got? What is our strength in defence forces, and who is to run them? God forbid, if Italy, Russia or Japan invades us, believe me, Mr. President, every patriotic Indian who loves his country will have to throw his hands up; otherwise it will be a slaughter of lakhs and crores of innocent men, women and children, because India is undefended today. You may argue as much as you like about it; all this talk about the defence of India is mere bunkum. What they want to do of India is that she shall be an inexhaustible source of supply of cannon fodder, of materials and of

money. As for defending India, they have no use, and as my friend Mr. Asaf reminds me, the Chatfield Committee's Report is a scathing condemnation of the inefficiency of the Defence Department of the Government of India, and yet up to this moment, what have they done? The same old policy of distrust and suspicion, of putting Europeans in key positions, of keeping up the unnatural distinction between martial and non-martial races. It is only in our country defence and patriotism have been sought to be divorced. In every country in the world, the youth of the country are organized in order to defend their country, but in India, you keep up a distinction between martial and non-martial classes as a separate class,—we cannot approach them, they cannot approach us; and they are defending British Imperialism in India, and not India. I say that, even if this money is given, it will be spent not properly on India's defences at all, but on the defence of British interests in the Far East or the Near East or the Middle East.

Now, there is a joke in this speech. The expenditure on air raid precautions is to be met by the centre. What are these air raid precautions? In my city I cannot go out after 6 o'clock except at 10 miles an hour, and all the places are absolutely dark. I am a layman, but what is the idea? Cannot aeroplanes come in daylight and drop bombs? Can't they come in moonlight nights and drop bombs? And even if they come, what is the defence that they have got? I am told there are two anti-aircraft guns in Madras, one of which is out of action! That is the kind of precautions they have for the defence of this country.

Then, as regards the requirements of aeroplanes for the defence of this country, Sir Jeremy Raisman gave a negative assurance, for which I feel thankful,—he said the idea of having an aeroplane factory has not been abandoned. What a consoling statement, and with what composure does he make this statement? Is there no anger or resentment in us? You treat us as if we are children

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Non-violence.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: I am grateful to Mr. Jinnah, the Leader of the Muslim League Party, for reminding me of our creed of non-violence, and I for one want to tell him and this House that non-violence is the only creed by which humanity can hope to survive. I put it to my friends, Sir, honestly and sincerely, if this war goes on like this, if aeroplanes are multiplied a thousandfold, a millionfold, if bombs are dropped on innocent men, women and children, if this kind of slaughter goes on, then humanity will soon go back to the level of the Ape and the Chimpanzee, and the world will become uninhabitable by man. You may laugh at us, our flesh may be weak,—mine is weak,—but I put it to my friend Mr. Jinnah as to whether he does not see that the future of humanity rests on the acceptance of the creed of non-violence sooner or later by the whole of humanity.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I did not expect the Honourable Member to give us a lecture on the virtues of non-violence. What I said was when he was expressing his urge and anger, it was opposed to non-violence.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Now, Sir, I am glad to be taught a lesson . . .

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: If I am wrong, why be angry?

Mr S. Satyamurti: I shall control my anger in the hope that he will follow my example. I shall be quite content if Mr. Jinnah also ceases to be angry. That will be good for the country.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I don't believe in non-violence.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: I don't believe in being angry.

I repeat, Mr. President, with some confidence,—I put it even to those who are now engaged in this war, that this idea of mutual destruction of humanity can lead humanity nowhere, and I suggest that non-violence is a proper ideal for us all to work. But I am not one of those who say that because we believe in non-violence the moment the first invader comes, India ought to be allowed to become a shamble. Surely, Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence is the non-violence not of the coward, but of the brave. He preaches and practises it, he says that you must resist evil; in whatever form it comes you must resist evil, but non-violently, and therefore there is no point in saying that nonviolence means no resistance. But speaking logically, the motion before the House is that there should be armaments made in this country, army preparations made for the defence of India and of Britain. If that is so, even from the narrow point of nonviolence, am I not entitled to say that you shall not have it? But I argue on the other plane, namely, that today, situated as we are, we shall not be able to resist external aggression or keep internal order, except by minimum force for self-defence. And if I want defences for India, I do not want them like Britain, Germany or France for subjugating other countries. If at all India is to have defences, she will have them only for self-defence, and I think that on that ground I am absolutely sound that the money which we are now asked to vote for is not going to be spent for India's defence, but for the defence of Britain in the East. Take the aeroplane factory,—and what does my friend say? He said that the scheme has not been abandoned? Why? Because Lord Beverbrook cannot spare any machinery for India; England must come first and last. Shipbuilding yards are dropped for the present, and now what are they doing? They are merely bloating the Indian Army without attending to the other arms,—Navy and Air Force.

And we are told that England wants India's co-operation. I doubt that statement. England does not want India's co-operation. Co-operation can be given only by a free people; slaves can give no co-operation, because they have no mind at all; they can be driven. Therefore, if Britain wants India's co-operation, India must be free to decide to give or not to give co-operation. I, therefore, suggest that what England wants today of India is her men, her money and her materials; she does not want the intellectual or the moral or the emotional co-operation, which a free India alone can give.

We are told that sixty thousand troops have been sent out of this country. Where have they been sent, why have they been sent, with whose consent have they been sent? I again put it to those of my Honourable friends who believe that India ought to help England in this war, whether we come into the picture at any stage or to any extent at all. They simply treat our men as if they are their property, our money as if it is theirs, our materials as if they can do whatever they like with them.

And today the Indian defence forces are still under the control of the foreigners and are only an appendage of British defence forces; they are not India's defence forces in the genuine sense. Indeed, India as an entity does not count. Sir Jeremy Raisman said in his speech that at the beginning of this war the assets of India were her man power and her materials. They still only want them and our money.

We have now got in New Delhi an Eastern Group Conference. What is all this pother about? Who is Sir Alexander Roger? A trader coming here to buy? He now sits in this Conference dictating to the Eastern Group Conference, and the whole idea is that India should be and continue to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for all the eastern possessions of Great Britain. I want to know whether there is any idea in the mind of the Government to use this Conference or use such opportunities as this war may give, to make India self-sufficient. Other countries have done it and are doing it. Australia has done it. The Australian Premier and other statesmen have said, Australia's defence comes first, New Zealand's defence comes next and Britain's defence comes last. In India's case, Britain's defence first, Britain's defence next, and India's defence comes nowhere.

As for the arrangement of war supplies and distribution of contracts, the less said the better. I am told that the Supply Department of the Government of India is a gross scandal, manned almost entirely by Europeans—higher officers—and striding like a Colossus over New Delhi. They are now engaged in the pleasant task of spending all the money we pay, in terms most advantageous to others' convenience. May I say in passing, Mr. President, that the Indian Stores Department, built up during a period of twenty years by Sir James Pitkeathly and many others after him, today has become a handmaid of the Supply Department? I am told that in the name of expeditious work, audit, previous sanction, the Finance Department's control, all have been given the go-by. Even tenders are not invited. Cousins give orders to cousins, and the whole thing is done over the table as if it is a private matter. I want to know from the Honourable the Finance Member whether the supplies required for this war are being got in such a manner as to conduce to the permanent advantage of India's industries and enure to India's prosperity? As a matter of fact, I am told the argument is, after all, the British taxpayer pays this money; therefore why not British firms benefit by it? I say, if that is so, why should India pay for this war at all? I suggest, Mr. President, that as a matter of fact all this War Supply Department and all the other works of the Government of India are calculated more to help British interests in this country than to help genuine Indian interests.

Then, after the war was declared, the Viceroy met Mahatma Gandhi and Mahatma Gandhi made a magnificent statement in which he said that he was willing that as far as in us lay we should give unconditional co-operation. If at that time there had been a single British statesman with the imagination, the statesmanship and the wisdom to respond, the history of India might have been different. But no. It was not forthcoming. Britain thought that India did not count and she might exploit India without the consent of her people. How did India react? The Congress Party in the Assembly abstained from attendance and the House

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went on merrily. Then the Ministries were withdrawn in the seven provinces where the Congress Ministries were functioning—and they had been successfully functioning, and it had no effect whatever. And we have the suspension of the Legislatures, no election for this Assembly. I think very highly of this Assembly, but it is a seven year old infant which ought to have died after the fourth year,—it is a monstrosity! I mean no offence to anybody. Why should the Government of India be afraid of elections? They are constantly telling everybody that India's public opinion is with them. If so, I invite them to dissolve this House and order a fresh election, and dissolve the Provincial Legislatures and order fresh elections. I promise that they will get no friend of theirs returned. Why then do they say that the Indian people are with them? Are they afraid of elections? War? Why? In Australia they had election during the war. In Canada they had elections during the war. Why not in India? Because the truth of the matter is they know, none better, that the electorates are not with them and, therefore, they fight shy of elections. In the provinces they have set civilians—tired old men—as Advisers who carry on merrily, and they have now issued—I am merely mentioning it as an illustration—an order in Madras that those students who do not attend colleges or schools for a day as a protest against the conviction or sentence of some national leader, like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, may be disqualified for entering Government service, and if students of Government colleges, may be sent away from them. Can pettiness go further? Many of us are old people here, but I think many of us remember our young days. If in our young days we did not protest against this national insult, we should be unworthy of being students. I can understand old people being unpatriotic, but I cannot understand young people being unpatriotic, and it does seem to me that there is some hope for my nation when the young of the nation at least can feel strongly for the wrongs done to their leaders. Wherever you go in the civilised world you do not find that order. If tomorrow a British Cabinet Minister is arrested by the German Government, would not the students of Cambridge and Oxford protest against it? Would you feel less about them?

Then, we are told, we are getting large war fund collections, that shows that the people are with us. I do not know about other provinces; I know about my province. I know His Excellency the Governor says very sincerely that the collections ought to be voluntary. I believe him, but I suggest to him and his Advisers that, unless the agency of the Government officers, especially, the Sales-Tax Officers, Income-tax Officers, Commercial-Tax Officers and policemen are withdrawn, the collections cannot be said to be truly voluntary.

As the war went on, in the first few months very big statements were made by British statesmen about a new heaven and a new earth, and some of us, much to the chagrin of our friends, believed that at the end of this war India would be free and that if British won this war, India's freedom was assured. Now, I have changed that belief altogether. I do not believe,—and I say it very sincerely,—that at the end of this war Britain means to make India free. I am firm in my own mind. No speeches, no repression, nothing will shake that conviction in my mind. And may I quote the testimony of my esteemed friend, Mr. Jinnah, the

President of the All-India Muslim League, who said that the British Government do not seem to be desirous to part with power?

That is the biggest epitaph on this Government. That is my magna carta. It seems to me perfectly clear that there is no Indian in this House or outside this House who believes that this Government mean to part with power. Yes, they want to win this war if possible with our help, if necessary without our help, but after having won this war, they want to sit tighter on the saddle in India. If that is my feeling, I can tell you, Mr. President, that it is the feeling of lakhs and lakhs and crores of people in this country. That is a fact which you cannot ignore, which you cannot repress. I do not believe they mean to part with power, and they seem to argue that their days in Europe are over and that they must therefore keep something, and they want to keep India if they can; but let me assure them that we the people of India are determined to oppose this. We want the defeat of Hitlerism, of Facism and Stalinism but we also want the defeat of Imperialism,—British or otherwise. However this war may end and whenever it may end, I am confident that at the end of this war, there shall be no imperialism. The only question is whether British imperialism will liquidate itself in a generous mood or will be compelled to be liquidated by the combined forces of the free peoples of this country and of the world and, therefore, I believe that we must so far as in us lies see to it that India is not exploited for the benefit of Great Britain.

Now, Sir, if Great Britain told us very sincerely 'We are here. We have conquered you. We propose to stay here. Make no bones about it'. I will at least respect her, but I hate all this sanctimonious humbug. Colonel Amery's speech is a case in point. He begins by paying a tribute to the Congress as the most distinguished political organisation, but he hopes to crush it now. I warn him that even if he tries his best the Congress will rise Phoenix-like from the ashes. Then we have been told—and this is the burden of Colonel Amery's speech, of Lord Linlithgow's statement and of many others. "You are divided among yourselves. That is why we cannot give freedom to you." My simple answer is 'Yes, we may be divided on a thousand issues but I believe we are not divided on the one issue of the freedom of this country'. I do not believe there is a single Indian who says that Britain ought to continue to be here for ever as our over-lord and master. We all want the freedom of this country. Will, therefore, Britain oblige us by saying that at the end of the war she is out of the picture? If they will say so, we can settle all our domestic quarrels and problems overnight:

"Paraspara virodheshu vayam panchot aara satam :"

Do not exaggerate our quarrels. We are all Indians first and Indians last. We have been here for thousands of years. Our children and our children's children will be here for thousands of years. We can and will settle our quarrels. You are the fly in the ointment. Therefore make yourself scarce, and if you will not make of yourself a nuisance, we have every chance of settling this quarrel. If tomorrow, Hindus and Muhammadans make up their differences, they will say that the scheduled castes are against us. If day after tomorrow, we settle our differences with the scheduled classes, they will say that the princes are against us. If the day after that, we settle with them, then they will say 'Oh, the European vested interests are against you'. If we come to a settlement with them

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also, they will say: 'We are against you'. Therefore, it is a case of putting up defence after defence. They want to give up last but not earlier. They want to put up these defences. I promise you, Mr. President, that if these gentlemen will honestly say at the end of this war India's freedom is coming, that 40 crores of Indians will make up their quarrels overnight. But while Colonel Amery talks of India being divided, being disunited and having warring communities, on one point it seems to me that we are all united. I want to read this precious sentence of Colonel Amery. Colonel Amery proceeds:

"In no respect has the essential unity of India's outlook been shown more clearly than in the attitude which all parties and communities have from the outset of the war taken up in detestation of Nazi aggression and in their endorsement of our common cause. The greater our difficulties, the graver the disasters that befell the Allied arms, the clearer has been the realisation in the minds of the Indian public that our cause is India's cause, the stronger the wave of sympathetic emotion for this country in its single handed fight, the more widespread the feeling that a purely political deadlock affecting the issues of today and tomorrow should not be allowed to stand in the way of India's contributing a united and wholehearted effort to the cause upon whose victory depends the preservation of all her ideals and the fulfilment of all her aspirations."

We cannot unite on the freedom of our country but we can all unite on England's struggle against Germany. Our people are so international that they cannot be national. They cannot understand India's difficulties but they can understand England's difficulty! I say, Mr. President, that even the Secretary of State ought to have some respect for logic.

Then, Sir, we had the still-born offer of the Viceroy's enlarged Executive Council. I would say no more about it because it is dead. I am sorry that the Indian Members of the Executive Council are as usual absent here, but I want to put it to them: 'Do they count in the Viceroy's Executive Council'? Does the Executive Council function at all? Is there any Council Government in Delhi? Was there any in Simla? They may not be able to speak on account of the Official Secrets Act, but to possess evidence and refuse to give evidence is a presumption that the evidence if given will be against you. I put it to these gentlemen that the Executive Council, as it is, is a non-entity, a zero and nothing but a zero. We are told that the Viceroy's offer presented to the Indian Leaders the opportunity of taking an effective and important part in the Government of India. No, a thousand times no! The Executive Council does not function. The enlarged council will not function. Then Colonel Amery gives us an essay on constitution. He says that Dominion Status is higher than independence. May I know then why not give us something lower? And I want to expose one fallacy behind all this. There are some friends here and elsewhere who think that India ought to be content with Dominion Status. My simple demand is that an independent free India ought to be allowed to decide her own political status and her own future. Why should I be told what is good for me? Let India come by her own manhood and I can then understand India deciding in favour of Dominion Status, if may be. We shall then argue this out, those who are for independence and those for Dominion Status but for you to say: 'I know better than you what is good for you' and to force Dominion Status on me is not consistent with my self-respect or my patriotism.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): May I ask, how are you going to decide this important matter? Will the Honourable Member tell us his method?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): Working Committee?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Let me tell my friend, Colonel Sir Henry Gidney, that he seems to be exactly where he was since I last met him.

I say that this question must be solved with the help of all representative and distinguished Indians who can speak in the name of the people of India. I suggest that the demand of the Congress has been, is and will be that the constitution of a free India shall be determined by a constituent assembly based on adult suffrage in which all minorities will be returned by separate electorates. Can anything be fairer, more democratic, juster? I want to know what is wrong with it. Of course, if they have no use for democracy, I cannot argue about that, but if Britain fights for democracy, I suggest that it is a most democratic, it is a most just solution.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Britain has never said she is fighting for democracy.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Very good, I will leave that to Government and to Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Britain has never said that she is fighting for democracy in the world.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Then, what for? Why should we pay the money then? I am very grateful to my Honourable friend for pointing out that Britain is not fighting for democracy. What then is she fighting for?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: For her survival.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: That is a different matter, but why should we pay for it? What we have got to vote for is whether we shall pay the money for Britain's survival. I have no interest in that, I am not interested in a museum. I do not want to keep survivals in the museum. Let them pay for their own museum if they want one. (Interruption.) Then, Sir, Mr. Amery told us something very interesting: "Oh, yes, Dominion Status", but Lord Balfour has stated that status is one thing, and function is another' and "therefore, while you have Dominion Status, you need not acquire the two functions of defence and foreign affairs". I want to be very courteous to this gentleman, but may I ask what they have made of the defence of this country? Do you know, Sir, they have disarmed the whole nation, emasculated the whole people so much that the firing of time guns at four o'clock startles people, that we cannot look at a formation of bombers but try to seek shelter, and that the booming of guns makes us feel that we are nearly dead? That is what you have made of the defence of this country! Is this country being defended at all, and are our people being rendered capable of defending themselves? Our people are doubtless branded with the seal of inferiority upon us till we are held up to contempt and today we are in the position that we cannot defend ourselves except as humble slaves. I, therefore, say, having mismanaged the affairs of this country for two hundred years, in God's name get out. We shall make something of

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the defence of this country. We are four hundred millions. Out of the talents of these people we shall produce men who can defend the country and who can even save you. You cannot save us.

And as for foreign affairs, Mr. President, may I know how they have managed their own foreign affairs? Who is their friend in the country now? Has Great Britain got any friend in the world now?

An Honourable Member: Greece.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Greece. Then France, Mr. President, the most chivalrous and the bravest country in the world, France by whom England swore, hates Britain today, and the way Britain talks of the men of Vichy as the traitors of Vichy shows that Britain cannot be fair towards a fallen foe.

Mr. F. E. James (Madras: European): What about the men of Wardha?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Mr. James tries to talk of the men of Wardha. I suggest that humble people ought not to try to imitate great people. Let him wait till he gets his chance and in the meantime let him keep his tongue in his mouth. I suggest, Mr. President, that the way in which every country in Europe looks at you, what does that show? Who are your friends? Take Germany, Italy, Russia—Russia hates you.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: No, no.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: And who are your friends?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: The United States.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Yes: Cash and carry! We are told that the Islamic countries are with Great Britain. Now, Egypt is still neutral, and Turkey won't touch you with a pair of tongs. She would rather be friends with Russia. Palestine knows what you are. And, therefore, I want to know what you have made of your foreign policy; you have made a mess of it; your name stinks in the nostrils of every nation in Europe; they have no respect for you; and as for America, your first cousins, they say, "cash and carry". You borrowed from them, you would not pay them and, therefore, they tell you, "thank you". And if America today wants to sell you more aeroplanes, that is because America knows that the Atlantic is a narrow sea and, therefore, she wants to fight, but I am not saying all this in disgust or anger; but when you try to insult me and say that you are not capable of conducting your own foreign affairs, I say, "you are not the man to tell me about it, you have made a mess of it, give me the chance of a free India functioning in a free world: we shall have no ambitions about Ceylon or Burma or Afghanistan or Nepal or any other country; we shall govern our own country with peace on earth and good will to all men as our ideal. We have no wish to exploit other countries politically or, economically, except perhaps culturally. We shall live at peace with the rest of the world." And,

therefore, I suggest that in respect of defence and foreign affairs, you have proved yourself thoroughly incompetent, get out, and give me a chance and I shall make something better of this country.

And then, Sir, we are told that at the end of the war there will be a new Round Table Conference. I was not in the Round Table Conference but I think I can speak for all those Honourable Members who were on the Round Table Conference that they do not want any more Round Table Conferences. We only want this—that there should be a declaration of independence here and now, to be implemented after the war, no doubt, with a national Government at the Centre, representative of the main parties in this House; and then we said we would help in the defence of India, which would mean in this war, and what was the answer? A contemptuous negative. And Mr. Rajagopalacharia made the offer that we should be quite willing to have a Muslim League Premier choosing his own colleagues

Sir Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): Was it an honest offer?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: I am surprised at my Honourable friend asking that question. It was a very sincere,—a very honest, a very earnest offer.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: This offer ought to have been made to Mr. Jinnah and not to the *Daily Herald*.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra District: Muhammadan Rural): To whom was it made?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: But the Government have rejected that offer, and, therefore, it has lapsed. So far as the Congress are concerned, the provocation is the most unbearable. If today we wanted to give trouble, to embarrass Britain, nothing is easier than starting some kind of struggle which, whatever its result may be and I have no doubt in my own mind about its result, will cause the maximum inconvenience and embarrassment to all concerned. But Mahatma Gandhi has said—and he always speaks what he means and he means what he speaks—that he does not want to embarrass Great Britain, and, therefore, there is no idea of mass civil disobedience, but Mahatma Gandhi naturally wants that he must vindicate his faith in non-violence and, secondly, the faith which all of us have that India's participation in this war is forced and ought not to be given unless India's freedom is assured. Now that India is not free, we say that we cannot give this co-operation except on the basis of the freedom of India. How are you going to deal with this movement? Yes, Government used Mahatma Gandhi when it suited their purpose. If today there is no revolution in this country, if one man is responsible more than any other for that state of affairs, it is Mahatma Gandhi. Let there be no mistake about it: and when there was a run on the Banks and money was being withdrawn and currency notes were being cashed, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the columns of the *Harijan* urging people not to do that and I think more than one Provincial Government printed lakhs and lakhs of copies of that article.

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Yes, you found use for him but when he gives you proper advice, which does not suit you just now, you have no use for him. And what do you propose to do with this movement? You think you can repress it. Now, Sir, we have no complaint against the repression as such if we break the law. We do it knowing the consequences, but the sentence of four years on Pandit Jawahar Lal, I am sure, has disgusted every decent Honourable Member in this House. That is not the way in which you can manufacture patriotism or love of yourself in this country. It is just as if Mr. Churchill were to send Major Attlee to prison for four years just to carry on the war against Germany. Pandit Jawahar Lal is not a mere man: he is the embodiment of the freedom-hunger of this nation. Therefore, his imprisonment means the imprisonment of the soul of India. I, therefore, suggest that this kind of repression will lead you nowhere but into a morass.

While you are anxious to get money from us, what about retrenchment? What about a small cut in your salaries? We are told of emergencies always. Why not begin at home and give us an example? There is an increase of salaries galore for doing the same job or slightly easier job. Then, why should there be on the merits of this Bill a supplementary Finance Bill now? It is rather an unusual course. If there is a deficit Budget, will the Heavens fall? The money has been found for all non-recurring expenditure, and why should we not wait till some time later in the year and see what the financial returns are, and where we stand and then bring these up along with the main Finance Bill? Why dislocate trade and industry just in the middle of the year? What is the purpose? Secondly, I was not present here but on Mr. Joshi's pertinent question,—so the newspapers reported,—the cool Honourable the Finance Member with some warmth said: "The House may be presumed to have delegated some powers to the Standing Finance Committee." I do not think the House has delegated to the Standing Finance Committee the power to vote or approve supplemental demands, and, as a member for a number of years of the Public Accounts Committee, may I tell the Honourable the Finance Member and the House that it was agreed that as early as it is possible, supplementary grants should be brought before this House? There is no point in waiting till late in the day especially if the expenditure has been or is being incurred. If you cannot estimate the entire figure, you can put down a token supplementary demand, but the idea of keeping back supplementary demands altogether and sanctioning possible votable expenditure is against even the limited democratic privileges of this House.

Now, Sir, I have said all this in order to convince my Honourable friends in this House that we, who oppose the Finance Bill, are convinced that this war has been forced upon India, that this war today is not India's war, that Britain is not fighting for India's freedom, that Britain does not propose to confer upon India either independence or even Dominion Status or even any higher status than she enjoys now, except with very big reservations like Defence and Foreign affairs. But I want the Government also to understand that while they may get the co-operation of a few people here or a few people there, that is not going to help them to win this war. If this war means the war of right against might, as they themselves claim, then the only right thing they can do is to do the right thing themselves. India is the acid test of Great Britain's sincerity. Will Great Britain do the fair thing by India? Will Great Britain declare India independent at the end of the war? Give us a national Government and then we will

give what we consider necessary for the defence of India. Till then, we feel that they are playing with us: they are trifling with us: they do not want our co-operation: they want to exploit this country for the greater glory of Great Britain. I do not want Hitlerism or Stalinism or Fascism but, I repeat, I do not want British Imperialism to survive this war.

Now, so far as Britain is concerned, she may for the present carry on. By all means carry on as long as you can and as long as we let you carry on, but the day of reckoning is coming sooner than later. Then, I find that even during this war when your hearths and homes are being attacked and when your women and children are being ruthlessly killed, your hearts will not melt. Sometimes in my sad moments I reflect that Britain seems to prefer to be defeated by Germany rather than do justice to India. Is that their feeling? I sincerely hope it is not. Get rid of this colour prejudice. We are human beings just as human as you are. You and we have been together for quite a long time. Before it is too late, do the right thing by us, and a free India and a free England may yet march together. But the sands in the glass are running out, and you seem to think that you can exploit our differences. We are told that the war is going on and they can do nothing now. Was not the war going on when the British Ambassador in Moscow was recalled overnight and Sir Stafford Cripps, the bad boy of the British Parliament, was made the British Ambassador in Russia? Was it not a miracle? When you want to do a thing, you can do it. When you do not like to do a thing, you can invent excuses. Did not Mr. Churchill offer France Franco-British citizenship on equal terms although she is a foreign country altogether? You say that Britain can do the right thing only when India is absolutely undivided. Then the right thing for India seems to be not to do any thing for the present war. The demand of the Congress for India's independence is at least ten years old. It is not a war demand: it has been there. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan knows it and we are not now trying to exploit Britain's difficulties. The question of India's independence has been in the fore-front of India's foremost political organisations all these ten years. Why do you, then, pretend that we are trying to exploit your difficulties? We are too chivalrous, too generous, too humane, to seek to exploit your difficulties, but in God's name do not exploit our present abject condition. Do not try to create more differences among us.

Finally, Sir, I do not know what the fate of the Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman's motion or the fate of this Bill is going to be. All the Finance Bills have been certified all these years. I hope that will be the fate of this Bill also, because the British Government never learns or forgets. But, so far as this House is concerned, so far at least as this section of the House is concerned, we want to make it perfectly clear by our attitude towards this motion that the people of India are not with Great Britain in this war. You may pretend as much as you like, but we want America to know and we want the whole world to know, we want the neutral nations to know, we want Turkey, Egypt and Palestine to know that we, the people of India, have no part or lot with Britain in this war, until and unless she makes up her mind to do the just thing by India in terms of the freedom of India.

Mr. President, I have given all these arguments in the hope that I have said nothing to make any Indian feel that the Congress speaks for one section or for one Party. We all belong to one great political organisation, but to the extent to which we can, in our faltering accents and weak logic,

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

convince the people of India. We want to convince them that the great ideal of the freedom of India for which the Congress fights, will fight, and will go on fighting till it is attained, it is not fighting for any section or community, but for the great people of a great country. With these words, Sir, I oppose this motion.

Mr. L. C. Buss (Nominated Non-Official): I should like, Mr. President, first of all, to express what I think must be general satisfaction from the purely financial point of view that the extra expenditure which has already been incurred and is likely to be incurred during the remainder of the current financial year is, all things considered, on a fairly modest scale. Compared with the expense to the United Kingdom Exchequer of carrying on the war, our liabilities out here appear almost microscopic. But there are both good and bad aspects of that. As I have said, we can hardly avoid satisfaction that the call on our pockets is not larger and there is the further cause for gratification that there has only been a comparatively small encroachment on our reserves of taxable capacity. On the other hand, had we been in a better position to go ahead with our expansion programme, we might well have spent appreciably larger sums to our very great advantage. That, Sir, is what I regard as the adverse aspect of the position, which the Finance Member placed before the House in his statement last Tuesday. It will be no news to the Government of India that there has for a long time been a strong feeling, I might almost say a conviction, in many quarters that the progress made in all forms of expansion has been far too slow. For example, this is the first time we have heard about the 500,000 men of all arms which is the present objective. This is very satisfactory news and a refreshing contrast to previous statements on this subject which have been vague and by no means reassuring—which have in fact given rise to misunderstanding and a feeling of despondency. We welcome both the definite programme which has now been placed before us and the assurance that as soon as it is completed, a further programme will be undertaken as may be necessary in the light of conditions at the time.

It will not be out of place to mention here the general question of Government's activities in the sphere of publicity. I realise very well that it would be highly imprudent to publish to the world every detail of India's war preparations and schemes and that it is no easy matter to decide what can and what cannot be disclosed, but I am afraid that the very meagre information which it is customary to give to the public and, if I may say so, the unimaginative form in which it is frequently presented to them is largely responsible for the uneasy feeling which exists that much more might have been done both to increase the momentum of our war effort and to stimulate the enthusiasm of all who have India's welfare at heart to that pitch of keenness which will be necessary to ensure that we shall emerge victorious from this conflict.

Turning now to the provisions of this Bill, it is a truism to say that none of us like to put our hands more deeply into our pockets than is necessary. The question therefore arises whether the occasion is such as to render necessary the raising of the six crores annually which the Honourable the Finance Member expects to obtain from the increased Income Tax and additional charges under the head of Posts and Telegraphs which he desires to impose. To that I answer unhesitatingly "yes". I will go

further and say that it would have been a dereliction of duty to pursue a policy of *laissez-faire* at this critical juncture in the fortunes of India.

There are, however, bound to be differences of opinion as to the best way of raising the funds now required. We have witnessed in recent years a constant rise in the burden of taxes on income and I think I may say that in ordinary circumstances we should strenuously oppose this further encroachment on the dwindling margin which is left to individuals and business enterprises after meeting the demands of the tax-gatherer. But the circumstances are not ordinary. The times are out of joint and we, on these Benches, feel that we have no option but to face what is coming to us with what cheerfulness we can muster. We are after all still much more favourably placed than the taxpayer in the United Kingdom. Not only is his financial burden a grievous one but also he is faced day after day and night after night with the risk of injury or death to those he holds dear and to himself. Mercifully we in this country have been spared that added burden so far, but if the day comes, as well it may, when we too have to face death and destruction in our daily lives, I sincerely hope we shall be able to emulate the courage and endurance of those who have so well shown us the way how to act in adversity. The least we can do now is to face with *sang froid* the financial responsibility which the stress of circumstances has laid upon us.

I must, however, emphasise that there are visible limits to what 'increased' Income Tax can yield. Those of us who have the privilege of contributing to the exchequer in this way are comparatively few in number and I am sure my Honourable friend the Finance Member has no illusions about what he can expect to raise as an ultimate maximum from this source.

The proposed increases in charges for the postal, telegraphic and telephone services are in a different category and I have no doubt we shall hear a good deal about them during the course of this debate. On general grounds we must all of us regret the necessity for raising the postage charges. The addition of 25 per cent. to the minimum rate for inland letters is no small burden on business houses but it is necessary to bear in mind that the proposed rate was actually in force not so very long ago so that it is merely a question of returning to the *status quo ante*. I can hardly think that there will be serious opposition to this increased charge in times like the present. The other postage increases are naturally unwelcome but I think that in the aggregate they must constitute a lesser burden than the additional charge for postage on inland letters and I cannot seriously contest the Finance Member's plans for raising revenue in this way.

Coming now to the increase in charges for telegrams, here again the total burden on commerce and industry will be considerable but I am bound to confess that I do not think the individual user of the telegraph service will notice any appreciable impact on his budget and the percentage of increase is small.

Finally, there is the proposed enhancement of trunk telephone charges by 10 per cent. and here I must confess I experience considerable difficulty in accepting the Finance Member's proposals. There are two main grounds of complaint against conditions as they at present exist in the telephone trunk service, first, the system of so-called urgent calls at double rates, and, second, the use of the lines on official business.

[Mr. L. C. Buss.]

As regards the former, the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs has, I think, already had his attention drawn to the inequitable way in which the double-rate system operates. It is, I admit, good business for his Department and must have brought a lot of grist to the mill, but its effect has been to transform the service from a public utility to the preserve of the rich man and the gambler. The rich man will not boggle at paying the extra cost to ensure a successful call within a reasonable time and the gambler, even though his means may not be very ample, will think it money well spent if he stands to gain an appreciable margin on the transaction which he is negotiating. The unfortunate private individual who is not over-plentifully endowed with riches but has urgent personal reasons for putting through a call may well find himself quite unable to do so without being mulcted of a sum for a double rate call which may be a severe hardship to him, because he finds that the lines are fully occupied for hours on end by the plutocrats and gamblers to whom I have referred. As regards official calls, it is only human nature that when the cost is merely a matter of debiting one Department and crediting another, and when in any case it does not fall on the individual concerned, there should grow up a somewhat elastic idea of what constitutes a reason for urgency and priority. I have little doubt in my own mind that there could be a very material reduction in the volume and duration of official calls without impairing the efficiency of the war organisation, and a corresponding improvement in the service to the public. Indeed, one responsible organisation with which I am in contact goes so far as to claim that the trunk telephone lines are now practically barred to the public due to indiscriminate and excessive use by Government officials!

The imposition of a further 10 per cent. on the existing charges will serve mainly to increase the disabilities of those who are least able to cope with the present situation. I am not aware how much the Finance Member expects to secure from this 10 per cent. surcharge on trunk calls, but if it is not a very material sum, I would earnestly ask him to consider whether its imposition is justified. In particular, what percentage of it is represented by official calls, or in other words the robbing of Peter merely to pay Paul?

To sum up, with this one exception regarding which I ask for further consideration, I am prepared to accept on behalf of the European Group, all the proposals which the Finance Member has placed before this House but in doing so I should be failing in my duty if I did not make one important stipulation. It is inherent in all that I have said today that the expenditure for which we are asked to make this special provision is in furtherance of our war commitments and preparations. Were we not assured of that, our views about this Finance Bill would be very different. We could not at this crisis in our affairs view with equanimity any abnormal expenditure on civil services not connected with the furtherance of our defensive and offensive measures, but I do not think that the Finance Member can be criticised on this score since practically all the additional expenditure to which he has referred in his statement is essentially connected with war conditions.

Even in the sphere of our war activities we should not be prepared to acquiesce in excessive expenditure which could be avoided and I refer particularly to the expansion of establishments and the creation of highly

paid posts, to which criticism has frequently been directed. I commend this to the most careful attention of the Finance Member in the hope that, while affording every possible facility to those Departments which are concerned with India's prosecution of the war, he will be ruthless in pruning expenditure which is non-essential and can be dispensed with.

In conclusion, Sir, I should like to reiterate what has already been said outside this House in for more eloquent language than I have at my command. This war in which the British Commonwealth of Nations is engaged is our war here in India just as much as it is the war of our brothers overseas in Europe and the Middle East who are already in the fighting line. Let us make no mistake about that, and let us be prepared to bear our share manfully of the financial burden imposed on us, in thankfulness that we have so far been spared the added trial of blood and tears.

Mr. Sri Prakasa (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, as it is possible that in the course of the remarks that I might be called upon to make, there may be some harsh expressions, I P. M. some bitterness, some unpleasantness, I should like, with your permission, at the very outset to pay my tribute of praise, of admiration, of affection and of sympathy to the countless men, women and children of many nations who are today innocent and helpless victims of aggression, and are suffering so terribly only to satisfy the ambitions of the wicked few who are in charge of the Governments of all these nations. I should like to say straight-off that my affection for all the peoples of the world is equally great and my condemnation of their governments is also equally profound.

Sir, it must be a matter of some satisfaction to my Honourable friends opposite to find that the representatives of the Indian National Congress have arrived in the nick of time to give them the moral support of their presence in the arduous task of saving the world. And it is a matter of some satisfaction to me also to be here almost as a stranger in a House which was so familiar, when I find that two of my colleagues, one whose seat I find is next to me, Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, and one whose seat is in front of me, Professor N. G. Ranga, are safely clapped in jail in order, I fear, to defend my country from danger! I have also some sombre satisfaction in the fact that hundreds and thousands of other noble men and women of our country are being hounded down by the senseless, the nefarious, the scandalous Defence of India Rules. I shall come to these rules before very long. Above all my heart is very full when I think that one of the noblest of the sons of our country, one of the greatest of living men, one of the truest of human beings, Jawaharlal Nehru, has been sentenced to no less than four years of rigorous imprisonment. (Cries of "Shame".) It is not so much a matter of shame as of sorrow, because there is something wrong somewhere when things like that can happen. The only reason that I can think of, on the spur of the moment, as to why Jawaharlal Nehru, to whom I am bound by the strongest ties of affection because of a friendship that has existed for two generations, why that great man has been sentenced to no less than four years, is that the Secretary of State for India was born in Gorakhpur, and Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested for a speech made in Gorakhpur and sentenced there. If the two things have anything to do with each other, it is indeed a matter for some tragic satisfaction. I understand that all

[Mr. Sri Prakasa.]

these things are done in order to save the liberty of my country, and the Honourable the Finance Member used words of great fervour and eloquence towards the end of his speech when he called upon every man and woman and child to bear the burden of taxation he was imposing on all so that the "dark forces" that are threatening to engulf the world may be warded off.

Now, what is liberty? I understand there are two famous statues dedicated to liberty in the world today. I understand one dominates the Atlantic—it is on the shores of that great ocean on the soil of America. That statue beckons to all to fight against an aggressor, to throw off the yoke of whoever tries to subjugate a nation. It commemorates the war of independence of the American people against the British. Therefore, if liberty means anything it means this, that it is the right of every people to see to it that no foreigner shall rule them. The other statue of liberty is in Paris: it stands where the Bastille once stood. It is a beautiful statue on a tall pillar. It carries a torch of knowledge in one hand and the broken chains of slavery in the other. It stands for internal peace and internal order. It calls on all to fight against their own people if they oppress the weak. What did the Bastille stand for? It stood for just this: that any one could be clapped into jail for an indefinite period without charge or trial. Every jail in India has today been turned into a Bastille; and if my Honourable friends will only care to see the Defence of India Rules, they will find that the smaller fry in the districts can get hold of any one they dislike and put him in jail without charge or trial, against all the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, for two months.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can resume his speech after Lunch.

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. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) in the Chair.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Mr. Deputy President, in the course of the few minutes that I was privileged to speak before the House rose for lunch, I paid a tribute to the innocent inhabitants of all the countries that were suffering from aggression, whether of Nazi Germany or Imperialist England. I should like to repeat that I am full of admiration for the fortitude and the courage with which all these innocent persons are carrying on their day to day work and trying to keep social life going. One cannot but think of the brave little children on the great boat, which unhappily was called after my own city of Benares, which was engulfed in the dark waters of the Atlantic. We cannot but be sad for the innocent lives that were lost in such tragic circumstances; and so also, Sir, we are sad that the great treasures of art, whether represented by St. Pauls in London or by the Churches in Rome, should be endangered, because some persons cannot find any other way of ventilating their grievances or expressing their resentment except by bombing these which are really the common heritage of all mankind.

Sir, before I proceed any further, I should like also to say, that speaking in this House, I have a sad, almost an unholy feeling that I am playing the coward. This House is a privileged Assembly, and one can speak anything one likes without any danger from the activities of the other side. But, Sir, I am hoping that, not before long, the ban on our lips will be removed, and that we shall be free outside to speak, as we are speaking here today; and then, Sir, at least we shall be able to wash off the charge of cowardice that today can be safely laid at our door, because when we are speaking in this House it can be said that we do so in a privileged position. I make this reference here, because it was my unhappy lot on one occasion when the predecessor of my friend the Finance Member did say that I was taking undue advantage of the privilege of this Assembly to speak what I dared not speak outside. On that occasion, I told him as well as the Government that I was willing to walk out with him outside the magic circle of the privilege of this House, and speak what I was speaking here. At this moment, however, I cannot say so, because my orders are not to speak openly just yet; but I am hoping that these orders will be gone before long.

Sir, I was saying this morning that under the Defence of India Rules various officials have been authorised to catch hold of any one they dislike and keep him in jail for a couple of months. Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules reads:

"Any police officer, not below the rank of a head constable, etc., may arrest without warrant;"

And a person so arrested, is kept in confinement for a couple of months. Then, on some dark night, somebody moves the Government of India at headquarters here, and that charge is suddenly changed from one under section 129 to one under section 26. I have no idea whether Government here take any pains to find out whether the person who has been run in by a police constable at Benares is a person who deserves to be kept in indefinite confinement or not. I believe they sign like so many automatons. They have plenty of time to sign blank papers of that sort, I believe. I find it difficult to believe that my friends opposite can possibly have in their offices here the dossiers of all these youngmen who are run in under section 129 and later charged under section 26 while they are still in confinement. I will give the case of a student of the Kashi Vidyapith of Benares, Mr. Krishnaswamy; and as no one opposite is taking any note, I take it that no one cares. This youngman is a brilliant student of the Vidyapith. He has just passed his graduation examination; he is preparing his thesis, the submission of which is necessary before he can, finally get that degree. One fine morning he is arrested under section 129. I looked up the rules. I said to myself: 'It does not matter; it is only a question of two months; the youngman will be set free and he will come back to us.' Then, suddenly, I understand that the section has been changed to 26, and he is there in confinement for an indefinite period. The Joint Magistrate informed me over the phone that he is to be confined during His Majesty's pleasure. . . .

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What is the charge against him?

Mr. Sri Prakasa: The charge is that the head constable of that locality does not like him, because the section requires . . .

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What is his age?

Mr. Sri Prakasa: He is about 24 years old. This youngman is in jail, and I got word that his spectacles have got broken, that he is in great pain, because his eyes are bad, that he has spoken to the Superintendent of the Jail, that he has even sent a letter to the District Magistrate, that he has had the privilege of even talking on the subject to the Commissioner of the Division who happened to visit the jail after his confinement. He said to them that he was suffering intensely for want of spectacles, that his eyes were very painful, that he could do no reading, that he was preparing his thesis for the examination, that he should be supplied with the necessary materials to do his work . . .

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: That will impede war effort, I believe.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: It did impede his studies in any case. I was horrified to find that he was deprived even of ordinary medical assistance. I wrote to the District Magistrate. I said to him that the youngman was a brilliant student, that he has been clapped into jail without charge or trial, that it is up to Government to show that he was guilty because the ordinary principle of jurisprudence is that a man shall be regarded as innocent till he was proved to be guilty. I had a reply from the District Magistrate saying that he will write to the Government, because in all such cases he was required to write to the Government for orders. I had also written to the District Magistrate that, if the Government found it rather difficult to find the wherewithal to get him examined and to supply him with the necessary pair of spectacles, I would be quite prepared to stand the cost myself on behalf of my student. The District Magistrate wrote back to say that he had been thinking of recommending that the Government Ophthalmic Surgeon should examine him, but that he was now recommending that my offer should be accepted, that my Surgeon should visit him at my expense and the spectacles be supplied to him, if necessary, at my expense.

Now, Sir, things were rather taking a long time, and most of us, who have been in jail know how long it takes to get things done there. So I had no other means except to arrange to get the broken spectacles, find out the original oculist, get a new pair of spectacles fitted in and sent. Later on, I learnt that my surgeon was permitted to visit the youngman to examine his eyes carefully. I do not know whether the spectacles have yet been fitted in. I shall receive a bill in due course, and then I shall know that the finale has been reached.

What was the difference between a procedure like that and those adopted in the pre-revolutionary days of France? Did not the Kings then give their landlords, feudal lords and favourites, signed blank forms and permit them to fill these and confine those they disliked in jail for eternity? There, some decent gentlemen at least were made responsible. Whatever you may think of the French aristocrates of the time, they were gentlemen. But, here, our head constables have the right which even the French monarchs gave only to their gentlemen attendants. I gave the example of a case that came uppermost in my mind as I am speaking. Thousands of such individual cases can be cited, but one or two more from my own City of Benares I must cite. I know the risks I am running. The privilege of this House only extends to this House; for the reverberations of the speeches in this House reach the districts, and the district officers are not so kind to us when we get back.

Two young men in Benares were caught hold of under some sort of suspicion. For three whole months they were put in extra heavy chains in the jail lock-up. The law, so far as I know, is that within 24 hours the accused must be brought before a magistrate. For three whole months and more these men were not brought before any magistrate at all, and remands were given behind the men's back without their knowing that the police were making an application for remand. So far as I understand the law, it is that the accused must be brought before the magistrate, every time the remand is asked for; but these men were never put before any magistrate. Heavy chains, extraordinarily heavy chains, were put upon these boys day after day, and night after night for three months and more in succession! The law is very funny. When an accused has been sentenced, the fetters are cut off, but while he is still an undertrial prisoner, while still no proof has been given of his guilt, while still the police are searching for proofs, he is put in heavy chains in the lock-up. And now after three and a half months when the police find that there is nothing against them—they wanted to run them in for dacoity—they let them go. Small satisfaction indeed it is to the men that they were proved to be innocent, after having been in heavy chains for three months and more without charge or trial. Three months and more in chains in jail is more than many years of rigorous imprisonment. Honourable Members opposite do not know what they are talking about, when they treat such cases light-heartedly. I was saying this morning that, if the Government are keen on preserving the liberty of our country, are trying to defend us from all danger, this is not the way of going about the business. Liberty, as I ventured to suggest, as represented in the American Statue, shows that it is the right of every nation to be free. Liberty, as represented in the Statue in France, shows that it is the right of every man to be tried before he is punished, and that there must be an equitable arrangement between man and man inside the country.

In India also we are fighting both against external aggression and internal injustice, and whenever we raise our voice in protest, we are told that we must not do that, we can do that only at our peril. A preceding Home Member waxed eloquent over the various public enemies, Nos. 1, 2, and 3. He, it seems, felt that any one who tried to get liberty of the American model was public enemy No. 1, and any one who tried to get liberty on the French model was public enemy No. 2. He thought that terrorism was public enemy No. 1, communism,—public enemy No. 2, and civil disobedience,—public enemy No. 3. I said that to my mind public enemy No. 1 was militarism, public enemy No. 2 was capitalism, and public enemy No. 3 was bureaucracy. Instead of fighting the three real public enemies,—poverty, ignorance and disease—we create, out of our own imagination, all sorts of public enemies and like Don Quixote go on tilting at the windmills. I should not have liked to waste much of the time of the House while speaking on a Bill like this, but the Honourable the Finance Member has repeated over and over again in his speech that the new taxation measures are entirely for the defence of the country, and, therefore, it is but right and proper that we should study this war in all its aspects before we can take any decision about it. My question—straight, simple, honest question put in as simple a language as I am capable of using—is: what is the type of liberty we are fighting for? And if I am assured that the liberty, that the Honourable Members opposite

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are seeking to fight for, is worth fighting for, I shall be with them. I shall even risk my reputation as a member of the Congress Party, resign from that Party and join them, if I were assured that the liberty that is coming to my country is the real genuine liberty,—freedom from external aggression, freedom from internal injustice; but so long as I am not assured that that is the liberty the Government are fighting for, that is the liberty for which the Government are seeking money, so long I cannot possibly be a party to the financing of their projects.

In order to understand the background of the present struggle, I think it is necessary that we should make a short resume of the history of England. I shall not take as long as it has taken the unfortunate people of that island to go through the centuries of their existence; but I shall go through their history in a very few moments. When first we hear of the English people, we find them in costumes not far from nude; and not very much later, they came under Roman sway. We read of a Queen Boadicea who struggled for her country's freedom. As a little boy, I remember to have read:

Rome shall perish, write that word
 In the blood that she has spilt;
 Perish, hopeless and abhorred,
 Deep in ruin as in guilt.

I was only about ten when I read those lines, but I wanted to change Rome into something else! Then, later on, Sir, we find that the Romans made all those aqueducts, bridges and roads and other things that the British have built for us in India; and still Boadicea did not like them! That is the irony of the situation. Rome had to go. I am almost afraid, a similar fate is awaiting my Honourable friends opposite. Well, Rome had to go; and then I read all sorts of Germans—Anglo-Saxons, Jutes coming over to England as invaders and conquerors. I read all that with more or less indifference. I remember, however, as a student of Cambridge, the Director of Studies there once asked us to write our weekly essay on "the conditions of our German ancestors at the time of Julius Caesar and Tacitus." Then I searched my family tree and I found no German blood either on the maternal or the paternal side; and I said to myself "How can I write about my German ancestors whom I do not find anywhere in my family tree?" And it is a very long one; it goes back to nineteen generations, to almost 400 years. So I said that these were ancestors of some one else and I changed the question and wrote about the German ancestors of the English people in the time of Julius Caesar and Tacitus. I do not know whether the teacher liked it or not.

Anyway, it seems to me that when my ancestors have conquered a piece of land, I may also be legitimately entitled to a share in it. I believe it was some such principle that led the English to claim the American colonies as a part of their Empire. They said "We have conquered these lands. You are our children. Give them to us." But the American people got restive and they said: "No, thank you." Instead of remaining a child, the American has now become Uncle Sam.

I think it would be perhaps better to call Nephew Somebody. Though Wordsworth has said that "the child is the father of the man"; still I never knew that colonists could be uncles. In any case, the German claim to England may be traced, in a remote sense, to the desire to get a bit of the land that their ancestors had captured over a thousand years ago. Soon after the Germans, came the Danes, and then the Normans. After that, English history settles down. Instead of being aggressed against, they become the aggressors; and from Queen Boadicea we come down to Queen Elizabeth. English history goes from queen to queen. Women have always played a greater part in English history than men. So, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, England becomes the aggressor and carries on a war in all the continents. At that time it was always thought that the person who can beat is more civilised than the person who is beaten. When a British bomb falls from a British aeroplane across the borders of India, the homes that that bomb desolates are the homes of the uncivilised, because if the bombed people had been civilised, they would have thrown a bomb in return. But when a German bomb falls on a British home, then the person on whom it falls is more civilised than the person who throws the bomb. This logic I find it difficult to understand. In other words, it simply means that when the Britisher does anything good or bad, it is in vindication of liberty, it is a symbol of civilisation. When somebody else does the same thing against him, it is barbarous, uncouth, wicked. George Bernard Shaw, whose epigram it is almost impossible to improve upon, was right when he said: "When a man kills a tiger, he calls it sport; when a tiger kills a man, it is called ferocity."

So, England spread all over the world and they engaged in many wars.

One war lasted for a hundred years. Other wars lasted for 3 P.M. longer or shorter duration.

An Honourable Member: Thirty-years War.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: The 30 years' war was an internal war in Germany. The English began to civilise and Christianise the various peoples. They destroyed the original inhabitants of America, Australia and New Zealand and various other places. In India, they could not destroy, because there is something in us that prevents our destruction. The capacity for procreation is very strong in India and my friend, the Honourable Mr. Dow, was right when he said on a previous occasion that the only industry that is prosperous in India is population. Owing to this infinite capacity of ours, to people the whole earth, the English did not find it easy to destroy us. But they did destroy the peoples of all such continents, who, I must confess with sadness, were more self-respecting than we were, where there were no Quislings, where the people were not willing to surrender and serve and hug the chains of slavery; and who preferred to die rather than be subjugated. That brings us to Queen Victoria, the third great English Queen, under whom the British Empire was finally consolidated, and we were hopelessly chained to the chariot wheels of England's victory. Heaps and heaps of us were only too glad to get jobs under the British, from the highest to the lowest, in order that their rule may be made permanent in our land. Now, Sir at last, when the English have met their masters on land and sea and air, then their ideas of spiritual worth and value have also changed and

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Mr. Winston Churchill, of whom I shall have something to say later, said that it was an abuse of science that Germans were indulging in, when they were using all the subtleties of their brain in order to destroy the world. I agree with Mr. Churchill; but I shall go further. If the German is less civilized than the British, because he uses stronger arms—and the British, I understand, are getting increasingly and quickly even less civilized, because, I am told, they are now able to use still stronger arms—how is it that so long we were told that the person who could use stronger arms was the more civilized and why were the English to be regarded more civilized than ourselves because we could not fight them, with their own weapons.

Now, Sir, let us go through quickly the history of England's connection with India. So far as I know, in the sixteenth century the Venetians, who held the monopoly of the Eastern trade, inordinately raised the prices of spices so that a thing worth a rupee was sold in England for about rupees five hundred. England did not like that. They did not know the use of ice. They liked fish all the same, and fish would rot without ice. They had to use spices in order to keep things going, dead fish alive, so to say. So they got their Queen Elizabeth to give them a charter, a charter that proved to be one of liberty to do what they liked, but really it was only a charter to enable them to trade in pepper. They came to us for pepper, they proved very hot pepper for us indeed. They came first to Madras; and Madrassese generally are very fond of hot pepper. These people, however, proved to be hotter pepper. From a trading people they became a conquering people: they intrigued, they bullied, they raised armies, they did all sorts of things in order to be here. Many of us proved faithful to them through thick and thin. I am very glad to see my Honourable friend, Sir Arcot, in front of me because that name is famous in Indian history. We all know that Indian soldiers drank the gruel themselves and gave to their English masters the rice to eat. I am glad that the history of Arcot is being repeated in Delhi today. Sir, in this way England's foothold became strong in India and we became a subject people.

And then I come to a funny part of my story. My Honourable friends in this House will not have forgotten the sensational motion for adjournment when the House condemned the Government when the Commander-in-Chief, helped and assisted by the highest Christian Divine of this place, went to commemorate the memory of the victory of the British in the battle of Badli-ki-Serai, not far from Delhi. A skeleton was then discovered. Sir, it is easy to find out when a man is clothed in flesh and blood, whether he is English or not English. I do not know, Dr. Deshmukh can help us, whether it is possible to find out from a skeleton whether it belonged at one time to an Englishman or an Indian. In any case, Sir, a skeleton was discovered; and Delhi, which is "the grave of so many empires"—I am quoting an ex-Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon,—Delhi is full of skeletons. They raised a memorial. I have not yet been to that memorial, I may go there some day. They said that this was a brave British general who fought the Indian mutineers. So any attempt at the freedom of India became a mutiny. Why is a mutiny? Let us examine the psychology of the English people *vis-a-vis* the present war. The history of this war has yet to be written. I do not think that

England's conduct towards Belgium and towards France would bear the scrutiny of impartial history. I think that when the history of these relations comes to be written, it will be found that England betrayed these countries. In any case, Germany has got a stranglehold on these countries today and that stranglehold is not stronger, is not deeper, is not greater than England's stranglehold on my country. Still those who should be regarded as loyal persons, those who are accepting the scheme of things like the Ministers at Vichy, are put down as traitors and guilty of vicious conduct, while those who have gone over to England are treated as patriots,—men who should, according to the definition of the Government opposite,—General de Gaulle and others, should be put down as mutineers. I am sorry, my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, is not in the House, but I should have asked him today to consult his dictionary afresh, because that day he said that under no stress of interpretation could the conduct of Indian fighters at the Badli-ki-Serai battle be dubbed as anything but mutinous. But what is the case today? Why do we call all those persons who are helping the German Government in France today as traitors, and, those who are fighting that Government as patriots? The same conduct is judged differently in India and on the European soil.

I should like to say many things today. I cannot say them all. I think, however, I had better dispose of an important item. It is the attitude of responsible persons in England towards my country. I come to Mr. Winston Churchill. I have no quarrel with him. I do not know him and I shall never know him.

An Honourable Member: How do you know?

Mr. Sri Prakasa: I might perhaps meet him, but, ordinarily judging, probably I shall never know him. I can assure the House, I have no quarrel with him. But I do remember this that, on one occasion, in a fit of sarcastic fury, he described Mahatma Gandhi as a naked *Fakir*. If he thinks that these expressions are forgotten, especially when they are used by persons favourably placed, towards persons who are in a subject state, he is very much mistaken. Memories are long when the sensitiveness is high; and the skin is always raw when a man is in a depressed condition. Men, who have the power, and men, who are in a position of authority, must always make sure that they use the proper language and extend proper courtesy to those over whom they rule. Not so, Mr. Winston Churchill. And though there is nothing wrong in being a naked *Fakir*,—in India, ordinarily, those words would be regarded as complimentary rather than contemptuous—the fact does remain that Mr. Churchill did not use that expression in that sense. He was horror-struck that a naked *Fakir* should be permitted to climb the steps of the Viceroy's House, that was, I believe, originally erected by the naked workmen working for a pittance for years together. You want the labour of the naked, you want to exploit the naked, but when a representative of those naked men in almost naked form comes before the Viceroy, then this great statesman resents the intrusion.

Then, Sir, there was another gentleman also, whose name my Honourable friends may not have forgotten, and who was the Secretary of State for India. He was called Sir Samuel Hoare. He must be a great man.

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Again, I have no quarrel with him. I have never met him and never hope to meet him. But do you know what he called us? He called us dogs. In 1930, he said: "Let the dogs bark, the caravan will go on." The caravan of British Imperialism has got a stop after all, and today we, the naked *Fakirs* and dogs, are required to come out and help those who have insulted us. Have we forgotten Shakespear's moving play, the Merchant of Venice? Does not my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, remember the way in which they treated Shylock? Does not the blood of my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, rise in revolt against the treatment they meted out to one of his people? My sympathies are entirely with Shylock. And if my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, wanted to take revenge of the ancient grudge and the insults that had been heaped over him and his people, I do not think he would be wrong. And today if we also feel that we should speak out our minds freely and tell them how we have been feeling all these years and that those persons who speak to them words of flattery, who praise them in private and who seek their service are not the only people who live in this land, I think my Honourable friends opposite will excuse me.

So, Sir, we in India are being deprived of every vestige of liberty. We are not allowed to speak, if our speeches go counter to the wishes of Authority. We are not allowed to write what we like even if the writings are innocent. Today's *Statesman* says that Major Quisling has banned a book of Norway's famous novelist, a Noble Prize winner, called Sigrid Undset. Here in India we have Mahatma Gandhi's writings banned; and I cannot believe for a moment that Sigrid Undset could be a greater person than Mahatma Gandhi. So, we cannot speak, we cannot write, we cannot even form associations. In my province, we are not allowed to drill. Pandit Jawaharlal was solemnly informed by the Police Officer when he inquired at Cawnpore as to what form of drill would come under the Defence of India Rules, that if three men walked in step, it would be infringing the law. If two men walked in step, it would be all right. Probably that would be regarded as accidental, but if three men walked in step, it would be against the law. It is the habit of English people always to walk in step. Even if there are four or five English persons, they will be walking in step. Whether that will be allowed by the Government of India or not, I do not know. They can try it in a Cawnpore street. When liberty is crushed in every aspect in our country, I think it is improper to demand of us a vote in favour of raising the revenues in order to finance this war which is not being fought for liberty but to crush liberty in my country.

In India at the present moment English women are doing a good bit of rifle practice in the districts. They have no difficulty in getting licences for arms which are denied to us; and they get arms because they may be called upon to defend their children. I understand that in Delhi a number of officers' wives are doing war work. They do it only for a small consideration of Rs. 7/8 per day. Ordinarily, that would be regarded as a princely salary in the country; but that amount just suffices for their petrol and other things which are necessary in order to bring them to their work. It is a fact that a number of officers are getting enhanced salaries. Therefore, I should like to offer my praise to all such persons who are, at considerable sacrifice to themselves, remaining in my country to defend us against external aggression! I understand that their country is in danger. Ordinarily, I should have thought that every Englishman should be going

out of India to defend his people at home or to serve them in some other way. He is not doing that. He is remaining in this country. What a terrific sacrifice he is making! I stand aghast as I see around me so many Englishmen that still remain to protect us in our own country against ourselves and are allowing their own people to suffer quietly in their land. Sir, I also admire my countrymen who are helping them to keep the chains of slavery riveted on our feet. I admire, above all, the great British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, who has a fine record of work to his credit. If my Honourable friends were to read his Autobiography of the first 26 years of his life, they would find that Churchill is a person who escaped from prison, who ran away from prison; and I give this tip to the Honourable Member for Communications, this Mr. Churchill actually travelled in a train without a ticket. You can read his Autobiography, "A Roving Commission", and verify my statement for yourself. Many more details are given in his book. A man who ran away from prison, a man who travelled in a train without a ticket, which is one of the most heinous offences in India today, ought to be punishable with a year's imprisonment, such a man is offered the Prime Ministership of England, such a man is the head of the British Empire to whom we, naked *Fakirs* and dogs, should offer our help to fight for his country. He is talking of the freedom of Europe. Does he ever talk of the freedom of India? Never, so far as I know.

He has also said in that book, "A Roving Commission", in his most inimitable language that in war there should be resistance, in defeat there should be defiance, in victory there should be magnanimity, and in peace there should be goodwill. We in India offered Government goodwill when there was peace. Well, they declared a war against us. We are bound to resist it. It may be that we have failed in our war, or we may fail. Then, there is nothing else left, but to defy. I have the authority of the British Prime Minister to defy when I am defeated. So, Sir, we, the naked *Fakirs* of Mr. Churchill and the dogs of Sir Samuel Hoare have at last got the chance of telling our masters that we are also men, that if you tickle us, we also laugh, if you poison us, we also die; but if you hit us, we also hit.

We have been denied freedom of speech. In this connection, I should like to give one instance of the working of the Defence of India Act, so far as freedom of writing is concerned. I take the case of the *Sainik* newspaper of Agra. *Sainik*, published in its paper, as all other papers did a Resolution of the Council of the Provincial Congress Committee; and it reprinted 2,000 copies of these for distribution, as desired by the Provincial Congress Committee. The police then came on the scene and locked up the *Sainik* office, which was owned by my Honourable colleague, Pandit Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal, whose presence I am missing here. Law's delays are proverbial, it took months before the District Judge declared that the order of the police locking up the *Sainik* office was illegal. The Government then released the press. Within a week after that, the police locked the place again. The managers have not even been told what the offence was. Perhaps they have done something which, in the opinion of the men in authority, was not consistent with Government policy, and, therefore, the press must be locked up! Editors of newspapers are called to the office of District Magistrates in the various districts and they are given instructions as to what they should do, and what they should not do. When they ask the District Magistrates to give those orders in writing, the magistrates refuse to do so. But if the Editors act contrary to the oral instructions conveyed to them at those meetings, then they are punished. So, we

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have no liberty of speech, we have no freedom of association. The poor people suffer in many ways. Forced levies are collected from poor business people or from poor peasants. At some places there is a levy so much per plough, and the zamindars are threatened that if they do not sing to the tune of the District Magistrates, they would suffer various pains and penalties! Such is the condition of our people. I do not understand why we should grant any money at all.

One thing I did not mention till now, that is, that if the Government think that a majority of us are with them, they are very much mistaken. Do not the Government remember that an important Prince in India in a public statement said to the Indian National Congress: "Why do you want to paint the whole of India *red* when we want the whole of India to become *yellow*." Red, as Honourable Members know, is the colour of the British Lion; and yellow is the colour of the piping Princes. I do not know what happened to that Prince; but evidently that was something that should make the Government sit up. There must have been explanations; and I believe things were managed quietly and big subscriptions were paid by the Prince. In any case these words did indiscreetly leave his lips. I wish the Defence Secretary were here because I should like to tell him something about his Department. There is not all peace and happiness inside his army. There have been mutinies and desertions. There have been shootings, there have been court-martials, there have been sentences sending soldiers to the Andamans. If Government think that these items of news do not percolate through the land despite censorship, they are very much mistaken. Not only are the Indian soldiers unhappy over the situation, but also the British soldiers. The British soldiers are asking: "Why are we fighting, what are we fighting for?"—almost in the language of the Indian National Congress. They also ask: "Why are you ill-treating the people of this country? Why do you want us to kill persons whom we cannot hate? There is something more, many officers are glad that they have got heaps of extra cash and additions to their salaries. There are others, honest men who think that they are being paid too much and that very little work is required of them. Officers have deserted their posts in order to attempt to join as privates in the army in Europe. They are trying to run away from India. Some Officers have felt that their country being in danger, they should go and join the fighting ranks, and, even if they are not taken as officers, they are willing to go as mere privates. Some who went away like this were caught in Bombay and brought back and made officers again, because their motive was good and they were not punished any further.

As I just now stated, a number of officers feel that they are getting too much. That is the difference between the army and the civil service. The civilians want more and more pay, but the army men feel that they are to do their duty also and not merely feed fat at the expense of the country. So they say: "We have been paid too much, what are we to do with this money?" There has been a case where an officer actually deserted, burnt his uniform and rushed to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and told him that he was ashamed that Englishmen should be treating India in the manner they do. His family was associated with the Indian army for three generations, his grandfather had seen active service in Sind; and would Jawaharlal Nehru advise him to do something

which could be better than just serving in the army? Jawaharlal Nehru,—no truer friend England has in India.—advised the man to go back to his army, to don his uniform once again, and to do his duty where he was called upon to do it. And so he has gone back and I have no further information about him. Sir, I have brought forward these examples in order to show that all is not well in the State of Denmark,—by which I mean Honourable Members opposite. All is not well in the real Denmark either. I think all these matters should be looked into carefully for no attempt at lying propaganda can help them in keeping the truth away.

One thing I cannot understand. When the Recruiting Bill was being discussed in this House, many a dark Knight from the Punjab informed us that they were hungering for war and that they were most anxious for war. It is possible that light has since dawned on that Knight, but I find them all here. Why are not they at the front? They were dying to fight, they were anxious to be recruited, but why are they here?

An Honourable Member: The dark Knight has gone to fight.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: I hope he is in the land of the living. But as for others, I thought they were all most anxious to fight. They said these banias are anxious not to fight because they are so cowardly, but the martial races of the Punjab are dying to fight. I said on that occasion that it is the bania who wants you to fight, because he will not go to fight; but will make money. And as contractor, he is already making money; and so now the joke is the other way round. It is now the soldier who wants the war to be finished, because nobody is anxious to prolong it, as far as I know, and they want peace to come soon. But to the bania, whether English or Indian, it does not matter, because he is making his money by getting contracts of all sorts for supplying good or bad things.

Sir, England and India have been in close association, for better or for worse, for the last 200 years. It was the desire of our leaders that this association should continue in mutual peace, amity, concord and goodwill. Offers were made again and again so that the resources of both the countries could be harnessed together in a common effort. But over and over again came the reply that India must wait for ever for her own redemption and must help the British to fight their battles across the ocean. Our question was simple: Why should we fight if our liberty is not to be secured to us? For whom should we fight? They ask: What will happen if the Germans come? What will happen if the Japanese come? What will happen if the Russians come? That is the threat that is given out. After two hundred years of association that is the position to which we have been reduced: that if the English go out somebody else must come in and we cannot take care of ourselves! Now supposing somebody else comes, how are we worse off. Speaking spiritually, we are slaves today, we shall continue to be slaves tomorrow. We are speaking English in this Assembly. We shall speak Japanese. And Indians are good at languages; they learn languages fairly quickly. My Honourable friends opposite after thirty years of association with us, cannot speak two or three sentences of an Indian language coherently and correctly. But, however ungrammatical my language may be, I believe I am fairly intelligible. So,

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Sir, we shall learn some other language. How shall we be spiritually worse off than we are today? I ask you this simple question: We are slaves and we shall only continue to be slaves. Have we not read, "Britannia rules the waves, Britons never shall be slaves?" I wish the whole House would rise and sing: "Britannia rules the waves, Britain always shall make slaves." They say they will never be slaves themselves; but they will always revel in the slavery of others.

So, Sir, spiritually we cannot be worse off. Then shall we be worse off intellectually? Is German literature so much poorer than English literature? We read Shelley, we shall then read Heine; we read Shakespeare, we shall then read Goethe. If we are to continue to be slaves, slavery under the one is just as good or bad as under the other.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh: Scientifically we shall be better off.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: And my Honourable friend, Dr. Deshmukh, with greater knowledge of scientific instruments, tells me that scientifically we shall be better off. Then, Sir, shall we be worse off socially? I am answering the problematic and hypothetical question as to what will happen if the British withdraw and somebody else comes. Materially we cannot be worse off than we are today. Socially we shall not be worse off. Our position in the world is pretty low and it cannot be lower. So I do not see how we shall be worse off even if the threatened invasion of another power materialises. But it will not be so. So far as I can scrutinise the chess-board of international politics today with all the misery and starvation stalking the land, I may be wrong—I see that Germany is out to get a good bit of Europe, that Italy is out to get a good bit of Africa, that Japan is out to get a good bit of eastern Asia; and that the two great countries of America and India are to be free and remain free. India is the enemy of no one and no one has an eye on India today, if I understand anything of this chess-board. I do not pretend to understand much, but I think no one has an eye on India, and therefore we are in no danger of any foreign aggression. Russia and Japan hate each other sufficiently not to allow each other to rob us of our country; and so far as our internal differences go, on which the British bank in India, I think we shall be able to settle them before very long, if left to ourselves and make ourselves really free and great, spiritually, intellectually, materially and socially. But, Sir, there is the war staring us in the face in all its horror. How is it to be financed? That is the plain and simple question. You want six crores of rupees and somebody must pay it. Why not we? But who profits most by this Government? Let that party pay. The Government servants are the best-off in this country. The highest offices in India carry emoluments greater than the highest offices even in England. And the Government servant, grade for grade, is any day better off than his brother not in office. He has to do less work, he gets more honour and he gets more pay; he gets more time to play and dance and dine. He can surely pay. What is the amount of money that is given in salaries to Government servants? I think it is a fair amount,—crores upon crores it must be. It is six crores only in my own province; and in the whole of India it must be any number of crores. Four or five times six crores. Then why not ask them to pay 50 per cent? No. On the contrary in the United Provinces Government they have increased the travelling allowances of Government servants which had been reduced by the Congress Government

because presumably they want their assistance to crush the people. Why cannot Government servants themselves in a sportsmanlike fashion come forward and say: "We shall pay 50 per cent of our salaries, and we shall go on paying it so long as the war lasts." You will be creating a sensation in the country: You will be making a gesture the like of which has never been seen, and you will be able to finance the war to the full. You will not need to bully the poor man into paying money: many persons have been bullied even into selling their cattle—such are the complaints that have gone to Mahatma Gandhi supported by chapter and verse—in order to pay for this war effort. I say all that will disappear if only the large number of persons who are receiving salaries from this Government, who are most interested in the maintenance of this Government, will do as I say.

What can the poor peasant give you? Go to the countryside. The peasant says: "What have we got to do with the war? We shall have to continue to till the soil, to produce the crops; we do not stand to gain or lose, whoever may be ruling the country." I do not know how far it is correct, but the story is that a statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru about the war was printed in America. It was featured in a large number of newspapers. Then the British Ambassador wrote to the British Government in England saying that there must be some counterblast, and that the Government must get hold of some one who should write against a thing like that, so that that might also be printed in America. Then it seems that the Government of India was asked to approach a distinguished leader of a great party to write something. The expectation was that that writing would be a refutation of the Congress position. It appears, however that the leader who was approached, wrote that so far as the masses are concerned they do not care whether the British rule or whether the Germans rule. This was also featured in America; and the Ambassador there wrote angrily to the British Government: "What has the Government of India done? There must be some fool in the background somewhere who does not know what things to send out to print in a foreign land!" That is how the story goes. Whether it is true or false,—the truth is that the general mass of the people are quite indifferent. The stronger elements, the Princes and others, are hoping that when there is some sort of commotion they will be able to expand their territories and the eighteenth century will come back to India.

The fact remains that we are nobody's concern, and nobody worries about us anywhere; and so if it were possible for a certain amount of understanding between the British and the Indian, it would be for the good of all; and if there is no understanding there is bound to be an eternal struggle. However poor, dispirited, depressed and weak we may be, there is this fire burning in our hearts that we too should live the lives of self-respecting men and women in the world; and we hope that somehow things will so adjust themselves that we shall be as free as any other nation is. So far as the war is concerned, we have nothing to do with it. Honourable Members opposite are strong. They may squeeze us and they may bleed us and do whatever they like with us; but they cannot have our hearts. I have spoken with some warmth. I have also spoken with candour so that honourable friends opposite may know that there is another picture than the one presented to them day after day by interested

[Mr. Sri Prakasa:]

people, as they comfortably sit in New Delhi. So far as we are concerned, our duty is plain. We must hope and pray and strive for a day:

“When the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags are furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.
When the commonsense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
and the kindly Earth shall slumber wrapped in Universal Law.”

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, when this war was declared against Germany, it was declared in the name of 400 millions of Indians, 100 millions of whom are Muslims and the rest non-Muslims; and the whole world was led to believe by constant propaganda that the moral support of these 400 millions was at the back of the British Government. But, in his heart of hearts, the Governor General must have known that, in order to substantiate the assertion, it must be proved that those who were really the accredited representatives of the nation are for this war. In order to achieve this object, interviews were arranged with the High Command of the Indian National Congress and the High Command of the Muslim League, and then certain proposals were put forward. What were those proposals? They are very well known: everybody knows them—expanded Councils and a War Advisory Committee. These expanded Councils were mere play-things, as the Hindus and Muslims both knew very well, and the offer which was made was spurned both by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. The British Government unfortunately—let me be very frank—has a peculiar knack of turning its friends into enemies. The attitude of the Congress is quite plain. When the war was declared, they said “Why was this war being waged? What is the object of this war?” No reasonable answer was given to this plain question. For some time they kept silent. Later on, Mr. Winston Churchill, who is brutally frank, declared from the housetops in England that the war was being waged in order to make Europe safe for democracy, in order to protect the weak nations, in order to rehabilitate Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and other small countries which had been raped, to their old position of independence. That is what he said. We, in India, were waiting for some word of hope from the Prime Minister. No such word came. India was not in the picture at all. The war was being waged in our name, but it was really for doing good to Poland, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France which came under the German domination. This sort of thing went on for some time, and then the Muslim League, which used to be looked upon by certain unfriendly critics as the handmaid of British statesmanship and British diplomacy, rose to the height of the occasion and declared that they too had something to say. The Muslim League said that, when the war was declared, they were not consulted; if the Hindus were not consulted, the Muslims too were not consulted, in fact the whole of India was not consulted, and if India is dragged into the war against her will, there is no reason why the British Government should try to enlist her aid. It is a principle of universal application that he who pays the piper calls the tune, but this is India. Here we, who pay the piper, have not the right to call the tune. It is Sir Jeremy Raisman who has the right to call the tune. We are called upon merely to vote and find the money.

In this connection, Sir, I should like to make a few observations with regard to the defence of India. You say, and it is certainly true to a

large extent, that these are war times, these are abnormal times, and the expenditure runs into millions and millions. We in this country have already been overtaxed, and as the Finance Member told us the other day, India spends 20 lakhs of rupees per day, India contributes 20 lakhs of rupees towards the cost of the war, which, in other words, means 72 crores of rupees a year which India is now paying towards the cost of the war. But what is that amount, after all, against the huge sums that are being spent in England every day? I am told that England is spending about 14 crores of rupees every day, but at this rate even the wealth of the whole world will not be sufficient. What are you doing here? You will extract a few pice or annas from the poor man; the poor man will be taxed and taxed and re-taxed, and with all this how much will you be able to get? Say two crores or three crores. That, according to an Indian expression, is mere "chutney". You want six crores. There is a deficit of 13 crores, and you want six crores now for the next four months. What is this six crores. Even if we were sure that this sum would be spent on the actual defence of India, we would have taken this Bill into consideration and discussed it on its merits, but we do not know where it is going to be spent, we do not know where the money is going. The Finance Department does not take us into its confidence. How are we to know where the money is going or how it is spent or that it is spent really for the defence of India?

Sir, so far as the defence of India is concerned, the real defenders of India are its western neighbours,—Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, Iraq and the Arabian world. As long as these countries are safe, as long as these countries are not invaded, as long as their integrity remains undisturbed, India is free from danger. I have been to Turkey myself. In the year 1913, I paid a visit to Constantinople, and through the courtesy of His Excellency Jamal Pasha, who was the Governor of Constantinople then, I paid a visit to the famous Chatalja lines, a small corner on the other side of Istanbul. Coming from the west on the left is the Black Sea, and on the right is the sea of Marmora, and there is a neck of land only eight miles broad. Then, there are three parallel lines of hills which were fortified. I saw the lines myself, and it is the judgment of the military critics that of the Chatalja lines are defended by a couple of hundred thousand brave men, they can withstand the armed might of Europe. Let 50 lakhs of warriors from Europe advance, but if 200,000 Turks are behind the Chatalja lines, the invaders will not succeed, and this is as true today as it was then. Then, Turkey was effete, Turkey was being trampled under foot by Europe. Since that time, however, there has been a marvellous revival under the guidance of the late lamented Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Today Turkey is a very strong power which stands as a barrier between Germany and India, and, therefore, as long as Turkey is safe, as long as Persia is safe, as long as Afghanistan is safe, India need not spend a single pie on her defence.

But you don't trust India, the British Government do not trust India. In the name of Imperialism, you cannot get even one soldier or recruit, but so far as Muslims are concerned, in the name of the Islamic countries, millions are ready to shed their last drop of blood. Only the other day, when a mass meeting of the Muslims was held in the Fatehpuri Mosque in Delhi, I told them that there was just a possibility of the Islamic countries being invaded by the Axis Powers, and I asked them

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if it was not their duty to come forward in their thousands to form an army of 50 divisions, and whether we should not ask the British Government in India to give our people military training for six months, so that these trained recruits may go forward and fight shoulder to shoulder against the invaders, because thereby we would be doing a service to Britain also. So a Resolution was passed unanimously, but I should like to know from the Defence Secretary if such a movement takes material shape, whether he is prepared to back it up. If he can help us, then we are ready to offer our men. Unfortunately, we have got very little money. The money is with the capitalists. Sir Cowasji Jehangir might be able to give you something, but I cannot. I have got only blood to offer you; rivers of blood had been shed and it will continue to be so shed, so far as the Islamic world is concerned, in the interest of Turkey and other Islamic countries.

Sir, the question of these Islamic countries has become an international question and is of very great importance to India, and my friends, the members of the Indian National Congress, feel convinced that in order to defend India, we must try and preserve the integrity and independence of the Islamic countries which are a barrier between Asia and the aggressors in the west. This is so far as the defence of India is concerned.

Now, what is the position in India? Our position is, as was so eloquently stated by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, and by my friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, over there, that of slaves. We are talking constantly from day to night and night to day about the desirability of our emancipation from foreign bondage, that we want to be as free as the proverbial lark, that we want to be free like other countries. Why should we remain slaves? We should be free. That is our one wish. There was a golden chance for the British Government to take time by the forelock and do something just by India. When the Indian National Congress, in its Delhi sitting, passed its famous Resolution calling upon the British Government to form a national Government at the Centre, it meant that the country was prepared to offer you men and money to fight the war. That was the time when the British Government should have jumped at the offer. Mahatma Gandhi had to go, because he does not believe in the sword. He believes in *ahimsa* instead of believing in the sword; he believes in charkha. I don't agree with him there, and there are many Congressmen who do not believe in the philosophy of *ahimsa*, whatever my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, may say. My temperament as a Mussalman revolts against the idea of acquiring an empire by means of spinning a few yards. So, that was the time so far as the Hindus were concerned.

Then, there came another opportunity. The Viceroy had a heart to heart talk with the leader of the Indian Muslims, Mr. Jinnah.
 4 P.M. I think the Viceroy was convinced by my Honourable friend's relentness logic, but then he would not accept the terms that were placed before him on behalf of the Mussalmans. So, the Government alienated, on the one hand, the sympathies of the Congress, and, on the other, of the Muslim League. And now Government want us to vote for this Bill. Well, they may do what they like, but it is against human nature. It is against human nature that we

should pay for a matter which has no interest for us. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State are not prepared to do anything for India except a promise of a very vague sort of giving India Dominion Status after the war was over. Now, in order to be in a position to attain this status, a nation must have become well advanced, and it must be taken for granted that, because the Government are going to offer us membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations as equal partners, we must have attained that position. If we are in that position, I ask, why was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrested the other day and given a thundering sentence of four years? If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru can be arrested and given a sentence of four years, why should not General Hertzog who wants to conclude a separate peace with Germany be given four years? Now, look at that man, De Valera of Ireland. The position of Ireland is one of a Dominion. Ireland has remained neutral and wants to maintain her neutrality with the power of the sword. When Ireland and South Africa, which are partners of the British Commonwealth of Nations as Dominions, are allowed this liberty, why should this liberty be denied to India which we are glibly assured will have it, when the war comes to a definite conclusion, although I am not very sure about it. I am not very sure that after the war Dominion Status like a ripe apple would fall into our hands. (Interruption.) We do not expect that.

Let me tell you, and I will be very plain and very frank. I repeat the sentence that I used a few days before on the floor of this House, that, if, after the war, the liberal and profuse promises that are being made to India in the name of the British Government that Dominion Status would be conceded to her after the conclusion of the war—if those promises are not fulfilled, then the first man in India who would raise the standard of revolt against you, would be myself, and I think that then will come the time for the Congress and the Muslim League to join hands. If there are any two organisations which are nearer each other than others, they are the Muslim League and the National Congress. There are very small differences among them. People think that the differences cannot be bridged, that it is a gulf unbridgeable. I do not believe in that. It is my firm conviction that as long as the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress do not join their hands together, there will be no freedom for India, no liberty for India, no emancipation from foreign bondage. Let them come together, and I think the matter can be very easily settled. If only all the money spent and all the endeavours exerted on behalf of British Imperialism, by the powers that be, had been devoted to bringing these two together, bringing Hindus and Mussalmans together, I think the question would have become a very simple one, but unfortunately nothing was done and it is up to us alone to sit together, put our heads together and then arrive at some formula which is acceptable to both of us. There is such a formula, and I think Mr. Jinnah will tell you, he has already told you what that formula is.

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

After all, you want Swaraj, you want an Empire, but you have to pay for it: Don't care for what others say. It is for you to say, it is for the Indian National Congress to prove that she represents the whole of India—although, unfortunately, the case is not true up to the present

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moment, because there are only a few Mussalmans in the Indian National Congress. But if that position is correct, I would expect the Indian National Congress to come to terms with the Muslim League, have a Government on fifty-fifty basis in the Centre and in the provinces, and then you will see who can, after this settlement is arrived at,—who can stand against you? Nobody on the face of the earth can stand against you. A nation of four hundred millions can make the whole world bow before it if their internal differences are sunk, and I think the time will come when these differences will sink.

While talking of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I was reminded of my friend, Professor Abdus Sattar Kheri, of the Aligarh University, and Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, a Member of this House. Professor Abdus Sattar Kheri is a gentleman of wide culture. He went to Germany, studied the German language, and in the University he imparted instruction in the German language. Now, a trumpery charge was brought against him. His house was searched and he was taken away and clapped into jail in Jhansi. The Professor has a German wife, this wife was sent to Dehra Dun, because she was a European—mind you, European,—and could not stand the heat of Jhansi, while her husband, whose skin was a bit dusky, was sent to jail and was given a C class. We are told over and over again that Germany is a barbarian, is a brute, and that Italy also is a nation whose name stinks in the nostrils of the civilised world. We have been told all that. But as soon as the war is over, I assure you that Germany would become a member of the highly civilised nations of Europe and she will have the right, which we cannot have in even a thousand years. Professor Abdus Sattar Kheri was clapped into jail, and I do not know whether he has been released up to this time. Then, again, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan.

An Honourable Member: “Khan Bahadur”.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: He has given up that title of Khan Bahadur, he is rotting in jail in Nagpur for the offence of having reminded some of the police authorities of their unlawful doings. He is rotting in jail for that. Maulana Muhammad Said of the Jamait-ul-Ulema was also arrested and taken to Azamgarh, and there he is in jail. I think a case is proceeding against him. India is one vast prison house at the present moment and all its thinking sections are in chains. Is it not up to the statesmanship of Great Britain, to realise what a dreadful fix they are in. If this war is really a matter of life and death to them, why should not they enlist the sympathies of millions and millions and make friends with them, but they won't do it. My humble and respectful advice to them is that you should not think you will rule for ever. What is a State? It is ephemeral, transient and transitory. You are today a great power. By a sudden change in the conditions of the world and change of fortune, you might lose the pedestal on which you are seated. So, it is time to do the right thing by India and thereby earn its goodwill. Make it realise that it is your equal partner, and not your slave. With these words, I oppose the Bill.

Mr. Lalchand Navsrai (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not claim to have the ability and capacity to make a fiery speech. I will place a

few facts before the House. There are two motions before the House at present. One is for the consideration of the Bill and the second is for its circulation. Now, I do see sense in putting forward a motion such as my friend, Mr. Kazmi has done. The ground on which this Bill should go to the country for circulation to obtain their opinion is quite plain. The first point is that no money Bill should be taken up without proper consideration by the country. The country should say whether the money should be given and whether it is required for the defence of India and whether the country has the capacity to pay it. Now, on this point, I would submit that when this Assembly met here, the country did not know at all whether this Bill will come before the House. For the matter of that, not even the Members of this House knew that this Bill was coming in until they were taken by surprise on the 5th. Therefore it is quite necessary that this Bill should go for circulation to obtain opinion of the country. The main question that underlies this Bill is whether the war that is going on, for which money is asked for, is for the defence of India. If it is not, then the country cannot be asked to support a Bill like this. There is no desire on the part of any one that the British Government should be embarrassed in the prosecution of the war but the Government owe an obligation to the Assembly and they should have done all in their power to seek the co-operation of the Assembly at the earliest possible opportunity. Have they done that? Did they consult this Assembly as to whether this war is in the interests of India and therefore, money should be given? They did not do so. During the last Assembly no such question was brought up and even after during the seven months that elapsed, what was their attitude? Did they consult any Member of the Assembly? Did they consult the country in order to show that what they are doing is not being done clandestinely and without sanction, but that it is being done with the consent of the Members? That has not been done at all.

Now, on the question as to whether this war is being fought for the defence of India, I would refer to the irresponsibility of the Members of the Treasury Benches. They answer questions in a manner which does not convince us at all. We should be taken into confidence on this primary and most important matter. Now, today I put a question No. 43 and asked:

“Will the Honourable Member say whether these pilots and mechanics are being trained for permanent purposes for the Air Force in India or for the present war purposes only?”

What was the reply? The reply was:

“That it is impossible at this stage to say what will happen after the war.”

If they are not in a position to tell us even this simple thing and take us into confidence, then why need we give them the money? They say ‘Let the money be spent and then we shall see what happens’. That should not be the attitude of Government. One also cannot understand this: if money was needed for war purposes, why was not the Assembly called earlier; and no reason for this has been given. So many questions have been asked and an adjournment motion was also moved. We are not satisfied with the attitude of Government. They think that they can act in any manner they like. In fact, they have actually done so. What do we find in England. There, the Government is not irresponsible to Parliament, as the Government in India is. We know that the Parliament has been sitting throughout and anything that is done is with the consent of

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Parliament. Here we are not allowed to take part in the war functions. We are not given an opportunity to say whether the money required should be spent on the objects on which Government want to spend it and whether it should have been spent with the consultation of the Assembly. That has not been done at all. So the Indian Government do not feel any responsibility to the Members of the House and with what face then do they ask for money now, without telling us anything or affirming that they will be responsible and that they will consult us or that they won't do anything without our sanction? Therefore, they do not feel any responsibility and I do not think they can, in justice, ask for any money being given to them.

Then, Sir, some people resented that Government have been carrying on their functions for war purposes without consulting us and even an adjournment motion that was placed before this House in order to know such things was disallowed. Therefore, in what way are we to convince ourselves or to convince our constituency to which we are responsible that everything is all right? We are to consider this Bill and give our own opinion; we give a particular opinion, but we cannot say we are responsible to our constituents because they will say, "On what facts and figures did you take part in this Bill and give your sanction for the Finance Bill?" Sir, I would further submit that, several Departments have now been opened and these Departments have not got any sanction of the Assembly and they are being carried on in a manner and are being maintained with high salaries without any consultation with us. Is that fair, I ask? And I submit also that it is being alleged that great profiteering has been taking place in regard to the appointments and other happenings of these Departments. It is for the Government to satisfy us that this is not correct?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): What Departments?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: The Supply Department.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: And allied Departments?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Yes, of course. It is, therefore, that I am asking how the expenses have been incurred. I put the question the other day to the Honourable the Finance Member to tell us in detail how this money has been spent. The Honourable Member said, "well, look at my statement that I made on the first day and that will satisfy you." I have read the statement but I do not find out how the money is being spent. I am told that what you want is there in the statement. But how have you spent this, whether the particular officers that were appointed were rightly appointed and so on, whether the pay that was given to them was proper, all these were the things on which we required to be satisfied. Then, Sir, it is said that the high appointments in the Supply Department have been given to non-Indians and certain people have been brought in there from outside the Government offices, directly, on very high salaries. Now, is there any reply given to it? When we put that question, there was a very evasive reply. We do not get a direct reply. Why not put a list before us and say, "well, these are the officers appointed on such and such pay", so that we may have confidence in what the Government are doing.

Then, Sir, with regard to the purchases for war purposes. We do not know whether the purchases that were being made were by tender or how they were made. Was any delegation of power made to a particular officer, who was put in charge of them, to make purchases by asking for competitive prices? Nothing has been done. At any rate that has not been brought to our notice. Then, Sir, I cannot also understand why, while for past seven months everything with regard to the war and allied purposes, was being done by ordinance, this was not similarly done; it would have been much better to have this money too asked from the country by ordinance, and why throw the responsibility upon us? It may be that His Excellency the Governor General may have been satisfied by the Department, but when you ask that the Assembly should give the sanction, then you must place all the data before the Assembly, which has not been done at all. Besides that, ordinarily, when a Finance Bill is placed before the Assembly, it is done after the Budget is presented so that we see what would be the expenses and it is then after that the Finance Bill is presented. Now that is not done here. Only a few statements are made, certain items are referred to, and then we are told, "we shall require so much money". That is absolutely an incorrect procedure. It practically comes to this that the Finance Member says, "well, believe me and give the money". I do not think the country would be ready to do that nor the Honourable Members of the House would be prepared to do that.

Then, Sir, to raise the money even for war purposes by an extra tax on incomes, which already bear so many taxes such as the ordinary income-tax, the super-tax, the excess profits-tax, then if this tax is levied, I would submit with confidence and in all earnestness that that would be exhausting the economic capacity of the people who are already poor. The first way of raising money should have been by applying the axe to the already too extravagant expenditure; this has not been done. Even ordinarily at the time of the Budget, whenever any new taxes are sought to be put, it is claimed that first of all apply the axe,—make retrenchment, lower the higher salaries and then come to us for new taxes; in the like manner that should have been done—not that you directly present the Finance Bill and say, "you pay this money and we will give you the account afterwards". Then, afterwards, they will say, "we never anticipated this, we could not have prophesied that this would have happened". Now that is absolutely wrong. I would submit, Sir, that if the Government of India were really intent upon applying the axe, certain Departments could be suspended for the time being. Now, we have the Audit and Accounts Departments. Why should not these, in a time of emergency, be amalgamated? In the like manner there are other Departments also which should be joined together or suspended for the purpose of making economies. This could be easily done in the Railway Department, which now has a prosperous budget and no deficit to face, for it is indicated in the statement of the Honourable Member that the Railways will make some contribution. If the axe is applied there, the contribution will be greater. You say, "leave all that aside, let those things remain as they are, let them carry on as they wish, you may protest against that, but we will not do anything in that direction, we want more money, more and more". Sir, I submit that the economic condition of the country is too poor and to impose an additional burden on their already scant income is to embarrass the people. You want that the

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British people should not be embarrassed in the country but you are actually embarrassing us. Besides that, there are many ways for the Government of India to raise money. They can float loans. The Government of India have got the credit and they can raise large loans and carry on the Government for the time being. (Interruption by Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon.) The Honourable Member is a very rich man and he will be ready to give loans. Take hold of such fat and rich people but do not tax the poor people who are living from hand to mouth.

Then, Sir, I would like to quote the views of some of the commercial concerns. These are the views of the Indian Buyers, Shippers and Merchants. They say:

"This poor country is already groaning under heavy taxation quite disproportionate to its capacity. Its struggling industries and trade have suffered stunning blow from Excess Profits tax. There is heavy depression in trade and prices of principal agricultural produce have maintained low levels owing to export restrictions and prohibitions, inadequate shipping facilities and price control."

These points that I am reading out have already been admitted by the Honourable the Finance Member in his statement. Then, why should you place further burden on these people? The telegram goes on:

"Trade industries badly need due relief and fostering care from Government to survive and play their part in national economy and defence in these most critical times. In these conditions, Government's imposing 25 per cent. enhancement tax on all taxable incomes will be a step most indiscriminate, uncalled for and particularly detrimental to small incomes represented by most of indigenous industries and trading companies. Increase in postal, telegraphic and trunk call charges further aggravate their miserable plight and Committee seriously apprehended such measures would only result in curtailment facilities and will fail to yield expected increase."

What I am submitting is this that in levying taxes it is very necessary to see whether the people have the capacity to pay them. From time to time these taxes have been increased and even at the last time when the income-tax was being increased it was shown that the people were not in a position to pay. That is especially so in these days of depression.

Now, Sir, the House knows that when this tax, that is being asked for, will be levied, it will be paid by the whole of India and all the provinces will be affected. Therefore, I feel it my duty to refer to the conditions of Sind. I shall show the callousness of the Government of India and that of the Governor General in Council. I shall also show that no help has been given to the Hindus in Sind with the result that their economic capacity has been undermined. Therefore, it will not be right to call upon them to pay this tax.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: May we suggest that the Hindus of Sind should be excluded from the payment of this tax?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: These are my general comments on the Bill. But as the Bill affects equally my part of the country, I would like to put forward certain conditions. One is the outrageous treatment which has been extended to the Hindus who mostly pay the income-tax. They are receiving most callous treatment at the hands of the lawless people who have killed a very large number of well-to-do Hindus. This cannot possibly be denied. It has appeared in the press and everybody knows it.

Then, the present economic capacity of the people of Sind must also be taken into consideration. As I have shown, this matter has got to be considered mostly from the point of view of the ability of the Sind Hindus to pay because it is mostly the Hindus who pay the income-tax in Sind.

Sir, the Hindus of Sind have a grievance against the Government of India. Fully knowing that murder after murder of innocent Hindus has taken place and the law and order has been violently disturbed, Government have failed to restore peace and order. The Governor has refused to take law and order in his own hands and the Government of India have done nothing to avert such unprecedented calamity. It is they who now want those very people to co-operate with the Government. When I moved an adjournment motion, the Leader of the House said that the Government of India are different from the Governor General. Now, this money is asked for on behalf of the Governor General and if the Government of India have not even the power to give advice to His Excellency the Governor General to do certain things, then it would mean that they do not exist. I will therefore say, just as the Honourable Mr. Satyamurti said today, that in other matters also the Executive Councillors do not exist. If that is the position, it is most deplorable. In cases where people are being killed and where the local authority has failed to give them protection, is it not the duty of the Members of the Governor General to come forward and take measures to see that all that lawlessness is rooted out?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Do you want the constitution to be suspended and the administration taken over by the Governor in Sind?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I am now asking for law and order being maintained. I am saying that every one in this House and outside should help the Hindus in Sind. It is a mere pretext to say that this is a provincial question. The Government of India is the highest government in this country and it is responsible for the good administration of the whole of India, no matter even if power is given to the provinces. When any province shows that it has failed in its duty of maintaining law and order, then it is the duty of the Government of India to step in. The theory of non-interference, as is sometimes propounded, cannot be sustained and this only shows want of common sense. How is the Government of India different from the Governor General? This is merely punning upon words. The Executive Council members are the colleagues of the Viceroy and all of them are paid from the Indian exchequer. At this critical juncture in Sind, the Government of India should give proper advice to the Governor General and they should not leave the people of Sind to the tender mercies of hooligans. If the Government of India cannot do this, it only shows a bankruptcy of brains. The Government of India want money for war purposes. They should, therefore, leave no stone unturned in Sind and restore law and order. The condition of the Sind Hindus is simply woeful. The Hindus are being killed in trains, on public roads, in fields, in mufassil villages. That is the present state of affairs in Sind. Many lives of young men have been taken away and enormous property has been looted. The Hindus are obliged to incur extra heavy expenditure to keep what is left. The Hindus in Sind are law-abiding people, and if they are called upon to make contributions to the war funds by way of enhanced income-tax, and so on, they simply cannot do it.

Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): The Government in Sind is helping them.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I know what help you are giving there. You will merely tell yarns. I am convinced of this. I did not want to generate any heat in this debate. It is only the interruption of my Honourable friend that makes me refer to these things. (Interruption.) I do not mind what my Honourable friend, Sir Syed Raza Ali, says, because I do not attach any value to his words.

I would, therefore, appeal to the Government of India that in order to save their reputation and honour they should take strong measures and restore tranquillity in Sind. The point that I wish to make is this. If the Government restores tranquillity and peace in Sind, then the Sind Hindus will be able to bear their share of taxation. At present their earning capacity has gone down. If the Government should restore law and order, the Hindu zemindars will go to their fields and till their lands and make a living. To ask them at present to contribute funds for the prosecution of the war is not right at all. It is out of question. They will not be able to pay anything. I again submit that it is the duty of the Government of India, though not directly, at least by advising the Governor General to come forward at this juncture and help the people of Sind. The economic condition of the people there is really miserable. Here I may take the instance of the United Provinces. When the Provincial Government imposed a tax on professions in addition to income-tax subjecting Government officers there too and when these officers represented and said they will not be able to pay that tax, what did the Government of India do? In order to ensure that their pockets were not touched, the Government of India went so far as to see that the Government of India Act was amended. Therefore, my submission is that if you want Sind should contribute any money for war purposes, they will willingly do so if their lives and properties are made safe. It would be in the fitness of things that though once they refused to help Sind, at least now the Government of India should step in and see justice is done to the Hindus of Sind. The Britishers are fighting for their hearths and homes, the Government of India say that they are fighting for their hearths and homes. The Sind Hindus are fighting for their hearths and homes; they are struggling for their very existence. Their earning capacity has been affected by this lawlessness. How can they pay income-tax? Though the Government of India have failed in their duty till now, at least they can come forward now and help the poor Hindus of Sind. The area affected by lawlessness is not small. It is not only Sukkur that has been affected. The trouble has spread beyond that district. Lawlessness has extended to Jacobabad also. Therefore, it is not merely the capacity of the people of Sukkur that is affected.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: Jacobabad is a hot place.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: But it is not a hot place for people to be killed. The lawlessness in Sind is something unthinkable. Even now people are taken with the help of convoys to their villages. How can they go to their lands to till them?

So far as this Bill is concerned, I would submit there are two points upon which the House should be satisfied to the utmost. Firstly, whether

this war that is being waged is for Imperial purposes or for the defence of India. If satisfactory explanation is given, then I am sure the House will consider this Bill. The second point is that the Government should feel that they owe a duty to the Members of the Assembly and show them how they have behaved up to this time, how they have spent money up to this time. They should also say how they are going to spend money hereafter. It is only then they can be helped by this country. With these words, I resume my seat.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: General): Sir, I rise to oppose the motion moved by the Honourable the Finance Member, and, in order that I should do so, I must bring the House back from the deserts of Sind to the Assembly Chamber in New Delhi. My Honourable friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, made a very long speech and in doing so he said all that there was to be said from the Congress point of view. But while he was developing one of his arguments, he appears to have said that any other rule in India could not be worse than the existing rule of the British in this country. I do not want anybody to run away with the idea that there is anybody in this country who wants British rule to be substituted by any other form of alien domination. We are out to put an end to British rule in the sense in which it exists today. We want to see an end of British Imperialism and British domination in this country. And once we are strong enough to do that, I think the people of this great country, once they are united, can face any outside attack, be it from the east or from the west or even from a combination of hostile States from outside our own country. Therefore, I want to make it clear that the Party to which I have the honour to belong, and the vast majority of the people of this country do not want any change of masters, that they are out to free themselves, and I hope that with God's help it will not be long before we shall see the last of this British or alien rule in our country.

I am really amazed at the Honourable the Finance Member expecting us to supply money for his war. Why should we help this present Government? Did they consult us before they entered into the war? Did they consult the people of this country? Did they consult the Central Legislative Assembly or any of the Provincial Assemblies which were then in Session, when the British Government decided to declare war upon Germany and later on against Italy? As we were not consulted, the other question for us to consider is whether this war is being fought for the good of our country, or for the defence of our country, or is it a war which is being fought for the maintenance of British imperialism and for the maintenance of British vested interests all over the world? We find that with the lapse of time the war aims of Great Britain have undergone remarkable changes. Formerly, it was a crusade to set up democracy in Europe; later on, these have been reduced to a much humbler ambition, namely, that of survival in this world. But we all know what survival of Great Britain in its present form means. It may mean one thing for the Irish Free State, it may mean one thing for South Africa or for any of the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia or New Zealand, but for India it means nothing but stark naked Imperialism and a type of Imperialism which we have learnt to loathe and detest, the type of Imperialism that we want to end once and for all. How can we help this Government? It was only the other day, Sir, that the Leader of the largest Party in this Assembly and my Leader, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, a member of the Congress Working

[Mr. Abdul Qaiyum.]

Committee, accompanied by the Secretary of this Party, Mr. Asaf Ali, another member of the Congress Working Committee, visited the Frontier Province with a message on behalf of the All-India National Congress to the tribes which inhabit the areas which immediately border on the settled districts of the Frontier Province. What was the treatment that was accorded to them? An order came from the Government of India and from the Provincial Government that not only was their entry forbidden into the tribal area, but another order before which I think all orders which have so far been passed by Herr Hitler or by Signor Mussolini pale into insignificance was passed, namely, that they were not allowed to visit Bannu which is a settled district, part of a province where Provincial Autonomy has been working as in the rest of India. Definite restrictions were placed upon their visiting a district which is a part of British India. While it is possible for an Englishman to go to Bannu in great luxury and under the protection of the army and all other available forces which have been provided for by the Indian taxpayer, this irresponsible Government of India had the effrontery to stop Mr. Desai and Mr. Asaf Ali from visiting Bannu. The things that have been happening in the Frontier Province and the way they have been playing with the liberty of the people is not known to people in the rest of India, because of the stringent press censorship. Only those news which the British Government consider proper in their own interest are allowed to be presented to the public in India, but the real news is being suppressed.

Look at the way in which people who had dealings with Afghanistan have been treated in the Frontier Province. Most of them have been arrested on suspicion; traders, lorry drivers who had their business connections with Kabul have been clapped into jail. For months they are rotting there without any trial and their families are absolutely stranded; and all the time Government are announcing that they are about to prosecute them under the Defence of India Act. There are respectable persons among them who are rotting in prison since the middle of July and the Government there have not thought it fit even to bring them to trial. I know of one case where a person's house was searched on suspicion only, and after a night-long search the police seized one document which had been presented to him by me and which I had received, namely, a pamphlet on behalf of the All-India Muslim League in favour of the Pakistan scheme. They considered that there was something dreadful in that document and it was after a lot of correspondence that they found that it was a very harmless document and that there is nothing in it against the British Government. This is the way people are being treated; this is the way the Leader and the Secretary of the largest Party in this Assembly have been treated by this Government of which the Honourable the Finance Member is a member and on behalf of whom he requests us to supply him with the means to carry on the war in order to make Britain triumphant; so that Britain can crush us all the more; and in order that Great Britain may rule us for a much longer period than it is able to do. We have no sympathies with Germany and we have no sympathies with Italy, but I assure this House that at the same time we have no sympathies with British imperialism either. I think as far as this country is concerned, in relation to Indian freedom British imperialism is as bad as German imperialism in Denmark, Norway, Holland and Sweden, or Fascist imperialism in Albania or Abyssinia. In all its naked horror, in its callousness, in its brutality, in its

suppression of the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of movement, British imperialism stands out in as bad colours as any Fascist or German or any other imperialism in any part of the world. We who have been slaves of the British know what imperialism means. We know how the people of Denmark feel about the domination of Germany. We know how the people of Belgium and of Luxembourg and of the countries and states which have been recently overrun by the Germans and Italians feel.

Mr. F. E. James: May I ask my Honourable friend a question? Will he be allowed, if he were in Denmark, Holland, Belgium or France, to make there the kind of speech against Germany that he makes here?

Some Honourable Members: Yes; in the Assembly they do.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Let me tell my friend one thing. A British officer went to the Afridi territory and told one of the Afridis "Do you know what will happen if the Germans came? There will be this and that kind of atrocity and all sorts of horrible things". The Afridi said:

"Well, we have had a taste of your rule. How can we condemn the other fellow before we have had a taste of his rule? It may be worse than yours, but I do not think that you are in any way better considering the way you have treated the people in this country."

Sir, I assure you that this country is heading for a revolution. The Government are blind: they are deaf: they are not amenable to reason, and forces are working in this country and the Government are forcing those forces in such a direction that India is heading for a first-class revolution.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can stop now.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock, on Tuesday, the 12th November, 1940.