

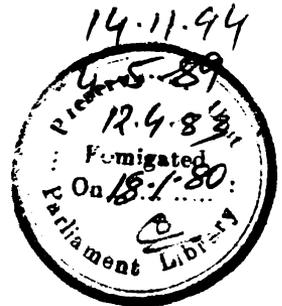
13th November 1940

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

Volume IV, 1940

(5th November to 18th November, 1940)

TWELFTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1940



PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI.
PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.
1941.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME IV.—5th November to 18th November 1940.

	PAGES.		PAGES.
TUESDAY, 5TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—		TUESDAY, 5TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—<i>contd.</i>	
Members Sworn	1—2	Certain Papers <i>re</i> Motor Vehicles Rules laid on the Table	88
Starred Questions and Answers	2—8	Motion <i>re</i> Election of a Member on the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore	88—89
Unstarred Questions and Answers	8—19	The Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced	89
Statements laid on the Table	19—69	The Indian Registration (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	89
Deaths of Raja Sir Vasudeva Rajah and Mr. Surryya Kumar Som	70—71	The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	89—90
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> —		The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—introduced	90
Failure of the Government of India to evoke whole-hearted enthusiasm in themation to fight the Totalitarian States—Leave refused	71—72	The Indian Works of Defence (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	90
Dacca Mail disaster—Negatived	73, 77—78 105—26	The Indian Navy (Discipline) Amendment Bill—Introduced	90
Expansion of H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Constitution of War Advisory Committee—Leave refused	73—75	The Indian Navy (Discipline) Second Amendment Bill—Introduced	90—91
Non-Association of Non-Official Representative Indians with the Eastern Group Conference—Disallowed	75—76	The Indian Merchandise Marks (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	91
Refusal of permission to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and to Mr. Asaf Ali to visit Waziristan—Leave refused	76—77	The Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	91
H. E. the Governor General's assent to Bills	78	The War Donations and Investments (Companies) Bill—Introduced	91
Certain Home Department Documents laid on the Table	79—81	The Cantonments (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	92
Statement <i>re</i> Net Earnings of New Railway Lines	81—82	The Reserve Bank of India (Third Amendment) Bill—Introduced	92
Certain Papers <i>re</i> the Agricultural Produce Cess Act laid on the Table	83—88	The Motor Spirit (Duties) Amendment Bill—Introduced	92

	PAGES.
TUESDAY, 5TH NOVEMBER, 1940,— <i>concl'd.</i>	
The Indian Income-tax (Amendment) Bill—Intro- duced	92—93
Finance Member's statement on the financial position	93—101, 102-03
The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Introduced	101—02
Relinquishment of Simla for sittings of the Legis- lative Assembly	103—05
WEDNESDAY, 6TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	127—40
Unstarred Questions and Answers	140—44
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> — Failure to call a Session of the Legislative Assembly between the period April 9 to October 1940— Ruled out of order	145—48
Failure of Government to enable Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to attend the Session of the Legis- lative Assembly—Ruled out of order	148—49
Lawlessness in Sind— Disallowed	149—50
Placing of large orders of purchases with a few individuals—Ruled out of order	150—52
Financial arrangements with His Majesty's Government <i>re</i> payment for the purchase of Materials from India— Ruled out of order	152—53
Opinions of the Honourable Member for Railways and Communications on the D'Souza Report— Disallowed	153—54
Delay in holding the Session of the Legislative Assembly—Leave refused	155

	PAGES.
WEDNESDAY, 6TH NOVEMBER, 1940,— <i>cont'd.</i>	
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> — <i>cont'd.</i>	
Huge expenditure without sanction of the Legis- lature—Disallowed	155—56
Non-holding of the Ses- sion of the Legislative Assembly for a long time—Disallowed by the Governor General	156—57, 183
Resolution <i>re</i> —	
Fiscal Policy of the Gov- ernment of India—Ne- gated	157—83
Appointment of a Per- manent Muslim Pilgrim Officer in the Secretariat of the Government of India—Discussion not concluded	183—96
THURSDAY, 7TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
Member Sworn	197
Starred Questions and Answers	197—209
Unstarred Question and Answer	209
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> disallowance of a motion for Adjournment by the Gov- ernor General after it was allowed by the Chair— Disallowed	210
Statement of Business	211
Nomination of the Panel of Chairmen	211
The Indian Merchant Ship- ping (Amendment) Bill— Referred to Select Com- mittee	211—21
The Code of Criminal Proce- dure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of section 4) —Introduced	221
The Code of Criminal Proce- dure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of section 250)—Introduced	221

	PAGES.		PAGES.
THURSDAY, 7TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—contd.		FRIDAY, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—contd.	
The Indian Evidence (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	221	The Reserve Bank of India (Third Amendment) Bill—Passed	263—68
The Indian Railways (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	222	The Motor Spirit (Duties) Amendment Bill—Passed	268—69
FRIDAY, 8TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—		THE INDIAN MERCHANDISE MARKS (AMENDMENT) BILL REFERRED TO SELECT COMMITTEE	
Starred Questions and Answers	223—31		270—71
Unstarred Questions and Answers	231—33	MONDAY, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
Statements laid on the Table	233—34	Starred Questions and Answers	273—83
Election of a Member of the Standing Finance Committee	234	Transferred Starred Questions and Answers	283—97
The Berar Laws Bill—Introduced	234—35	Election of a Member to the Standing Finance Committee	297
The Indian Railway (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	235	The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded	298—347
The Excess Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	235	TUESDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
The New Delhi Mosque Bill—Introduced	235	Starred Questions and Answers	349—63
The Indian Works of Defence (Amendment) Bill—Passed	236—37	Unstarred Questions and Answers	363—66
The Indian Navy (Discipline) Amendment Bill—Passed	237—42	Statements laid on the Table	367
The Indian Navy (Discipline) Second Amendment Bill—Passed	242	Election of a Member to the Council of the Institute of Science, Bangalore	367
The Cantonments (Amendment) Bill—Passed	243—47	The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded	367—422
The Repealing and Amending Bill—Passed	248—54	WEDNESDAY, 13TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
The Indian Registration (Amendment) Bill—Passed	254—56	Starred Questions and Answers	423—36
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed	256—57	Motion for Adjournment re prohibition of visitors from entering the Khyber Pass—Leave to move refused	436—38
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed	257—58	Committee on Petitions	439
The Indian Companies (Amendment) Bill—Passed	258—59	The Indian Sale of Goods (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	439
The War Donations and Investments (Companies) Bill—Passed as amended	259—63		

	PAGES.		PAGES.
WEDNESDAY, 13TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—contd.		SATURDAY, 16TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded . . .	439—92	Starred Questions and Answers	561—86
FRIDAY, 15TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—		Unstarred Questions and Answers	587—601
Starred Questions and Answers	493—506	Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> fall in prices of Ground-nuts—Disallowed	608—09
Resolution <i>re</i> —		Presentation of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee	609—101
Appointment of a Permanent Muslim Pilgrim Officer in the Secretariat of the Government of India—Withdrawn	506—14	The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded	610—53
Scrapping of the London Coffee Market Expansion Board by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee—Withdrawn	514—31	MONDAY, 18TH NOVEMBER, 1940,—	
Appointment of a Committee of the Central Legislature regarding economy in war expenditure—Withdrawn	531—50	Starred Questions and Answers	655—98
Appointment of a Committee to examine the conditions of detenus under the Defence of India Act—Discussion not concluded	550—60	Unstarred Questions and Answers	698—700
		Statement laid on the Table	708
		Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> alleged occupation of Muslim <i>Idgah</i> at Burhanpur by the Military—Allowed to stand over	708
		The Indian Finance (No. 2) Bill—Discussion on the motions to consider and to circulate not concluded	709—63
		Statement of Business	763

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 13th 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

IMPORTS AND CONSUMPTION OF INDIAN COFFEE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

61. *Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to place on the table of the House a statement showing:

(a) imports, and

(b) consumption in hundredweights of Indian coffee in the United Kingdom during the calendar years 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, together with the percentage to total consumption?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: With your permission, Sir, I propose to answer questions Nos. 61 and 62 together.

I lay on the table of the House statements containing the information required so far available.

Statement showing the imports of Indian Coffee into the United Kingdom during the years 1936 to 1939.

Year.	Cwts.
1936	78,670
1937	22,574
1938	32,808
1939	79,829

Home consumption of Indian coffee in the United Kingdom during the years 1936 to 1939.

Year.	Cwts.	Per cent. of consumption of Indian Coffee to total of coffee in United Kingdom consumption.
1936	37,589	11.5
1937	34,746	10.9
1938	30,021	9.6
1939 (January to September)	38,580	Not available.

Statement showing the expenditure incurred on the Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board, London, during 1936-37 to 1939-40.

	On salaries.	On propaganda.	On other items (such as contingencies, etc.).	Total expenditure.
	1	2	3	4
	£	£	£	£
1936-37 (Actuals)	297	220	174	691
1937-38 (Actuals);	711	2,001	420	3,132
1938-39 (Actuals)	760	1,876	412	3,048
1939-40 (Estimates)	765	2,925	410	4,100

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know if the statement contains the proportion of Indian and non-Indian coffee consumed in the United Kingdom?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Yes, Sir, it does.

EXPENDITURE BY THE INDIAN COFFEE CESS COMMITTEE ON SALARIES AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES OF THE LONDON MARKET EXPANSION BOARD.

†62. ***Dr. F. X. DeSouza:** Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to lay on the table of the House a statement showing the expenditure which was incurred by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee on:

- (a) salaries, and
- (b) the propaganda activities of the London Market Expansion Board during the calendar years 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939?

RISE IN THE SALARY OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE LONDON MARKET EXPANSION BOARD.

63. ***Dr. F. X. DeSouza:** Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state the reasons why the Government of India sanctioned a rise in the salary of the Director of the London Market Expansion Board from £450—500 in 1935-36 to £750—800—850 from October 1939, in spite of decreasing sales and diminishing revenue and vastly reduced propaganda activities?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The Honourable Member bases his question on certain assumptions which are really for the consideration of the Indian Coffee Cess Committee. As far as Government are aware the Committee have reviewed the position. I may mention that when Government sanctioned the appointment in 1939 they were satisfied that the experience gained by Mr. Oliver as Director and the contacts made by him would be useful to the Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board, London, in its programme of activities.

†For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 61.

and also that the revised scale of salary offered to him was not more than the salaries generally drawn by other officers having similar duties and responsibilities in the United Kingdom.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Am I to understand that the decision arrived at by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee is not open to revision by this House or by Government?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Government sanction the recommendation, and, therefore, it is open to Government to review it.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I know whether the Coffee Cess Committee sends its budget and any annual report to Government?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Yes, Sir, it does.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Are those accounts audited by Chartered Accountants?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I think they are audited.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will Government lay their report before the House or circulate it among the Members?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am prepared to have it either circulated or laid on the table.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: And also a report of the Tea Cess Committee?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: That does not arise out of this question.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Are Government aware that at the present moment there is absolutely no propaganda work to be done in London, and yet a high salary has been sanctioned and is being paid to the Director of the London Market Expansion Board?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am not aware that there is no propaganda work necessary. On the other hand, this question has been considered both by the London Committee and by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee, and they have, I believe with one exception, come to the conclusion that the work is necessary. My Honourable friend knows who the exception is. And the matter has been further strengthened, I understand, by a communication from the High Commissioner who strongly recommended the continuance of this work in London.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know if the office of the Coffee Expansion Board in London has escaped the bombs?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: So far I have no information to the contrary.

**EXPENDITURE BY THE INDIAN COFFEE CESS COMMITTEE ON PROPAGANDA
ACTIVITIES IN INDIA.**

64. *Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state the expenditure which was incurred by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee on propaganda activities in India during the calendar years 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939 and the resulting increase in consumption during those years?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I lay a statement on the table of the House showing the expenditure incurred by the Indian Coffee Cess Committee on propaganda activities in India during the years 1936-37 to 1939-40. No authentic information is available regarding the total quantities of coffee consumed in India but the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to pages 61 and 108 of the Report on the Marketing of Coffee in India and Burma compiled by the Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India, copies of which are available in the Library of the House.

Statement showing expenditure on promotion of sale and increase in consumption of coffee in India.

Year.	Rs.
1936-37 . . .	35,043
1937-38 . . .	45,453
1938-39 . . .	50,220
1939-40 . . .	95,830

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, in view of the fact that there are only four figures in the statement, may I request the Honourable Member to read out the figures instead of laying them on the table?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am perfectly willing to do so, if it will interest the Honourable Member

Statement showing expenditure on promotion of sale and increase in consumption of coffee in India.

Year.	Rs.
1936-37 . . .	35,043
1937-38 . . .	45,453
1938-39 . . .	50,220
1939-40 . . .	95,830

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Do Government encourage the consumption of coffee more than of tea?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I shall not make any invidious distinction, but I can assure my Honourable friend that the present Government is very much interested in the encouragement of the consumption of coffee.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Is there any increase in the export of coffee now?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I have not got the figures, but probably not this year.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Of the expenditure incurred, may I know how much has been spent in foreign countries, and how much in India?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The whole of this expenditure that I read out was for propaganda in India.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: The Honourable Member did not read out the resulting increase. I heard only the expenditure.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I have referred the Honourable Member to the report of the Agricultural Marketing Adviser.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: The Honourable Member has not laid those figures on the table.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: They are not exactly in the form of figures. They are really a statement of various increases in various parts, and the report will contain a full statement on the subject.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Are Government satisfied that the export of coffee is commensurate with the expenses that we make in foreign countries by way of propaganda?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Primarily it was left to the Coffee Cess Committee which contains all the planters and exporters interested in it and who are paying this cess out of their exports to consider that, and Government on a review considered that their recommendation was such that they should accept it.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Have Government considered this matter?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Most certainly; and correspondence has been exchanged between Government and the Coffee Cess Committee, to justify every item of expenditure. And I may say further that this year the expenditure has been reduced as a result of correspondence between Government and the Committee.

CREATION OF NEW INDUSTRIES OR WORKSHOPS ON PERMANENT BASIS AND GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY THEREON.

65. *Mr. Lalchand Navarai: (a) Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state if any new industries or workshops have been created by Government or private concerns for the permanent benefit of India (not for war purposes) after the war? If so, which and where?

(b) What kind of help or subsidy is being given by Government to such private concerns, and what is the cost of those, if any, started by Government?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My information as to industries started during the war otherwise than for war purposes is necessarily incomplete since the subject of Industries is

a Provincial one. I am making enquiries and will lay the result on the table of the House in due course. If the Honourable Member wishes to have information about the industries which have been started for war purposes but which are expected to find a market in India or abroad after the war, I would suggest that he should put down a question on the subject to my Honourable colleague in charge of the Supply Department.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Is it the present policy of Government only to encourage these industries and create new industries for war only?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: The other day, replying to a debate in this House on a Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Sir Raza Ali, I explained at some length the policy of Government for the time being.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: May I know whether any industries have applied for any subsidies to Government?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: As I said, so far as industries which relate to war purposes are concerned, the question should be addressed to my Honourable friend, the Supply Member.

Mr. Manu Subedar: In view of the uncertainty in the minds of the business community as to the nature of the assistance which the Government of India will render to private enterprises not connected with the war, will Government make an effort to enunciate the kind of assistance which the Government of India,—not the Provincial Governments,—are prepared to give?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Only the other day, in reply to a non-official Resolution, I made a long statement on the subject which I trust the Honourable Member will, if not already at least hereafter, do me the courtesy of perusing from reports in newspapers.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Is the matter of giving subsidies to industries a subject for the Commerce Department or the Supply Department?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: That depends upon the nature of the industry for the time being. If it relates to a war purpose, it is the concern of my Honourable colleague. If it relates to an ordinary purpose, it will come under the charge of the Commerce Department.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Have Government divided the industries into those for war purposes and those for non-war purposes?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has said that there are industries relating to war purposes and some which do not relate to war purposes.

PERSONNEL OF THE ROGER COMMITTEE FROM OVERSEAS DOMINIONS AND STATES AND ITS MISSION.

66. *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House please state the personnel of the Roger Committee from overseas dominions and States?

(b) Do they all belong to permanent service of their respective dominions and States?

(c) What are the names of India's representatives on the Committee?

(d) Do they all belong to Indian Civil Service?

(e) What is the mission on which the committee has come?

(f) What are the advantages India is going to derive from this Committee, and who is paying the expenses of the committee?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: (a) A list of the personnel of the Ministry of Supply Mission and of the delegations to the Eastern Group Conference is placed on the table of the House.

(b) No.

(c) Reference is invited to the list referred to in the reply to (a) above.

(d) No.

(e) The attention of the Honourable Member is drawn to the Press Note, dated 2nd September, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

(f) (i) The advantages are set out in the Press Note referred to above.

(ii) The expenses of the delegations and the Ministry of Supply Mission are being met in part by the Governments which they represent and in part from Indian Revenues.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA DELEGATION.

Leader—

The Honourable Sir Walter Massy-Greene, K.C.M.G.

Delegates—

Mr. N. K. S. Brodrigg.

Mr. H. R. Gollan, D.S.O., M.C.

Mr. A. V. Smith.

Mr. T. Donaldson.

Secretary—

Mr. J. L. Knott.

BURMA DELEGATION.

Leader—

The Honourable Sir Paw Tun, A.T.M., Bar-at-Law.

Delegates—

The Hon'ble Mr. J. Baxter.

Mr. A. H. Seymour, I.C.S.

Secretary Adviser—

Professor C. G. Beasley, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

CEYLON DELEGATION.

Joint Leaders—

The Honourable Mr. H. J. Huxham, C.M.G.

The Honourable Mr. G. C. S. Corea.

Secretary Adviser—

Mr. D. H. Balfour, Ceylon Civil Service.

CEYLON DELEGATION—contd.

Assistant Secretary—

Mr. N. U. Jayewardena.

EAST AFRICA DELEGATION.

Leader—

Sir Philip Mitchell, K.C.M.G., M.C.

Delegate—

Major the Hon'ble F. W. Cavendish-Bentinck, M.L.C.

Advisers—

The Honourable Mr. G. F. Clay, O.B.E., M.C., M.L.C.

The Honourable Mr. J. B. Pandya, M.L.C.

The Honourable Mr. J. H. McQuade, M.L.C.

The Honourable Mr. R. V. Stone, M.L.C.

Secretary—

Mr. Barclay Leechman.

HONG KONG DELEGATION.

Leader—

Mr. D. J. Sloss, C.B.E.

Delegates—

Mr. D. L. Newbigging, M.C.

Mr. John Whyatt.

Mr. E. Cock, M.B.E., A.M.Inst.C.E., M.Inst.N.A.

Personal Secretary to Leader—

Miss. V. M. Witchell.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DELEGATION.

Leader—

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law.

Members—

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

The Honourable Mr. H. Dow, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

General Sir Clement Armitage, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Advisers—

Diwan Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar.

Mr. Frederic Stones, O.B.E., J.P., M.L.A.

Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E.

Mr. R. Menzies, C.A.

Khan Bahadur Syed Maratib Ali, C.B.E.

Lala Shri Ram.

Mr. P. F. S. Warren, A.M.I.C.E., M.I.E. (Ind.).

Mr. J. M. Smith.

Mr. Amrit Lal Ojha, M.I.M.E., F.R.S.A.

Mr. Biren Mukherjee.

Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E., M.C.

The Honourable Mr. J. H. S. Richardson.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.

Mr. J. J. Ghandy.

Lt.-Col. E. W. Slaughter, M.B.E., M.I.Mech.E., F.R.S.A.

Mr. M. Venkatanarasappa.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoolah.

MALAYA DELEGATION.

Leader—

Mr. H. North-Hunt, M.C.S.

Delegates—

Mr. W. A. Fell, C.B.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. Tay Lian Teok, M.L.C.

Lady Secretary—

Miss P. North-Hunt.

MINISTRY OF SUPPLY MISSION TO INDIA.

Chairman—

Sir Alexander Roger.

Members—

Mr. H. Heath, M.I.Prod.E., M.S.A.E.

Mr. H. W. L. Kearns.

Mr. O. W. Stickland.

Mr. F. Lydall, M.I.C.E.

Mr. G. H. Locock, C.M.G.

Mr. P. S. Macdonald.

Technical Advisers—

Brigadier B. H. Penn, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.I.Mech.E., R.A.O.C.

Mr. F. W. Leake, A.M.I.E.E.

Mr. H. J. E. Hewlett.

Mr. S. Oldfield.

Mr. D. McKenzie.

Mr. D. Harrison.

Mr. A. O. Tookey.

Mr. F. H. Harrison.

Mr. S. V. Woolley, A.M.I.Mech.E., M.I.Prod.E.

Mr. F. J. Hollies, M.I.M. ...

Mr. J. Walker.

Mr. H. M. Mathews, A.M.I.E., Assoc.E.I.C.

Sir William Barton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

Mr. R. C. P. Stuart.

Secretary—

Mr. W. D. Tomkins, O.B.E.

Assistant Secretary—

Mr. J. W. Nicholson.

Personal Secretaries—

Miss O. Hurst.

Miss C. E. Chree.

Assistant to Technical Assistant—

Mr. A. S. Roger.

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND DELEGATION.

Leader—

Major-General Sir John Duigan, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.

Delegates—

Mr. F. R. Picot.
 Mr. J. R. Middleton.
 Major H. E. Erridge.
 Mr. A. B. Taylor.

Orderly Officer—

Lieut. G. Crossley.

PALESTINE DELEGATION.

Leader—

Mr. G. Walsh, C.B.E.

Secretary—

Mr. Julius Jacobs.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA DELEGATION.

Leader—

Major-General F. R. G. Hoare, C.B.E.

Delegates—

Mr. P. Furness, A.M.I.E.E., M.S.A.I.E.E.
 Major R. Stratford, K.C.
 Major R. Stuttaford.
 Mr. F. J. Fahey.

General Secretary—

Mr. C. R. Anderson.

Lady Secretary—

Miss Hoare.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA DELEGATION.

Leader—

Captain the Hon'ble F. E. Harris, D.S.O., M.P.

Delegates—

Captain H. Bertin, K.C., M.P.
 Mr. G. Musgrave, M.I.M.M.
 Lieut.-Col. T. E. Robins, D.S.O., E.D.

Secretary Adviser—

Mr. H. T. Maclachlan.

COLONIAL OFFICE REPRESENTATIVE.

Mr. T. W. Davies.

MID-EAST COMMAND REPRESENTATIVE.

Lt.-Col. E. G. Cook.

NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES REPRESENTATIVES (Observers).

Monsieur P. H. W. Sitsen.
 Monsieur H. A. Vreeburg-Burger.
 Monsieur A. Merens.

Secretary—

Monsieur C. H. Schoch.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know what is the expenditure which the Government of India are going to incur in connection with this Conference?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: While the Conference is still sitting, how can I give any figure of expenditure? The Government of India's contribution to the expenditure is mainly with regard to items of hospitality, and that cannot be estimated till the Conference has concluded its work.

Mr. K. Santhanam: With reference to part (c), may I know if any member of any Delegation or any of their advisers have got any connections with business interests in India?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I am unable to say. I have not made any inquiries.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know if the leader of the Delegation has got any business interests in India?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I am the leader of the Indian Delegation. I have got no business interests.

Mr. K. Santhanam: The leader of the Roger Mission, not you.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I do not know. I cannot say.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Is he connected with the Callender Cable Company, and has that company any branch in India?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: As I have said, I do not know.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Will the Leader of the House kindly inquire and let us know?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: If the Honourable Member will put down a question to that effect.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know if there is any Indian in the Committee?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I have put a complete list on the table of the House. I do not know which Committee the Honourable Member means; but the list contains the names of the personnel of the Ministry of Supply Mission and of the Delegations to the Eastern Group Conference including the Indian Delegation.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I know whether it is intended, and, if so, when, to place the papers of the deliberations of this Eastern Group Conference generally and the activities of the Roger Mission in particular before this House or before the public in the form of a press note?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: That question hardly arises out of this: it certainly does not arise at this stage.

Mr. Manu Subedar: May I point out that there is the question—part (f)—“what are the advantages India is going to derive from this Committee?” It is a specific question, if the Honourable Member will look at it. I say, I am entitled to a reply. If Government have not made up their minds or if they have no intention of publishing these proceedings which are being carried on like a *purdah bibi* behind the scenes with so much mystery, then we will draw our own conclusions, but I am entitled to a reply.

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

Mr. Manu Subedar: I am pointing out that the question I have asked is implied in part (f) of the question.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable the Leader of the House has said that question does not arise. I think the Honourable Member wanted to know whether the report will be published or laid on the table of the House.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Whether any facts at any time will be given to us.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: And I added that the question was premature.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: May I know, with regard to part (c), what was the system and who were the people taken as India's representatives and who made that nomination or selection?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: The Government of India.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A PAPER ECONOMY DEPARTMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

67. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether it is a fact that the Government of India have appointed a Special Officer and a staff to look after the economy of paper used in the Civil Secretariat of the Government of India?

(b) What is the cost of this paper economy department per annum?

(c) Have Government calculated whether the economy in paper will be sufficient to meet the expenditure of this Department?

(d) Has this Department any control of the Supply Department?

(e) Does this officer supervise the economy of paper in the military departments?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:

(a) Yes; the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India, has been appointed, in addition to his duties, as Paper Economy Officer, with a staff of two clerks and one peon under him.

(b) The paper economy organisation has been sanctioned for the present only up to the end of the current financial year, and its cost is Rs. 354 per-mensem.

(c) The economy in paper is expected to be much more than the cost of the organisation.

(d) I presume the Honourable Member refers to supervision in the use of paper in the Supply Department. If so, the reply is in the affirmative.

(e) Yes.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: With reference to part (c), has the Honourable Member calculated the exact amount of saving or approximate amount of saving that will be effected by this Department?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: There has been an estimate of the saving that can be effected as a result of recommendations made by that officer, and I may tell you that it is many scores of times more than the cost I have indicated in the answer to part (b) of the question.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Several times more does not mean anything specific. I want a specific answer whether it will be twice or thrice or ten times. Have you got any idea about it?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Not in money, but I know it will be very much more than any money that has been spent on this particular thing.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: What will be the standard to judge by if it is not money? How else shall we know how much is saved?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend expects me to sit down and make a total of all the paper that may be saved. In that sense I have got neither an exact, nor an approximate estimate, but I am perfectly certain, having perused the report of this officer and knowing something of the economy that is being pursued at his instance and that of the Labour Department by the various other Departments of Government that the saving must be considerable.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May we know if for this additional duty any additional remuneration is being paid to this officer?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I should like to have notice of that.

Sir H. P. Mody: How much paper does this Department use in order to preach to people not to use too much paper?

(No answer was given.)

COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF PATIENTS IN THE IRWIN HOSPITAL, NEW DELHI.

68. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands please state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the treatment which the patients receive in the Irwin Hospital, New Delhi?

(b) How is the medical staff in the said hospital recruited?

(c) Do Government propose to appoint a committee of special medical officers to look into the complaints against the said hospital?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) and (c). Government have seen a reference in the press to complaints of a general nature alleging unsatisfactory treatment of patients at the Irwin Hospital. The only specific case that seemed to call for investigation was made the subject of an inquiry by a Board consisting of a District Judge and a senior Indian Medical Service officer not connected with the Hospital. Their report is now under examination with a view to suitable action. No case for an inquiry by a committee of special medical officers has been established.

(b) The information has been called for from the Chief Commissioner and a reply will be given as soon as the information is received.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I know whether the Honourable Member is aware that they have in this hospital a system of appointing, as probationers for training, students direct from Medical Colleges, and these recruits are given sometimes very important operations without proper supervision?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I was not aware of that.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will he make inquiries about it, because this has led to some very serious cases—one in which a daughter of one of the members of the Legislative Assembly Department was killed by wrong operation?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: If the Honourable Member will give me any specific instance, I shall be able to have inquiry made.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know whether this Irwin Hospital is a Government institution?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: Yes.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Will the Honourable Member tell me if there are any regulations for leave as in other Government Departments?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I hardly think that arises from the question.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It does not.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

PROHIBITION OF VISITORS FROM ENTERING THE KHYBER PASS.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have received a notice of a motion for adjournment from Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, and he wishes to discuss today a matter of urgent public importance and of recent occurrence, namely, "the order passed by the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province whereby visitors will not be allowed to enter the Khyber Pass unless duly authorised to do so by the Chief Secretary to the North-West Frontier Province Government or the G. O. C. Peshawar District, *vide* page 4, column 6 of today's issue of the *Hindustan Times*".

Has the Honourable Member obtained the consent of the Governor General?

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: General): I have applied through you to the Governor General.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think I have made it perfectly clear that it is the duty of the Honourable Member who wishes to move a motion of adjournment like this to apply himself and obtain the consent of the Governor General. It is not my business.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Last time, Sir, when I was in this House I had moved similar motions of adjournment dealing with the tribal areas and on those occasions I had submitted my application for consent through the Chair, and this point was not at all raised then.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I always laid it down, and I never

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: If the motion is in order, there is ample time. I can forward it myself, because it is hardly eleven now.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Well, the Honourable Member ought to have done it before.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Then, Sir, it should have been returned to me at once by the Secretary of the Assembly Department, if you did not think it proper to forward it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have always pointed out and the Honourable Member ought to know it,—it is not a duty laid on the Chair.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar: Non-Muhammadian): May I point out in this connection that the application was made by the Honourable Member himself. The only thing which the Legislative Department had to do is to forward that application to the Governor General. It is not that the Honourable the President is called upon to ask for permission on behalf of any particular Member. Should this little service be denied by the Legislative Office to the Members of this House?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is not a question of a little service at all. The question is one of the proper interpretation of the rules. The rule requires that he should obtain the consent of the Governor General

Mr. M. S. Aney: He has applied for it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He has not applied.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: I have applied through the President.

Mr. M. S. Aney: So it should be forwarded to the Governor General.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He cannot move a motion of adjournment unless he has himself obtained the consent of the Governor General. That is quite enough.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): The question of consent comes only when he has to move the motion. He is only asking for permission to move it in the evening. You may rule it out then.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Has he applied to the Governor General?

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Yes, Sir, through you.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I thought he had applied to me.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He has not applied to the Governor General, but he has sent a notice to me and with it a request to me to obtain the consent of the Governor General.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: I can put in a direct application.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member ought to have done it before.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am sorry I misunderstood the whole thing. I thought there was an application made by my friend and sent to the office.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: The motion just now of my friend is to ask for leave of you to make the motion at 4 O'clock if it is in order, and if 25 Members get up in support of it. Between now and that time, he can get the consent of the Governor General.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He cannot move the motion without previous consent of the Governor General and I cannot allow him to move it without such consent.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: He is not moving it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is the preliminary condition of the motion

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Sir, I have something to say

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I do not want to hear anything more.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: It is a very important point

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have heard enough. The Honourable Member ought to have himself obtained the consent of the Governor General before asking for leave of the House to move the motion.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: There was no time for me to do so. It was only a quarter to eleven

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

COMMITTEE ON PETITIONS.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to announce that under sub-order (1) of Standing Order 80 of the Legislative Assembly Standing Orders the following Honourable Members will form the Committee on Petitions, namely:

- (1) Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang,
- (2) Mr. L. C. Buss,
- (3) Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, and
- (4) Sir H. P. Mody.

According to the provision of the same Standing Order, the Deputy President will be the Chairman of the Committee.

THE INDIAN SALE OF GOODS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Sale of Goods Act, 1930.

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

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Sale of Goods Act, 1930.”

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN FINANCE (No. 2) BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now resume consideration of the following motion moved by the Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:

“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.”

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, yesterday I pointed out that I was going to raise five points on the floor of the House. I finished my first point in which I drew attention to the fact that the Railways have to pay 37.74 crores to us, and that the three crores now deposited in the reserve fund ought to have been appropriated to the general revenues under art. 2 of the convention of 1924. The second point I raised was that the Government should establish an aeroplane pioneer industry in this country. Then the next point to which I drew attention was the extravagance of the Supply Department, and the first question that I raised was about excessive salaries. Sir, I have got before me a list of the officers, as mentioned by the Honourable Mr. Dow in the other House, and in it he has given the salaries of a number of officers up to the 4th March, 1940. I wish the

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

Honourable Member, at least for his own satisfaction, may continue to keep up this list; we may probably ask a question later on on the same subject. He will be able to find out for himself that at least in some cases the salaries paid in the Supply Department are very excessive, sometimes 2½ times and there are very few cases in which the salaries are reasonable. Then the other point I raised was that businessmen under no condition should be associated with this Department, and that the permanent staff should consist mostly of I. C. S. officers and officers of the Indian Audit service. These men have no doubt got a high sense of morality, and in addition they jealously guard the integrity of the brotherhood to which they belong. Therefore, I trust that in future either businessmen or men who voluntarily offer their services will be kept away and the department should be manned by permanent staff now belonging to other departments.

Then the other point I raised was that it was wrong to recruit men through the National Service Committee. In the office of the Director General of Munitions (Production Department) out of 43 officers, there are only five Indians, and the rest are mostly Europeans, Anglo-Indians and so on, and these five Indians hold subordinate positions. Will the Honourable Member in charge of the Department reply me why is it so?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What is this National Service Committee?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The National Service Committee was created by ourselves to help in the recruitment of Anglo-Indians for army purposes, and they are using this particular organization, which was intended to recruit men for the army, as Public Service Commission to recruit men for this Supply Department. Sir, may I ask the Honourable the Supply Member whether his supervision is only nominal or real. Has he ever looked into these matters as to why such a large number of Anglo-Indians have been recruited? I think in matter of war supplies he can trust me just as he can trust my friend, Sir Henry Gidney,—I think we are both trustworthy. The persons selected ought to be men of proved integrity. That I admit. But I think that a person of proved integrity can be found in every class of Indians in this country. It is not the monopoly of one particular community. I hope my Honourable friend in charge of this Department will look into this matter.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Leader of the House): What is the specific complaint? May I have it again from the Honourable Member?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The specific complaint is this, that in the Director General of Munitions Production Department there are 43 persons who hold important posts. Out of these 43 there are only five Indians,—two Mussalmans and three Hindus. If you come to the clerical section you will find the position to be equally good

An Honourable Member: Equally bad.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: equally good from the point of view of Anglo-Indians. I wish that this matter should be enquired into as to how

these recruitments are made, and what is the cause of such enormous difference in the recruitment, and why this recruitment is made through the National Service Committee.

I take up my next point, which is about open tender system. I feel strongly that in the Supply Department we should have open tender system. The present system leads to profiteering, wastage and favouritism. In the case of the open tender system most of the troubles will be avoided. But one objection that may be raised is that it may lead to the system of combines. But I know there are many methods of meeting combines. You can meet it by ordinance or by other ways. Therefore, the objection is not a good one. The method I would suggest is this. Suppose Government wishes to buy one million pencils of this type. They should invite tenders, saying that they want one million pencils of a particular specification and that they should send their tenders. The minimum quantity which they will accept, let us say, is 50,000. The people have to tender and the tenders should be opened by some civilian or by some officer of the Supply Department and the orders should be distributed according to the rates offered in tenders and also according to the various nationalities. When these orders are divided into smaller units it is quite possible to distribute them in a fair manner, and we will ask questions on the floor of the House and the Government should keep a record to answer them. One point is that all the orders should not be monopolised by Bombay and Calcutta, but we should certainly insist that they should be distributed fairly over all the provinces and not merely restricted to one individual in Delhi who by sheer force of personal influence has managed to get some orders from the Supply Department. If the system I have outlined is adopted, these orders will be fairly distributed and most of the objections that we have will disappear. This is my fourth point, that we should have the open tender system. We should not ask businessmen to order all these things from their friends from whom they get commission. Let the things be done publicly. Let every one have a chance, even the owners of small factories should have a chance to send tenders and get business, not in crores and lakhs but at least in thousands. Some person in the Supply Department should look into this matter and see that the orders are fairly well distributed both as regards the province and as regards the nationalities so that no objection may be raised.

The next point that I would like to raise—and this is my fifth point—is about the development of smaller industries. If you adopt the system of open tender, then I am sure that the smaller industries will be profited and I wish to press that the Government should adopt a policy so that the cottage industries may be developed, and I will develop my argument in favour of this now. There are some evident advantages from the development of cottage industries. The first is, we can get things made with the tools made in this country itself. It will relieve the common people who will be interested in this war, and then it will give some work to those who will pay most for war expenditure. This war is a long war, a war of five to seven years.

Sir H. P. Mody (Bombay Mill-owners' Association: Indian Commerce): How do you know? Have you calculated that mathematically?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: My Honourable friend, I assume, has common sense. I think it is safer to make arrangements for a long war.

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

and if the war is finished earlier, we will be on the safe side. But if we make our arrangements for a short period and the war is prolonged we will be in a difficult position, in a position which was visualised on the floor of this House by the principal speakers yesterday but which I do not want to dwell upon today. It is very desirable that we should make our plans on a long range basis. The other day I was talking to one of the delegates from the Empire countries to the Eastern Group Conference. He said that it was remarkable how the industries developed in his country. I replied that it was equally remarkable that the Government had not really mobilised the resources which we possess in this country. I continued that after 18 months all your business which is based on American machineries will come to a standstill after reaching its summit because no more machinery will be available to extend the business, but we will still continue to expand and make these articles because we produce them by means of country made tools, and country made tools can always be produced. In the interests of the war itself it is desirable that the Government should now marshal these cottage or small industries and put them on a proper footing so that at a time when more materials are required, at a time when these bigger factories will not be able to produce the articles because they cannot get more machineries to supply, these cottage industries will come to our rescue and continue to give us a supply of war materials not only for India but for all fronts. It is to the interest of the Government that we should look long ahead. In this connection, some persons here and also elsewhere raise the question, what is the use of looking far ahead? The war is far distant and we should not very much care about it and we are not very much interested. This reminds me of a story, and if I am permitted to relate it, I should do so with my eyes fixed on my desk, because if I fix my eyes on any person, especially Sir Cowasji Jehangir.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: What have I done?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Because you have asked me the question.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I have never opened my mouth.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Then, I will leave you out. If I fix my eyes on any person, he will think that I am attacking him. So, I am going to fix my eyes on my desk. In the old days there was a town called Sakara near Khiva. The king was surrounded by eunuchs. One of the eunuchs who was very popular with the king was made the commander-in-chief of the army. Then the eunuch said, "My king, what is this wrong theory advanced by the Wazir to employ persons of the so-called martial classes, such as Kurds and Pathans, etc.? The eunuchs can do such a thing as much as anybody else if not better. The king agreed to the proposal and the eunuchs were enlisted in the army in large number. The Wazir protested. The king of Khiva hearing that the army of Sakara consisted of eunuchs attacked them and the king asked the commander-in-chief as to how he will fight the army. He said that they would all go and dance and sing before the army till they got enamoured of them and then they would go back, and if they did not do so, they will curse them. Ultimately there was a war and the king altogether lost the battle. He went to the eunuch and told him:

"Apka mulk gya uska iman gya."

An Honourable Member: Translate it.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: It is not easy to translate the words. Jalal Shah was the king who attacked. Perhaps the Leader of the House will be able to translate it.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: The Honourable Member gave the quotation and he ought to be able to translate it.

Sir Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): It means: "One does not realise one's own virtue".

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: It means: 'You lost your country and he lost his faith'.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better go on with his speech. He is not making the best use of his time. The Honourable Member really ought to be more serious.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Some persons think that we should remain neutral. Look at what has happened to Belgium and to Holland. They were shouting at the top of their voice that they were neutral. Therefore, I say that you should not adopt a short-sighted policy. You should take a long view. Now, I would like to go outside the chain of my arguments. There is one important matter raised by the Honourable the Finance Member in his Budget speech and that is the grant of one crore of rupees for the training of technicians. I would draw the attention of the Commerce Member particularly to this. I welcome this proposal to train technicians at a cost of one crore of rupees and I have two suggestions to offer. One suggestion is that these technicians should not concentrate their attention on making joints and fittings of articles of furniture. These schools ought to be making all the articles which are required for war purposes. I approached the Director of Technology at Aligarh and asked him to draw up a scheme and he has promised to give it very soon. When discussing he said that if we adopted the system of making tools or other articles for war purposes we shall get at least 30 lakhs out of this 100 lakhs back, in the way of the articles which they manufacture. These schools would become small centres of industry. To make my point quite clear, I would tell you that once I visited the Railway workshops at Ajmer. There they were making a large number of metallic circles forming part of bridles for the use of the cavalry and I thought that all those articles could conveniently be made in these training schools which will be opened for the training of technicians. Money should not be wasted. It should be utilised to the best advantage for war purposes and you will be able to get these things rather cheap. These schools should guarantee to give a fixed number of technicians and a given number of articles. The second point in this connection is that permission may be given to these schools to admit *mistris* even if they have not received regular schooling.

The next point I would like to mention is the question of the division of labour. The Army people are perfectly right when they say that they are the authority on munitions and if any one of us gets up and gives advice about munitions then they should resent it. They will say that no non-military man has any right to give advice on this matter, which is their own business. I am prepared to consent to any proposal, which they can name, for the preparation of armaments and we will not negative their proposals. We will sanction any expenditure that they may incur in order to enlarge the production of munitions in this country. But when we come to the question of the purchase of civilian requirements, such

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

as food and clothing, then the army people should not consider that they are the only authorities on the subject. They have got this mentality that only they know everything. We did not object to this in peace time. All that they know is that they should purchase certain things to be delivered at a certain time and at a certain place, whatever the price they pay. Money is no consideration with them provided the thing is done promptly and at the right moment and delivered at the right place. I quite appreciate that it is all right in peace time. It is quite possible that we fulfil all their requirements and purchase the things much cheaper than they can do. Take the case of ghee. They are purchasing what they call pure ghee. It may pass the analytical test, the chemical test, but I can tell them and I know very well that what they call pure ghee is not pure ghee. It may satisfy the chemical conditions when it is heated to a particular temperature with certain chemicals but at the same time it is not pure ghee. The point I like to emphasise is that you can get the same ghee for nearly half the price that they now pay, if only they will purchase it through the Civil authorities instead of through the Director of Contracts. Why not write to the Collectors of Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Etawah and other places and they will be able to get all their ghee at half the price that they now pay. So, really you should not purchase these articles through the Director of Contracts. If you write to the magistrates and Collectors, I am sure that they will purchase in a much cheaper way than your military people can buy it, who have no real idea of the prices prevailing in the country. In this connection I have one more grouse and that is a personal one. By this wrong policy which the Government of India have adopted and to which I repeatedly drew attention, we people are suffering. They give the stamp of pure ghee to ghee which is really adulterated and what is called synthetic ghee and when we challenge that ghee, they ask: 'What right have you to do so. We have got the stamp of pure ghee, and it has been certified by the Government of India'. So, they cannot be prosecuted. So, we have to say good-bye to pure ghee and good-bye to all our delicious sweets and other dishes which we make with pure ghee alone. If that is the policy of the Supply Department, then they are responsible for this state of affairs.

Now, one more example I will give and that is about the grinding of flour. We know very well that we can get flour ground at two annas per maund but these army people have been giving 8½ annas from 1928 onwards. Objection was raised in 1933 and the rate was reduced to 6½ annas. If only they go through the civil authorities they can get it done at one half the price that they are now paying for it.

An Honourable Member: One-third.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: My friend reminds me that the thing can be done for one-third of the present cost. Now, the point I want to emphasize is that if the military officers resent our interference in matters in which they say they are experts, we equally resent their interference in the matter of articles in which we are supposed to be experts. They are experts in their own line, we are experts in our own line, so that let us divide our labour and with one common object, concentration of all our resources to the successful prosecution of the war. Let the military officers concentrate themselves to the training of recruits and manufacture of muni-

tions and not waste the money in the civil purchases which can really be done for them more economically by others. We thus have double advantage. We release military officers for training soldiers and we purchase more economically.

The next point which I should like to develop is that for all these purposes I think it is very desirable that there ought to be a Committee of the House associated with the Supply Department to give advice on all these matters. They are the people who can give advice. It is nothing new, you have got a Committee of the House associated with every Department of the Government of India, and why is a Committee not associated with the Supply Department, and such advice on technical matters and other matters in which we have got a right to express our opinion should be given, and I think we will give them commonsense opinion and will thus save tons of money for them.

An Honourable Member: You supply common sense to them.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Now I finish this portion of my speech about the Supply Department and come to this conclusion:

(1) That we should immediately appoint a Committee of the House to advise them on every thing connected with the Supply Department.

(2) That we should keep as at present a Department of Supply, manned particularly by the officers of the I. C. S. and the Audit and Accounts Service because they are honest and they jealously guard the integrity and reputation of the brotherhood to which they belong; they should plan out the policy but as regards the purchases themselves, they should all be done by the Indian Stores Department and any kind of interference whatsoever of the military side should be dispensed with. The Director of Contracts should be sent back to the military and all these military officers should concentrate their attention upon training our war recruits. We do not want them to waste their time in purchasing ghee and flour. There are enough civilians for these purposes. Let them concentrate on the training of the soldiers; let them not waste their time on the directorate of purchases and over the contracts which is really the work of civilians and not the work of military officers. Let everyone do his duty, let everyone do what he can best do, and by this division of labour we can hope to go ahead and do something substantial in this direction. As regards the munitions, I think I am not an expert, but my commonsense view is that your Director of Munitions should be an expert in munitions and I never thought that you would put a railway engineer in charge of munitions, but still it is for those military people to decide whether their work can best be done by putting a railway expert in charge of munitions work. It is not for me to give advice; it is for them to make up their minds for themselves. I have now finished my second point.

I now come to my third point and that is the financial control. Now the financial control should be in the hands of the Finance Department. The Honourable Mr. Dow in his speech in the other House admitted this fact very plainly when he said on the 6th March, 1940:

"I will now pass to the subject of financial control. I have never worked under a closer and tighter financial control than I work under at present. I make no objection to this. If financial control is a rod, I kiss it. In fact, I do not mind admitting that, if it were not for the closeness and directness of the financial control in the Supply Department, I could not possibly have got through the amount of work that has been got through in these last six months."

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

Now I understand that there is a demand to lessen this financial control on the ground that it is the work of red tape and that it is quite impossible on account of the delay to get the orders through in time. Now I am rather surprised at the attempt to diminish financial control. I was rather pleased when the Honourable the Finance Member said that he was personally responsible for all the expenditure of the Supply Department, and I hope he will continue to be personally responsible for all the expenditure of this Department; let him not leave it to any person except himself and persons belonging to this Department. Now in fact I was thinking of making another suggestion in the opposite direction, that is, in respect of lessening the financial control, *viz.*, that Government ought to appoint a special C. I. D. branch, to look after the working of those officers who are not the I. C. S. and Accounts Department and see what kind of work they are doing. I have a great trust in these two particular classes of persons but, certainly, I think it would be very well if for his own satisfaction at least if not for that of the House the Finance Member appoints a special C. I. D. branch to look after what is happening in that particular Department—whether it is justifiably called a Department of Foot or whether it is really a Department of Supply.

Now in the case of the Supply Department, it is non-votable expenditure; the pooling of military expenditure on the lines mentioned by the Honourable the Finance Member may be intelligible and may be good but there is one very important point to which I should like to draw attention and that is the system of purchases, that is, purchases by His Majesty's Government are a commercial concern and they should not be mixed up with the expenditure of the Defence Department. Whatever His Majesty's Government may order from India, whatever other empire countries order from India, they should be supplied on a commission of three per cent. which we were charging; I do not know whether they are charging that at present, but I think in last March the Honourable Mr. Dow said in the other Chamber that they are charging a three per cent. commission on all the articles ordered by His Majesty's Government. I think it is desirable that we calculate our own costs and then charge them accordingly. It is not necessary that we should make a profit; we should supply them at the prices at which we purchase them but at the same time it is not desirable that we should have losses. We render to them these services and it is but fair that they should give us only the out-of-pocket expenditure and nothing more. I would request the Finance Member to let the Finance Committee of the House discuss the financial arrangements between the United Kingdom and India over these matters.

And now I shall just make a few general observations:

(a) The purchases by the United Kingdom should not be mixed up with the Defence Department. Articles may be purchased for them and a commission of three per cent., or whatever may come out, may be charged in the same manner as in the case of the empire countries. The articles should be supplied not as at present at pre-war prices but at the current prices. These supplies should be taken as a commercial business.

(b) The expenditure of the army outside India should be borne by the United Kingdom and not by India.

(c) The expenditure incurred by the war liabilities of India alone, for example, coastal defence or air raid defence should be debited to India alone.

(d) A contribution of one crore, I think, is a very modest one; we contributed one hundred crores on the occasion of the last war. I expected something more. Now the present arrangements are open to objection on the following grounds:

- (1) We should not bear the cost due to the rise in prices.
- (2) We should not mix up the Defence with the commercial problem of purchasing articles for His Majesty's Government.
- (3) The commission of three per cent. should not be dispensed with, as I understand there is a proposal to dispense with this arrangement, though no mention of it has been made officially.
- (4) Volunteers from Empire countries and other countries who are non-Indians should be trained at the expense of His Majesty's Government and not at the expense of the Indian Government.
- (5) Lastly, we should see that in the Royal Indian Navy Volunteer Reserve we get a sufficient number of Indians and not a very large number of non-Indians.

Now, Sir, I have finished with the third point about the financial control and I now take up my fourth point regarding the theory of taxation, namely, the present Bill. I think that the present Bill is contemplating to get more income by means of an increase in the income-tax. Now, this procedure is open to two objections. In the first place, Defence is an all-India problem and the people of British India alone are being asked to pay for it. Why should not the people of Indian States also pay for it? If you collect money by means of the income-tax, then the people in the Indian States will not be affected and the people in British India alone will bear the burden. The second objection is that this tax falls primarily on persons who are drawing fixed salaries and on businessmen according to the proportion of their honesty. Now, here is my friend, Mr. Sheehy, who has got a long experience of the Income-tax Department. We have discussed on the floor of the House that businessmen have got three sets of registers, one for themselves, one for shareholders and the third for the Income-tax Officers.

Mr. J. F. Sheehy (Government of India: Nominated Official): Not all businessmen.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Yes, there are exceptions. This was said on the floor of the House. I have got no personal experience of this because I am neither a businessman nor an Income-tax Officer.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai (Bombay Northern Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Don't you think this is rather a sweeping accusation?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I do not know, but it was said on the floor of the House. I said that the businessmen pay income-tax according to the proportion of their honesty. Those who are honest pay the full amount. However, these are the two objections against surcharge on income-tax. Another objection to this proposal is that he has left all the sharks and

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

crocodiles and is trying to catch small fish only. Why not have a surcharge on the Excess Profits tax? Why should you have a tax on poor people like myself? Why should you leave out bigger people. Sir, the most efficient Finance Member is a person who is very unpopular among the business community and among his own colleagues and with the spending departments of the Government. Then and then alone will he be able to earn the gratitude of the people of India.

Now, Sir, so far, I have put down my negative criticisms. I will now mention my constructive suggestions. It is impossible now to get more income either from export or from import duties. On account of war conditions it is very difficult to get an income from these two sources. But as the industries are now developing, we must be able to get more money from them. So, there are only two sources of income. One is that the Finance Member ought to nationalise some of the industries, the profits of which should go exclusively to the State. My Honourable friend knows that in Mysore a very large proportion of the income of the State is derived from the hydro-electric scheme. The same thing should be done by the Government of India. They ought to nationalise certain industries in order to get more profit. Then, they may have more duties of the nature of excise duties. That is another way by which they can get more money. Government always go to the milch cow, namely, the income-tax payers, because they have no representatives. The only representative of the income-tax payers is my friend, the Finance Member, himself, because he also pays the income-tax. We have got a very bad spokesman of the income-tax payers in the person of the Honourable the Finance Member because he never protects their interest, because of his greed to get more money for his exchequer; he neglects himself. So, I think these persons should not be taxed too much. Every person should be taxed according to his capacity to pay and not according to the ease with which the money is collected. I am now closing my remarks about the Supply Department.

I now turn to one or two other matters. The first point that I would like to touch upon is the system of recruitment for the army. A Resolution has been tabled on the subject but there is no chance of our reaching it. It says that the present system of double selection is not at all desirable. At present, there is a selection by the Provincial Committee and later on there is a selection by the Central Committee. This is not at all desirable. There ought to be one Selection Committee for the whole of India. This Committee may tour over the whole of India and it may co-opt one or two members in various provinces, although, speaking personally, there is no necessity for co-option at all. The drawbacks of the present system are that, in the first place, we have no homogeneity and no common standards. It is very often the case that the candidates who are rejected by the first Selection Committee might have been selected by the Central Committee. It may happen that one Selection Committee in a province may do away with the essential elements which are necessary for the recruitment to the army and may send persons who are no good for the army. When they come before the second Committee, they are rejected. Really speaking, by this double system we will not be able to get the right type of men. Therefore, this system of double recruitment ought to be dispensed with.

Now, Sir, as I promised to finish my speech by quarter past twelve, I must bring my remarks to a close. But before I sit down I would just like to touch upon a few points raised by the different Members of the House on this occasion. I daresay that I have no authority to speak on behalf of the Muslim, but I think I can express my own personal opinion on the questions that have been raised here. I do not believe in the demands that the Government should give this and that. But I honestly believe that the moment we are fit to govern, no force can stop us. And if we are not fit to govern, then verbal promises from any authority are no good to us. Now, the grant of self-government does not depend so much upon the Government as it depends upon my friends to my right and to my left, Congress and Nationalist Congress. It is for these persons really to settle the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. They can then come to some common agreement and say that we can now govern ourselves. Then and then alone we can have self-government. By talking alone, we can never get it. My friends of the Congress Party say: "Why not put this responsibility on the Muslim League?" Sir, whenever there is a difference of opinion between the strong and the weak, the responsibility of non-settlement always falls on the strong. It never falls on the weak. Therefore, the responsibility of settlement is always on the strong and never on the weak. The question was also raised about the Constituent Assembly and Democracy. In this connection, I will again mention the parallel example of Examinations, which I said on the floor of the House some time ago. The experiment that I am going to relate has been made several times. The same answer book was sent to different examiners and different examiners gave different marks, ranging from 30 to 100. Therefore, the number of marks, which a candidate gets, depends upon luck as to whom his answer papers are sent. Then somebody naturally drew the conclusion, why not do away with these examiners altogether and give marks to candidates by drawing marks from a ballot box. We know that a Constituent Assembly on the principle of adult suffrage will express the same opinion which Mahatma Gandhi will give. Then why not ask Mahatma Gandhi to draft the constitution for the whole of India and why have the farce of a Constituent Assembly?

The next thing that I wish to say is this, that this democracy as practised by the Congress is entirely different from my notion of democracy. I do not understand what kind of democracy the Congressmen are practising. They are elected by the voters, and therefore, they are primarily responsible to the electorates. But, as a matter of fact, they are responsible to another body of men, not a Dictator, but a Board of Dictators called the High Command. I can understand a Dictator, but I cannot understand a Board of Dictators.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not discuss the constitution of the Congress. I would ask the Honourable Member not to dwell upon extraneous matters.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I am reviewing only those points which are raised on the floor of the House. My idea is that we should have equal partnership. Until we have equal partnership, it is not possible to frame a constitution for India on Democracy basis. As you, Sir, ruled that

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

I should not dilate on this point any further, I conclude my speech by saying that our support to the war efforts is there, but our enthusiasm will depend upon how far our efforts are appreciated. With these words, I resume my seat.

Sir H. P. Mody: Mr. President, my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, fresh from his Mayoral triumphs began the debate in a speech characterised by his usual vigour but happily devoid of the passion which he often imports into his utterances. He showed a lofty contempt for things like the income-tax and super-tax by not referring to them at all, and he put the debate on a political plane from which subsequent speakers found it very difficult to dislodge it. My Honourable friend began with a scathing denunciation of the foreign policy of Great Britain. Here, I find myself more or less in agreement with him. The policy of appeasement which began with Manchuria, followed its tortuous course over Abyssinia and found its culmination at Munich, has resulted in a disastrous blow to the power and prestige of Great Britain and to the cause of international order and collective security. While the dictators were arming themselves to the teeth, the democracies were bleating of peace. They might as well have tried to preach to the tiger the virtues of a vegetarian diet.

Now, Sir, having said that, I am afraid, my agreement with my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, ends. He went on to develop his theme, and that was that England is not fighting for democracy nor for the freedom of smaller nations but merely for her own survival, and my Honourable friend graciously gave permission to England to fight if she wanted to. But he went on to say, if you are fighting for your own survival, why do you turn to us for assistance. I want to ask my Honourable friend whether he regards that as the real issue before the country today. Are we really being asked to get Great Britain out of the mess she has got into, or is it rather the case that we are ourselves up against the international gangsters who in Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Albania, China, Greece and in other places have shown us what sort of fate is in store for those who come under their domination. Sir, that is not a distant prospect which we can contemplate with equanimity or with detachment. The war is very near our door, and if we are not very careful and if some disaster were to overtake the British arms, the war would walk right through our door, and India would for ever lose all prospect of that freedom which is within sight of her today. I am sure my Honourable friends on the Congress Benches realise all this, but they say, addressing England through the Government Benches, you dragged us into this war, you never took our consent for it, we are not interested in it, India is not going to get her freedom out of it and, therefore, let whatever happen, happen. In other words, my Honourable friends are saying, let the Dictators do their worst, we have nothing to lose. Sir, I cannot possibly subscribe to such a doctrine. It does matter to me whether human liberty and the decencies of life are to survive in this world or are to be submerged beneath a wave of ruthless repression; and as man does not live by bread alone, I am sure it must matter to millions of people in this country whether the dictatorships should be allowed to triumph. I am afraid my Honourable friend in a

burst of frankness gave his whole case away when he said that if by any mischance Japan or Italy or Russia were to come to this country, we would all have to have our hands up.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What else can you do?

Mr. Sri Prakasa (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Thumbs down!

Sir H. P. Mody: It may suit my Honourable friend belonging to the non-martial races to put his hands up. What about my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum? He hails from the martial class, and he would be put to the unwonted exercise of raising his hands instead of his voice. It is just possible that with the Gestapo and the concentration camp at the back of his mind, he would probably do it much quicker than any of us. (Interruption.) Sir, we do not want to have either our hands up or our thumbs down.

A great deal has been heard about imperialism in this debate. I regard imperialism as dead as Queen Anne.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Ask Mr. Griffiths.

Sir H. P. Mody: I doubt very much whether any sensible Briton will be found today shouting "Rule Britannia" and slogans of that character.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Mr. Griffiths says so.

Sir H. P. Mody: An Irishman was told, and that with a good deal of pride, that the sun never sets on the British Empire and his reply was that it is so because God cannot trust the British in the dark. I am as certain today as I can reasonably be of anything that when this ghastly conflict is over, a new England will emerge with a new conception of Empire.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: What about India?

Sir H. P. Mody: My Honourable friend is not given to humour, not at any rate conscious humour, but he was in a light vein when he conjured up a vision of loyalists crowding upon the Gateway of India to greet the invading hordes. I believe he is right, but I would like to assure him that there will be a rush for tickets on the part of a few patriots as well. A patriot has been defined as a man who is prepared to lay down his life for his country; and I am sure, at any rate I know of a good many patriots who will be found lining up the streets in order they greet the vanguard of the invading hordes, if such a mischance were ever to occur.

Sir, from the point of view from which I see the whole matter it is immaterial to me why or how India is in this war. We are in it, and being in it it is the bounden duty of all of us to see that the war is vigorously prosecuted. Very recently we condemned the half-hearted and feeble effort which the Government were making in order to equip India for an adequate defence and for playing her part worthily in the great conflict which is raging between two opposing philosophies of life.

[Sir H. P. Mody.]

We heard from very high quarters that the Indian Air Force had been quadrupled since the outbreak of hostilities. That sounded impressive until it was found out that that merely meant that instead of one squadron there were four squadrons. And when one considers that Germany during September every single day lost far more than the whole of this wonderful Air Force of India, one can appreciate the hopeless inadequacy of the effort of India in the matter of war preparation. It then really comes to this. . . .

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Sir, will Sir Homi Mody correct himself? Did he say a squadron or flight? I am afraid it was a flight that was quadrupled.

Sir H. P. Mody: That would make it still worse.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: No, it does not.

Sir H. P. Mody: I do not think even the army authorities are capable of such a performance.

So it comes to this, viewing this war as I do, that as you cannot make bricks without straw or sweets without sugar, you cannot make war without money. The Finance Member, in his search for money, has pounced upon those classes who are regarded as fair game by everybody. It does not require much imagination to add a surcharge to the income-tax and the super-tax. I can, sitting in my chair and without any effort, frame a budget like that every day of my life. My Honourable friend, Sir Ziauddin, spoke of the way in which the burden should be distributed and how income-tax and super-tax should be levied. He laid down certain canons; I should like to lay down a much fairer canon than what he has placed before us, and that is that income-tax and super-tax should be levied by weight: and if one happens to be a Member of the Legislature, by the length of his utterances. Sir, the Finance Member has threatened further exactions at budget time, and I hope that when that time arrives he will show more ingenuity and enterprise than he has done on this occasion.

I cannot conclude without referring to the widespread complaint of extravagance on the part of the various Government departments which have sprung into existence. Public opinion definitely thinks that this war has become a paradise for a few lucky individuals, and it is the business of Government to try and convince us, and to convince the public at large, that the work of the administration is carried on with as reasonable an economy as can be expected in a time of stress. I was told, I cannot say that it was on authority, that many of the new incumbents of offices have very little work. They must be finding themselves in the position of the elderly General who whenever he returned from lunch met himself going out to tea. I do not know, Sir, how many appointments have been created and how many departments, but I hope the new officers are not in the happy position of the occupants of a Whitehall office which found itself grossly overstaffed at the beginning of the war with a number of minor officials and stenographers, and so a notice had to be put up which said, "Members of the staff, embracing ladies, are asked not to loiter in the corridors".

Sir, I regard this war as India's war, and while it must mean a lot of hardship and suffering to a great number of people, I am sure it must also mean the preservation of our liberties and our emergence as a full-fledged partner in the newer and better commonwealth of nations which is sure to arise out of this war.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, we are discussing this week the motion for the consideration of the Finance Bill in a situation in this House which is different from the situation that existed in April last. Moreover, Sir, the political situation also in the country today is different from the political situation that existed when we discussed the general Budget in April. At that time, Sir, some talks regarding the political position of India were going on between the Viceroy and the leaders of some of the political parties in the country. There was some hope of a settlement. Today, Sir, all the talks are practically ended and there is hardly any hope of a settlement between the Indian political parties and the representatives of the British Government. It is on account of this difference that my attitude towards the motion for the consideration of the Finance Bill is different today from my attitude towards a similar motion made in April last.

Sir, I shall make my attitude towards the war clear very briefly and in very few words. I assure my Honourable friend, the Member from the European Group who spoke yesterday, that as I am not one of those Indians who are blessed with the accomplishment of a glib tongue I shall be very brief and try to put my attitude in as simple words as possible. Sir, today I shall try, as I do generally, to place before the Assembly the attitude of the working classes of this country towards this war. It is true that as among other sections of the population of this country there is a division of opinion on this question, so among the organised labour movement in this country also there is a division of opinion. But it is not difficult, in spite of this division, to place before this Assembly the general attitude of the bulk of the labour movement in this country towards Indian participation in this war. The attitude of the labour movement, generally speaking, towards this question is, the same as the attitude of an average ordinary Indian citizen. On this question there is hardly any difference between the various classes that exist in our society. Even in Great Britain today, in spite of the differences that had existed before the war, the labour movement is co-operating with the other sections of the population. So, in India too the attitude of the average Indian is the same. In India, generally speaking, among the masses and the working classes, as among many other sections of the population, there has been no approval, no liking, for the fascist system since it arose first in Europe. There are reasons why the labour movement in this country as in other countries should be specially against the fascist system. In the same way, we have no love for nazism. But at the same time not only the labour movement in this country but almost all other sections of the population in this country do not like imperialism. My Honourable friend, from the European Group, who spoke yesterday said that he likes imperialism. We do not like imperialism. Fascism and nazism and imperialism connote one thing which we cannot like—it is the exploitation of the weaker people, of the weaker nations by the stronger. These systems do not believe in giving the people freedom: they do not believe in the equality of people in the world. If there is any difference between fascism and nazism and imperialism, the difference is one of degree and not of kind. The impe-

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

rialists who form what may be called the capitalist democracy may give some freedom to some people, but imperialism does not give freedom to all people over whom the imperialism can rule safely. If they have given freedom to some people, the freedom was taken from the imperialists rulers—freedom was never given. I, therefore, feel that the Indian working classes have not much to choose between nazism and imperialism. The Indian workers, like the workers of other countries, would certainly like to fight fascism and nazism, but they cannot fight fascism and nazism to support imperialism: they can fight fascism and nazism in order that democracy should be established in all countries of the world, especially in the subject countries of the world. If freedom is given to India and if democracy is established in India, the Indian people including the Indian working classes will certainly fight against nazism and facism. Let Indians have at least a guarantee that there will be democracy established in this country and there will be freedom for this country as a result of this war. Let us, at least have some indications today that the war will be followed immediately by the establishment of democracy in this country and that this country will be freed from imperialist control. . . .

Mr. F. E. James (Madras: European): On condition Britain wins of course.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): That is implied.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: If Indians get freedom, if they get at least a guarantee that freedom will follow and if there are indications today that the British people are sincere in the matter of giving freedom and establishing democracy in this country, I have no doubt that all sections of the population of this country including the working classes will co-operate with them. It is for the British people to make it possible for the Indians including the working classes to co-operate with them by giving them freedom, by giving them at least a guarantee which they can accept, by giving them indications today that freedom will follow—if they do so I have no doubt that the British people will secure our co-operation.

My Honourable friend, the Member from the European Group, who spoke yesterday, Mr. Griffiths, told us—and my Honourable friend, Sir H. P. Mody, also told us:

“What will happen if the fascists and nazis or the Japanese come to India? You will get worse rule. Imperialism may be bad. We may be tyrants, but you will get greater tyrants. Have you not got commonsense and self-interest to save yourselves from these greater tyrants than us?”

Sir, this argument is not good enough to persuade us to take part in this war enthusiastically. We shall try our very best first to see if there is no third and a better alternative to choose from than to choose between two kinds of tyrants. If the only alternative before the people of India is to have either the nazis or the British imperialists, we shall consider whom to choose; but we feel today that the alternatives are not only these; and there is a third alternative. If the British people would give us freedom, then they can have our co-operation and there will be a joint participation in this war in order that fascism and nazism should be destroyed and wiped out of this world. My Honourable friend, from the European Group, did not speak about this third alternative: he only frightens us and terrifies us by telling us that if we do not help British imperialism, however bad it may be, we will have to live under a worse thing, Nazism. It

is true we have to choose between two devils. It is true that we have to choose between nazis and the British imperialists. But when these two devils are fighting, can we not have a little devilish spirit in our heart and say let us wait and see. The two devils may destroy each other, and democracy and freedom may come into their own: this is quite possible. I am not one of those people who will lightheartedly depend upon these uncertainties. If I have only to depend upon the policy of waiting and seeing that the devils destroy each other, I would take that as a chance for the establishment of democracy and freedom in India. A desperate man does take that chance. But if I had an assurance that by fighting Nazism and Fascism there will be freedom and democracy established in this country, I would not depend upon such a chance. I, therefore, feel that to ask Indians to take part in this war by terrorising them, by showing them the horrors of Nazism, is a wrong thing for the British people to do. There is a better and a third alternative for them. That alternative is to secure the willing co-operation of the Indian people in the participation of this war.

Mr. President, there have been discussions between the political parties in this country and the British Government. I have no doubt in my mind that if the British people had shown goodwill and the desire for a settlement, there was a great opportunity for them to secure the settlement when Mr. C. Rajagopalachari placed his proposals before the Indian public. The proposal, in my judgment, for the establishment of a National Government within the framework of this Legislature was a very practical one. He did not ask for a new constitution. He only suggested that the Government that would govern India and conduct the operations of the war should be a Government in which this Legislature had the confidence. Where was the necessity for a change in the Constitution? What was necessary was that this Legislature should pass a Resolution of confidence in the Government that would exist in the Government House and in the Secretariat. He did not ask for a constitutional change. He merely said that the people who would rule had the confidence of this Legislature. Sir, it was said that when we are in the midst of the war, how could such a change be made

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Does my friend mean the confidence of the nominated Members of this House?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Well, Sir, if the nominated Members are included in the Legislature, I would not exclude them, but if some people will insist upon the confidence of the elected Members only, I would not stand in the way of any settlement being reached.

I feel, Sir, that the Government of India lost the best opportunity of securing the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the Indian people by rejecting the proposal of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. It is, Sir, understandable to me why the Government of India should have rejected that proposal. The British Government were willing to form a Union with France, not in peace time, but during war time; not only during war time, but when the war had reached its most critical stage. If they could make that offer to France, which is outside the British Empire, why could they not make a similar offer to India? Sir, they offered equal citizenship to the French people even in the British Colonies. Why don't

[Mr. N. M. Joshi.]

they give equal citizenship to Indians who are within the Empire within the British Colonies? Sir, the rejection of Mr. Rajagopalachari's proposal clearly shows one thing. It means that the British people would like to get the co-operation of the Indian people if only they agree to be a subject nation. They want Indian co-operation only on one condition, that the Indian people would be content to remain as a subject people. Sir, there is distrust in the minds of the British people for Indians. They are not quite sure as to what would happen if the Indians are made self-governing. I cannot really understand the attitude of the British people. In this war in the matter of securing the co-operation of the Indian people the only thing to do was to give them self-government. We are asked to trust the word of the British Government. We may do so, but are there any indications today that the British people are willing to give self-government and freedom to India at least at the end of the war? I would, Sir, like to see some of those indications. Last year when the war broke out, we were told that India must prepare herself to fight the enemy. The army was to be expanded. At that time, we thought, Sir, that as the British Government would like to have all the Britishers to defend their own country in Europe, the European recruitment for the army would be stopped. We naturally thought that Europeans would be needed in Europe, in Great Britain. I have no doubt in my mind that if the recruitment of British officers for the Indian army had been stopped immediately after the war broke out, there would have been enough Indian officers for the new Indian army. Did they do it?

Sir, the Honourable the Defence Secretary, the other day placed some figures before the table of the House regarding the proportion of officers, European and Indian, in the new army. I think the figures are that the European officers are about a thousand and Indian officers are about 900. If they really want to give Dominion Status, leave aside independence, to India immediately after the war, why should not start stopping the entire recruitment of British officers to the Indian army? The Indian army will not be Indianised for 25 or 30 years even if you stop the recruitment of British officers today. Was that done? But, Sir, the Government insist that the proportion of Indians to the British officers in the army must be kept intact. What about the Civil Services? Have they stopped recruitment of Europeans to the Indian Civil Service? They need people in Great Britain. Don't they?

An Honourable Member: No.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: But the recruitment of British officers even in the civil service is maintained in the same proportion as it existed before the war. I need not go into the various details, but I have no doubt in my own mind that the administration as it is being conducted today does not give any indication that the British people propose to part with power even after the war.

I would like now to say a word about the special position of the working classes in this country regarding this war. We do not know what will happen after the war. India may get freedom, or India may not get freedom. But the working classes of India know one thing about the war, namely, that the prices have gone up. Their cost of living has gone

up and the wages have not yet risen to the same extent. The standard of life of the working classes is being lowered, that is what the working classes know about the war. They also know this that if they make efforts to secure a rise in wages, if there are sometimes strikes, the Defence of India Act is used against their leaders in order to break the strikes. Only the other day, I read in the papers that in Calcutta there was a municipal sweepers' strike and even in that strike the Defence of India Act was used to break that strike. In Great Britain the labour movement is co-operating with the other sections, but the Government there has taken care that the standard of life of the working classes in Great Britain will not be low; not only that, those members of the labour movement in Great Britain who are taking part in the war have made it quite clear that, if they are taking part in this war, they are not going to allow the present order of things to continue. They are insisting that the present order will end with this war and a new social order will be established in Great Britain. I have no doubt in my mind that, so long as freedom and democracy is not given to India so long as there is not at least a guarantee of freedom and democracy being given to India—and there are no indications of it today—Indians will not be willing to participate in this war and so long as there is no guarantee that the exploitation of the working classes will end and a new social order will be established, the working classes of India will not take part in this war. But, Sir, I have equally no doubt in my mind, that, if freedom is given to Indians, if democracy is established, if at least there is a guarantee of freedom and democracy being given to India, and if there is a guarantee that the exploitation of the working classes will end with the war, Indians, including the working classes of this country, will fight against Fascism and Nazism as partners with the British people. I hope it is not yet too late for the British people to change their policy. It is true that they rejected the offer made by Mr. Rajagopalachari. But they can now renew the effort, make another effort for a settlement. If Indian co-operation is worth something, then those efforts should be continued. It is not right to terrorise us, to frighten us to take part in this war by telling us about the horrors of Nazism. Let them choose this better way of securing our willing and enthusiastic co-operation by giving us our freedom and establishing democracy in India. Mr. President, under the present circumstances I propose to oppose the motion for consideration of the Bill.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Mr. President, I am at a disadvantage after the humorous speeches of some of the previous speakers, particularly, Sir Homi Mody, who created a different atmosphere in the House—an atmosphere which does not suit the grave occasion on which we are called upon to express our views with regard to the measure which the Honourable the Finance Member has brought before the House. Sir, I fear I may have to go over some of the points which have already been raised during this debate. I shall try my best to avoid repetition, but I am afraid there are certain facts and certain truths which can never be repeated too often.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Anything can be repeated too often in this House.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I assure you that I shall not offend against your ruling, I shall try my best not to do so. Having regard to the issues which are

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

involved in this debate, I have not the slightest doubt that there is a certain degree of inevitability about importing passion and heat into the discussion, and this is what happened yesterday when, unfortunately, I interjected once or twice during the spirited speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths. I give him the fullest possible liberty to double those interjections if he so likes while I am speaking.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I hope the Honourable Member (Mr. Griffiths) will not follow that advice.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I was only being fair, Mr. President, nothing more than that. I do not wish to be provoked by any interjections which any Honourable Member may feel like resorting to.

Before I proceed to the subject, I must express my fear of the kind of publicity which is being given to our speeches. Sentences are being torn out of their context and are being used for propagandist purposes. Perhaps, that is the way of statesmanship. Day after day, while we are listening to the radio, we find an interpretation of the speeches delivered here by the Opposition Benches which sounds extremely strange, because we have really said something quite different but the world is being told that we have raised issues which are really not of any great importance. For instance, after Mr. Satyamurti's speech with his able exposition of the Congress case, the Radio announced that the main objection of the Congress to the Finance Bill was that the House was not consulted before India's belligerency was declared. The Government can turn round now and say, forgive us for our past sins, we have now sought an opportunity of consulting you. will you condone our error and vote this amount?

Now, that is not the only issue, not the only objection. The Government knew full well long before this war broke out what the attitude of the country was and, particularly, what the attitude of the Congress was but before I come to that point I may be permitted, Sir, to make a reference to the feeling appeal which Mr. Griffiths made yesterday. He gave us a vivid description of the great and fiery ordeal which the British people are undergoing today. There was no need for him to appeal to us on that ground. We are human enough to feel all that. We are not callous, we are not wooden as, unfortunately, the Government are, which faces us to day. We are fully alive to the sufferings of the British people and we are also fully alive to the sufferings of many other people who are undergoing a terrible experience. We also recognise with admiration the courage with which they are fighting for their freedom but when we want to fight for our freedom they ought to sympathise with us too. We have the same feelings for our country and for the freedom of our country. I would beg them to pause for a moment and to feel the same as we feel about them. Mr. President, in so far as the attitude of the Congress is concerned, years and years ago it was made clear to the whole world. It was fully and clearly expressed here too from time to time on the floor of this House and as recently as March 1940, the present President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad expressed it in the following words: Referring to Facism, Nazism and Imperialism at the same time he said:

"While we were considering the dangers arising from Fascism and Nazism, it was impossible for us to forget the older danger, which has been proved to be infinitely more fatal to the peace and freedom of nations than these new dangers and which has

in fact supplied the basis for this reaction. I refer to British imperialism. We are not distant spectators of this imperialism, as we are of the new reactionary movements. It has taken possession of our homes and dominates over us. It was for that reason that we stated in clear terms that if new entanglements in Europe brought about war, India, which has been debarred from exercising her will and making free decisions, will not take any part in it. She could only consider this question when she had acquired the right of coming to decisions according to her own free will and choice. If India remained deprived of her natural right to freedom, this would clearly mean that British imperialism continued to flourish with all its traditional characteristics and under such conditions India would on no account be prepared to lend a helping hand for the triumph of British imperialism."

Mr President, this was nothing more than a repetition of what was expressed over and over again year after year by the Congress. It cannot be said that this Government was not aware of this fact. We are not taking up a new attitude. We have not come into this House today as was said by some one with our minds made up only to oppose the Finance Bill. We were bound to oppose every step taken by this Government in the name of Imperialism and in the absence of India's freedom.

Sir, in so far as the question of the competence of this Government is concerned, let us try and see whether they are competent to do anything in the name of the country. Mr. President, it is not my purpose—and I want to make it perfectly clear at the very outset—to cast any aspersion on any individual member of the Government. They are only slaves to a system. All my criticism will be levelled against that system. That system has proved to be a dismal and bleak failure. If you look at the history of this system in this country, of which they are the creatures, of which they are the slaves, of which they may be the victims, it has nothing but a heart-rending tale of woe and misery to present to the country and to the world. They have been here for the last 200 years and what have they to show as the result of their administration of this country during the last 200 years? Would my European friends, particularly Mr. James and Mr. Griffiths who happen to be very proud Imperialists even today, like me to give them a review of the history of British Imperialism in India I assure you that if I give them even the bold outstanding points of that history not only they but all those who call themselves Englishmen will feel ashamed of themselves today and for all time to come. Does he want me to remind him of the fact that there was an old cheat called Clive? Does he want me to remind him of the fact that there was another old cheat called Napier? Does he want me to tell him that the entire history of India during the past 200 years is full of fraud and cheating and tyranny? We were prepared to forget all this, Mr. President. We were prepared to let the dead past bury its dead. We were prepared to make a new start. We were prepared to wipe this slate clean and say: 'Now, let us come round and see whether we cannot co-operate.' What is the answer. The answer is: 'we do not want the co-operation of the people of India or their representatives. We only want their money and we can buy their men'. That is the answer. Well, you are free to do so. The army of occupation is there. You can at the point of the bayonet, and by threats as usual, do whatever you like but you can never win the heart of India by these methods. Mr. Griffiths, as a proud imperialist, may like to know that there is not much difference between Imperialism, Fascism and Nazism or call it by any other name, say, totalitarianism. We have begun to know something of Nazism, Facism and Totalitarianism recently. In fact, we do not know enough about them but as for Imperialism, we have known it for 200 years. You have only to walk out of New Delhi or Old Delhi to the

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

nearest village and see the devastation, see the misery, see the wretchedness of the people, see the dirty squalor, see the devastating diseases and see for yourself what kind of civilization you have brought into the lives of these people. And this is the history of two hundred years of imperialism! Is it in the name of this imperialism that you want us to lend support to England? Is it in the name of this kind of civilization that you want us to pay you a penny? Is it in the name of this kind of civilization which you have brought into this country that you ask us to stand by you? Sir, we will stand by the people of Britain as they will emerge out of this war, after this blood bath—which has also been brought about, by the ruling classes of England, not by the people themselves. It was the lust of the ruling classes of England, it was the far-flung empire which they were trying to build for themselves and for a few people at the cost of the people themselves that brought about this war. The last war, Mr. President, was fought to end war by these ruling classes of England. Instead of ending war, when they went to Versailles, a peace was concluded, which, in the words of someone else, ended peace. War has continued all this time, and by whom has it been helped? It has been helped by the ambition of these ruling classes of England who are responsible for the present state of affairs. They turn to us, over and over again and they tell us, "oh, but what about your country? You have got differences in your country, you have got a fratricidal strife going on between Hindus and Muslims and so on and so forth." Now this is exactly what Hitler is saying about Europe. He says, "these poor countries cannot stand on their own legs without my help. they are at one another's throat, I want to bring peace and unity in Europe, and I have done it." Well, what is the difference, I ask?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): None at all!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: These gentlemen tell us, "you are asking for freedom, but what is freedom worth for countries which cannot stand on their own legs?" Now, whose fault is it that we cannot stand on our own legs today?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Your fault.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I am sorry to say that even Colonel Gidney will not provoke me today. Whose fault is it that this country does not stand on its legs today? I say it is the fault of the Government. But what is their argument? Their argument is that freedom is not worth having. May I, ask them, "what then they are fighting for?" We were told right at the beginning of this war that they were fighting to preserve the freedom of the smaller nations in Europe. They wanted to restore the freedom of the smaller countries of Europe. Now, if you are not prepared to recognize the freedom of a country which is under your domination today, why do you declare to the whole world that you are fighting to preserve the freedom of the smaller nations? You are in reality telling a lie, when you say that you are fighting for the freedom of the smaller countries in Europe for you are fighting only to preserve your empire and particularly your stranglehold on India?

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. Akhīl Chandra Datta) in the Chair.

Mr. Asaf Ali: Mr. Deputy President, when the House rose for Lunch, I was dealing with the point which related to the patent hypocrisy of the British rulers of England and India. I was just saying that in the beginning of the war, an announcement was made on behalf of His Majesty's Government in England that they were going to war with Germany, because Germany was an aggressor, and they were fighting for the freedom of smaller countries of Europe. Almost about the same time, it was pointed out to them that there was another country, in fact a sub-continent called India whose freedom these very Britishers had destroyed 200 years ago. Would they be prepared to restore to India her freedom? If they were honest in their professions, the straight course for them was to declare to the whole world that while they were going to war with Germany in defence of the freedom of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and finally France and Greece, they themselves were not playing the part of aggressors in any part of the world and at any rate whatever aggression they had been guilty of in respect of India they had made up their mind to go before the tribunal of world opinion with clean hands. The answer to this question, the answer to this demand is now a patent fact throughout the world. If any one has any doubt, the best course is to refer to American opinion and find out whether America is satisfied that England has done her duty by India so far.

Germany, in fact every day and every night is proclaiming to the whole world that England is hypocritical, do not believe it. Do not believe a word of what the Britisher says. There is India, look at it. They talk of the freedom of smaller nations in Europe. But what about this huge big country which they swallowed two centuries ago and which they are not prepared to disgorge. It is all very well for them to turn round to us now and say, "Oh! but we are fighting for the freedom of nations". This is, I believe, the last of the announcements of Mr. Churchill. Is anybody now prepared on behalf of His Majesty's Government to declare here and now that the nations for whose freedom Great Britain is fighting its battle with its back to the wall also include India? Are they prepared to say so? If they are not prepared to say so, and I am afraid you will find nothing but prevarication as far as this simple and straightforward issue is concerned, if they are not prepared to say so, I should like to know with what face they can come to us and say, will you please let us put our hands into your pockets. Their only right, their only claim is the claim of brigand robbers and dacoits. Let them exercise that right. They have got the power to do so. We the poor people of India are here, their pockets are there, their coffers are there, of the rich as well as of the poor and the Britisher can put his hand into their pockets if necessary at the point of the bayonet. They have been doing so for the last 200 years. Why not continue to do it. Do not let it be said by posterity that we were here and we did not tell them so to their face? That is why we are here today.

Earlier in the day I happened to say that I might take an opportunity of examining the title deeds or rather the title of this Government to govern this country at this critical juncture of world's history. I believe even they cannot justify their existence even by the law which their country's Parliament has passed and under which law they claim the right

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

to rule this country, not in the name of this country, but in the name of another country. Even they cannot deny that this country is held in bondage as a conquered country by the ruling classes of another country. They cannot deny the fact that they are not here by the consent of the people, they cannot deny the fact that they do not derive their right, or title from a single voter or a single tax-payer in this country. Is there one man among these gentlemen who represent the Government of India, who can say that he obtained a single vote from any constituency created by their own law? Well, if they have not, with what right can they ask us to entrust them with even a penny of our hard earned money and allow them to squander it whichever way they like. Is this the law of England, I ask? Is this the law of any decent civilised country that a Government which does not derive its right from the votes of the people should be in power and should tax the people. I ask you a simple question. Is this the kind of civilisation that you want us to fight for? Is this the kind of civilisation and freedom of which Mr. Griffiths was talking yesterday? Sir, they have no title in law and no rights in law. Apart from that I ask them whether they have any other title. Have they won the hearts of the people by their actions? Some one was talking about freedom in this House yesterday. I believe it was Mr. James who interjected in the course of somebody's speech and said, "Now, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, could you have delivered this speech in Denmark or Holland or any other country under Nazi rule?" Sir, I do not remember what Mr. Abdul Qaiyum said at that time, perhaps I was not in the House; but let me answer him. My answer is, yes, I could speak with the same freedom even under Nazi rule anywhere if I did not mind the attentions of the Gestapo. And let me tell you that we are not out of the clutches of the Indian Gestapo here.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Where?

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Here, all around us.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir, it is not a matter of laughter, I assure you. It is all very well for any of us to make bold and courageous speeches here, but do you know that our footsteps are dogged by the sleuth-hounds of the C. I. D.? Are you aware that our letters are opened and read by them before they reach us? Are you aware of the fact that when we are travelling our footsteps are dogged by all these men whom I do not wish to describe in hard terms? And are you aware of the fact that not a man has spoken out his mind as he knows it to be the mind of the people,—not a man has spoken out his mind but has been clapped into jail behind the prison bars? Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a good instance. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whose generosity of spirit and whose gentlemanliness was being praised by the B. B. C. the day he declared that he was not going to embarrass the British Government. I said almost that very day, that it was a very bad day for the B. B. C. to declare to the whole world that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was such a noble soul because the time would be fast coming when these very people would have to declare to the world that they had jailed him. And, fortunately, that day did come and when it did come that very B. B. C. had to declare to the whole world that Pandit Nehru had been sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment because he was delivering speeches which were calculated to hamper the prosecution of the war effort in India. Now, will not the world begin

to wonder why a man of that intellectual calibre, a man of such transparent honesty, a man who had such close relations culturally and otherwise with the English people, a man who had so many friends in England and all over the world was jailed by this Government? Will they not begin to think and say to themselves that there must be really something definitely wrong with the Government of India and the way they are dealing with the people of India?

Sir, this is only one instance. I can assure you that these instances will be multiplied. Perhaps even for me it may be the last utterance here in this House, and it may be the last utterance for all these gentlemen here. And it is quite possible that within a calculable time you may find every child in India repeating word for word what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been jailed for; and that will be the time for you to say for yourself whether this country has any freedom or not. Either we are with you or we are not with you. If we are with you, give us the freedom to tell the whole world that we are with you; but if you want to tell the world that we are with you whereas you have not even so much as allowed us to have our say, we shall see to it that the whole world knows that India is not with you. You may have to turn the whole of India into a huge big concentration camp,—in fact it is a concentration camp today. It is no use saying that Indians enjoy freedom; there is no freedom in India. It is perfectly useless to talk of freedom in India. I remember a great Muslim leader once said when he was released from jail, "I have only come out of a smaller jail into a bigger one which is called India". That holds true even today. I find my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, very jubilant and he should be because he realises that a handful of people, about three thousand Englishmen, happen to be in places of power with all this vast army behind them for which we pay. He is able to shut anybody up; he is able to keep India in bondage and he is able to exploit India to the fullest extent. He is able to buy our men; he is able to manufacture bullets which may eventually find their way into our hearts. He has every right to be jubilant and all the other gentlemen who feel like him have every right to be happy. But, Sir, let me tell them that there is such a thing as Nemesis in this world; there is such a thing as God's own justice in this world. These things cannot go on and you are paying for these very things today. You are paying for these very deeds and misdeeds today and, God knows, so long as you do not purge your hearts and so long as you do not come to realise the truth of India's right to be free, you may have to suffer. I assure you that I shall not be happy to see you suffer, but you cannot escape Nemesis; you cannot escape the justice which God dispenses in his own inscrutable wisdom.

Sir, in the earlier part of the day I said something about Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism being the product of the same poisonous weed; and later on perhaps I said that the very arguments which the British are using today to continue India's slavery are being used by Hitler and the Nazis to subjugate the European countries. When I said that I really laid myself open to a certain objection or rather I exposed myself to the charge that perhaps I was a friend of Nazism. Very far from it. I assure you that we are no friends of the Nazis; we are no friends of the Fascists; we are no friends of the Totalitarians; we hate them equally; but we hate Imperialism equally with Nazism. In fact, perhaps we hate Imperialism more profoundly because we have had enough taste of Imperialism in this country ourselves. The argument was used yesterday which to my mind appears to be infantile, and, unfortunately, it has found a good deal of

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

currency throughout the country. Everywhere you hear people saying: "Oh, but will you by adopting this attitude not be helping the nazis to triumph?" I do not know whether we shall be helping nazism to triumph or not, but we are perfectly certain that we shall not be helping those who even today, at the time of their direst trial, are not prepared to say: "We have done wrong to you and we are prepared to undo that wrong today; and you are free as far as we are concerned." It was said that the nazis are bigger bullies than the English are—not in these words perhaps; as a matter of fact it was said: "If the nazis win and if they invade India, you would be worse off. Cannot you realise this?" I assure them that we have fully weighed all the facts of the situation and we are perfectly clear in our mind what our attitude towards this question should be. It is a very strange argument. One bully turns to the weak and says: "Well, I am a bully, I cannot help it; but, unfortunately, there is a bigger bully; if you do not help me today, this other bully will come and bully you, and, therefore, I want you to help me." But the actual words of Mr. Griffiths were slightly different. He said: "Surely this is not the time to think of the failure of this Government. I am not talking of the failure of this Government. I am only asking you to do one thing. Here we are at war and you are practically in the position of a person whose house is being burgled; and you turn to your policeman and say: 'I am not going to help you.' I am afraid that analogy is perfectly fallacious and wrong. It is not a question of a policeman asking me to help him; it is a question of one burgler who is already in possession of my house saying to me: "Now, there is another burgler coming, he may dislodge me; will you help me, and help me by protecting me and coming between me and this other big burgler?" My answer will be: "Yes, I will help you, my friend, but will you hand over the keys of my house? If you hand over the keys of my house, I will help you. There is not the slightest doubt about it; and then you and I both will beat this other burglar to pulp." You cannot now turn round and say: "the keys of your house are in my pocket; I have got all you valuables; I hold the power of the purse; I hold your lives in my power; and yet I ask you to help me because I happen to be in great distress." I say I sympathise with you greatly sympathise with you in your distress, but, unfortunately, I realise that my own people have been in similar distress for the last two hundred years. I have got to think of that. Sir, they talk of India's help and they want to make light of their own failures in the past. I ask you, did England turn out Mr. Chamberlain or did it not, when it felt that Mr. Chamberlain had not given a good account of his stewardship of the British Government, that he had not prepared the country against the nazi invasion? He was turned out. Mr. Hore-Belisha was also turned out: and all this was done while this war was going on. If we say today, "These gentlemen have failed in their duty; they have failed by every possible standard and they ought to be turned out of office and others ought to be there to manage the whole show as far as the defence of this country is concerned and if we can manage the defence of this country ourselves we shall also be helping you indirectly and possibly also directly," why should they be kept in office? In 1935 this is what I said in this very House:

"That policy—(the defence policy)—to sum it up in two words, is wholly and profoundly anti-national. The defence of the country has been organised along lines which run counter to my pride, which run counter to my economic conditions, which

run counter to the actual demands of the defence of this country. They have followed a policy not of defending India but of defending the British Empire."

At the same time in the same speech I said while criticising the defence policy of this Government:

"Mechanise the Indian Army to the same extent as the British army and particularly, in so far as light artillery corps, tanks corps and air force are concerned."

Then, in 1936 I put the following question, and I want to repeat the answer I then received. The question was:

"Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that according to all competent authorities air warfare will be the predominant factor in any international war of the future; and the comparative strength of the air armadas of each of the first-class powers within striking distance of India is at least fifty times greater than that of the air force in India?"

If the reply to the foregoing question is in the affirmative or even partially so, will Government state what steps they have taken in the direction of anti-aircraft preparations, particularly against Thermite and Lewisite incendiary and mustard gas bombs, underground or other shelters for the populations of crowded cities like Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow in Northern India, gas mask drills, affording protection to mills, water supply reservoirs, bridges, power stations, railways etc.?"

I think it was Sir Henry Craik who answered on the occasion. He said—this was in 1937:

"The part which aerial warfare will play in future wars is even among experts largely a matter of opinion."

I hope Sir Henry Craik and his compatriots have realised that the point of view of the questioner was valid and the point of view of the person who answered was wholly invalid. They realise today what has happened. We warned them. I warned them three years ago in respect of India and this is the answer which I received. Again he said:

"Government have no detailed information—(with regard to the air forces of other countries)—but it must be realised that India's main protection lies in the distance which separates her from the first class powers to which the Honourable Member refers."

I believe, Mr. Griffiths is fully answered by Sir Henry Craik.....

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European): He is answered by me.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: You are not the Government of India.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I wish I were.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: But you are not.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: In spite of the fact that these people have failed, you want to keep them there. Are these the people to whom
3 P. M. you can entrust the defence of this land? They are not fit to stay where they are. They really ought to be in the place where Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru is today.

Again, Sir, in 1938, speaking from this very place I said:

"By leaving the Indian army unmechanised, the Indian Government is really reducing the efficiency of the Indian army. We are for efficiency, not for reducing it. By adopting this policy of discrimination between the Indian and British wings of the

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

Indian army, they are not merely reducing the efficiency of the Indian side but they are also trying to weaken the ultimate defence of India and it is on that ground that the Government deserves to be censured."

This was two years ago, and what have they done all this time? If they were not competent enough, why did they not get out? This is exactly where we come in. You are talking of the danger of Nazism, but the danger of Imperialism is even greater in India today than the danger of Nazism. In 1938 again, I said:

"We do want to have the most efficient army that anybody can ever think of for India and India's defence. But that army must be our army and not an army which is working like automata at the sweet will of somebody over whom neither you nor we have got any control. If ever war breaks out, it will be declared not by the Government of India, but it will be declared by His Majesty's Government."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I know from my friend

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I do not want to answer any question now.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I was only asking you whether you were non-violent.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I shall answer you and don't worry. The whole trouble is when we point out your mistakes, you ask us: 'Are you non-violent'. We are non-violent in this sense that, we do not want this world to consume itself in fire and blood. We want to see this world throw away its arms. When India is free, we shall certainly be prepared to lead the whole world to adopt a policy of disarmament, if possible. If the rest of the world does not throw away her arms, the whole of India will defend herself with all the weapons that may be available to her, but that will be when she is free. They have had a taste of terrorism. Do they want it now? If they so desire, we shall step aside, and let them have a taste of it again. It is not only today that we are saying that in our struggle against you we are not going to use arms. There are two schools of thought in the country. There is Mahatma Gandhi's school of thought. We recognise the fact that Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence is an ideal. We certainly think it is an ideal to which the whole world ought to aspire, but we also recognise that we are human beings. We have got our short-comings, and as human beings, we can only go so far as we can, but I may assure my friends that so long as this struggle of India's independence is going on under the present circumstances, and so long as Mahatma Gandhi is there to control the movement, we shall not adopt any method other than non-violence. This is the answer. Don't imagine for a single moment that we are for disarming the whole of India so that anybody may walk in and say: 'Now I am the ruler of India'. That is not what we want. All that we are saying is, until we have won India's freedom, we do not wish to resort to violence, and violence only in self-defence, when India is free,—it will not be violence,—it will be force used by the state in self-defence. (Laughter from some European Members). I find Mr. Griffiths laughs, and I am very glad that he is in a cheerful mood today.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Thank you.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Because yesterday he was telling the House that he was extremely depressed on account of the miseries which his people were undergoing in England and needed solace. I am glad I have cheered him up. You cannot laugh away a country's freedom. Before long you will find that all these laughs will be turned against you. Perhaps he who laughs last will laugh best.

Now, Sir, I was on the point of making a quotation from my speech in 1938. I said on that occasion:

"We do want to have the most efficient army that anybody can ever think of for India's defence. But that army must be our army and not an army which is working like automata at the sweet will of somebody over whom neither you nor we have got any control. If ever war breaks out, it will be declared not by the Government of India, but it will be declared by His Majesty's Government. Who will come to His Majesty's Government's help? The Dominions? Yes, the Dominions are today complete masters of their own foreign policy and also of their defence; why could not we be the same, and if we are, we shall decide the case on its own merits when the occasion arises. Every recruit that now enlists for war will have to be paid for by us, not by you. Can you realise it, and what do we get in return? We get in return an irresponsible and unresponsive executive sitting opposite us, and we also get kicks throughout the Empire. They talk of the Empire. Which Empire do they want us to fight for? The Empire in which we are treated as helots? Is there a single Dominion where Indians have any rights of citizenship? Leave alone the Dominions,—have we got full rights in our own country? If we have none, they have no right to ask us, they have no right to ask any Indian not to preach according to his conscience either to rebel or to mutiny or to do anything else; he would be fully justified if he did it."

Then again I said at that time:

"What exactly do we mean by an Imperialistic war? By an Imperialistic war, we mean a war which may result in more or less the same kind of morass in which we find ourselves today, that is to say, our freedom or want of freedom left where it is or perhaps curtailed a little more, because the so-called Empire may merge victorious out of this great war and become stronger. That would be an Imperialistic war from my point of view. . . . It is only intended for an Imperialistic war obviously, and therefore we are definitely opposed to it. In these circumstances, how can anybody come here and say 'Will you kindly sign your death warrant?' We refuse to sign our death warrant and the death warrant of humanity, and we oppose the Bill on these three grounds that I have placed before the House."

Mr. Deputy President, They are talking of India's help. Did India help them in the last war or did it not? The Congress at that time was not opposed to the British Government. What was our contribution? Our contribution at that time amounted to one and half million men (15 lakhs of men), nearly two lakhs of animals, and more than four hundred crores of rupees. The war budget of those days went up from 33 crores to 80 crores a year, and this state of affairs continued for about five or six years. That was our contribution. And what was the return? What was the result? We got in return, Mr. Deputy President, a blood bath in Jallianwalla Bagh, another blood bath at Peshawar, and a blood bath all over. We got lathi charges. We got broken limbs, and lakhs of people who wanted India's freedom were sent to jail. That is what we got. And the Mussalmans in those days were agitating for the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab. What did they get? They got the slavery of Palestine, which continues up to this day. Mr. Deputy President, it is all very well to turn round and say, will you help us? Time and again we have helped you willingly, voluntarily and gladly, and what have we got in return? Therefore, we are not wrong when we ask you today to tell us here and now what it is that India is going to get. If you want India's help of the people of India—of course, you will get your help from the Princes, and from other

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

people of that type, and God help you. If you want India's enthusiasm, tell India that India is free and then we shall be fighting both for our freedom and for your freedom as well as the freedom of those nations on whose behalf you say you have been fighting. But before that, you have no right to come to us either for a penny or for a man.

I do not wish to recall the past history of the British rule in India.

Mr. M. S. Aney: You began with Clive.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I began with Clive, that is true. If you like, I can give you just a few points, but I hope it is realised by Englishmen themselves that their past history is not a very brilliant record. I hope they realise that they cheated Nawab Sirajudaulah in Bengal.

Mr. F. E. James: He was a nice fellow.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: He was a nice fellow certainly because he wanted his country's freedom and you would not let him have it.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: He did not want it for democracy.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Read Vansittart's minute.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I have done it.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: If you have done it, you ought to be ashamed of those against whom Vansittart was writing at the time. You ought to be ashamed of your Judge Impey and the whole blessed lot of those people who were cheating and tyrannising over those free people of Bengal.

An Honourable Member from the European Group: Free? (Laughter).

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: You will have some freedom before long. Go on laughing at our freedom of the past and you will have some freedom left for you in a short time! Get rid of that mentality.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande (Rohilkhand and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan, Rural): Mr. Molotov is deciding at present.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: They are only inviting it. I am only giving them what they want. They are laughing away. When I mentioned Napier, I had the Amirs of Sind in my mind, and the way in which they were cheated. Even your own historian tells us that it was the biggest piece of rascality that could ever be thought of in the history of the building up of the British Empire.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: See what is happening in Sind now.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Mr. Griffiths will not take very long to take a few lessons: I hope, but let him keep quiet now. Mr. Deputy President, they are asking me to repeat their history. Let them go into Old Delhi here. Have they seen the Champs-des-Mars? Those were the houses

of the elite of Delhi. One-third of Delhi, after 1857, was razed to the ground,—razed to the ground deliberately. Thousands of young men, innocent of any crime were hanged by every tree available in old Delhi. The old house in which I live today, happens to be in a quarter which was once the best locality, but today it is a slum, it is a perfect slum. In my own house there were 200 corpses of innocent people slain in 1857.

An Honourable Member from the European Group: They are still there!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Mr. Deputy President, don't let them provoke us. Do they want to awaken those memories in us? We want to wipe out those memories. Why do they wish to provoke us and ask us to revive those memories? (Interruption.) And if Mr. Griffiths and others of his ilk desire to read something from the pen of their own historian, I shall recommend to them a very simple, straightforward book, they can buy it anywhere, they will find it at the Oxford Book Depôt, by Edward Thomson, "The Other Side of the Medal". Read it and you will realise the extent of the oppression, the extent of the tyranny, the extent of the cruelty to which your people went against my people. You are talking of Nazism. Can Nazism be very much worse than that? Once again I say, we have over and over again asked you to be reasonable. Let us wipe out all those old memories, we do not want them, they are good neither for you nor for us. It is possible, even now it is not too late, even now the enthusiasm of India could be called forth if only the people find that India is a free country. Then it is perfectly obvious that every man, woman and child will feel that if they do anything they will be doing so to protect their own freedom and they will also be helping those who want to get theirs.

Talking of the record of this Government, even today India finds herself saddled with huge debts. I believe the extent of our debts is about £900 millions or so.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): Including the whole of the railway capital.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Well, you call it capital. I say it is a question of one cousin selling to another cousin at a very high price.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: But the assets are there.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I know the assets are there, but they are not worth the money which has been debited to our account.

Mr. F. E. James: You have the Grand Trunk Express!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: And thereby they have reduced India to the position of a debt slave. They ask over and over again, "What about these debts? We cannot leave India until these debts have been paid off." After the Great war, throughout the world, there was a scaling down of debts, in fact, some people went even the length of repudiating the debts, and even Great Britain was asking favours of its cousins in America. Did anybody lift his little finger to reduce the debts of India, debts which were not incurred in the interests of India at all, because some of these debts relate

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

to wars, aggressive wars against Burma, Abyssinia, Afghanistan and other expeditions here there and everywhere. Four hundred crores have been spent during the last 90 years in an effort to subjugate Pathans. Money has been spent on bombing those poor Waziris, because they must have a shooting range somewhere for the practice of their young men. All these things have happened. Well, Sir, if that is the record of this Government, are they entitled to remain here any longer, particularly at a time when India has got to put her own house in order. We are perfectly aware that the old order is crumbling. We are perfectly aware of the fact that the old order is in its death pangs. We are also perfectly aware that by the time this war is over, a new world will emerge from the debris of the structure of the old world. Even Great Britain, I am absolutely certain, will not be the same Great Britain.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: It will be Greater.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir Henry Gidney says it will be a greater one. A great revolution is going on even today. I also hope that Great Britain will emerge stronger than it is today from the present war and I have nothing against them. I have no ill-will against them. If I criticise, I criticise those rulers of Great Britain and the rulers of India.

An Honourable Member: and their ancestors.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Yes, and their ancestors as well. We are perfectly aware of the fact that even Nazism during this war will exhaust itself. We know perfectly well that Imperialism will also exhaust itself. We want to make it perfectly clear that India must stand on her own legs. India must organise her own resources. India's people must be in power. India must evoke the spontaneous enthusiasm of its people in defence of its own freedom and of the principle of freedom for the whole of humanity.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I have listened to the speech of the Honourable and learned Member who has just concluded his statement, with interest, but not with surprise. I have listened to that kind of speech times without number in this House. There have been occasions in this House in the past when exactly the same kind of speech, exactly the same kind of adjectives and exactly the same kind of historic narration was made, and, therefore, it was not with any surprise that I listened to most of what the Honourable Member had to say.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Neither does your speech surprise us

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am quite certain that my speech will not surprise the Honourable Members, because if it did, then I must have been saying something to which I have not been accustomed during the last 25 years of my political life. I must have gone back on all the traditions that I valued. I must have gone back on all the teachings that I had learnt, I must have gone back on all the principles on which my political education had been based. (Interruptions.) I hope that in what I am going to say, there will be

nothing which will surprise any Honourable Member on the opposite side, particularly Honourable Members who come from my own province.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: A leopard never changes its spots!

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: It does not, except that it sometimes may change from one spot (pointing to the Opposition Benches) to another spot (pointing to Government Benches).

(Interruption.)

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): There should not be too many interruptions.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, apologised to my friend, Mr. Griffiths, for the interruptions that he was subjected to. I shall not make an appeal that I should not be interrupted, because I have been accustomed to interruptions before. It will only take more time, but I would appeal to my friends opposite not to clap and shout, because thereby I may not be heard.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: You will be heard all right.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I know that I shall make myself heard in spite of your shouting. You will be only wasting time.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: You are a brave man! Go on.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I said that it was not with surprise that I heard the speech of my Honourable friend, but there was one element in that speech, one characteristic which did, to some extent, surprise me. The speeches that I referred to in the past were made at a time when there was peace in the land. Those speeches were made on occasions when no person thought that the dangers to which the world is exposed today would ever arise. Those speeches were made as debating points sometimes, as spicy anecdotes on other occasions, as fair good chafing by one side of the House or the other. But it did surprise me to find that at a time like the present a speech of that kind and, in fact some speeches, to which I had the opportunity of listening during the last two days, should have been made at all. Let me say at once that the Honourable Member's narration of British history is one to which most of us are accustomed. Most of us have learnt these from various books of Indian history. My Honourable friend, I find, has got that characteristic of oratory which has been handed down from the days when Shakespeare put into the mouth of Mark Antony those famous lines:

"I do not want to go into the past. I should like to bury the past. I do not want to re-open old sores. We want goodwill. We do not want to raise all these past issues. Let the dead past bury its dead."

And so saying, he raked up all the grizzly old bones of the dead past and exposed all the so-called skeletons, some real, some unreal, some completely artificial, to the gaze of the public. Now, Sir, that I do feel

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

is not the way in which a gentleman who wants to forget the past, who wants to promote goodwill and ask for such assurances as will evolve goodwill, that is not the way in which any gentleman who desires goodwill would go about his task, and in that statement of history, is there not occasionally another side of the picture also? My Honourable friend spoke of Clive, he hinted at Hastings, he spoke of various potentates and he spoke of the Mayfair Delhi and all that. But he ought to realise that, occasionally even in those days, there were Englishmen who pleaded the cause of the other side, much more freely, much more eloquently and much more fairly than many of our own countrymen are prepared to do. . .

Mr. S. Satyamurti: It is a shame that you are pleading their cause.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friends may say that it is a matter for shame. (Interruptions.) I see my Honourable friends are indulging in their old game. They are the perfect paragons of all that is beautiful in political life. I do not want to go into that. I shall give them my own opinion certainly.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Do.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I shall not flinch from that; I have done it for twenty years, and just because I happen to be on the Government Benches, it will not make any difference and will not make me say. . . .

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Of course not!

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: But I was telling them that, if there were these things done, let us also remember that there was a Vansittart who put that minute exposing his own countrymen, there was a Burke who pleaded for those very Indian rulers who had been robbed. Today my Honourable friends have not got a good word for any Indian ruler whatsoever and "that kind of men" is the description which my Honourable friend gave to his own countrymen—all of the same class, all tarred by the same brush, the same paint. There is nobody outside that Valhalla who has got any right. . . .

Mr. S. Satyamurti: For God's sake do not say that; we are living.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am questioning that, because in a few days you say you will disappear. . . .

Mr. S. Satyamurti: To come back again on your head!

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: What is the complaint of my Honourable friends? Their complaints seem to be two. First, that this war was declared without this House having been consulted. They know the position very well. They know that His Majesty's Government declares war, and when His Majesty's Government declares war, it virtually binds all the dominions.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: No, no. Go and read some books.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Let the Honourable Member proceed without any interruptions.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: He is wrong, Sir, he is absolutely wrong.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: And when His Majesty's Government declares war, virtually that declaration binds the dominions.

Some Honourable Members: No, no.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Can't you listen?

Sir Syed Raza Ali: I have no desire to interrupt, on a point of constitutional law. May I just point out that the constitutional position is that the declaration of war by His Majesty's Government does not bring in dominions automatically; those dominion Governments have got to take proceedings of their own.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Does my Honourable friend really think that I did not know that constitutional position? Could he not have waited for me to finish my sentence before he found fault with me? I can understand my Honourable friends over there; they are out merely to see that some sort of disturbance is created. I said that when His Majesty's Government declares war, virtually it binds the dominions also; I said "virtually", not "legally". What happens is that dominion after dominion goes through the formality of summoning its parliament, but it is a formality. . . .

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Nothing of the kind.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Dominion after dominion calls its parliament and goes through the formality of reiterating that declaration.

Mr. K. Santhanam (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Does my Honourable friend not know that Ireland is still neutral?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Ireland is not a dominion.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Sir, there was a conference, called the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, the first British Commonwealth Relations Conference which was held at Toronto which was attended by various delegates from various countries. They did consider this question of whether the King could wage war on behalf of one dominion and not wage war on behalf of another dominion. The whole constitutional position was then reviewed. Constitutionally, there was little indication in that group of countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations which could give any help to decide an issue of that kind. I happened to be the Chairman of the Committee which considered this whole question, and it was then found that it was merely a matter of adjustment.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: It is a dead thing now.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: However, that is a point on which we need not dwell. My friends by shouting have gained their point, and I give them the credit for it. I was on

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

the point that with reference to dominions, though every dominion may have the power to declare war, once His Majesty's Government has declared war or the King has declared war on behalf of the United Kingdom, it virtually becomes a *pro forma* declaration on behalf of the other dominions and that really speaking, in essence, in practice, there is really no such thing as a real attempt at weighing the *pros* and *cons* before a dominion declares war.

Now, let me come to the next point. My Honourable friends then say: "You state that you have got into the war and that India is behind this war" and the speeches of my Honourable friends seem to be for the purpose of proving that India is not behind this war effort. The whole point of the attendance of the Congress Party at this Session of the Legislative Assembly appears to me to make out that Indians are not behind this war effort, that India is an unwilling party to this war effort, and that speaking on behalf of the whole nation they are entitled to say that no section of the Indian people is really behind Great Britain in this war effort.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I am afraid the Honourable Member is misquoting me. I never said "no section".

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I was not quoting the Honourable Member at all. I was not quoting anybody. My Honourable friends want to make out by their speeches that India is not behind this war effort and by India they mean virtually, excepting a man who has sold his soul to the Government like myself, everybody else is against this war effort,—that we who are slaves, that we who are the chattels, that we who are the creatures, that we who are the victims of this system—I am now quoting the Honourable gentleman opposite—are alone behind this war effort because of our very nature and because of our very position, but that all other gentlemen, free and fine gentlemen all over India, and particularly among the ranks of the Congress Opposition, were not behind this war effort and will not help in this war.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir, while I was making that point, I made it perfectly clear that I was casting no aspersion on any individual Member of the Government. My criticism related to the system.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Let me say something about this system. My Honourable friend says that under this system, we are not condemned individually, but we are condemned by the lot.

An Honourable Member: Unfortunately

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: We are told that we are not individually slaves, but the whole group of us are slaves, and we are all victims. May I remind my Honourable friend that there is another system also which does not give the right of individual liberty, which subjects individuals to as much slavery as any system to which I have subjected myself at present, and more? May I tell them that today I have got more freedom to speak out my mind though I am a member of the Government of India.

An Honourable Member: In the name of India?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: and tell this House what my grievances are about the constitution at present prevailing in this country, and tell India and tell my friends that I am not satisfied with the present constitution, that I should like to be what others are in their countries, and that immediately after the war, I hope to be able to demand that we shall be free citizens, with all rights, and with no kind of control from above.

Sir, I was referring to the system which is different from the system to which I am a party, a system which does not give any liberty whatsoever; a system which dare not allow any individual to speak out his mind, a system under which the law is all-embracing, more vigorous and more shattering in the doom that it conveys to the individual a system under which Queen Alia's sentence 'off with his head' was a very kind and good thing compared to the sentences which have been passed and are being passed day after day

Mr. F. E. James: That is the Congress theory of democracy.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: a system under which you walk in and walk out, you open your mouth to the extent you are permitted, you close it the next moment, —till Monday we give you a chance to speak, and on Tuesday you must be off—well, Sir, that is not the system under which I am working. That is not the system under which I, at any rate, am working. That is so far as the system and the victim and the slavery and all the rest of it are concerned.

Frankly stated, my Honourable friends' desire is to have their views conveyed to the outside world, the whole purpose of this debate, the whole object of the attendance of my Honourable friends is to convey to the whole world, to America in particular, that they represent everybody in India, and that, in the name of India, they will tell the world that India and Indians are not behind this war effort.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Whom do you represent? Why don't you face an election?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I represent Indians. I am going to tell you whom I represent. Let us not talk too much about votes and elections. We know where it has led us, and we know what the result of the last election was. The result of the last election, the result of the working of the democracy has been to make many men who were the most acute advocates of democracy, to make men who were the staunchest supporters of the democratic system, to make men who for 30 years and 35 years have been continuously in Legislatures and outside Legislatures pleading for democracy and democratic rights to make them say today, we, in India whatever other system may suit us, are not suited to democracy; the democratic system is not suited to us. That is the result of the votes at the last election. That

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

is the result of the ballot box, that is the result of Honourable gentlemen having been returned by the ballot box, and that is the challenge that the Honourable Member has put to me, that I should go and stand by the test of the ballot. I have stood by the strength of votes, I have stood for election, I have tested the ballot box, but verily verily today there is not much chance, there is not the consciousness that the man who deserves it will be returned and can face the ballot box. You have reduced it to that impotency, you have made the ballot box a hollow mockery, a delusion, and a snare. Talk of the ballot box indeed! You take pride in the fact that you have been returned by majorities. No, Sir; I am not like the gentlemen next to me on either side who have put in years of service in the Indian Civil Service, who have not had the opportunity of facing the public, who have not had the opportunities of testing public opinion. I have gone through the same mill as any of the Honourable Members opposite, and I know that ballot boxes there are, and ballot boxes there are, some are green, some are yellow, and some even red.

I was saying, that my Honourable friends wanted to make out that there was hardly anybody worth the name, hardly any one worth considering, hardly any one who, if he be not merely a loyalist of loyalists, a man as I said who had sold his soul would be behind this war effort. I want to tell this House that there are millions of people who are for this war effort, that there are millions of people, as good patriots as any that can be found in the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas who are for this war effort.

An Honourable Member: Your speech will go to America all right.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: No, Sir, my speech will not go to America, nor have I such a desire! I am perfectly certain that their contribution to the war, their desire to make this war effort a success is not due to the fact that they are enamoured of this constitution, is not due to the fact that they are not conscious of past British history, is not due to the fact that they think that the present Government can continue for ever or ought to continue for ever, but it is due to the fact that at this time they realise as clearly as some at least of the Honourable Members opposite do, more clearly than most of them do, that this war is a war which concerns India as much as any one else, that on the result of this war depends all the hopes that Indians have for generations built up for the independence of their country and that if in this war things do not go straight, if by any chance the Allies—I shall not say the Allies, because it looks as if there are very few Allies now—if by any chance the British are defeated, then all our hopes will be turned to ashes and dust and there will be neither democracy nor Dominion status, nor independence, but the peace of the grave which my Honourable friend referred to will prevail. That is the reason why vast sections of my countrymen are in this war effort. I shall not refer to those sections of Indians because speakers have already referred to them and speakers will refer hereafter to them; I shall not refer to the various sections of people that they represent.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend tries to make out that all this money which the Honourable the Finance Member is collecting has been got by nefarious methods, robbery, dacoity, picking from the pockets of

others by force, that nothing is coming forward willingly. No, Sir; those who have realised that this war effort is as much India's duty as anybody else, that the danger is there, very near to India and that this danger must be averted at all costs, they have been coming forward sometimes through taxation and sometimes through voluntary effort to meet this huge expenditure which has been incurred.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Santhanam, referred to the funds that were raised in Madras. Fifty-eight lakhs have been contributed so far by the Presidency of Madras, not by taxation, but by voluntary effort. I know that I shall be told that this was not voluntary effort, that this was mere *zaburdasti* and *zulum* and force—all those atrocities which Government servant can and will perpetrate, and that notwithstanding what the Governor has been going about saying, these atrocities have gone on and the result is 58 lakhs. (Interruption.) My Honourable friends will have the patience to listen to me for a moment. Let me give the House if it is prepared to listen, if it is prepared to have an open mind

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

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Yes, we have an open mind, we are prepared to listen.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: if it is prepared to have an open mind, let me give the House some facts.

Then, I shall come to this 58 lakhs. As soon as the war broke out, a newspaper in Madras opened a fund, which was the first fund that was started even before the Governor's War Purposes Fund was started, for sending some aeroplanes to England. The *Madras Mail* opened a fund, and, within three weeks three lakhs of rupees were collected. Who were the Government servants that went about crushing the poor, annoying the rich, treading on the toes of Congress middlemen and collecting this amount? Does my Honourable friend want an inquiry as to how that amount was collected, who gave that amount, and whether it was voluntary or involuntary?

An Honourable Member: Europeans gave it.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend must traduce his countrymen; that is the whole trouble of it. In their anxiety to show that without their help nothing can be done, without their co-operation no money will be coming, without their being in office not a single soldier will be recruited,—in their anxiety to prove and establish that fact they are going to any lengths and fouling their own nest. And when people are coming forward readily with voluntary contributions because they are self-interested, because they can see things farther than some of my Honourable friends opposite, this charge must be made against them that they are only giving it because there is pressure in the land and official *zoolum* is there. Nothing of the kind. I will give you another instance. The other day,—and my Honourable friend knows it,—a Resolution came up before the Corporation of Madras with my Honourable friend, the Mayor, in the Chair, suggesting that a sum of Rs. 10,000 may be given to the City of London for the

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

Lord Mayor's Fund for the relief of the women and children who were bombed. By a majority of two,—a majority for which my Honourable friend's party there, a replica of the party what sits behind him here was wholly and totally responsible.—that Resolution was turned down. The *Madras Mail* again came on the scene, raised a fund, and within one week, not Rs. 10,000, but Rs. 15,000, was collected, and that amount was sent to the Lord Mayor's Fund.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: How long will that last?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend is going off the track; I do not propose to follow him. It is not a question of how long it will last. This sum of 58 lakhs is not a minute's expenditure for His Majesty's Government. This sum of Rs. 10,000 will not even build half a dozen shutters. But the point is that the people of India are behind this war effort and are showing by their contribution that they are with Great Britain in this war, that their interests are identical with those of Great Britain and that they stand or fall together by the result of that war. It is a conclusion most inconvenient to my Honourable friends opposite which they dare not accept and which therefore they can only fight by suggesting that all this contribution is raised by coercion, fraud and oppression and all those things which during their 2 or 2½ years of responsibility in the Provincial Governments they must have realised whether their Government servants are capable of.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena: How much have you contributed?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Does my Honourable friend really want to ask that personal question? I am perfectly willing to satisfy him in the lobby.

Now, Sir, the trouble is that my Honourable friends do not know their own minds. When you have your mind made up by somebody else, I do believe it is very difficult to know what your mind is. That is the whole trouble. That is the tragedy of the party opposite, the tragedy of my Honourable friends.

(Interruptions from the Congress Benches.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should be listened to with patience; they were themselves heard with patience.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I have heard in history of a place called Babel and of the many voices that were heard in the city of Babel; but the historian does not say that if all those languages had been translated whether the purport of it would have been the same. It was perhaps only the language that was different, and it is quite possible that all of them intended to say the same thing but in different languages. Here I do not know what city it can be named, but while the language is the same the purport of what different speakers say is entirely different, and each person seems to have his

own idea of what exactly he is standing for and what exactly he is advocating at the present time. One gentleman speaks of non-violence as the only thing that will save this country, as the ultimate thing that will save mankind. And let me here say something about non-violence. I do not think there is a single man, not merely in India but anywhere in the world except of course those who are out like Hitler and his myrmidons to destroy,—there is not a single man of any thought, a single man who is inspired by any spiritual motives, who does not believe that the best thing for this world would be the goal to which we should all attain, the goal which has been mentioned many many years ago, the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World,—that the goal must be a peaceful, settled, contented family of nations where violence is a thing of the past. In that sense I entirely agree but that is not the sense in which some of the Honourable Members opposite use this phrase of non-violence. They talk of *ahimsa*. "*Ahimsa*" does not mean non-violence; it means no provoked violence, no violence which is provocative in its nature, and let me say. . . . (*A Voice*: "How do you know?") I say this because I am a Hindu and I know the meaning of that word. But let me say this that there is so much talk of non-violence that people are very often misled when it is made into a religious theme almost. I say this not because I want to detract from anything that any other person says or because I venture to enter into any controversies over religion because I am singularly incompetent to do so, but because I feel that there is a danger that if this creed of non-violence, as it is now explained, prevails and if this creed is accepted by wider and wider circles of Indians, it will indeed be a tragedy for this country. Hindu religion does not, I say emphatically, preach non-violence. Either you take the Dravidian scriptures, the Tirukkural and other books, or you take that book which most Hindus are proud of, believe in and read almost every day if they have any faith in Hinduism at all and which is best known to the outside world,—I refer to the Gita. How can any Hindu who says that he is a true Hindu, who reads his Bhagwat Gita and who understands it, for a moment suggest that non-violence is the creed of the Hindu religion? There on the battle-field of Kurukshetra the Lord Sree Krishna addressing his favourite disciple Arjuna tells him in verse after verse and in dialogue after dialogue that the duty of Arjuna is to fight—(*A voice*: "To resist")—yes, to resist certainly. "Victorious thou wilt rule the world, slain thou wilt attain Heaven". There is no question of non-violence. You may give this creed of non-violence any name you like, you may give any "ism" to it you like, but do not call it Hinduism and do not mislead the Hindu public by saying that non-violence is the creed of the Hindu religion. Sir, my Honourable friends opposite sometimes talk of non-violence, sometimes, as may naturally be expected from my Honourable friend opposite, Mr. Asaf Ali

Sir Gomasji Jehangir: He did not talk of non-violence; he gave it a very wide berth.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: They say that that kind of non-violence is a thing that they do not believe in. That is the difficulty with my Honourable friends. Some talk of one

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

thing, some talk of another, some talk of nothing; and in that conglomeration what emerges must be a mystifying thing to every one of us who have to deal with these speeches. My Honourable friends, as I said, talk of a new National Government and I was not surprised when my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, said,—it is a sort of thing that he has been saying for some years and the sort of thing that has landed us in the present predicament,—that the Congress will create a National Government; Congress will say so and it will be a National Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: I said, the people of India.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend, I distinctly remember, talked of the Congress.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: I said, the people of India. I know you are out to create mischief; I did not say that.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I have a better appreciation of the Honourable Members whom my Honourable friend has referred to than to think for a moment that I could create any mischief. The mischief is there: it has been created for the last three years: it has been created by the somewhat unfortunate and indiscreet speeches of my Honourable friend. No, Sir. I want to throw oil on troubled waters. My Honourable friend may not like to believe it; in his heart of hearts he knows it. I am not the person to create mischief. I have done everything I possibly could to avoid the mischief growing, to see to it that it is nipped in the bud, to see to it that by all these indiscreet speeches and more indiscreet actions this trouble does not grow. Really, it is my Honourable friend who has to reconsider his own position.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): I would like you to go on with this point.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:
4 P.M. I have got a sheaf of speeches here on my table, from which I can read mischievous statements which were calculated to and certainly did create all the mischief that my Honourable friend is now complaining of or is afraid of

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Or is capable of:

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I shall not read them. But, why is this party coming now and creating this atmosphere, telling the public that this war is a war only of imperialism, that this war is a war in which only imperial interests are concerned that this is a war for which they can have no sympathy. That was not the attitude of my Honourable friends when the war first broke out, when provincial governments were functioning all over India, when responsible ministers were making statements about the war. That was not the attitude that my Honourable friends then took up. Let me read a statement. My Honourable friends want to know the purposes for which the war is being waged. My Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, said: "What

does it matter whether Hitler rules or whether the British Imperialist rules? We are perfectly willing and happy to have either of them if we cannot be independent”

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (North West Frontier Province, General): On a point of personal explanation, Sir

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must go back to his seat if he wants to speak.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: On a point of personal explanation, now that I am in my seat

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am not giving way.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is not giving way.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Can I have an opportunity after he finishes his speech?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend said “We want to be independent: we will have neither the Germans, nor the Russians, nor the British; but we do not see any difference between Hitler and the British, between the Italians and the British”. That was not the attitude of Honourable Members at the beginning of the war, when the war was first declared, when provincial governments were still functioning, when responsible ministers were making their statements after the outbreak of the war. Let me read one quotation:

“Hitler’s war is a war against smaller and helpless nationalities. It is a war of racial arrogance against humanity. It is a war of ruthless destruction carried on against civilised nations and international relations. It is violence carried to perfection, seeking to destroy peace. Above all it is a war against the dignity of human personality; it is a war against non-violence which we hold as sacred. It is an irreligious attempt to affront the sanctity of the moral law.”

An Honourable Member: Who said that?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My Honourable friend, Mr. Munshi, has said in better words, expressed in far sweeter language, gone into flights of oratory of which I am incapable, in this passage that I have just read

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai: Who denies it today?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I did not say that.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai: Then why read it?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Will the Honourable Member wait? He will see the point. Time after time

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

such statements were made for some months after the war. My Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, talked of the British nation, of their iniquities, of their ruthlessness, of the essential indistinguishability between the British and the German. Here is what another friend of mine from the sacred ranks opposite has said:

"I know that Britain with all her faults is a decent nation."

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: The British people are, but not the rulers.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: You will find in the course of his speech that he was referring to the British Government and not to the British people. Now, Sir, what has come over these gentlemen, that from the statements they were making then, they are now making these statements such as we have heard in the course of this debate? It seems to me that the reason is clear. At that time they were in office; at that time they hoped that certain suggestions of theirs will be accepted. Some were accepted; others were about to be accepted. The trouble is that the moment a suggestion is accepted there is somebody there who puts forward a more extreme suggestion with the purpose of seeing to it that that suggestion is not considered or accepted. There were offers made; there were pourparlers; there were talks; some gentlemen were here in Delhi in September and October of last year; it is an open secret that suggestions then made would have been accepted, suggestions were forthcoming from some members, very important members of the party; but the moment that suggestion was made there was somebody with the ruthlessness of Hitler who said "This is all twaddle; we shall not accept it", and put in a clause here and a clause there which made it impossible, as they knew, for the British Government to accept it. Having come to that position stage by stage and step by step, having worsened your own situation, having got out of office with no tangible reason whatever, and with no prospect at the present time of going back to office, you become bitter; and if you become bitter and want to indulge in this language, then I do not see how anybody can help you. The fact is that they know that in this war the great majority of the people are with the war effort; some of the foremost patriots are with them in this war effort; they do not take the stand that Honourable Members have been compelled to take at the present time. Men who know that there are faults of the British Government, men who want as much as Honourable Members opposite want, to put an end to this kind of rule and have a different kind of rule, feel that this is not the time when all those changes need necessarily be made. I need not quote the names of those gentlemen. They are all known—some of them have been distinguished congressmen themselves, ex-presidents of the Congress some of them have been what Honourable Members call themselves—martyrs—long before, perhaps one or two of the Honourable Members opposite were born: certainly, in the days, when, as a college student, I used to defy them almost. That great soul who is in Pondicherry feels that this is a war in which he must interest himself.

An Honourable Member: How do you know it?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: and he sends a contribution to the Governor's War Purposes Fund. A more

tangible evidence of his interest in the war and of his desire that the Allies should win I cannot see forthcoming myself. Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, once President of the Indian National Congress, a Deputy Leader of the Party opposite, occupying the very seat that my friend from the Madras City today occupies, has been making speech after speech saying that it is the duty of India now to rally round the cause of Great Britain and to fight along with the Britishers in this cause. He is not a patriot. He is a paid toady; he is a man who has sold his soul. That is the sort of totalitarian destructive criticism which you are prepared to apply to anybody who may by even a hair's breadth happen to differ from your views, your nostrums, and your dogmas. In the old days there were a set of people who went about with phylacteries on their foreheads in the streets of a famous city crying 'Lord be praised that we are not as other men'. Let us not repeat that mistake again. Let us all realise that Indians do feel for their country, whether they are on Government benches or elsewhere, that it is not community that decides who a patriot is, that it is not religion that decides who a patriot is, that the fact that one is born in this country is a child of India, is an Indian, that that is the fact that decides what patriotism is. Let us also realise that in methods there may be differences. I am perfectly certain, many of my own countrymen are perfectly certain, that at this time anybody who does not stand by the war effort, anybody who does not join in this war effort, is a traitor to the country . . .

Several Congress Members: Oh, oh. You are a traitor!

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friends opposite . . .

Mr. Sri Prakasa: On a point of order, Sir. Can the Honourable Member call us traitors?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): He has not done so. He has expressed a certain opinion about a certain attitude.

An Honourable Member: We are traitors to British Imperialism.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa talked of Arcot. He said that the people of Arcot drank the gruel and gave the rice to the Englishmen. I know that the English historian has referred to that, and I do not quite appreciate his intelligence. My friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, must know at least now that all the best stuff, the vitamins of which Doctors speak, the most substantial thing, is in the gruel, and not in the rice. The people of Arcot have been for generations accustomed to know where the real substance is, and they know how to separate the chaff from the grain, and, therefore, it is no wonder that even today we are able to appreciate what is grain and what is chaff. I am perfectly convinced myself that at the end of this war, whether it be short or whether it be long, a new order and a new world must come into existence. I am perfectly certain that nowhere in this world, in no country, will there be the same old social system, the same old economic system or the same old administrative system as prevails today. My friends think of only administrative changes. I am a radical and I go further. I see ahead social changes

[Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.]

also, for which some of my friends are not as prepared as I am. I see economic changes ahead of me, and I am perfectly certain that at the end of this war, those who are now making sacrifices, those who are suffering, those who are giving of their best, will have stretched a hand through time to catch the far off interest of tears. Let me again remind my friends of what is happening today. There was a reference to the army and navy. My friends say there is nobody who is helping in this war. Day after day I have seen youngmen, it has been a pleasure to me, men who would never have dreamt of such a career, coming and asking for Commissions in the Army, Commissions in the Navy and in the Air Force—in fact, in any position which gives them a chance for a military career. You have only to put in an advertisement to see that these men by their thousands are forthcoming, and the complaint ought to be not that they are not willing to come forward and share risks and shed their blood, but that so few are being chosen.

An Honourable Member: Poverty.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friends talk of poverty. I heard a reference also to mercenary troops. I venture to state here and now that there can be no greater calumny on the Indian soldiers and the sepoy and all the fighting people of India than that calumnious statement from whatsoever high quarter it may have come. Mercenaries indeed, poverty forsooth; my friend talks of shedding blood,—where, how and what kind of blood has he shed at any time? Here are men as air pilots, here are youngmen as naval officers, belonging to middle class and high class families, Brahmins who can trace their origin to the Aryan days, from Madras, people who never thought of a fighting career, coming by their scores, to have a Commission in the Navy or the Air Force. I have seen these individuals myself; some of them have got a big bank balance, and my friends say that poverty and mercenary motives have attracted them to this career—the flower of my countrymen: You do not want to recognise that youngmen are now wanting to take all the chances available so that they may equip themselves in this war, so that they may get training for the army and all the fighting forces, so that when this country shall be free as any other dominion, they will have the right and the duty of defending that independence which they hope to get at the end of the war. It is an inconvenient fact, you do not want to recognise it,—and you say that the whole of India is not behind this war. Intellectual youngmen to whom the political idea makes an appeal have been more far-sighted than yourself. They see the advantages and the opportunities open to them, they want to avail themselves of those opportunities, so that in the time to come, which is not far off, they will do their full share of service by this country and by their countrymen.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Why not order some election?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: My friend has got in his brains elections and elections. He has been returned. On one occasion he defeated me. That was many years ago, and as he said the other day, it is a forgotten chapter almost, because he has

filled his place twice as long as he had expected to fill it, but that sweet memory when he had defeated me, lingers on and is still alive. He is, therefore, dreaming of elections again, and is thinking of independence and freedom. I am thinking of war and the brutality of war time. I am thinking of the danger, not merely from the west, but also from the east. My friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, said and rightly that the bastions of India are today at Turkey, and the outposts which have to be defended are at Turkey. I entirely and respectfully agree with him. It is now further away than it was a few months ago. We thought that the outposts of the Indian Empire were Egypt on one side and Singapore on the other. We now realise that is not so, and if those countries could be saved, if their liberty could be maintained, if their independence could be guaranteed if in the fight they put forward we go and join, then we shall be saved also and we shall be equally strong. It is an old old story of the fagget—the bundle cannot be broken if all the sticks are tied together. When my friends say the danger is not here, it is a thousand miles away, the danger will never come, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq will come to our rescue, Iran will be our saviour, Egypt is there which may not have to join the war,—when they say all this, do they forget that virtually Egypt is giving all the help that she can? Is any man in Egypt allowed to talk outside—except perhaps in their Parliament,—in the manner in which people talk here? Let some of my friends try to speak in Egypt, not in the United Kingdom. But there is one other thing. I agree Turkey and all the Muslim countries are the buffer states for India and any help to them is help to ourselves. But let us cast our eyes eastward. I shall not go into what may possibly happen, but I think as an individual, as a private member, I should have the prescience to see that in the East also there is danger. And here when we are surrounded by dangers of this kind, when we know the serious consequences that will ensue if any policy is pursued which does not meet these aggressive elements—is this the time when we can have this leisurely debate, review the past 200 years of British history in this country, apportion blame to this or that person

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: That was asked for, and I had to do it.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: talk of the unconcern which we may feel whether one kind of rule exists or another kind of rule prevails so long as we are not independent. No, Sir. Let us all remember, the great truth, I hope the German hordes will be made to realise that truth of the saying of the poet which in my own life I have often remembered and to a certain extent realised the verity of,

“Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small
Though with patience He be waiting
With exactness grinds He all.”

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca cum Mymensingh: **Muhammadan Rural**): Sir, after the two speeches which we have heard, one from my Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, and the other from my Honourable

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

friend, the Commerce Member, I feel very great difficulty in expressing what I want to say in connection with this motion. Before I go into the merits of this supplementary Budget that was presented to us a week ago, I want to say a few words in connection with the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, which he delivered this afternoon. In answer to a remark of Mr. Griffiths to Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, could you have made that speech anywhere else excepting India—the speech that Mr. Abdul Qaiyum made yesterday

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Could you have made such a speech, were India free?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, look at the sample of freedom of speech, look at the sample of the National Government they ask for? They cannot tolerate even five minutes to hear the truth which is unpalatable. Mr. Asaf Ali, in answer to that question which was put to my Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, in a shouting voice, said "Yes, all the countries, yes." I say with the same shouting voice, "No, not even in the free countries."

An Honourable Member: He was not as loud as you are.

(At this stage, Mr. Asaf Ali rose in his seat.)

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I am not giving way.

(Mr. Asaf Ali again rose in his seat.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. The Honourable Member is not giving way.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: You may make another speech, you will have ample time. A foreigner,—who was listening to Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's speech yesterday from the Gallery, a friend of mine, whose country was a free country before the invasion by the Nazis,—said that he was shocked to hear the speeches that were made, and particularly the speech of Mr. Abdul Qaiyum. In his own country, he said, that speech would have cost him, not freedom of movement, but he would have been shot down straightaway.

An Honourable Member: Was he a German?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Not German. From a free country.

An Honourable Member: Poland?

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: If that was the kind of freedom, it is just as well that such freedom is gone.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, with all enthusiasm and warmth charged this Satanic Government, the British people

Mr. M. S. Aney: He did not use the word "Satanic".

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: He did not use the word "Satanic". I am using it.

Mr. M. S. Aney: That is your qualification.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: . . . the Satanic Government, the successors of Clive

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Are they not?

Another Honourable Member: Are you satisfied with Clive?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should be allowed to make his own speech.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My Honourable friend shouted that Clive was a cheat

An Honourable Member: What do you think of him?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My friend was referring perhaps to the Battle of Plassey. That battle was fought in my province, and not in his. I have read more books about the Battle of Plassey.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Question.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: The usual interruption. Has he forgotten his own countrymen who sold Bengal to Clive? It is his own countrymen, not Clive. It was Mir Kasim and his ilk and Raja Kishen Chand. These two are responsible for the loss of the Empire, which was a Muslim Empire?

The Honourable the Finance Member has introduced a supplementary budget and a Finance Bill—for the money required for conducting the war. (Interruption by Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury.) Don't interrupt me.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury (Assam : Muhammadans): On a point of information. There is no supplementary budget here.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: All right. Supplementary Finance Bill. Will that satisfy you? We, as elected Members, want to put it to a few tests, and if we feel satisfied that those tests have been answered, I shall, so far as I am concerned, have no hesitation in supporting the motion.

Now, what are these tests? First—is the amount really required? I have read his speech over and over again. I am satisfied that the amount is required. What is the nature of the expenditure? That is the next test. The nature of the expenditure he has explained fully, and I am satisfied it is a pressing one, and that this expenditure has to be met. Why was it not visualised when the budget estimates were made? He has explained fully why he could not visualise at the time the budget estimates were made, practically last October or November, but which came before this Honourable House in February. Was the reason for the fall of revenue justifiable? He has said that that is so.

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

Is raising money by taxation justified? He has not explained that, but I will explain here. At the time of the last Budget, I opposed the imposition of the Excess Profits Tax on the ground that the money should be found by borrowing and not by taxation as was done in 1914 by the then Finance Member. Looking at this longish War, I consider it will only mean postponing the evil day and putting burden on our successors. Furthermore, one has to consider what is the nature of the taxation. Does it hurt the poor man or does it not, or it hurts those who are able to pay? Considering the stupendous sacrifice of the mother country, I do not think the Finance Member asked us to sacrifice anything like that. But, Sir, before I go into that Bill; I want to place before this House my picture of my Honourable friends sitting over there, and then I shall take up the Finance Bill. Honourable Members sitting opposite complained that the Government, the Satanic Government, did not sound the Assembly and consult them before the declaration of war. The Assembly was in Session last September and Honourable Members would not attend,—and why? The objection was that His Excellency the Governor General had given an assurance to the Leaders of the various Groups in this House that he would not send out the Indian army outside India without taking the House into confidence and without taking the leaders into confidence, in case the House was not sitting.

Mr. M. S. Aney: That was a statement made on the floor of the House.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: He has consulted the leaders. The Governor of Bombay sent for the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and consulted him about the sending of this army, and there are letters to show that he had acquiesced in.

Mr. M. S. Aney: How do you say he acquiesced?

An Honourable Member: Have you got a photograph of that letter?

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai: In reference to the supposition which my Honourable friend is talking about, I tell him that he is entirely misinformed. On the assumption that he has seen any letter, all I can tell this House is that he has no right to say what he does say in reference to that supposed letter. When I do speak, I will tell him more about that letter.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: My Honourable friends did not attend the Assembly in the last Session. Let me tell the House and my Congress friends what Mr. Nariman said in his statement to the Press.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Louder please.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I cannot shout like Mr. Asaf Ali. This is what it says:

“The dreaded bomb turns out to be a toy balloon. There is an old saying in vernacular ‘Dug a Hill to trace a mouse’. The last Working Committee’s Resolution is even worse than that; after exploring a huge mountain for months, the Working

Committee at last discovered a tiny worm. Since the declaration of war over a year ago, the country is ringing with the militant cries of approaching Satyagraha. The Nationalist papers have been daily announcing in prominent headlines the coming struggle. The 'Generalissimo' was duly appointed with Distatorial powers and with full military and civil control. Months ago, he gave the signal, the clarion call to be prepared for the epic onslaught, the last and conclusive War for Indian Independence. Death or victory was Jawaharlal's latest heroic slogan. 'Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru'—*I am not reading the whole statement; I am only giving a few extracts*—for the time being discarded the saintly and simple attire of 'Pyran' and 'Dhoti' and donned on a more fighting uniform of 'Shorts and Shirts'; they inspected the camps and exhorted the brave soldiers' to be ready for the final sacrifice"

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: Is it Shakespeare you are quoting?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I am quoting one of the Congress members who was in the Congress Party, quoting what he has said. I am not reading an Arabian Nights tale which my friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, read the other day. Sir, the only point I want to make before this House is this, how unreal is the position of my friends sitting on the other side!

"Much to the relief of most of the members of the 'Star Chamber' the 'Generalissimo' has to secure their safety further decreed that neither he or his trusted lieutenants' should be in the front fighting rank, they should watch the fray from the safe distance. Their personal liberty is much more precious than the 'liberty of speech'. The Leaders are reserved for Ministerial 'Gadis' and pompous seats of Fascist Power. So Sirdar's pathetic farewell to Guzerath turns out to be a hoax and Srijut Bhulabhai's pretended disappointment for missing Bannu Jail was a similar eye-wash"

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member knows already that to read out long extracts like that is not fair to the House.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai: Written oratory has that effect—what can I do?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:

"Now that the 'oracle' has decided, the iron-willed and steel-hearted British Premier Mr. Churchill will begin to tremble. The tragic but ridiculous sight of Vinoba Bhave and his revered train of monastic Friars, entering the gates of Gandhian Mensteries, i.e., the Indian Jails will surely make even the Churchillian heart to quail"

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is expected to make his own speech, and not merely to read out extracts from others' speeches at length.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, this is how my Honourable friends sitting on the opposite side are described by one of them.

Mr. M. S. Aney: We neither know the name of the paper from which you are quoting, nor the name of the author.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: *The Star of India*. (Interruptions.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better address the Chair.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, "India is not in this war" is the cry. "We will not support Britain until and unless independence is granted". Sir, that independence will not last five minutes if it is given to us now. Unfortunately, that cannot be given. If they gave us that, I assure you it would not last twenty-four hours and we would be nowhere. Mr. President, you, Sir, come from Bengal, and so do I. That great man was born in Bengal, that saintly man, a great Saint, not a political saint, but a Saint

An Honourable Member: Who is that?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Will you have a little patience?—who gives *Darshan* to people from the whole of India only once a year. (Interruption.) I knew his late father. His father was our family doctor, and I know the family, and they were treated as members of our families, not mere friends.

An Honourable Member: Why did you not go to Pondicherry?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: That Saint has taken up his residence in Pondicherry

An Honourable Member: Why, why?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi and he is Shri Aurobinda Ghose. I will read out to this House what he has said about this war.

"Sri Aurobindo Ghose, of the Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, has made a contribution of Rs. 500 to H. E. the Governor's War Fund. This is announced in a press note issued from the Governor's Secretariat today. Sri Aurobindo accompanied his generous gift with the following letter :

'To the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Madras.

Sir, we are placing herewith at the disposal of H. E. the Governor of Madras a sum of Rs. 500 as our joint contribution to the Madras War Fund. This donation, which is in continuation of previous sums given by us for the cause of the Allies (10,000 francs to the French Caisse de Defence Nationale before the unhappy collapse of France and Rs. 1,000 to the Viceroy's War Fund immediately after the armistice) is sent as an expression of our entire support' *mark the words*—"for the British people and the Empire in their struggle against the aggressions of the Nazi Reich and our complete sympathy with the cause for which they are fighting. We feel that not only this is a battle waged in just self-defence and in defence of the nations threatened with the world domination of Germany and the Nazi system of life, but that it is a defence of civilisation and its highest attained social, cultural and spiritual values and of the whole future of humanity. To this cause our support and sympathy will be unswerving whatever may happen; we look forward to the victory of Britain, and as the eventual result, an era of peace and union among the nations and a better and more secure world order.

Yours Sincerely,

(Sd.) SRI AUROBINDO."

Sir, that Saint is respected from one end of India to the other, and that is the spirit in which he looks at the situation; not only that he contributes from his personal fund, which shows the spirit of his Association, but he says that it is in order to carry on the fight against the domination of Nazism which should be destroyed. Sir, if he appeals like that,

I am as certain as I am standing here today that he will be heard, and not Mahatma Gandhi. That is the reverence which Indians have for that Saint whose *Darshan* they can have only once a year.

An Honourable Member: Are you his *chela*?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Now, Sir, coming back to the Finance Bill, I will refer to the few speeches that I have been able to listen to. I regret, Sir, that I have not had the honour of listening to the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, but I have read extracts of his speech in the *Hindustan Times*.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, entertained us as usual with his Arabian Nights tales, and when I heard his speech, it was a recreation for some of us from our daily labours. He was talking of independence and nothing else, and he said that until and unless independence is won, he won't have any sympathy for the Britishers. Independence! But what does he mean by independence? They have failed to reconcile even the two major communities in India. What a shame? They could not bring about reconciliation between the two communities, Hindus and Muslims, at the Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi failed at the Round Table Conference to reconcile these two communities. They say that Hindustan is for the Hindus only and not for the Muslims.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Who says so?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Dr. Moonjee says so at the top of his voice.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: He is not India.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: He is not India, but the Congress claims that they are India. I should say that the Congress is not India as well. (Laughter.) I say that my friends will only enrage me by their laughter. I will give them a bitter pill to swallow. Day in and day out the one story that we hear is "National Government." To whom to give this National Government?

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: We are giving it to you.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I wish they would give me. Then, I would exclude my Honourable friend, Mr. Pande, the moment I get that power. Compose the differences, do not be childish, do not be blind when you possess eyes to see, do not pretend to be deaf when you can hear. See facts and do not be dreaming. How do you expect to get independence until and unless you settle the differences? There was an opportunity at the Round Table Conference in 1930, and today it is 1940. Ten years have elapsed. We were in England for four years, we could not do anything to reconcile the two communities. Six years have since passed and nothing has happened. Before you compose your differences with all the communities who call India their home, no Government can accede to any request of the kind that you ask for. We will refuse to allow this Government to give you a National Government as we have tasted what it will be. We had had a fore-taste of your National Government when the Congress Ministries were in power.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: We will make you the head of that National Government.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Yes, we know, we have tasted what a National Government means. My Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, in his exuberance said, "come now with me to Old Delhi and see the atrocities, the wretchedness of the condition of the poor people, see how millions of them are dying", and I say the same thing to him. If he will please come with me to Bihar, to U. P. and C. P. and in all other provinces where the so-called National Government was ruling

Mr. M. S. Aney: Except Bengal.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: That was not a Congress Government. The Muslims have tasted the quinine pill that was administered to them by your Congress Ministers. What a shame! Even the Congress members have conceded that so far as the men of the I. C. S. are concerned, they are above corruption. They are not dishonest as Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad described us businessmen. We all belong to that category of dishonest men. Only Professors of Economics or Professors of Mathematics could be above dishonesty

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Certainly more than businessmen.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Such a wholesale condemnation of businessmen was not warranted. It did not lie in the mouth of my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, to say so. What was the position in the Ministries in the Congress Provinces? Bribery, corruption and jobbery from top to bottom. It was stinking in the nostrils, the manner in which the administrations was conducted by the Congress. There is positive proof of that in the possession of people who know the real facts. That is the sample of Congress Government we had in seven provinces. They want the Government to accede once more to this mockery of National Government before they will accede to Government's demands for money, before they will take any efforts to get money for war purposes to conduct it to a successful ending. They say, it is not India's war. I say, it is India's war. My Honourable friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, is not here. He said: "We Indians have learnt English but you, Britishers, have not cared to learn our language though you have been ruling here for such a long time. What does it matter if the Germans come in or if the Japanese come in? We will learn their language as we learn the English language". That is what he said, not by way of a joke, but seriously. Another Honourable friend sitting opposite, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, said that so far as he is concerned, he does not care a tuppence whether Germany comes, or Japan comes.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech on the next day.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 15th November, 1940.