

THE 6th March 1941

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

## Official Report

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## THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1941



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# Legislative Assembly

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 6th March, 1941.

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.

## MEMBER SWORN.

Mr. Frederick Tymms, C.I.E., (Government of India: Nominated Official).

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### **MALARIA IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS AND INADEQUATE SUPPLY OF QUININE.**

271. \*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: Will the Education Secretary be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of people who suffered from malaria in 1940 in the centrally administered parts of the country;
- (b) the number of people who died of malaria during 1940 in the aforesaid areas;
- (c) what quantity of quinine was supplied during this period in these areas; and
- (d) if it is a fact that the price of quinine has disproportionately increased on account of war supply, and, whether on that account at present quinine cannot be adequately supplied to malarious areas; and if it is so, what substitute of quinine has been determined by Government for the relief of people suffering from malaria?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) Statistics of deaths from malaria are compiled but not of attacks.

(b) The figures of deaths from malaria for 1940 are not yet available.

(c) 1847 lbs.

(d) The wholesale price of quinine has gone up by about 80 per cent. The Honourable Member's attention is, however, drawn to the Press Note, dated the 24th June, 1940, in which it was stated that steps had been taken to ensure an adequate supply of quinine sulphate in India for all Government purposes during the next four years. Provision has thus been made to supply quinine at reasonable rates to all hospitals under Provincial Governments and States, including local fund and municipal dispensaries. The last portion of this part does not arise.

**Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh:** May I know what are the steps which were taken—the steps referred to in the answer?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** I think that arises under the next question, but the steps taken are that we have imported a very large quantity indeed of quinine from Java over a period of six months—sufficient to add fifty per cent. to the Central Government's supply and also to give the Central Government a supply which they will hold as a reserve for the Provinces.

**Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh:** May I know if there has been any extension of the cinchona plantation?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** I must ask for notice of that.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** Are we to understand that quinine sulphate is not prepared in Indian chemical laboratories at all?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** No, Sir, it is prepared both in Madras and Bengal.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** What then are the factors on account of which the prices of this stuff which is produced in this country have increased by 80 per cent.?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** I shall have to ask for notice.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** I think, Sir, the supplementary question is relevant to the question here?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** The wholesale price of quinine is related, of course, to the price charged by the principal producer, which is Java.

#### MEASURES FOR CHECKING MALARIA.

**272. \*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Education Secretary be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of people who were attacked by malaria and the death rate on account of malaria, Province by Province, during 1940?

(b) Will he please state whether any special arrangement is under contemplation of the Government of India to cope with attacks of malaria and if so, what?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) As I have just stated in reply to part (a) of question No. 271, statistics of attacks of malaria are not compiled. 'Fever' mortality figures for 1940 have not yet been received from the provinces.

(b) The lines on which malaria control is being carried out in India are briefly indicated on pages 14-16 of the Preliminary Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1939, copies of which are available in the Library of the House. In addition I may inform the House that the reserve stock of quinine with the Government of India, which had fallen to 90,000 lbs., has been raised by purchases to 150,000 lbs. in order that Government may be in a position to meet exceptional demands arising from epidemic conditions.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** May I know if the Provincial Governments also contributed some funds towards that?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** Yes, Sir, they did. In order that we and they might have the benefit of the lower price to be expected from placing a large order, we invited them to state their probable needs over a period—I think it was three or four years ahead—and on the basis of the total figure thus achieved, we placed a very large order with Java.

#### MEASURES FOR CHECKING TUBERCULOSIS.

**273. \*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Education Secretary be pleased to state the number of people freshly attacked by tuberculosis during 1940:

(1) in the centrally administered areas, and

(2) in other provinces?

(b) Is the disease on the increase? If so, in which Provinces or areas?

(c) What arrangements are made by Government to cope with the situation created by this sort of increase of tuberculosis cases:

(1) Curative, and

(2) Preventive?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) The information is not available.

(b) In the absence of compulsory medical certification of the cause of death, reasonably accurate estimates of the incidence of, and mortality from, tuberculosis can be made only on the basis of the data collected by surveys carried out by trained staffs in limited areas. A sufficient number of such surveys have not yet been carried out to enable definite conclusions to be reached regarding the trend of the disease in different parts of the country.

(c) (1) and (2). So far as the Government of India are concerned, they are giving a substantial grant to the Tuberculosis Association of India for the construction of a Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Kasauli intended as a central training institution for specialisation in dealing with tuberculosis as well as for nurses and other tuberculosis workers. The Government of India are also giving a recurring grant to the Association for the maintenance of a Tuberculosis Clinic at New Delhi. In addition, the Indian Research Fund Association, which is almost wholly financed by the Government of India, has been giving grants for tuberculosis research from 1927-28, which amount to about Rs. 56,000 for the four years ending with 1940-41.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** May I know in this connection, if the information is not available, will Government be pleased to make an endeavour to find out the approximate figure?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** No, Sir, I do not think I can hold out any hope of being able to give the approximate figure for India as a whole because tuberculosis is very different from diseases like malaria; it is an insidious disease; people have it without realizing it, and we simply have not the statistics—they are not compiled anywhere except in very few municipal areas and in areas where we have these surveys.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** May I know how many beds are proposed to be constructed at Kasauli?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** I forget the number; I am afraid I would not care to say, Sir, offhand.

**LOSS OF LIBRARY BOOKS OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN TRANSIT FROM SIMLA TO DELHI.**

**274. \*Mr. Umar Aly Shah:** (a) Will the Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, please state if it is a fact that some boxes containing books of the library of the Director General of Archaeology were said to have been lost in transit from Simla to Delhi? If so, was this loss reported to Government?

(b) What enquiries were made and who was found responsible for the loss?

(c) What is the value of books said to have been lost? Was the thief apprehended in this case?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a), (b) and (c). The reply to the first part of (a) is in the negative. The rest of the question does not arise.

**APPEALS BY EMPLOYEES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.**

**275. \*Mr. Umar Aly Shah:** (a) Will the Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, please state if it is a fact that during the last three years certain Muslims in the Archaeological Department appealed to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands against orders affecting their prospects in service?

(b) Is it a fact that all these appeals, petitions, etc., were rejected?

(c) Is it a fact that a number of appeals were also made by Muslim employees in the Archaeological Department to the Director General of Archaeology and that all these appeals were rejected?

(d) Is it a fact that certain Hindus appealed to the Department of Education, Health and Lands and that their appeals were accepted?

(e) How many appeals by Hindus have been rejected during the period in question?

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

(b) No.

(c) There were three such appeals, in all of which the Director, after due consideration, confirmed the orders of the local Superintendent.

(d) and (e). One Hindu employed in the Archaeological Survey appealed and the orders against him were modified.

**DISREGARD OF THE CLAIMS OF THE SENIOR-MOST MUSLIM ASSISTANT IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE OFFICE SUPERINTENDENT'S POST.**

**†276. \*Dr. Habibur Rahman:** (a) Will the Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands, please state how many Muslims have held the post of Office Superintendent in the office of the Director General of Archaeology from the time the Archaeological Department came into being?

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

(b) Will the Secretary please state why the claims of the senior Muslim Assistant in the office of the Director General were overlooked for appointment to that post?

(c) Is it a fact that the next senior Muslim clerk also has been superseded by a junior non-Muslim clerk in the matter of promotion to the post of Assistant?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) One Muslim has officiated on a few occasions.

(b) When the last vacancy occurred the suitability of all eligible Assistants, including the senior Muslim Assistant, was considered.

(c) Yes; but posts of Assistants in the Government of India Attached Offices are selection posts for purposes of promotion and the appointment was made after considering the relative merits of all eligible clerks.

**COMPETENCY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT, CENTRAL CIRCLE TO PUNISH AN OFFICER TRANSFERRED TO HIS CIRCLE.**

†277. **\*Dr. Habibur Rahman:** (a) Will the Secretary, Department of Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state if, an officer of the Archaeological Department who has been transferred from Mohenjo-daro under the direct administrative control of the Director General of Archaeology, to Nalanda, under the administrative control of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, could be treated as "a lent officer" within the meaning of rule 6 promulgated in the Government of India, Home Department Notification No. F-9-19/80-Ests., dated the 27th February, 1982?

(b) Is the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, competent to punish this officer?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) No.

(b) Yes, while serving in the post at Nalanda.

**PILGRIM SHIPS HAVING ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONGREGATIONAL PRAYERS AND A LIBRARY ON BOARD.**

†278. **\*Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha:** Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state which out of the seven ships of the Mogul Line engaged in the pilgrim trade, have separate arrangement for saying prayers in congregation and a library on board, and which of the three pilgrim ships of the Scindia Company engaged in that trade have these arrangements provided on board?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** On the s.s. "Rizwani" and the s.s. "Rahmani" of the Mogul Line special prayer decks are provided. On the remaining ships of this Line the Amirs-ul-Haj can make arrangements for the reservation of part of the decks for congregational prayers. All the ships of the Mogul Line now possess libraries. Special prayer spaces and libraries are provided on the ships operated by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company.

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

**FULL FARES CHARGED FOR CHILDREN BELOW 12 YEARS ON THE PILGRIM SHIP S. S. "AKBAR".**

†279. \*Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazi-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state the number of boys and girls under 12 years of age that sailed by the pilgrim ship s. s. "Akbar" from Calcutta in November 1940?

(b) Is it a fact that full fares were charged for all these young pilgrims who were below the age of 12?

(c) If the answer to part (b) be in the negative, what was the fare charged?

(d) If the answer to part (b) be in the affirmative, is it a fact that during 1937-38 and 1938-39 seasons, when the Scindia Company was also in the pilgrim trade, the shipping companies usually charged half fares for children between three and 12 years of age and carried children below three years of age free of charge?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) Four.

(b) No.

(c) Rs. 125-8-0 for a boy under 10 years; Rs. 25 each for two girls aged 3 and 4 years respectively. No charge for an infant under one year.

(d) Does not arise.

**INADEQUACY OF PILGRIM SHIPS FOR RETURN JOURNEY FROM JEDDAH.**

†280. \*Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazi-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Education Secretary please state whether it is a fact that at the time of the sailing of s.s. "Jehangir" from Jeddah in February, 1940, with a full complement of pilgrims, about 100 pilgrims were left behind in Jeddah, as there was no space, or steamer, available to bring them back?

(b) Is it a fact that within three days of the sailing of the above ship, about 1,300 more pilgrims reached Jeddah?

(c) Is it a fact that by the time the next ship sailed with a full complement of pilgrims who had already waited in Jeddah for about two weeks, about 800 more pilgrims were still waiting in Jeddah for a ship?

(d) Is it a fact that ultimately these pilgrims got a ship after a stay in Jeddah of about four to five weeks?

(e) Is it a fact that at the above time, when these pilgrims had to wait in Jeddah under unfavourable conditions for 35 to 40 days, the other ships of the Mogul Line were plying on other cargo and trade routes? If so, how many ships were plying on cargo runs and, if not, where and on what were they employed during the above period?

(f) What is the time limit under the law in which the shipping companies have to provide a ship for the return of the pilgrims holding return tickets?

(g) What is the penalty laid down under the law if a ship is not provided within the specified time?

(h) Did the Mogul Line fail to provide a ship within the specified time during 1939-40 season, and if so, was any penalty levied on them and,

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

if so, how much did it amount to, or had they to pay any compensation to the pilgrims and, if so, how much did it amount to?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson :** (a) No: only 29 pilgrims were left behind when the "Jehangir" sailed from Jeddah on the 6th February.

(b) No.

(c) No. The next ship, which sailed on the 16th February, was only half full when she sailed and no pilgrims were left waiting at Jeddah.

(d) and (e). Do not arise.

(f) and (g). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to section 209A of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923.

(h) Certain pilgrims had to wait at Jeddah for a longer period than the fifteen days laid down in section 209A of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act. No amount was claimed from the Company by the Central Government on account of such detention. The shipping company, however, on their own initiative paid to pilgrims detained at Jeddah a sum of Rs. 8,315 at the rate of Re. 1 a day and in addition spent Rs. 8,566 on their food.

### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

#### INVITING MESSRS. SCINDIA NAVIGATION COMPANY TO CARRY HAJ PILGRIMS.

**104. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha :** (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state if the following resolution was passed by the Karachi Port Haj Committee at their meeting held on 21st November, 1940, and again confirmed at their meeting held on 20th January, 1941?

"This Committee is strongly of opinion that in order to raise further the standard of services to the Hajis already raised by the entry of Messrs. Scindia Steam Navigation Company there should be more than one Shipping Company in the trade at all times, and the Government should have invited Messrs. Scindia Company to take pilgrims this year if war conditions permit. (Dr. B. F. Khambatta and Colonel D. S. Johnston dissented)".

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will he please state what action Government have taken thereon, and if no action has been taken, whether Government propose to take any action in future and, if so, what and when?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson :** (a) Government have no information.

(b) Does not arise.

#### COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE USE OF PILGRIM SHIPS S. S. "ALAVI", "JEHANGIR", "KHOSRU" AND "AKBAR".

**105. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha :** (a) Will the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state if it is a fact that for bringing back its pilgrims during 1939-40 season, the Mogul Line used s.s. "Islami" and "Rizwani" for one voyage only and thereafter only the two unpopular and old ships s.s. "Alavi" and "Jehangir" were used for this purpose?



(b) Have any complaints been received against allowing s.s. "Alavi", "Jehangir", "Khosru" and "Akbar" for carrying pilgrims? If so, from whom and since when are they being received?

(c) Have any of the Port Haj Committees or public organizations made any representation to the Government not to allow these four old ships to be used for the carriage of pilgrims? If so, from whom have these representations been received and how many times?

(d) If the answer to parts (b) and (c) be in the affirmative, what action have Government taken and, if no action has been taken, do they propose to take any action in future and, if so, when?

**Mr. J. D. Tyson:** (a) The s.s. "Islami" and s.s. "Rizwani" were used for one voyage only and the s.s. "Alavi" and s.s. "Jehangir" were used for two and three voyages respectively during the inward season of 1939-40.

(b)-(d). From time to time complaints have been received from various committees and organisations regarding these ships. All these ships, however, comply with the provisions of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923, and the rules framed under that Act, and the Government of India have no power to prevent any Shipping Company from operating ships which have been granted certificates in accordance with sections 153-155 of the Indian Merchant Shipping Act.

## THE INSURANCE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

### PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

**The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar** (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Insurance Act, 1938.

### ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON PILGRIMAGE TO THE HEJAZ.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that up to 12 Noon on Wednesday, the 5th March, 1941, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the election of a Member to the Standing Committee on Pilgrimage to the Hejaz only one nomination was received. As there is only one vacancy, I declare Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang to be duly elected.

## THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

### SECOND STAGE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As regards the discussions on the Demands for Grants and cut motions, the Chair has to fix the time limits. As on the last occasion, the Mover of a cut motion will have 20 minutes, and there will be fifteen minutes for other Members who wish to speak, and 20 minutes, or more, if necessary, for the Government Member to reply.

The Chair finds that the numbers of cut motions have been supplied, but it is not known whether they were supplied in time to the Government or not. The Muslim League will move their cut motion now, the first motion is No. 14 in the Final List.

#### DEMAND No. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1942, in respect of 'Executive Council'."

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1942, in respect of 'Executive Council'."

#### *Administration of the Supply and the Allied Departments.*

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions. Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, I wish to make it clear in the beginning that we are not against war efforts. We support all the measures taken by the Government to bring the war to a successful conclusion. Our complaint is that our resources are not mobilised in full for the defence of the country. Our capacity of production especially by cottage industries is much greater than what has so far been tapped. But what we really want to emphasise is that our efforts being limited our resources should be well organised and well conducted and well economised. It is on these three points that I want to draw the attention of the House.

Sir, We have the machinery of the Supply Department, we have a Member of the Executive Council in charge of the entire department. But as he himself said several times, he is responsible for the policy, and the administration including appointments.—I do not know to whom he is responsible. He has got a Secretariat like the Secretariat of any other Department of the Government of India. Now, Sir, under that Secretariat we have got two Directorates, one is the Directorate of Munitions and Engineering Works and the other is the Directorate for other things. Coming to the Director of Munitions, we find that he has got the powers of the Government, he is the administrative head as well as the executive officer. We have crippled the independence of purchase, we have crippled the power of the Government in making purchase, we have also crippled the power of appointment. The Honourable Member said that he is responsible for all appointments in the said Directorate, but if it were so, I am sure he will not restrict the appointment of stenographers to ladies and give nothing to gentlemen stenographers. If he had his full say, this would not have happened. The Director of Munitions Production combines in him the powers of all :

*"Khud Kūza-o Khud Kūza gar-o Khud gil-e Kūza."*

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces : Muhammadan Urban) :

*"Khud rind-i subu-kash."*

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** I accept the amendment. What we on this side suggest is that the Finance Department should have control in the same manner as they have control over other Departments.

Coming to the other Directorate which is located in Delhi and where we have all other articles except engineering ones, I have no doubt that they are taking steps to amalgamate and co-ordinate all their efforts. But I think the amalgamation is not what it ought to be. We have still got really the waters of the Jumna and the Chambal running in the same river in parallel streams. You see it at once, one part of the appointment is in the civil side and the other is on the military side. Here, I should take analogy from the Education Department. I have been in the Education Department and I always resented whenever a juggler came and called himself a Professor. On one occasion I moved the Government and said that it is an insult to the Universities that these jugglers should be allowed to call themselves 'Professors' and that if they persisted in calling themselves 'Professors', they should write word with two 'f's'. A professor with one 'f' is a learned man in the University and a professor with two 'f's' is a juggler. Similarly my idea of a Colonel is quite different. My idea of a 'colonel' is that he is a great patriot, he serves the country at the risk of his life, he is a person who has gone through all the stages of military discipline, he has lived the life of respectable poverty and his wealth does not consist in £. s. d. but in respect which he commands. That is my idea of a colonel and that is the idea which I think military officers have always upheld. But here, what I find is, that a Colonel in the Army takes about 23 years to reach that status. The authority who should put his foot down on the misuse of the sacred title of a Colonel in the Supply Department is H. E. the Commander-in-Chief himself. The rank of 'Lieutenant-Colonel' should be achieved by long continuous service. We have extended this to the Medical Department already on account of their association with war services. But I think it is really an insult to extend it to a person who does not know how to handle a rifle and who cannot walk in the right manner. It is more insulting that a person becomes a 'Lieutenant-Colonel' in two years. I am not criticising individuals, but I am criticising the system. One individual who was recruited as Staff Captain on 28th September, 1939, was promoted in July, 1940, to a Major and then within a few months became a Lieutenant-Colonel. Thus a person becomes a Major within two years. I should very much like that these 'Colonels' should write their titles with 'k' and not with 'c' so that a 'Colonel' with letter 'c' is one who has lived an honourable life of poverty and who always lives for the safety of the country. During the war 'Colonel' with 'k' is one who makes money and the 'Colonel' with 'c' risks his life. That is the difference between 'c' Colonel and 'k' Colonel. I have got some examples in which these promotions have been made. But within the limited time at my disposal I cannot enter into details. What I want is this, let the people who hold the military rank keep the rank if they go to the Supply Department. They should continue to hold their own titles and be entitled to future promotions according to military regulations, but a person who has never been in the Army and who is made a Colonel simply because he is an expert in jute, or simply because he is an expert

in *ghi* is something which I cannot understand. Why should we, the Members of the Legislature, be not called 'Colonels', because we are experts in criticism. Why should we not be called 'Majors' because we are experts in using strong language. You have extended the sacred titles 'Lieutenant-Colonels' and 'Majors' to persons appointed for commercial negotiations, why not have the same in the Assembly also?

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir** (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : You will be a General.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin** (Punjab : Landholders) : A General with 'J'.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** : The other point which I wish to refer to is this. There is great difficulty for a person to get himself registered in the Supply Department for the purpose of getting contracts. There are a great many troubles which persons are experiencing in this matter but the short time at my disposal does not enable me to explain the whole thing in full. I think all the difficulties which merchants are experiencing should be removed.

The second difficulty is about samples. In the case of food-stuffs these samples are always sent to Kasauli for examination. I am given to understand that now they are taking some care but formerly they took no care about these things. They took enormous time to have the result of chemical examination sent to the proper authority; and every one knows that, like the fees paid in courts, any one who wishes to expedite the result of chemical examination must pay a fee. It is not considered to be corruption but, unfortunately, no income-tax is to be paid on it.

The next thing is about specifications. Specifications are always written in the language of the oracle of Delphi which can be interpreted in any way you choose. I will give you one example of a particular reply. "If it is to be made of black metal it should be made white by tinning; but if it is made of white tin it should be tinned with this white tin." Any one not reading it carefully will understand that if you make it with black stuff you must tin it but if you have already made it with white tin it is not necessary to do it. It is very misleading and the most simple thing would have been to say that in every case it ought to be tinned. But the way in which it has been put is really misleading and it provides a loophole for the inspectors to catch, if his good will is not otherwise changed. So these specifications should be in simple language. The specifications prepared by the inspectors themselves should be examined very carefully by the Secretariat of the Supply Department and a copy should be laid before the Advisory Committee so that they may be able to see whether the specifications are in simple language or not. Another point is that in these specifications there is always loophole for corruption, and if you look at it carefully you will find that the inspector can always catch hold of the contractor by putting a special point in the specification itself.

Coming to the next point as regards inspection, it is important that we should have expert technical men as inspectors just as we used to have inspectors in the Indian Stores Department. We had no complaints about them but here we find that inspectors are often appointed who do not know anything about the work. And they are very often appointed on daily wages and do not belong to the permanent staff; and any blooming fellow who comes up here at once gets a military uniform and is made either a Lieutenant or Captain or anything he likes, though he has never

[Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.]

been in the Army before. The argument that is brought forward is that inspection is done by the Master General of Ordnance. I can understand that in the case of Munition the Master General is the final authority.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir, may I ask the Honourable Member whether by "blooming" he means a man in the spring of youth?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** I do not mind interruptions provided they are outside my 20 minutes.

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

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** The next thing is about tenders. There are four systems of tenders,—the open tender, the limited tender, the single tender, and tender by negotiation. The thing which is most criticised and leads to corrupt practices is the system of limited tender because the system is faulty. The Secretariat take three weeks to discuss the preliminaries and give only one week to the merchants. Those persons who hang about the Supply Department or who have got some connection there get information about three weeks earlier, and after the lapse of three weeks the notices are sent to the various people whose names have already been entered and those unfortunate men are given only one week to prepare their tender, to send the articles to Cawnpore and have them approved there, and, afterwards, they send their tender to the Supply Department at Delhi. And a week is hopelessly insufficient for persons residing in Calcutta, Bombay or Madras. I hope this system will now disappear as we have now got these orders well in advance, and there are only two systems which we should observe, namely, open tender and tender by negotiation. Whenever we have tender by negotiation, the principle of negotiation should be the same in Calcutta as in Delhi.

The next point is that the Finance Member should bring forward a Bill to control profiteering. It is a scandal, specially in Calcutta and Bombay, where strict financial control is absolutely necessary. I think it is legitimate on his part to examine these things carefully and bring forward a Bill to regulate the unnecessary and scandalous profiteering in connection with the Supply Department.

I will now summarise my recommendations and probably in connection with the Finance Bill I may enlarge them. (1) Purchase methods should be clean. (2) The purchase organisation should be independent. (3) In purchase we must have a strong man who should not be influenced by the pressure of the Chambers of Commerce. (4) Constant watch by the Supply Department over profiteering. (5) Strong supervision by a branch of the Supply Department over purchasing. (6) Only two forms of tender should as far as possible be resorted to,—the open tender and tender by negotiation,—the systems of limited tender and single tender should be avoided. (7) Strict control by the Supply and Finance Departments over inspection and some responsible officers should watch the work of inspection. (8) Specifications should be in simple language and should not be drawn up by the inspectors themselves, so that there may be no loophole for corruption. (9) Appointments should be well distributed and should not be the monopoly of one particular class, either in the

higher appointments or in the lower appointments. (10) Every person engaged in work whose opportunities of corruption are greater should disclose, according to the service regulations, his immovable property. I understand that there is a regulation in the service that every Government servant must disclose his immovable property at the end of every year but in the case of this Department this should be subject to two changes : (i) the disclosures should be after every six months and (ii) the bank deposits and shares should also be disclosed. (11) We should establish an appeal tribunal. It may be a single officer in the Supply Department or a board of three persons, but there ought to be some kind of tribunal so that contractors should not be left at the mercy of an inspector. This is very desirable because I know definitely that there is an impression that honest business men cannot do business with the Supply Department and it is only dishonest business men who can do work with them.

Lastly,—and I finish,—the whole of India buys articles both from Hindus and Muslims and the English people. Why should the Government feel shy in purchasing their articles from Muslims? It is not too much when I say that a fair share of these contracts should also be given to the Muslims. From the figures given to me I find that the number of Muslim contractors is negligible: somehow or other they cannot adapt themselves to the conditions now prevalent in the Supply Department. With these words, I move.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council be reduced by Rs. 100.'"

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi** (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have not heard from my Honourable friend a speech so confusing as he made today.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is too much noise in the House.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: He started by reading his cut motion—"to discuss the administration of the Supply and Allied Departments".....(Interruption).

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is not fair to make running comments like that.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: The first charge he made was that the Government of India should have the control of the Department that is run in Calcutta by the Director General of Munitions Production; and then he went on bungling with all sorts of matters which are quite irrelevant to the Supply Department. He went on to say how a Captain becomes a Lieutenant (Laughter)—I am sorry I got confused.....

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: There are demotions also—I have got examples of that.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Then, he spoke about the Kasauli examination of foodstuffs. Sir, the Honourable Member is a member of the Supply Department Standing Advisory Committee. He had an opportunity only the other day—on the 3rd of this month—to bring forward all that he has brought forward here.....

(Interruption by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must be in his seat if he wants to make remarks.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: He attended the committee, but he mentioned nothing. So far as the financial control of this Department in Calcutta is concerned, I think my Honourable friend has been told times without number that there is absolute control by the Government of India over that Department and there is a Financial Officer who is directly under the Government of India, without whose advice the Director General of Munitions cannot order and cannot proceed unless he is in agreement with the Financial Controller who is there to watch there as the watch-dog of the Government of India. What else does he want? What is the idea of financial control on which he was expatiating in this House today? There is that financial control. Either you say it is not sufficient. Then, in what way would you suggest it should be made more effective?

**Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi** (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): When you got your last contract!

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member, Mr. Kazmi, is not in his seat.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Then, about the tender system. He advocated open tender and he advocated the negotiated tender; but he was against limited tender system and against the single tender system.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Is not open tender the best?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Who says it is not the best? During peace-time that is so, not during war time.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur cum Orissa: Muhammadan): During war time some other people are required?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not interrupt: he will have his chance.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: My Honourable friend need not interrupt. He does not know anything about industrial India. There is the system of open tender now where it is possible to have open tenders. Then there is another sort of tender, the limited tender. Let me explain to the House what is meant by limited tender. A particular thing is manufactured by a particular firm or firms which are registered. Excepting those firms, no other firm can manufacture those particular goods. That is what is called limited tender. What is the idea of having an open tender for those particular kinds of goods when the Government know and the trade knows that there are only fifty firms in India or twenty firms, that can manufacture that particular kind of goods? Those twenty firms are known to the trade and to the Government and to the Supply Department. They are registered and they are called upon to submit tenders. No one knows what the other is going to submit.....

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Is that an exhaustive list?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: Yes. The names are there and even if you make it open tender only those fifty or twenty firms would tender and nobody else. Why not then have the limited tender and not expose to the world from where you are getting these goods and thus give information to the enemy?

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. The point I wanted to make was that out of these fifty firms forty get only one week's notice while the remaining ten get three weeks' notice.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: My Honourable friend is absolutely mistaken. He does not know the system. He knows nothing at all about it: somebody has told him something and immediately he puts it down in his notes. That is not so at all. They all get sufficient time to tender. At one and the same time the notice is published and sufficient time is given to the tenderers; and tenders are opened publicly. What is the apprehension?.....

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman**: How do you know?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order; the Honourable Member need not reply to that question.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: I know as much as the Honourable Member knows.....

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman**: He does not know.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: He does not know, because he would not study.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: I do not study £. s. d., but I study the papers all right.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: He has made out no case of the grievances that he wanted to be redressed, about the financial control so far as the Supply Department was concerned. Then he went on to the Inspectorate. He had spoken the other day on the 3rd March in the Committee about this particular grievance and he got a reply and still he has brought this forward on the floor of the House. There are permanent inspectors and temporary inspectors and I agree entirely with my Honourable friend in what he said. Temporary inspectors are liable to blunder.....

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: What is their function? To inspect members?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi**: To inspect the goods. Then he says he wants strong men in this Department. I have not been able to understand what he means by strong men—Sandows or what—I do not know. He has not said what he had in mind—he merely said he wanted strong men.



**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Men are not fed on arrowroot.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** So far as the Supply Department Standing Committee is concerned, the Members of both Houses are represented there, and they are given every opportunity every month to bring forward the public grievances or whatever they hear outside to the notice of the Honourable Member, and if they will continue to do that, they will not only be helping the Government, but also they will be helping the trade and the business. Sir, I oppose this motion.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** Sir, I will not take much time of the House in narrating the old story which has been current in this country for a long time that the Supply Department is a dumping ground for all sorts of commodities and for all sorts of people who have had no place or an outlet elsewhere. My Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, has already made, concrete suggestions, and he has made those suggestions after his experience as a member of the Supply Department Committee. That will reveal to the House that, whatever picture has been shown to the Members of the Supply Department Committee, that is not at all sufficient to convince them that they are getting all the informations that they needed. That is a great disappointment to Members, and at least on this side of the House. Sir, when I moved the Resolution in last November that Members of both the Houses of Legislatures should be associated with the Supply Department, it was with a view to improve the state of affairs there, and I also wanted that those Members should be supplied with as much information as was possible without disclosing any such matters which may be strictly confidential and may prejudice the successful prosecution of war. But from the speech of my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, I feel that probably members of the Supply Department Committee are not given information, even necessary information I mean, as to how tenders are being issued, and how the inspection is being carried on, etc.

My Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, tried to defend the Government on that point. I do not know how he could get more informations than his other colleague in the Supply Department Committee, but, somehow, my friend, Sir Abdul Halim, very strongly supported the system of limited tenders, and said that Government were fully alive to the fact that there were only a few persons, 10, 20 or 80 who are able to supply a certain class of article or manufactured goods, and only those few people are given timely information. But what serious objection can there be in adopting the open tender system? The only objection that I can think of as existing in the minds of the Government Members would probably be that that system might reveal to other people what the requirements of the Government are. If that is the apprehension in their minds, then we must have an assurance from Government that they will register in their list the names of all organisations and firms who supply a particular class or type of goods. As my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, pointed out, it is really difficult for honest business men to deal with the Supply Department or with the Contracts Directorate. It may be somewhat unpleasant for the Government Members to hear this complaint, but this is a fact. Unfortunately, the consensus of opinion among business men is that they find it extremely difficult to deal with either of these two Departments. I do not know on what that

opinion is based,—whether it is based on some facts or it is the result of some guess by somebody, I cannot say,—but there seems to be some truth in what they say as the Persian saying goes:

*"Ta Nebashad chizek murdum ne goend chiz ha."*

"Unless there is some truth in anything people will not talk about it so loud." There must be something wrong somewhere, and there is no doubt that the facilities for registration of trading firms do not at all exist. It takes six months to get a firm registered as one of the recognised contractors or approved contractors as they say. Naturally, the entire paraphernalia of the Government has to be put into action, all sorts of information through red tape system about the financial status and position of the firm has to be collected, and so it takes much more time than it should ordinarily take in such Departments. Then what happens? Only a few favoured people or those who have access to the Supply Department either through their own selves or through some friends who may already be known to the Department, or through the influence of some other factors, are alone eligible to be registered as approved contractors and who get the cream out of everything. But the real cream is taken away by the fortunate few who are given the tenders in time, because some of them have arrangements and manipulate to get information as to what the Government would require after ten or twenty days or even after a month. Therefore, this is a serious matter and we want the Government to give their best consideration to it.

Sir, there is a strong feeling in this country that all those who are prepared to take a proper share in dealing with the Supply Department or the Stores Department or in the Contracts Directorate are not given the same amount of facility as the other as commercial concern or business people of this country who are already registered are being given. This is the grievance which has been put forward from all quarters, and that is why we have been advocating the adoption of the system of open tenders. Of course, tender by negotiation is another thing which my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, has approved. I personally do not like it, but in cases where limited tenders do not secure the best results, tenders by negotiations can be replaced, and in that case Government need not reveal such information as they think will not be in the interest of the country to do.

Then, with regard to financial control, my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, asked what better control could there be than the present one. I do not know what information my friend has except this, that the Finance Member controls everything, but he does so with the red tape system and by paper Government. The point is what is the real and effective control that is exercised on the Supply Department by the Finance Department. So far as we know, there is none. Therefore, my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, suggested that a Committee, not of the House, but of the officials who may be considered fit to advise on financial matters may be constituted to see that the financial policy laid down for the Supply Department and other allied departments is properly carried out, and that is what my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, advocated.

Then, my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, said that somebody who is in charge of the purchases in Calcutta or who is the Director of Muni-  
 tions is the most capable person. I do not doubt his statement, but the point is, if any particular man is efficient, there is no reason why the

[Mr. Muhammad Nauman.]

organization of control should not be made strict, or at least as strict as it would have been made if there was not such an efficient man as my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, stated that there is now one in Calcutta. Sir, particular individuals may be good or may be bad, but the machinery should be set up in such a manner which would not allow any person to abuse his position. That is the real object. And by putting forward this cut motion, our real object is to bring to the notice of the Government of India that there is a real grievance in this country and that it should be remedied in the manner suggested by us. They might be receiving proper attention in one way, namely, that the Department is getting supplies, but they are not receiving proper attention in the other way which we think that they should get, namely, that they should get their supplies at the lowest possible prices, in the best interests of the exchequer and at competitive rates. That is the real purpose of moving this cut motion.

We have not got much time to elaborate the different points, but I think there is one point regarding the specification of tenders. Sometimes the specifications are such that they are not understood by the normal class of business men who deal in the particular kind of goods. For instance, in a case in which Directorate of Contracts required sheep skin for aprons, they used a Latin name, and it was not intelligible even to skin merchants who have been in the trade for a century. When the individual contractor wrote to the Department what it was and whether it was sheep skin, the reply came, "yes". Then, again, certain limitations are placed which the Department know that it is not possible to comply with. For example, in the case of the same sheep skin, they said, all to be male sheep skin. I do not suppose any expert in the world can inspect and say after the skin has been tanned, whether it is the skin of a male sheep or of a female sheep. All sorts of things are put in so that honest business man may feel hesitant. I do not want to suggest anything as to what advantages it gives to people who decide tenders or in what particular position inspectors feel themselves when such ambiguities are maintained on the tender. But I should say that it should be the look-out of the Government to see that the description is intelligible to the majority of that class of people who are supplying those variety of goods. That should be one of the chief considerations when tender specifications are written out in this country. That is a concrete suggestion and I hope it will receive the attention of the Government.

As regards the method of inspection and inspectors, of course, the inspectors ought to be highly technical people who have to pass the goods delivered. It is no use employing people whose knowledge may be very good on theories, but who have no practical experience. For example, regarding tanning itself, a man may have received a very good technical training in Northampton or Southampton, and may have served a trade a little while to get training, but if he has been out of the trade for 10 or 15 years, do you expect that he can be any good authority regarding the passing of tanned class of goods? He cannot be. Experience is a great thing, and unless you are at it for a long time and continuously, I am afraid the person won't have that technical knowledge which a person with a theoretical knowledge and practical experience in the line has got.

My suggestion would be that Government should appoint those men as inspectors who would be technicians in that particular line in which they are to pass goods. They ought to be people of high character. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi remarked he did not know what Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad meant by saying, a strong man.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** By saying a strong man, he meant a man of strong character, a man of high reliability. He may not be very stout and strong in body.....

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** . . . but he should be of a high integrity. With these few remarks, I sit down.

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur** (Nominated Non-Official): It is always a pleasure to hear Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad speak on any subject. The other day when he was speaking on the administration of the railways, it appeared to me that the booklet which he has produced recently has had much to do with his speech, especially on the administrative policy of the railways. I wish that in the case of the Supply Department also he had produced another booklet of a similar type so that we may have known the dozen and more points that he tried to bring out in his speech today. Out of those dozen points which he tried to make, there is one point which stands out as of special importance. I am referring to the remarks he made regarding specifications supplied to tenderers, meaning thereby that the system adopted is such that it leaves a loophole for corruption—those are his words. May I say that I have some remembrance in that line of the Great War of 1914-18, and of some friends of mine who had tendered successfully and become contractors to the Government during the Great War. My recollection is that all those friends of mine who were contractors for the Government during that period made huge profits, whereas during the present war so far—I have got friends in Madras and in Delhi who have been contracting to the Supply Department, and the feeling among them is that the words, "war profits" are actually a misnomer. The profits that these people make are nothing compared to the profits made during the last war. That is a great tribute to the policy and administration adopted by the Supply Department at the present time.

My Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, then remarked about the rank allotted to certain officers in the Contracts Directorate and other allied Departments under the Supply Department. I think it stands to reason that if a Lieut.-Colonel is asked to perform certain duties relating to war contracts and a civilian officer is posted to a position almost exactly on a level with the one that is carried on by the military officer;—I think it stands to reason that the civilian officer should draw as much emoluments as the military officer, otherwise he would be doing his work in a half-hearted manner. Besides it would open the door to temptation . . .

**An Honourable Member:** What temptation?

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur:** Bribery, corruption.

12 NOON. (Interruption.) Suppose a civilian officer is employed on a pay of Rs. 200 a month and a like post is given to an officer of the military department, and a Lieut.-Colonel is appointed to perform duties exactly similar to the ones which the civilian officer is asked to perform, and the Lieut.-Colonel gets Rs. 2,000 a month. It is natural that the civilian officers would feel rather cowed down and they would not have the zest and I would go further and say that it would open the door to temptation. In that way, if civilians have been appointed to ranks which have been enjoyed by military officers in the Supply Department, they are perfectly justified in drawing salaries which are given to the military officers and it is for that reason that these officers are given the rank of Captains, Majors and Lieut.-Colonels. Then my Honourable friend referred to the employment of lady stenographers. Whether it is lady stenographers or men stenographers, it is a minor matter. After all, the Supply Department is a huge organisation and it has to deal with the prime necessities of life right up to the scientific armaments which are needed in present day warfare. The management of such a huge organisation naturally leads in some instances to dishonesty, however well managed it may be. You can never prevent that . . . . .

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** But you should not encourage dishonesty.

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur:** Of course not. That is very necessary. In the last war huge profits were made and during the present war, they are just able to make both ends meet and nothing is left to them except a very small margin of profit. Then my Honourable friend referred to the system of tenders. I think my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, is more competent to speak on that subject than I am.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Does the Excess Profits Tax apply to these contractors?

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur:** Then, Sir, my Honourable friend referred to the delays which occur in the report submitted by the Kasauli Institute with regard to foodstuffs they examine. He gave us to understand that the effect of this delay is to keep out certain tenderers and to benefit certain others. I have not heard anything about that except the statement made by my Honourable friend. With regard to specifications, I think it would have been far better for my Honourable friend to have read out those specifications, so that we may be in a position to judge for ourselves. He never read out any specification.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend referred to the want of experience on the part of Inspectors, whose duties were performed by some people in the Indian Stores Department and he deprecated the policy now adopted of having Inspectors appointed from the Directorate of Supply.

**An Honourable Member:** They are temporary.

**Mr. Muhammad Muazzam Sahib Bahadur:** If they are temporary, I suppose it is due to the stress of necessity. I deprecate the temporary appointment of Inspectors, because the ultimate results cannot be satisfactory. But so far as the Indian Stores Department is concerned, it is now part and parcel of the Supply Department. As such, whether these

inspections are carried on by the Indian Stores Department or by the Contracts Directorate, it is immaterial, provided you have the proper kind of staff. I oppose the cut motion.

**Sir F. E. James** (Madras: European): Sir, I have seldom listened to a debate with more impatience. The House is now discussing perhaps the most vital and the most important Department of the whole of India's war effort, for, after all, the fighting forces are completely and absolutely dependent upon supply. I have listened in vain for some attempt to deal with this question in a big way. My Honourable friend Sir Ziauddin Ahmad's speech, to my mind, has proved one thing and that is that the Advisory Committee to the Department, some of whose members are elected by this House, has been of little value to them or to us, and it is unfortunate that the House has not been asked to deal with some of the bigger issues which were referred to in the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member who pointed out that with the present trends in the course of the war the position of India as an arsenal of supply is becoming daily more important to the war efforts of the Commonwealth of British countries.

Now, Sir, I am not in a position to speak with any detailed knowledge of the Department of Supply but I speak, so to speak, as an outsider, as one who has had brought to his notice from time to time certain problems concerning which I should like to make a very brief reference. We have been told by the Honourable the Finance Member that the orders which have already been placed in this country amount to over 82 crores of rupees. There was at one time some doubt in the minds of those who live in my constituency as to whether there had been a sufficiently fair distribution from the geographical point of view of the orders which were passing through the Supply Department. I am glad to acknowledge the fact that the recent decentralisation of control which has been effected in the Department has to a very large extent met those misapprehensions and that as far as South India is concerned her industries are participating to a far greater extent in the war effort, as far as supply is concerned, than they did to begin with.

The question of inspection has been referred to. May I stress the importance of adequate inspection? May I also stress the importance not only of adequate inspection but of independent inspection? Inspection may make the whole difference between life and death when matters connected with the fighting forces are being dealt with and I should like to hear the Honourable the Leader of the House to tell us that he is satisfied that the inspecting staff is not only efficient but is absolutely independent and free from any suggestion of undue influence.

Now, Sir, there is another question I should like to ask. I am going to ask the Honourable the Leader of the House whether he is finding any difficulties in the way of the organisation of the Supply Department which ought to be remedied and which can be remedied by those who are principally concerned. Hitherto, the debate has proceeded in the other direction. Members have mentioned their peculiar and particular difficulties and criticisms. I should like to tell the Honourable the Leader of the House that as far as my own community is concerned, we are desperately anxious that he should not be impeded in any way in the speeding up of India's supply production. If there are difficulties which are under his control to remove or which are beyond his control to remove immediately,

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will he let us know what they are, and if we can help, we shall gladly do so because this matter of supply is so absolutely fundamental to the success of the cause in which every Member in this House really believes.

There is one point to which I should like to refer which touches the Eastern Group Conference and its results. The Eastern Group Supply Council is to be situated in India, which, in itself, is a tribute to the special position which India holds not only strategically but in the matter of supply. Has that Council really started work and what are its relations to the Supply Department in this country and to the Supply Departments in the other co-operating countries within the Eastern Group? I understand that there are still members of that Council who have not arrived in India. I hope that their non-arrival will not mean that the work of the Council is being in any way held up. Then, I was glad to learn from the Finance Member's speech that authority has now been received from His Majesty's Government to purchase certain essential articles of supply in the United States and Canada and that an officer has been placed on special duty in America. I suppose his jurisdiction extends to the United States and Canada. Is that officer a member of the Department of Supply in this country? Is he responsible to the Honourable Member who is in charge of the Supply Department? What is his relationship to the Purchasing Commission which is in the United States today on behalf of the United Kingdom, and what steps are being taken to prevent any overlapping in the search for supply on the part of the representatives from India and the representatives from the United Kingdom? We, I know, would not for one moment have any competition in that field. We, therefore, hope that there is the fullest co-operation between that officer and those who represent His Majesty's Government in that particular field.

Then, Sir, my final point refers to the activities of the Roger Mission. I think the importance of the work of that Mission has been under-estimated in this country. But I notice that the Mission has now submitted its reports on the possibilities of expanding India's output of war supplies to His Majesty's Government, who are giving the reports their urgent consideration. It is hoped that as a result India will before long substantially be able to increase her output of munitions. What, then, is the position of the Roger Mission today? Has it disbanded? I understand that Sir Alexander Roger, who has an industrial experience possessed by few persons in this country, is still undertaking certain tasks either on behalf of His Majesty's Government or on behalf of the Government of India. But may we take it that the Roger Mission, having submitted its report, has completed its work? If not, on what work is it now engaged, or what is the particular duty which is now being carried out by its Chairman?

My final word would be to say this. There have been many criticisms of the Supply Department in the past. It must be remembered that in the countries which form part of the Commonwealth it was not until the war came that they began to organise themselves upon a war basis, and the undertaking of the Supply Department is one of the greatest undertakings of any Department in this country. It is not surprising that mistakes were made; it is not surprising that there were criticisms; but, I think, the general feeling in my own constituency is that great progress has been made and that necessary re-organisations have taken place. Many of the criticisms which were formerly put forward have been met and there is not one amongst us who would not pay a tribute to the head of the Supply



Department for his devotion to duty, for his quickness in appreciating the difficulties of others and for the rapid way in which he has put changes which have been decided upon into immediate and effective action.

**Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, I agree with my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, that the Supply Department occupies a very important place in the effort for the successful prosecution of the war which the country has to make. The matter, therefore, has to be considered not merely purely as a matter of accounts but as a matter having relation to the very big issues involved in the successful prosecution of the war itself. It is on account of that that this Department has largely attracted the attention of the non-official Members of this House for the last so many months. It may not be correct to say that the non-official Members of this House were not alive to the importance of the undertakings which this Department has to perform and fulfil. It was for this reason that this part of the House was anxious to urge on the Government that there should be some association of non-official Members with the working of this Department in some form or another, and the Honourable Member had made some arrangement of appointing a Supply Committee also of this House. But there are certain points on which one would like to have some more light thrown by the Honourable Member in charge or by the Finance Member in order that the people should feel that the working of this Department is being carried on for the purpose for which it is intended and with such co-operation of the Indians as it is possible for them to have with safety. Whatever information is vouchsafed has not been able to make the people entirely free from anxiety on this point. In the first place I would draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to certain points which strike me—some important points which I gathered from the figures given under the Demand for Grant for the Department of Supply on pages 430-32. The importance of the work will also be realized from the very fact that the expenditure on the Supply Department has arisen from practically a negligible figure of Rs. 6,49,000 in the year 1939 to Rs. 58,26,000 in the estimates for next year. That in itself shows that the work of this Department has been expanding and greater expenditure has to be met, but if we analyse the figures further, we find that the revised estimates for 1940-41 show the figure to be standing at Rs. 49,80,000 and the Budget estimates for 1941-42 show that it will be Rs. 58,26,000. There is practically a rise of nine lakhs and a few thousand more; that is the difference between the Budget estimates for 1941-42 and the Revised estimates for 1940-41. Now, this difference also is accounted for by the fact that there is a provision of a lump sum for additional establishment to be provided for to the extent of about 10 lakhs in the Budget estimates. That accounts for the difference between the Revised estimates of this year and the Budget estimates for the coming year. Now what strikes me as something not easily intelligible is this, that there are a number of officers shown for the year 1940-41 and 1941-42; for the former year the number of officers given is 88 and for the coming year it is given as 159. I really do not know whether this 159 is not the existing number of officers in the Department or does that figure include the number of officers which they want to provide for in the coming year. I believe it does not include the number of officers to be included in the coming year for which a provision of a lump sum to the extent of ten lakhs is made.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** No.



**Mr. M. S. Aney:** It could not be? Then the figure 88 shown as falling under the one year 1940-41 is not the correct one. . . .

**Sir Raghavendra Rau** (Government of India: Nominated Official): That must be the Budget estimate, at the beginning of 1940-41. . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** . . . and not as it existed when the Revised estimates were made?

**Sir Raghavendra Rau:** No.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Otherwise it is difficult to understand the whole thing. Then there is another point to which I would make a reference. Of these 159 or 160 officers, how many officers are really Indian officers occupying key positions? That is a point I would like to know; it would go a long way towards reconciling public opinion in this matter. The other day a reply was given in another place but that reply was so vague that we were not in a position to understand exactly how the situation stands. What is the total number of Indian officers in this figure 138, and what percentage of them occupy what may be called key positions there, because that will show that there is a growing tendency on the part of those who are in charge of this Department to associate the Indian element not merely with either ministerial or clerical work or the ordinary routine work but even in those works which mean the laying down of the policy and some such important thing connected with defence. Then, after that, there is another thing which I would like to ask the Government, and then I would wind up my remarks. As I have already maintained that this work of supply occupies a very important place and my Honourable friend, Sir F. E. James, raised the point that so far as the orders placed with the Government of India in the Supply Department are concerned, there is now, according to him at least, some satisfaction to the effect that all the Provinces have been given a fair advantage of the distribution of these orders in the matter of the supply of those orders. I would like to have a more clear statement on that point also so that it should be possible for us to know what is the position of these Provinces. I know it is a matter of supply, and much will depend upon the industrial development of each Province, but at the same time it would be of interest for us to know how far under the existing conditions the different Provinces have been able to attempt industrialization in some way or other and what encouragement or advantage the different Provincial Governments are having or taking so as to make an effort towards the industrialization of those Provinces. From that point of view I believe some detailed statement in this House, would be of great use. With these observations I support the cut motion.

**Some Honourable Members:** The question may now be put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan** (Leader of the House): Sir, before making an attempt to reply to such criticism of the Supply Department as has been given expression to during the course of the debate

I would like to say this, that the Supply Department is in charge of work of an emergency character, work which is not normally carried on, at least not in the same volume, by ordinary Government Departments, and, therefore, there has not been the least tendency on my part to pretend at any time that there may not be or that there is not room for improvement in various directions. As a matter of fact changes are continuously being effected in the organization and methods of the Supply Department as defects become apparent or improvements suggest themselves. Therefore, I was hoping that during the course of the debate suggestions might come to the surface which might be worth investigating further. I am somewhat disappointed that the debate has not thrown up any suggestions of that character. I do not again from that draw the inference that all that is necessary has already been done and that there is no further room for improvement. Perhaps some Honourable Members like the Honourable the Mover of the cut motion are reserving their more detailed suggestions for another occasion, for, throughout his speech Sir Ziauddin Ahmad gave warnings that for the moment he was only tabling the heads of the speech he proposes to make during the consideration motion of the Finance Bill, so that today he was merely giving us the benefit of the index, but on a further occasion he will give us the benefit of the contents of his speech. Nevertheless, I must try to meet such criticism as has been put forward and in trying to meet that criticism I am afraid I must take up some of the time of the House in explaining over again in outline at least the organisation of the Department. It seems to me that in spite of several attempts made in Committee to explain the organisation and the working of the Department, there is at least one Honourable Member of the Committee who does not appear to have grasped either the functions or the organisation or the method of work of the Department.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Have the other Members grasped?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** At any rate, I have had no indication from any other direction that the working and organisation of the Department have not been understood. As a matter of fact, another Honourable Member, I mean Mr. Muhammad Nauman, has made a grievance that apparently information is not being supplied to the Committee. For here is my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, who stands up and gives utterance to certain things which indicate that he has no information on certain points. But what I understood Sir Ziauddin Ahmad to say was that he wanted the organization of the Department, in certain respects, to be on different lines from the lines on which it is based at present, and how can he say that unless he has information as to what the Department is doing and how it is doing it. On the other hand when another Member of the Committee gave certain information, Mr. Muhammad Nauman said, "Oh!, how does he know, where does he get the information from". But when that Honourable Member said that he got it during the sittings of the Committee, Mr. Muhammad Nauman said: "But Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad does not seem to have got it". I will say this that except with regard to one matter as to which I said that if I was convinced that the information was wanted for some purpose which would help Honourable Members to understand something concerning the Department, I have freely supplied information on every matter on which information had been asked for. I have given it in my own statements and

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in statements made by the heads of various sections of the Department; I have given it by way of memoranda, by way of notes and by every possible means in which I could convey information. That it does not appear to have sunk very deep in certain quarters is, I assure the House, not my fault.

I shall make another attempt to describe the organisation of the Department. Let me first try to impress upon the House that the Department does not consist of sections which place orders and of other sections which make purchases. The whole Department, if I might put it broadly, is a purchasing organization, orders are placed upon us by His Majesty's Government, by Allied Governments or other countries and by our own Defence and other Departments and we have to execute these orders. That makes us suppliers and the distinction sought to be drawn between the Government of India and the Directorates General, between the Directorates General and the purchasing organisations, as if these were a number of contending partners in an uneasy partnership is not justified. When an order comes in if it requires planning, the planning has got to be done in concert between the appropriate Directorate General and Purchasing Organisation. When the planning has been done and the actual purchase is to be made, the actual purchase is made by the purchasing organisation concerned. These purchasing organisations we took over one from the military side and the other from the Commerce Department, that is to say the Directorate of Contracts from the military side and the Indian Stores Department from the Commerce Department.

With regard to the two Directors General, the question asked was what is the control exercised over them. The question might well be what is the control exercised over the Supply Department? The Supply Department is constituted as follows: There is the main Secretariat, then there are the two Directorates General, the Directorate General dealing with munitions production, that is to say roughly steel, engineering and metals and the Directorate General of Supply which deals with other stores. With the Director General of Munitions Production are associated sections both of the Indian Stores Department and of the Directorate of Contracts which deal with those articles which are assigned to that Director General. With the Director General of Supply are associated those sections of the Indian Stores Department and of the Directorate of Contracts which deal with those articles which are dealt with by the Directorate General of Supply. Each of these Directorates General also has a Financial Adviser, a representative of the Finance Department. They also have their secretariat establishments so that each is more or less a complete department in itself, the Director General at the head of the Department having the powers of a Secretary to Government. Associated with him are appropriate sections of the purchasing organisations and also the Financial Adviser representing the Finance Department. They together plan and place orders for all the articles with which they deal. The Director General of Supply similarly has associated with him a Financial Adviser.

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Are the Financial Advisers properly staffed from the Finance Department?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** Oh! yes.

As I was saying, the Director General of Supply has associated with him a Financial Adviser and also the necessary secretariat staff, so that they too are a complete organisation, and these organisations are the Government of India. I do not know and I cannot understand what Honourable Members mean by saying, "What control does the Government of India exercise over them?" They are, for the purposes assigned to them, the Government of India. Of course, the Member in charge is responsible for the running of the whole of the Department, but if it is meant that every little thing that has got to be done must be put up to the Member and be sanctioned by him before anybody can take any action, that is physically impossible and cannot be done; it would require a hundred Members to do the work of the whole Department over again after it had been done by the various sections of the Department.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Is it not a fact that Government have amalgamated the Indian Stores Department and the Department of the Director of Contracts?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** No, not technically, because we are under obligation to the two parent Departments of these two organisations to restore them to their parents after the war is over in the condition in which we took them over from the parent Departments; that is to say, we are under obligation to restore the Directorate of Contracts to the Defence Department and restore the Indian Stores Department to the Commerce Department. Therefore, no technical amalgamation has been carried out, but any overlapping which would have resulted from these two purchasing organisations discharging similar functions with regard to certain stores has been eliminated in the way I have explained. Suppose sections A, B, C of the Directorate of Contracts were dealing with steel and engineering and metals before the war, and sections X, Y, Z of the Indian Stores Department were also dealing with similar articles for the Civil Departments of Government. Now A, B, C of the Contracts Directorate and X, Y, Z of the Indian Stores Department have all been put down together at Calcutta and they are attached to the Directorate-General of Munitions Production; and they are now working, though in separate and distinct sections, as one purchasing organisation attached to that Directorate-General; and the same thing has happened with regard to stores which are dealt with by the Director-General of Supply.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** Are they functioning as one Department?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** The head of the purchasing organisation in Calcutta in charge of both these sets of sections is Brigadier Thomas who was the Director of Contracts and the head of the purchasing organisation as it stands today in Delhi, that is to say, sections from the Indian Stores Department as well as the Directorate of Contracts is Mr. Sur who was Chief Controller of the Indian Stores Department.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Do I understand that the amalgamation between the Indian Stores Department and the Director of Contracts has been carried out in Calcutta and not in Delhi?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** Yes, in Delhi too.

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Now in regard to financial control, there is a Financial Adviser for the whole of the Department and he has other representatives of the Finance Department,—one attached to the main secretariat, one attached to the Directorate-General of Munitions Production in Calcutta and one attached to the Director-General of Supply in Delhi. So that there is at each stage adequate financial control and examination of all proposals that emanate from any part of the Department.

With regard to the Directorate of Contracts one objection taken by Sir Ziauddin Ahmad was that there have been very rapid promotions in military ranks and, of course, consequently, in emoluments. With regard to military ranks I hope the House will at least now realise, after I have described the organisation of the Department that the Directorate of Contracts is a military department. For the moment it has been placed at the disposal of the Supply Department in the sense that it works with the Supply Department but its organisation is on military lines, and we cannot tinker with its organisation, as I have said, being under obligation to restore it intact to the Defence Department after the war is over. The ranks there have always been held on a military basis and continue to be held on a military basis. There has been one change since it came over to us and it is this that it came over to us as a Department into the officers' ranks of which no Indian recruitment was being made; but we have been able to persuade the military authorities that a certain amount of Indian recruitment should be made into the officers' ranks and we have already granted commissions to, I believe, at least eight Indian officers in the Directorate of Contracts, and this I hope will continue. With regard to rapid promotions, I believe there have been one or two such cases; they have been already discussed on the floor of the House during question time, and I have made no secret of my own opinion that these were cases of rapid promotion. There was a certain amount of justification for them having regard to the fact that the Directorate of Contracts with its peace-time establishment had a very limited number of officers. It expanded very rapidly after the war and the result was that in some cases,—two have come to my notice,—there was promotion which might be regarded as rapid promotion. In one of these cases,—and I believe that is the case which was referred to by Sir Ziauddin Ahmad,—the promotion to the highest rank to which he has referred was only temporary. That officer had risen from Captain to Major within a short time owing to the fact that several high posts had to be created in that Department which had to be filled by Majors, but his rise to Lieutenant-Colonelcy was in a temporary capacity for a short time and he has again reverted to the rank of Major. This is a kind of thing which cannot altogether be avoided when rapid expansion has to take place. And I may say with regard to the other criticism also that that particular officer though he was in civil employ when he was taken over and given military rank had been for a number of years,—I believe for 15 or 16 years,—in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers where he held the rank of Captain for a long time before he was appointed to this Department as Staff Captain. But I have looked into this matter and I have come to certain arrangements with the Master-General of Ordnance and the Director of Contracts which should obviate similar cases recurring in the future except where it cannot possibly be helped and there is no remedy for it.

There were several other matters referred to by Sir Ziauddin Ahmad; for instance, that the testing of samples,—he referred only to Kasauli, but I suppose his criticism was general,—used to take too long. He has himself said that there has been considerable improvement in that respect already. He then referred to the matter of fees which he said are described as fees but everybody knows what they are; and there are other Honourable Members who have made reference to similar kinds of expenditure incurred in respect of the inspectorate. On that matter I may say this. I too have heard rumours, but I cannot condemn anybody on the basis of a rumour. I have made appeals to members of the commercial and industrial community that if they will bring to my notice any concrete cases where I am satisfied that anything of that kind has occurred I am prepared to take the most drastic steps to put the matter right.

I do not know what more I am expected to do in this connection. Sometimes I am told that if anybody gives information he is doomed for the future so far as orders are concerned. I have said that I will guarantee that no such firm or individual will suffer on account of their having brought to notice a matter of that kind. But unless there is satisfactory proof, I am unable to take action. I am most anxious—I am more anxious than Honourable Members themselves, because, after all, it is my responsibility and it is not directly their responsibility—to put an end to anything of that kind that may exist; but I want the help of people who have knowledge of these matters to come forward and supply me with information. And without levity, may I also say this—it is neither a justification for anything of this sort if it does exist nor an excuse nor a palliation of it—but there is an aspect which makes it more difficult to deal with a matter of this kind and which is summed up in the Punjabi proverb:

*"Randi te randepa kat lendi aye gwandhi nahin katan dende."*

which means that a widow left to herself might remain chaste, but it is the neighbours who interfere and see that she loses her chastity. Without the co-operation of commercial and industrial individuals and firms, if this evil does exist—and it may well exist for all I know—it cannot be dealt with; and I do hope that that co-operation will be forthcoming and that we shall be able to deal with it.

Then, specifications were referred to. There also, in the first place, I must impress upon the House that we are suppliers; and as suppliers we have got to supply articles according to specification; that is to say, the specification which is given to us. It is for the Governments and Departments which place orders with us to say what they want; and then it is for us to make every possible effort to supply what they want. When an article cannot be supplied according to the specification, every effort is made to procure a suitable substitute and to persuade the authorities placing the order to carry out tests in order to decide whether the substitute is or is not suitable; and if it is suitable it is accepted in substitution of the article originally asked for. Two references have been made, one by Sir Ziauddin Ahmad and another by Mr. Nauman to specifications which on the face of them looked very stupid. But the actual specifications, if they were brought to my notice, would be more convincing than their paraphrase as understood by the two Honourable Members.

Certain observations with regard to the inspectorate and their qualifications have been made. It goes without saying that an inspector must have the qualifications to be able to judge the quality of the article which has

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got to be inspected. I do not know what is meant by part time inspectors—possibly the reference is to inspectors who may be paid by the day rather than by the month . . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Yes.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** I have had one or two references made to me on that question recently—the matter I think was raised only the day before yesterday in the Committee; and I shall look into it and see how the system operates in actual practice.

Another matter which has been raised and to which a great deal of importance has been attached is the question of tenders. It is said: "We have no objection to open tenders". As a matter of fact that is the normal way of doing things. Nor is objection taken to what has been described as negotiated tenders, by which is meant, I suppose, settling the terms of a contract by negotiation. But it has been urged that the system of calling for single tenders and the system of calling for limited tenders should be abolished. Now, the system of single tenders is resorted to when there is only one known source of supply for the particular article wanted; and a single tender and a negotiated contract might very often be the same thing. In any case where there is only one known source of supply, for instance, for particular kinds of fabricated steel the only source in the country may be Tatas, I should like to know what earthly good it would do to issue open tenders.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Not in this case.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** Very good. In such a case single tender would be justified. I assure Honourable Members that only in such cases is single tender resorted to. A limited tender is only an enlargement of the single tender system. Limited tender is resorted to when there are a certain number of sources of supply but they are definitely limited. Take for instance, the supply of textiles of a certain description. These can only be supplied by certain textile mills and if a tender is issued to all such textile mills in India in respect of stores which can be supplied only by them, what objection can there be to this system and what good would it serve if it was insisted upon that in such cases there ought to be open tender. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad himself put a question a few days ago with regard to a tender of that description. He said: "Why was it not advertised?" "To whom was it issued?" and I gave him the reply that it was issued to 66 mills and in addition it was issued to all the millowners' associations who were requested to bring it to the notice of any mills which might have been omitted in the list of mills which we had here with regard to that particular description of textiles . . . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** May I ask one question? If it can be issued to 66 mills, what is the particular harm in making it an open tender?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** I do not know the number of occasions when I have tried to put before the House this aspect of the matter that a thing is done because it is required to be done and there is justification for it, rather than because there is no harm in doing it . . . . .

**Sir Cowasji Jehangir:** Has the Honourable Member made it quite certain that in the case of these limited tenders, tenders are sent, in the case of textile mills, to all textile mills who can make that article? Has he made quite certain of that fact?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** I have said that they are sent to all the textile mills known to us and also to Millowners' Associations with a request that they should bring it to the notice of mills to whom it may not have been sent by the department, to make it quite certain that it reaches everybody who is interested in the matter. But apart from that sometimes the limited tender system has to be resorted to because the urgency of the demand is such that there is no time to issue an open tender. That the single tender and the limited tender are exceptions is admitted. But they are resorted to only when exceptional circumstances of the kind which I have tried to describe arise. I think there can be no difference that the single tender must be resorted to if there is only one known source of supply and it is sheer waste of time and effort to put out open tenders. In regard to limited tenders, there may be a difference of opinion here and there—I will not say that on no occasion anybody else could possibly have tendered but I can say that taken by and large it causes no prejudice.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani** (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): May I know one thing from the Honourable Member—apart from these 66, whether there is any firm which has not received any demand for supplies for any tender of the kind during the pendency of the war?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** Obviously I could not answer that on the spur of the moment; but that number 66 was given with reference to the particular order which was the subject matter of that question. I have used that as an illustration: I am not saying that there are only 66 mills in India. I have said that with regard to that particular order, the order was conveyed to the 66 mills and to the Millowners' Associations and I laid on the table of the House a list of the mills who actually did get a portion of that order for execution.

The last grievance to which Sir Ziauddin Ahmad referred was, according to him,—I have not gone into the matter and have not  
1 P.M. checked the figures,—the paucity of Muslim contractors who dealt with the Department . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** And the difficulty of registration.

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** I will deal with it later. The question of paucity of Muslim contractors has been raised, but that is a matter which is extremely difficult to deal with. I must not be taken to mean that I wish to exclude anybody from the activities of the Department from co-operation in the efforts that the Department is making to procure war supplies. On the other hand, it must be understood that the Department cannot undertake to make any particular number up from any particular community. The conditions with regard to supplies are known to everybody. With regard to certain descriptions of stores, open tenders are issued. There anybody can tender. With regard to certain



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other kinds of articles, where limited tenders are issued, there are known sources of supply, and if there is any fresh source of supply, I will see that that source of supply is not omitted, but I cannot think, how, assuming that there is not a certain proportion of Muslim contractors, I can remedy that defect. The remedy lies in the hands of the community itself. If Muslim enterprise were to take a larger share in the kind of activity with which the department has to deal, I have no doubt they will come in for a larger share of the orders. I have also no means of finding out whether or not there are enough Muslim contractors. Without going into detailed investigations for which neither I nor the Department have any time and for which there would be no justification we cannot find that out.

With regard to registration, it has been said that there is a great deal of delay and all sorts of inquiries are made which are not desirable. As to this latter aspect, when this matter was brought to my notice, I took steps to eliminate unnecessary and vexatious forms of inquiries, and I believe those are no longer made, and the opinions of Chambers of Commerce in the matter of the standing and capacity of the firms are being utilised more and more for purposes of registration. I understood some time ago that on the Directorate of Contracts side delays were now comparatively few. On the Indian Stores Department side, possibly there is still some room for improvement. One difficulty is the inadequacy of staff but the matter is under review constantly, and if any specific suggestion is put forward which would help to eliminate delay further, I shall be quite prepared to consider it.

I believe I have, in dealing with the matters raised by Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, also dealt with some of the points raised by Mr. Nauman, but there is one specific matter raised by him to which I ought to refer. He said that the Department purchases articles at prices which are not competitive. That is not the impression left on my mind after a scrutiny of some of the transactions put through. As a matter of fact, I have received a number of complaints that the Department is apt to beat down people a good deal, but on that I am not able to pronounce an opinion. If it is that prices are with regard to some articles still on the high side. I have no doubt that due competition will bring them down. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that the Department is keeping a firm hand on prices. If that is not so, I shall be prepared to adopt any suggestion which might bring about that state of affairs.

I shall now come to some of the matters raised by Sir F. E. James. May I express my gratitude to him for appreciation of the efforts of the Department to which he has given expression, but may I also say that I do differ from him with regard to one matter, namely, that if there is anything that the Department is doing which deserves the appreciation of this House and of people outside, the credit is due not, where he has tried to put it, but is due to the officers of the Department who are, whatever the criticism of their methods here and there might be, a most devoted band of men. (Applause.) But the time for that kind of thing is not yet. We are in the midst of the biggest calamity that has overtaken the human race, and it is up to all of us to do all that we can to avert the consequences of that calamity, and people who are giving that kind of service are doing no more than is the duty of everybody today to do.

With regard to the specific matters on which Sir F. E. James wanted information,—the Eastern Group Council has been set up. The Chairman, Sir Archibald Carter, arrived in India some time ago, and with him is associated the representative of the Government of India, Mr. M. S. A. Hydari; the representative of Australia, I believe, has already left and should be working on the Council within the next few days. The representatives of South Africa and New Zealand are still expected. The Secretary, Mr. Wyatt, was, I believe, the first to arrive. He has started the office of the Council and the Council is now working. Sir F. E. James wanted to know what will be the relations of the Supply Council with the Department of Supply and with the other Governments participating in this arrangement. Here again, briefly I might explain that at present there are what are known in military parlance as provision offices in the Middle East and the three Dominions who are participating in this arrangement, and also in the Far East as well as in India, and the machinery which has now been set up will work in this manner. All orders by these provision offices with regard to armaments and stores which can be supplied within the Eastern Group countries will be placed with a Central Provision Office. That Central Provision Office will put them before the Eastern Group Supply Council, and the Supply Council will allot them, wherever there is capacity in those countries, to execute these orders. The actual execution of these orders and the manner in which they should be filled and the steps that should be taken to fill these orders will be the business of each participating country. The Eastern Supply Council will allot orders to the participating countries, but will not be in a position to issue orders or directions to the Governments of different countries; it will be the business of the Governments of different countries to take steps to execute the orders.

Then, with regard to our arrangements for purchase in America, Sir F. E. James wanted to know whether the officer who was in charge of those arrangements was responsible to the Supply Department. That is so. Brigadier Tute who is in charge of our purchasing arrangements in America, works in liaison with the British Purchasing Commission in America. There is no kind of overlapping or competition between the two. As a matter of fact, he receives a great deal of assistance from the British Purchasing Commission, for which we are very grateful to the Commission.

Sir Frederick James also made a reference to the Roger Mission and wanted to know if the Roger Mission had made their final report, which he said he had noticed somewhere, if so, what were they doing now, and in what work were they now engaged in India. I think there is some misapprehension in the mind of Sir Frederick James with regard to what he may have noticed somewhere as to the report of the Roger Mission. The Roger Mission have already submitted to His Majesty's Government a number of most valuable reports,—I believe 17 or 18—and my Honourable friend must have seen a reference to one of these reports somewhere. Their final report has not yet been submitted. I believe it is not yet ready. On this last point I am not quite certain, but they have not yet submitted their final report. I believe they are now engaged in preparing and putting into shape their final report and I am not aware of what their programme is thereafter. The majority of the members of the Mission probably intend to go back to the United Kingdom after their work here is

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finished. May I take this opportunity of assuring the House that these reports submitted by the Roger Mission have been and are bound to be of the greatest value and benefit to the war effort of India.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Will these reports be published?

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** They are of a highly secret and confidential nature. Publication of those reports would amount to handing over direct information to the enemy with regard to our war effort in vital matters.

Now, Sir, the other matters that have been referred to are of a purely financial nature which it would not be proper for me to deal with. One matter which was raised by Mr. Aney of a general description was to what extent the Provincial Governments were taking advantage of the present opportunity to push forward with industrialisation. It is difficult for me to give him information on that point separately with regard to each province. But we have an organisation, as he knows, of Provincial Controllers of Supplies. These Controllers have not been appointed in each province, but each province is part of some Provincial Controllers' area or circle, and the Provincial Controllers are all the time compiling information and sending it up to the centre with regard to the industrial resources and capacity of the areas which are comprised within their circles. So far as we are concerned, every encouragement is being given for expanding production and undertaking the production of new items. I cannot say to what extent each province is taking advantage of the opportunity, but I hope that all of them are doing so to the fullest extent.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** Before I say that I just want to withdraw the motion, I may state that my object was not to censure the Government, but to draw their attention . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:** I have not taken it as a censure.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will the Honourable Member say whether he wishes leave to withdraw the motion? He cannot make a speech.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad:** I beg leave of the House to withdraw the motion.

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

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

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The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock. Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) in the Chair.

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**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, I propose to move my cut motion No. 75 on the Final List, under Demand No. 48—Aviation.

## DEMAND No. 48—AVIATION.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1942, in respect of 'Aviation'."

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1942, in respect of 'Aviation'."

*General Policy of the Aviation Department.*

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Aviation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

A number of tests can be applied to determine the progress made by any country in aviation. I believe that the most important of these tests are four: first, the progress can be determined by the mileage of air routes on which a country's commercial fleet operates; secondly, we can apply the test of the number of commercial aircraft possessed by a country; thirdly, we can determine the progress by finding the number of passengers carried; and, lastly, there is the test to be applied of the weight of mails transported by a country's air fleet. No doubt there are other tests that are also applicable but I believe, on the whole, these four are quite fair tests. Now, let us see what has been the progress made in aviation by this country in the light of these four tests. I take the mileage of our Indian air routes. Unfortunately, I have not been able to get the latest copy of the Report on the Progress of Civil Aviation in India. The copy I have with me is one for 1938-39. I spoke to the Honourable Member in charge of the Department yesterday but apparently no report subsequent to 1939 has been published. Therefore, I have to content myself with the figures given in this report.

We find that the mileage of regular air routes in India was 6,700. Now, strange to say, we notice that though the mileage was 7,500 in 1937, it dropped to 6,700 in the year 1938. So, instead of an improvement there was a set back. I may make a casual reference to the mileage of regular air routes of other countries. In the case of Great Britain, this mileage was 25,477, in the case of France, 40,833 and in the case of Germany 32,720 in the year 1938. When we remember the vast size of our country we should expect that such mileages would be somewhere like the total of the open lines of Great Britain, France and Germany taken together. But instead of that we find that our mileage was something like one-sixth of the total mileage of France for the year concerned, namely, 1938. Now, let us come to the next question, namely, the number of commercial craft that we have. Now, non-official Members always find it difficult to get accurate published figures. It is not open to us, even if we had access to it, to make use of unpublished information. Honourable Members will find, if they refer to page 81 of the report to which I made a reference

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earlier, from Appendix XIV that the total number of our aircraft is 76. The details are: four possessed by Imperial Airways, eight possessed by the National Airways, 14 by Tata Sons, Ltd., 30 possessed by the flying clubs in India and 18 by the flying clubs in the Indian States. So, the sum total of these comes to 76 including the machines owned by two or three small companies. These figures represent the total progress made by India till the 31st March, 1939, which is the date for which figures are available. Now, it is really difficult to speak in restrained language about this tremendous effort—shall I call it the mighty effort, the heroic effort—made by the Government of India to develop aviation. All I can say is this. Any body who has had occasion to visit the air port of Hamburg or Munich or Marseilles or Bordeaux, knows that the number of planes that arrive or take off the ground as well as those that are to be found on the ground at any one time during hours, exceeds the total strength of the commercial fleet of India. Is that a state of things on which the Government are entitled to be congratulated? But I will finish my list of the main tests.

Let us take the number of passengers carried by our Air Fleet, if I may give that grandiloquent name to it. We find that the passengers carried by these machines amounted to 2,104 as against 2,22,200 carried by the commercial fleet of Great Britain in 1938. Now, I do not think I need offer any comments. Let us also take the Air Mail. That is another test. Now, the weight of our Air Mails in the year 1938 was 244.5 tons as against 1,588 tons consisting of outward Air Mails carried by the commercial fleet of England, or as against 3,458 tons carried by the British machines both for internal and external purposes. These are the figures with regard to the four tests. I have given the information in the light of which you can apply anyone of these four tests to the development and progress of aviation in India. What are the Government of India doing? What have they been doing? Will time ever come when they will wake up? It seems that the unfortunate carnage that is going on in Europe will give a fillip to the Government of India's effort in the direction of improving the position of commercial craft. Now, Sir, there is another thing which I must state while I am dealing with this point. It is not only the number of aircraft by which the position of a country can be judged, but the question is: what is the equipment of your commercial planes? Now, so far as equipment is concerned, my information is that quite a number of these small craft that we possess are not fitted even with the wireless apparatus. I would very much like to know how many of these 76, a list of which I have given, which were possessed by the various companies in India in the year 1938, possessed wireless apparatus? Another piece of information that has reached me is even more damaging to Government if it is true. It is this. I am informed that quite a number of these machines were purchased by the Indian companies, especially by the Indian National Airways, from the United States or from some European countries as second-hand machines. They were not new machines when they were purchased.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi:** Who are the Managing Agents of the Company you are referring to?

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** I have mentioned one particular company, the Indian National Airways. That company was especially mentioned to me. If my friend wants any information, his proper course is to make a speech and ask the Government for information. I am not in a position to give him that information. If these two facts are true, namely, the lack of wireless apparatus and the purchase of second-hand machines by the Indian companies from the United States and some European countries, that is a state of affairs that should not be allowed to continue a minute longer and it is the obvious duty of the Government of India to rectify both these mistakes.

Then, I come to the question of my own community. It is the feeling of the Mussalmans that they have not been given a fair deal in the matter of appointments either as pilots or as mechanics or as ground engineers or as aerodrome officers. Unfortunately, the figures are not available. If Honourable Members were to refer to page 81 of Appendix XIV, they will find that the total number is given there, but the races shown are 'Europeans and Indians'. One does not know how many of these are Mussalmans and I would like to get information on that subject. But I do know this and I say it for the information of the Honourable Member in charge of this Department that some very disquietening events have taken place lately. First of all, I would refer to a Committee that was appointed, I believe, by the Honourable Member himself in October or November, 1940, to recruit pilots and mechanics. That Committee was presided over by Sir Padamji Ginwala, an *ex*-Member of this House. I happen to know Sir Padamji Ginwala. The other two members of the Committee were English officials. Representations were made to the Department and also, I believe, to the Honourable Member asking him to consider the appointment of a Mussalman, but for reasons best known to himself he set his face against them. What the special qualifications of my honoured friend, Sir Padamji Ginwala, to preside over a Committee of this character were, is more than I can say. He is a very shrewd businessman, but so far as I am aware he was not, is not and is not likely to be a pilot except that he has flown in machines just as most of us have. There is another thing to which I would invite the attention of my Honourable friend. My Honourable friend may note that it is not the purpose of my Party to attack him personally, but we do have very very strong complaints against the policy adopted by the Department over which he presides and which Department he controls. Now, I believe there were six Muslim pilots in training along with other pilots only in October or November last. All these six pilots appeared at the examination and, strange to say, everyone of them was disqualified ultimately. I believe the start was made by three. After disqualifying the first three, another was added to that number and then another, and, lastly, the sixth man was also disqualified. Now, Sir, I put it to you, is there anything wrong with the religion of Islam that no Mussalman is found competent to become a pilot? In this connection I would invite the attention of my Honourable friend to the fact that according to my information the Instructor of flying is not a Mussalman.

Now, I find it humiliating to make a demand that may be considered non-patriotic, but, Sir, out of a desire for self-preservation, I think it my duty to put that demand before the Government. The demand is, that if things like this are going to happen, we ask that all these instructors should be Britishers and not one of them should be an Indian. I feel a sense of humiliation when I say that. But what are we to do if no Muslim can be

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considered good enough to become a pilot? Then, the instructors, we ask, should be Britishers, and not Indians. In this connection, I would also invite the attention of my Honourable friend to the paucity of Muslims throughout this Department. Whether we take pilots or mechanics or ground engineers, we find that very very few Muslims are employed. In this connection, I believe, it would interest the House if I were to refer to certain figures that were given this morning in another place by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency disclosed, in answer to a question that was put to him, that in the Provinces of Sind and Baluchistan, which are almost entirely Muslim, out of thirty-nine pilots recently recruited, only eight were Muslims! Now, if this is the policy of the Government, surely the time has come when the Government should re-examine and modify their policy in its entirety. According to the figures given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning, I would again refer the House to the total number of pilots recruited for the regular Indian Air Force. The total number of candidates selected was 545. Out of that only 72 were Muslims. The candidates selected to serve in the reserves were 873; out of this 873, only 79 were Muslims. I know my Honourable friend, the Member for Communications, is not responsible for these selections, if I mistake not, but what I want to make clear to the House is that this is the atmosphere prevailing in India today and that is how we are treated, whether it is a question of recruiting for the Indian Air Force or for recruiting for Civil Aviation.

Lastly, I come to the question of accidents. It seems that lately we have had a number of terrible accidents, the last of which took place on the 6th January, 1941, entailing a loss of three lives including that of the pilot.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Muslim pilot.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Now, what was the cause of this accident? Unfortunately the Government of India's hole and corner policy leads to an amount of distrust which can easily be dispelled if the Government of India act more courageously than they are wont to do. Now, what was there to prevent the publication of the report on this accident? I know that an officer did hold an inquiry. As a matter of fact a very inadequate and incomplete summary of the inquiry appeared in the *Statesman* of the 16th January but that contained a very superficial view, as most newspaper reports generally do. Sir, considering that according to my information seven pilots have lost their lives in the service of the Indian National Airways during the past three months, I think it is very pertinent to know whether there was anything wrong with the machine before the pilot took off the machine which crashed on the 6th January, 1941, not far from the aerodrome in Delhi. It is alleged that there was something wrong with the machine. I am further told that the pilot called the attention of the ground engineer to one of the wings not being in proper condition and being loose. There is no reference to it in the summary which appeared in the *Statesman*.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** I am just finishing, Sir. So these are the three points to which I would invite the attention of the Government of India,—the wholly inadequate steps taken to develop Civil Aviation so far—and it is time that they made up for past negligence. Secondly, my own people, the unfortunate Muslims, are treated by the Department of Civil Aviation as step-children. Sir, we are going to live in this country, we are not going to leave this country whatever happens, and, therefore, there is no reason why we should be treated as step-children. Thirdly, I would invite the Government's attention to the important question of accidents. Too many accidents have taken place on the machines of certain air companies and it is time that the Government of India looked into the matter carefully. I would also invite the Government of India to publish the report of the officer who conducted the inquiry into the crash which took place on the 6th January, 1941. Sir, I move.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Aviation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. F. Tymms (Government of India: Nominated Official):** Sir, the Honourable Member started by calling attention to the lack of development, —or rather the failure to develop Civil Aviation in India. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** A little louder, please.

**Mr. F. Tymms:** . . . and he quoted my report—The Annual Report on Civil Aviation. Consequently, I cannot dispute the figures. The figures are correct. In that connection I would like to take him back to the year 1931, to find the reason why aviation in India has not developed as it has in Germany, America and Great Britain. Sir, in 1931 the Government of India had adopted a scheme for the operation of an Indian State Air Service (starting between Karachi and Calcutta) and had voted the money for that purpose. But later on in that year the Retrenchment Committee of this House recommended to the Government that that scheme should be put into cold storage. It never emerged alive! At the same time the Civil Aviation Budget was cut by 75 per cent. on the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. The Civil Aviation Department barely remained alive. Prior to that time the principal activity of the Civil Aviation Department had been the building up of the ground organization, and the bulk of the money which was taken away was planned to be spent on the extension of that ground organization. For three years nothing could be done at all and it was barely possible to maintain the aerodromes which had been constructed. There was a chain of aerodromes, with just a bare minimum of organization, on the trans-India route, and an aerodrome at Bombay. Now, that is the period to which you must trace back the present state of aviation in India, or anyhow its failure to develop more quickly than it has; because of the lack of ground organization and the retrenchment of the funds which, otherwise, would have provided it, it was necessary to start the operation of air services with small aircraft; without wireless; with a crew of one only; without subsidy; on the basis of the carriage of mail only; and at the risk of the company. The first of those services was started in October, 1932, by Tata Sons, Limited, from Karachi to Madras. It proved a success—within the scope of the organization. In 1933, developments were initiated by His Majesty's Government and arrangements



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were made for an Indian company to take part in that development, that is, the trans-India service which was operated by Imperial Airways and Indian Trans-Continental Airways.

An Indian company was set up to participate in those operations. That was Indian National Airways. Concurrently with that, that 3 P. M. company was encouraged to open other internal services and they operated for a time from Calcutta to Dacca (a daily service) and from Calcutta to Rangoon. They lost a great deal of money; they had no mail contract—it was not possible to give them a mail contract at that time. They were then given a mail contract for the feeder service from Karachi to Lahore. As you know that phase of operation lasted until 1938, when the Empire Air Mail scheme was started and both these companies, (Tata and Indian National Airways,) were put on a more or less permanent footing with a contract for 15 years to carry the mails as feeder services to the Empire Air Mail Service. It is true, as the Honourable Member said, that the mileage of air routes in operation in India is 7,500. It could not be very much greater because the routes have not yet been organised.

Turning to the ground organisation side—in 1934, Government created a fund of about 90 lakhs, to enable work to be put in hand on the organisation of air routes. That was intended to be spent on about four or five main routes including the Bombay-Calcutta and the Calcutta-Madras routes. But the advent of the Empire Air Mail Scheme made it necessary to concentrate all the money available on the completion of the three routes—Trans-India (that is, Karachi-Calcutta-Rangoon); Karachi-Lahore and Karachi-Bombay-Madras. In 1939, partly influenced by the war, a further fund was created or money was provided at the rate of 25 lakhs a year for a period of seven years, for the establishment of air route organization, the underlying idea being to meet the immediate needs of defence while building up an asset for Civil Aviation in the post war period. Under that programme it was possible to put back those air routes which had been eliminated, viz., Bombay-Calcutta, Calcutta-Madras and the West Coast route. Some of that work is now in hand.

The Honourable Member asked two questions which I will endeavour to answer for him. He wishes to know how many of the commercial aircraft listed in this report are fitted with wireless apparatus. He may have gathered the answer from what I have said: something less than six; but the number of aircraft used on regular air services, in that report, is 34. That is given in the table on page 51. Most of the commercial aircraft are small aircraft on which it is not possible to carry wireless apparatus, for the reasons that I have explained. The next question he asked was, how many second hand aircraft had been purchased, or rather he made a statement that a large number of second hand aircraft had been purchased, and particularly, by one of the companies he named, namely, Indian National Airways. That is not strictly true. The main fleet of both Indian National Airways and Tata Sons, Limited, were purchased new, from America; they were comparable types. The aircraft purchased by Indian National Airways were "Beechcraft" and the aircraft purchased by Tatas were "Waco". Both these companies have got second hand aircraft; there is no operating company in the world that I know of which has not got second hand aircraft, but that has not possibly the significance which the Honourable Member attached to it.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** I do not want to interrupt the Honourable Member, but may I know whether the machine that crashed on 6th January, 1941, was purchased second hand and was it fitted with wireless apparatus?

**Mr. F. Tymms:** It was not fitted with wireless apparatus. It was in one sense a second hand aeroplane, but it had been imported new from the factory in America to India only a matter of six months before and during the six months it had been in private ownership it had flown only a few hundred hours.

**An Honourable Member:** Was it a Beechcraft machine?

**Mr. F. Tymms:** It was a Waco tricycle model. But before being put on regular commercial service, that aeroplane, in accordance with the usual practice and, in fact, as required under the Indian Aircraft Rules, was fully inspected and overhauled and it was granted a certificate of airworthiness for air transport operation by the Civil Aviation Department.

I will pass over for the time being the Honourable Member's remarks about the Muslim community and I will now turn to the particular accident, about which he asked some questions. I think his information is inaccurate in a number of respects. With regard to the particular question he asked, whether there was anything wrong with the machine, the report which was published states conclusively that there was nothing wrong with the machine. The machine was inspected before the start of the flight; not only that, the Government Aircraft Inspector himself was on the aerodrome that morning because the weather conditions were most adverse and he himself was satisfied that the machine was in order. There was no evidence of any kind that there was any defect in the machine. It is untrue that the pilot called the attention of the Ground Engineer to a defect in the wing. I do not remember the terms used by the Honourable Member. He referred to something about the "spread of the wing". I do not understand what he said, but I may tell him that there was no such report. The pilot, having taxied away from the control area, then returned to the control area, to enquire where the Ground Engineer had put the watch—because the clock on the dash board had been removed and he was carrying a separate watch; it was in the map pocket, and he then taxied the machine off again. There was nothing wrong with that machine; and it will be gathered from the published statement that the cause was a pilot's error.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** May I just explain? The complaint that had reached me was that the pilot complained that the right wing of the plane was loose and, therefore, partly hanging—which defect was pointed out to the Ground Engineer.

**Mr. F. Tymms:** That is absolutely impossible. It is impossible for an aeroplane to fly with a wing "hanging". It is a purely fantastic suggestion, having no foundation whatsoever in fact. There was nothing wrong with the aeroplane. The evidence—such as we were able to collect—shows conclusively that the pilot failed to co-ordinate the control of the aeroplane with the indication of his instruments. This is not the same thing as to say that he lost control of the aeroplane. He did not fall out of the sky completely out of control, but he did fail to co-ordinate the indication of his instruments with the attitude of his aeroplane. It will

[Mr. F. Tymms.]

be remembered that there was a very dense fog on that morning. Two other aircraft took off at about the same time, one immediately before and one immediately after, and the pilots flew on their instruments successfully to the top of the fog layer at about a thousand feet, and continued their journey. Having failed to co-ordinate control in this way, he got into a turn. He flew round for some time and made visual contact with the earth. I do not want that term "visual contact" to be misunderstood; it is a term which we use when the pilot comes down to a position where he can see the earth, and fly with reference to the view of the earth's surface. He made this visual contact but the fog was very thick. It appears that he endeavoured to go up again or did go up again, and in that process he completely lost control. He struck the ground with the upper right wing in other words he was in a steeply banked turn, flying with engine on at the time. The natural result was that the aeroplane cartwheeled and crashed. The conditions were difficult, but they were not impossible.

Now, Sir, with regard to the publication of the report. It is the practice of Government to publish the gist of the conclusions of the Aircraft Inspector, on the termination of the investigation. It is not Government's practice or policy to publish the report itself. It is possibly not realised that the report of an investigation into one of these accidents consists of a very large number of technical documents, statements of evidence, figures, diagrams and matter of that kind.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhīl Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member's time is up unless he is replying on behalf of Government in which case he can take five minutes more.

**Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad**: The Honourable Member can speak for 20 minutes but that is not a transferable right.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhīl Chandra Datta): If it is meant to be a reply on behalf of Government the Honourable Member can speak for 20 minutes.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow** (Member for Railways and Communications): Sir, if you will allow Mr. Tymms to speak for 20 minutes I undertake not to speak for more than a quarter of an hour.

**Mr. F. Tymms**: It would not be practicable to publish the report of an investigation of an accident as it stands. There are objections also. These investigations are held under Part X of the Indian Aircraft Rules. They are, what is called there, "Inspectors' investigations". Inspectors, for the purpose, are appointed by the Director of Civil Aviation. It is not a public inquiry. We take evidence; we have the power to force evidence, but there are many statements in the report on the investigation of an accident which may have legal repercussions. That may be done in open court. Then the people who find themselves affected can take the necessary steps to protect their interests, but this is a departmental inquiry. It is purposely made confidential, and it would not be possible to publish all the statements which may have been made departmentally.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, may I explain? I did not mean that the evidence should be published. What I meant was that the report should be published.

**Mr. F. Tymms:** I cannot say anything more on this subject, but referring to this particular case I would inform the House that this investigation was not carried out by one man alone, but by a committee of all the officers available. One inspector was put on to collect all the evidence. He formed his conclusions, and they were reviewed by a committee over which I presided myself. On two or three occasions many hours were spent on this, and the conclusions we reached were the joint conclusions of four technical officers.

There is only one other point that I will refer to. The Honourable Member mentioned that seven pilots of Indian National Airways had been killed in the last three years. The figures are as follows: Going back to 1938, Indian National Airways had no accidents. Up to 1938 civil aviation, by luck or otherwise (*i.e.*, commercial aviation in India) had a very good record. Our figures of accidents, or rather persons killed or injured per mile flown (or million miles flown) were as low as those of America or Great Britain. But in 1939 a cycle of accidents started. Indian National Airways had four accidents during that year. I do not know whether any comparison was intended, but the total number of accidents of a serious nature in civil aviation in that year was six—there were two in another company. The result was that five pilots of Indian National Airways were killed, and one passenger. In one case, there were two pilots—one flying as second pilot. In the case of the other company two pilots were killed and three passengers were seriously injured. In 1940, Indian National Airways had no accidents; one other company had two.

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): The Honourable Member's time is up.

(Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi rose to speak).

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir, may I know whether the Honourable Member is speaking for Government or on his own?

**Mr. Deputy President** (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Let the Honourable Member speak first.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** I strongly protest against that observation.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** But that was an inoffensive question.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** No, it was not. It was a very offensive question.

Sir, my Honourable friend, the Mover of this motion, has mentioned an accident which happened in January, 1941. The father of that dead pilot is a particular friend of mine and apparently he has given him the particulars to which reference has been made. He has also written to me.

[Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi.]

I did not want to refer to that here because I have requested the Honourable the Communications Secretary to make an investigation and let me know what the Department has to say in regard to that matter. But the Mover has mentioned that accident with reference to Indian National Airways. I have also heard the statement of my Honourable friend, Mr. Tymms, the Director of Civil Aviation. He has given us an explanation but, speaking for myself, I am not satisfied with that explanation. It is a very serious matter. There have been seven accidents in this particular company; he said there were four at a particular period. And he also had to admit that this particular company is in possession of secondhand machines.

**Mr. F. Tymms:** No, Sir. I said that all companies have secondhand machines.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** That is exactly what the man has complained, that in this particular case it was a worthless machine.

Yes; he was given a certificate; otherwise how can he fly? That is the point. We want the Government to investigate how these certificates are given.

My Honourable friend has brought before us three points for our consideration, and he may take it that I am entirely with him. What have Government done about improving the Indian Airways? My Honourable friend, Mr. Tymms, has explained the difficulty by saying that in 1931 the Retrenchment Committee was responsible for the cold storage of that proposition. Two years ago Mr. Walchand Hirachand—I can at once say that I do not agree with him in many matters—but I must say what he had done. He had been worrying the Government, for the last three years in fact, for getting a concession for starting aeroplane manufacture in India. The Commerce Department did what they could and supported him; but the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Cassels, would not look at it; he put it down and it was put in cold storage absolutely, till about six months ago, and when my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, announced on the floor of the House that we shall get one aeroplane in July, he was applauded . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** I made no such statement, Sir.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** It is in his speech and he says he made no such statement.

**An Honourable Member:** He said within this year.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Very well: I will withdraw the word 'July'. But may I ask him . . .

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** The statement about the production of one aeroplane at the end of July is of Mr. Walchand.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** The statement is here:

"The scheme for establishing aeroplane manufacture in India has reached a new stage and there is now little doubt that the year 1941 will witness the appearance of the first aeroplanes to be produced in India."

If the Government had been sympathetic we could have had these aeroplanes three years ago . . . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sympathy does not make aeroplanes.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Sympathy has made aeroplanes now. What else have the Government given except sympathy and orders?

**An Honourable Member:** Hard cash.

**Another Honourable Member:** It is terrible antipathy that has brought about this aeroplane manufacture in India!

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Much is made about hard cash. I heard the day before yesterday also that they have paid hard cash for buying their machines which will be delivered; but cash was always available in India . . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Was it?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Of course; a company was floated; the money was there; but the order was not forthcoming; that was the difficulty. What is the use of my constructing and manufacturing the machines? You will not give me the order. Who will be my customer excepting Government for these aeroplanes? That was what was wanted, not the money that my Honourable friend takes credit for. Hard cash for what? Hard cash for the thing he is going to buy. But my complaint is, what did you do for the last decade? Why have you not got—not one—but half a dozen aeroplane factories in this country? Money was not wanting; it is available; but your sympathy and your support was wanted which you never gave us till you were forced to do so after the war started. You would not willingly give us that support, but the war has compelled you that this is the only way of getting aeroplanes manufactured in India . . . . .

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** The credit goes to the war!

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Then, another complaint was that the Muslims are not generally selected and the Mover asked how was it? Is it because the candidate is a Muslim and is that his disqualification? But I do not agree with my friend there for this reason. He will be surprised to know that a large number of Muslims are pilots now in field service. About these particular cases that he has mentioned I do not know what exactly the position was.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Sir Andrew Clow will explain.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** But I am sure that there are a large number of pilots of my community engaged in the fight and that a larger number will be selected, if not in India, elsewhere.

**Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney** (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. Deputy President, my reason for joining in this debate is to support the principle

[Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney.]

underlying this motion, in that I feel Government have not in the past given the support it should have given to aviation. I can, as one of the original Governors of the Civil Aviation Training Centre in Delhi, take my memory back a good few years ago and I can recall with painful memory the futile efforts we,—Lord Ronaldshay, Capt. Eaden and myself,—all founder Governors of this institution made when we appealed to the Government of India for financial aid or even scholarships to enable us to carry on till the tide changed in our favour. I can also recall the very painful replies we got and which practically amounted to “nothing doing sink or swim”. That Civil Aviation training centre which perforce had to be started as a Company under I. C. Act 1913 was founded on public subscriptions and shares but owing to want of support from the Central Government, had a life or death struggle for three or four years for want of money; made frequent appeals to the Government of India but these fell on deaf ears. Instead we got sympathy so correctly commented on by Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi when he said sympathy, in my experience of public life, is a starvation diet, and this starvation diet led to the death of this air training centre which had potentialities beyond our dreams then and which today faced with India's urgent air needs would have developed into a most excellent institution. In this institution we had 70 to 80 air pilot cadets, mainly Indians and I may tell my friend, Sir Raza Ali, that a good many of them were Muslims. But they had tragically to cut short their career when the Centre closed its doors. They were not properly trained because we had not the money with which adequately to staff and equip the Centre and it was denied help from Government. In my Financial Bill speech I spoke of the tragedy awaiting this Centre two or three years ago and asked the Government for help as also to outline its future air policy for India. Again, sympathy was dished out, the result is that this Centre has closed its doors—bankrupt, insolvent and was taken over by the official liquidator and it was only the day before yesterday I got an intimation from this official, who after months of a hide and corner enquiry of which I know nothing that I was to receive a return of Rs. 26 per 100 shares.

My Honourable friend seated below me, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, who was a co-director of mine in this institution knows all about this. I am not mentioning this fact from its money value, but as a reward to one of a private company who along with others and in response to Government's complaint that there was no local industrial enterprise risked my money along with many poor people who invested their money in it came to grief for utter lack of Government support. The Honourable the Communications Member may, as I see he is doing, have his smile, but these are undeniable facts and I charge the Government of India for not having played the game in encouraging this local industry which they are today willing to do to another private company and why because the nation is faced with a life and death struggle. But let's not cry over spilt milk—rather let us spill no more. Sir, what do we find today? India is without an air force worth the name, civil or military and the enemy is knocking at our gates. If this industry had been fostered and encouraged and put into being a few years ago, we would have been in a position not only to meet our own aerial defence requirements, but also to supply overseas needs. Instead of that, we have now to depend on America; we had to—

send a committee of experts to America to see how many machines we could get from that country, and, yet, we have not even today got a sufficient number of machines for our own defence purposes. Sir, this policy towards our air needs of the Government of India, particularly the speech made by my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, puts me in mind of a story of a lady who went to a doctor, who after examining her carefully said: "My dear lady, what you really require is a little 'sun' and a little 'air' ;" but the lady misunderstanding these words and thinking they meant "Son" and "Heir" replied: "My dear doctor, I'm not even married!" In the same way my friend, Sir Raza Ali, takes advantage of this cut motion to advocate the cause of Muslims. That I submit is the weakest part of his cut motion. Sir, I am just as much a communalist as he is, yet it was most intriguing to see him deal with this communal question in this manner. Equally most amusing, and need I say, ridiculous, was it to see the worthy mathematical expert of this House my friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, a few days ago, put on the garb of a saintly non-communalist. For years he has shouted from the house tops demanding all kinds of privileges for Muslims and which I am glad to find he and others have succeeded in getting. But for him now to deny and even bitterly decry the few given to Anglo-Indians is surely ungenerous and unkind and I am surprised at his attitude towards my community. But now, Sir Raza Ali wants more aviation jobs to members of his community. I say give them all the jobs if they are qualified and on this he has my full support; but India is not seriously air minded even today. I do not know whether my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, has ever been in an aeroplane. I don't think he has for I am sure his weight would upset the balance, but the fact is when I heard him speaking he showed a complete ignorance of what he was talking about except that he wanted to talk for himself and not for Government or for the cut motion. I am glad to see that a real advance has been made by the present Government and the Civil Air Directorate in the air needs of India.

The Honourable the Finance Member detailed the other day to the satisfaction of the House what Government had done already and what further they were preparing to do—better late than never or better never to be late. It should have been done long ago and if the cut motion has the effect of awakening Government to a further sense of its aerial responsibility as also a feeling at least of shame at the way in which they treated our effort of private industry which I referred to earlier in my speech it will have served its purpose and have not been moved in vain.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Sir, Civil Aviation is important not only as a means of quick transport,—not only for the purpose of carrying passengers, mails and goods,—but also it is important as being ancillary to the air force. It has made very great progress in all the countries of Europe and in the United States of America, but we in India are in a most lamentable state as regards Civil Aviation; and the reasons have been pointed out by Mr. Tymms whom we are glad to welcome here this afternoon. He said that the Government of India was unable to make any financial provision on account of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee, but we all know that the Government of India gave the go-by to many of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. Why did they stick to this particular recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee? . . .



**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Because there was nobody to fight for it.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Yes, perhaps it was so; therefore, it was wrong on the part of the Government not to have made adequate provision for this purpose. The Government also failed in their duty in other respects. They did not take adequate steps to train pilots, ground engineers, mechanics and officers. Nor did the Government do anything to encourage the construction of aircraft in this country. It was only the other day, after the commencement of the war, that the Government has sanctioned certain orders for the purchase of aircraft from a firm which has been recently started. But it is very late,—I hope it is not too late.

My friend, Sir Raza Ali, raised the question of Muslims with regard to their training and also their appointments. I wish he had not raised this communal question in this regard, for we should be united in our effort to get the best possible from Government . . . .

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Every one of the Muslim candidates was disqualified. How can I keep quiet?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): As unfit or how?

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** Sir, in the training of pilots, mechanics, ground engineers and officers, most suitable persons should be taken, irrespective of their caste or creed or the province from which the candidates come. If that is done, then and then only can Civil Aviation make adequate progress. Not only that; in the matter of appointments too, the Government should consider efficiency as the sole test. Let the best qualified and the most efficient persons be appointed, and let no appointment be made on the ground of caste or creed.

Sir, I hope the Government have now realised their responsibility in the matter after the commencement of the war. It is now seen that the neglect of this important industry in the past has landed them in great difficulty. Let us hope they will continue to make serious efforts in the future and not cease them as soon as the war is over.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow:** Sir, I have no desire to enlarge further on the unfortunate accident that happened near this House, but I would just like to say what Mr. Tymms, if he had the time in his excellent speech would have made clearer, and that is, that the aeroplane in question was in its first year of service. It had been used, I believe, for about six months by a private owner and was in every respect thoroughly good. There has been a suggestion that because you buy a machine second hand, therefore, it is not a good machine. Well, as every motor car owner knows, it is a better thing to buy a car that has "run in" for some time as it is likely to be much more reliable than a new car.

Now, my friend, Sir Raza Ali, alluded,—and I fully understand his anxiety on that subject,—to the paucity of Muslims in aviation service. This is a department where Muslims are few, and I acknowledge that frankly. It is not a department in which we have a communal reservation for the officers' posts. They are chosen by the Public Service Commission, and because it has been felt that we must have the best qualified

men, there are no communal reservations in the matter. But even if there were, I doubt if that would have made any substantial difference, because our trouble here is, that in the field from which we have to draw, there are very few Muslims indeed.

If I take those holding commercial licenses—A1 and B licenses—out of 89 current licenses in India only four are held by Muslims. There are no Muslims at present holding licenses as pilot instructors, navigators or wireless operators. Out of 124 current licenses for ground engineers, only six are held by Muslims. In fact, having looked around I do not think there is at present any single Muslim out of employment who has qualified himself for any post that we could offer. So that our difficulties go a stage further back. They go back to the fact that the community has been slow to develop in this particular field. I am in the position of a man who wants men with particular qualifications and finds that particular community almost entirely lacking in that direction. We have, as a matter of fact, given a certain number of Muslims assistance to qualify. I think about eight Muslims were given full time *ab initio* training, each at a cost of Rs. 2,400 to Government, and five were given part time training at a cost of Rs. 500 each. Even these proportions I regard as small, and I think, were it not for one factor to which I shall allude later, it would be our duty now to see that scholarships were given specially to Muslims for this purpose.

The factor which has come in to alter the position is, of course, the recruitment of pilots and ground staff for Air Force purposes. I am afraid I am not able to give Sir Syed Raza Ali particulars in regard to the alleged disqualification of some Muslims in Delhi because I did not hear of it until the House met. It is not a matter really resting with me as I am sure he will appreciate, but I am afraid I detected in his account of the facts a suspicion that the pilot instructor being a Hindu might have something to do with that. I understand that if any pilots are disqualified, they are disqualified, first of all, by an Air Force officer who is a Britisher and also by another European officer in the Civil Aviation Department. But, as I say, I do not think it is a matter falling really within my own responsibilities. As regards training for the Air Force we are largely agents in the matter, and if the Air Force say that a particular man is not suitable for the purpose, obviously their word must be final. The position is that we have taken in the last selection by the Committee every qualified man who offered himself, and we are having another selection shortly at which, I have not the least doubt on this occasion also, every man who is qualified will be taken. The result would be that when we come back after the war to throw our energies on to the civil side there should be an adequate number of Muslim officers with services in the war, who will be able to play a part worthy of that great community in the development of civil aviation.

As regards the general topic of development of Civil Aviation, I think Mr. Tymms has given an adequate answer. I feel considerable difficulty because I understand that the Leader of the Muslim League in another place today accused the Government of extravagance in the matter of providing money for Civil Aviation. But here I appear to be accused of parsimony, and it is obviously impossible for me to give an answer that

[Sir Andrew Clow.]

will satisfy in both the Houses. But a still more extraordinary attack was made by Dr. Banerjea when he said in effect why did you not flout the opinion of this House as expressed through the Retrenchment Committee? If we are going to be attacked on that ground, if I am going to be attacked when we follow the desire of the House and also going to be attacked because we follow it, the position of a Member of Government is going to be impossible. One thing I can say, that we on the Civil Aviation side, and, particularly, Mr. Tymms who has done more than any single man for the development of Civil Aviation in India, are anxious to spend every rupee we can get out of the Finance Member. I do not want to suggest that the Finance Member has been in any way ungenerous; I think he has been distinctly generous in this matter. Out of a budget this year of 100 crores odd, remembering what an enormous proportion of that is to go on our defences, we are providing more than a crore for Civil Aviation. People ask why we have not developed like Germany and France. But we are constantly being reminded that this is a poor country and funds at our disposal are very limited.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** You admit that this is a poor country.

**The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow:** I do, in comparison with the countries I mentioned. Then where is the money for Civil Aviation coming from? Having got over a crore, I think the House will agree that we are devoting to this subject as much as we can reasonably claim out of the resources at our disposal. If the House will only glance at page 217 of the Demands for Grants, they will find four figures which I will quote without any comment. The first relates to the actuals for 1939-40, Rs. 85 lakhs, the second to the budget estimates for 1940-41, Rs. 59 lakhs, the third is the revised estimates for 1940-41 Rs. 85 lakhs, and the last is the provision for next year Rs. 102 lakhs.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Aviation' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

DEMAND NO. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—*contd.*

*Reforms in Baluchistan:*

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Mr. Deputy President, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

There is an ancient saying that there is nothing new under the sun. I am not sure in what sense the gentleman originally responsible for promulgating that doctrine used those words, but I think, as far as Baluchistan is concerned, it can very safely be affirmed that there has been nothing new in Baluchistan for the last 60 years or so that it has been under the administration of the British Government. You will see that this question of reforms for Baluchistan has been mooted in the House on many occasions and on the last occasion in September, 1939, it was myself who moved a Resolution to that effect and there was a debate on that Resolution. The outcome of the debate as far as the Government were concerned was that we were told what difficulties there existed in acceding

to our request for reforms to be granted to Baluchistan. We were told that the country was a vast one, that the population was very sparse and meagre, that the country consisted of British Baluchistan and certain Baluchistan States and territories which were leased by some of those States to the British Government, so that the constitutional position, the juridical position in that part of the world was so curious that provincial autonomy would be absolutely unsuitable and impracticable in Baluchistan. We were also told that there would be no finances to run an autonomous Government in Baluchistan and a number of other difficulties were enumerated. The net result of all that was said on that occasion on behalf of the Government was that our demand for the grant of autonomy to Baluchistan was according to the Government not enter-  
tainable.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** On a point of order, Sir. Who is in charge of this subject?

**An Honourable Member:** Mr. Caroe.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Is it a point of order?

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** Well, Sir, knowing as we do that demands like this are not granted when put forward for the very first time, one has to repeat and reiterate such demands, sometimes perhaps on a large number of occasions. We do not feel daunted by the attitude adopted by Government on the last occasion. We have, therefore, dared to put the same matter in the form of a cut motion on the present occasion and we want to ventilate the grievances of the people of Baluchistan once more. Let us hope that on the present occasion Government will take a more considerate view and treat the subject with greater generosity and, may I say, statesmanship. You will see, Sir, that on the last occasion among the many arguments advanced against the Resolution urging the grant of provincial autonomy to Baluchistan one was the constitutional position of Baluchistan under the present Government of India Act; we were told that the Government of India Act had territorially classified India into Governors' Provinces, Centrally administered areas and excluded areas or partially excluded areas, that Baluchistan was among the areas which were Centrally administered, that it would involve a radical change in the provisions of the Government of India Act to treat the people of Baluchistan otherwise. We were also told that within the small population falling to the share of that part of Baluchistan which could be strictly called British Baluchistan it was impossible to prepare a list of duly qualified voters numerous enough to elect any appreciable number of members for any kind of Assembly or Council that might be thought of for Baluchistan, that therefore to have a full paraphernalia of an autonomous government for Baluchistan was unthinkable and we were consequently told we had better not think of it at all. Well, we pointed out the instance of the small province of Coorg which was not, from the point of view of either population or area, anything larger than Baluchistan. In fact, in point of area it was much smaller and we showed that there was some sort of a reformed Government in Coorg, although it was administered also under a Chief Commissioner, like Baluchistan, so that if it was considered advisable to take a step in the direction of

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

reforms a beginning might be made with something which may not amount to complete provincial autonomy as envisaged in the Government of India Act but may be regarded as a step in the direction of ultimate autonomy for Baluchistan in the near future but we were told that there were juridical difficulties, that it had been held in a certain case by the Judicial Commissioner of Sind that a warrant issued by a magistrate in Sind for the arrest of a person living in Quetta would have to be executed by using the provisions of the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act because Quetta stands on land really belonging to the Kalat State. Now, there is no difficulty in putting forward legal quibbles of that sort but we know that although the Kalat State may be the real owner of the land on which Quetta stands, the British Government being the lessee of the land is in a position to treat that territory for all intents and purposes as British territory and in actual practice the British Government has been spending not lakhs but crores of rupees on all kinds of military buildings and other things on the leased land. I do not understand, Sir, why Quetta cannot be treated for purposes of administration as governed under a reformed system of Government simply by reason of its site belonging to the Kalat State.

We have before us the instance of the province of Berar. It is now an admitted fact that it is His Exalted Highness the Nizam who is the sovereign of the province of Berar and yet a complete machinery of autonomous administration rules over that province. For all practical purposes, everything is controlled by the Government of India. Only nominally His Exalted Highness the Nizam is the sovereign of Berar. He is allowed to fly his flag over certain buildings and he is supposed to be consulted in certain matters. So, even in respect of a territory which is admittedly completely owned and is completely under the suzerainty of an Indian Prince, autonomy applies to that province also, as shown by the presence in this House of my friend, Mr. Aney, representing the people of Berar in the Assembly here. Where is the difficulty in contriving a system of autonomy for Baluchistan which shall practically override the difficulty arising from the site of Quetta belonging to Kalat? The British Government, being the lessee of that land, have their own Government there, they have their own officers, they collect the revenue, they collect the taxes, they police the whole place and they do everything else but they cannot grant reforms to Baluchistan because originally, somehow, it belonged to the Kalat State, although to all intents and purposes it is British territory. So, I submit that the grounds advanced against our claim for the grant of autonomy to Baluchistan are really fanciful and so many legal quibbles which are advanced simply because the will to take steps in that direction is lacking. Where there is a will there is a way. Once the British Government decides to grant autonomy to Baluchistan, there will be no difficulty. Even the smallness of the area will not matter: even the smallness of the population will not matter. Certainly, Sind is a province which borders on British Baluchistan. Certain parts of it also border on the Punjab. It is easy to incorporate British Baluchistan with Sind in the matter of Government and thus grant provincial autonomy to it. The same thing can be done if we attach it to the district of Dera Ghazi Khan.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Do you want Baluchistan to be attached to Sind?

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** I have no objection to it.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** With all the instability of the Ministers there?

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** I know that instability will be there so long as my friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, would like to continue it. I think it is really the failure to realise its duties to the people of Baluchistan and the apathy, I should say, of the British Government towards the very low condition of the population of Baluchistan that lie at the bottom of treating this question so lightly. As I pointed out in the other debate, if you consider the condition of the people of Baluchistan and take into consideration the long period, more than half a century, which has elapsed since the occupation of that territory by the British, the lot of the people there has not at all improved. Their educational condition is very low, their economic condition stands unchanged and, if anything, they are governed under practically a sort of martial law. That is the condition to which the inhabitants of British Baluchistan have been reduced. They were perhaps better off in their olden days when they were the subjects of certain indigenous States. Being under the British rule now, they ought to have improved educationally, economically, commercially and in other ways. They have not improved. Unless the British Government is prepared to give a better account of its stewardship, there is no justification for its holding that part of the country simply because they want to provide certain precautionary arrangements and measures from the defence point of view and to make it an outpost for defence purposes of India. Make it an outpost for defence purposes by all means, use it for military purposes, but at the same time do not forget your duty to the people of Baluchistan. Improve their lot, make them men, give them freedom to such an extent at least as you have given to the Indians and then alone will your stewardship be justified in the eyes of right-thinking men. With these few remarks, I move.

**Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta):** Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Executive Council' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sir, Baluchistan is my next-door neighbour.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** I hope you are a good neighbour.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sind has proved itself up till now to be a good neighbour. So far as Baluchistan is concerned, Government have always put forward the question of the defence and of military requirements, which, they say, do not permit them to make Baluchistan autonomous. But these difficulties are, no doubt, real. Baluchistan is the gate of Hindustan from that side. On account of those difficulties they feel that it should remain under the Central Government and the Central Government is carrying on the administration. Now, Sir, I would not be against any reform that could possibly be given to Baluchistan to make it stand on its own legs. But the question is whether it can stand on its own legs? The Muslims and the Honourable the Mover of this cut motion will have to think over this question and ask themselves whether they will be better off if they are autonomous? I do not in the least mean to convey the idea that Baluchistan should not be given any reforms which would lead to its progress. But if it is to be autonomous in the sense that it should carry on its Government that will depend upon the finances. We, in Sind, have been regretting—at least the Hindus, and I do not mean to say

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anything derogatory for the other community—over the separation of Sind because they have to take the bowl in their hands and to ask for a subsidy. I would not like my neighbours to be in the same state as beggars. (Interruption). Therefore it is a serious question to consider, viz., whether autonomy in its proper sense should be extended. If Government would do it and the Government would give them a subsidy, I shall have no objection but that is only a question that they will have to consider for themselves.

Then what I would suggest is this. They should ask for all the reforms that will lead to their progress. Those things should be got from the Government, and in that they shall have full and hearty sympathy from me. Sir, in that connection I would submit that what they should want at present is full support for education that should lead to their progress in education to the full extent, and in that matter what we find is this. I remember the full extent, and in that matter what we find is this. I remember myself that there was a time when there was apathy for acquiring education in Baluchistan. The people were orthodox, people who had their old peculiar customs and manners and had a peculiar way of getting education and in those times nobody would come forward and like that even English education or elementary education should be given to them. Then a stage came after this, when some people considered that their uplift depended upon education: as soon as they are educated, so it was thought, and they are free in the sense of coming forward on the platform and ask for freedom and for further reforms, they would get it without much difficulty. At present, I do see that the Muslim League is helping them to come to that stage but I would say that there are not many persons there who would come forward and put their own case themselves. Sir, the next stage came when Government considered it right to proceed very cautiously, and I think very slowly they have proceeded; they only gave them some schools where elementary education was given. Then another stage came where they gave them secondary education too. Then, further on, with all the education, agitation came from those who acquired education; there are some families, indigenous and domiciled, where they have acquired education. . . .

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** You mean that education and agitation go together?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** . . . that is what I am submitting, the stage then came when there were many residents there who had education, and higher education too.

**An Honourable Member:** Not higher education yet.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Well, if there has been no higher education yet, I would put it on the ground that you have not got in Baluchistan a full-fledged college. In that I have my full sympathy with you, that a full-fledged college should be given to Baluchistan. Now, what I find is this, that they have difficulties; of course they could take advantage of the chance of going to Sind because there is a college, but it is some long way off. There is a desert in between—not that Sind can be joined at once to Baluchistan or Baluchistan joined to Sind. They are better off, with the distance that separates them and they will not be contaminated.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** You won't be happy with Baluchistan.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** No, Sir, it is in their interest to remain where they are. So, what I am submitting is this, that in the case of education, Government should now proceed further to the stage, to a further stage at which they should give them a college. Last time when there was much agitation in this House—not outside, in Baluchistan itself—I do not know why they are not coming forward in the sense of asking for these reforms or for these educational facilities. . . .

**Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur** (South Madras: Muhammadan): They have asked for reforms—they had two Conferences.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** I do not say that there is not that agitation but that should disclose itself in the very place where they are.

**An Honourable Member:** There have been Conferences.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** Muslim League Conferences.

**Honourable Members from the Muslim League Benches:** No, no, no, not in the least.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** But they are from people who come from outside?

**Honourable Members from the Muslim League Benches:** No, no.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** I do not grudge that, but I cannot understand why you should be thinking that I am putting it in a communal sense, I am not . . . .

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): I should like you to go there.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** You may like to go there to have disturbances, but I would not.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** I should like you to go there.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** I have gone there. Then, Sir, what I am submitting is this, that at present the point is—why should they not get a full-fledged college? Last time when there was agitation and when claims were put forward and their case was put very well before the Honourable Member for Education, the Honourable Member was pleased to give them an intermediate college.

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

Now, it is for the Government to find out the position, but I do not know it personally, at this stage, well, they can say, "what advantage has been taken of that intermediate college?" That is the first question that the Government has to consider, and on this side it should be shown by facts and figures that full advantage has been taken of that intermediate



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college, and then no one can resist their claim for a full-fledged college, and I say, Sir, that as soon as they get a full-fledged college and they get educated there, no outer agency will be required to give support to them. They will stand on their own legs; it may be that they may find out how they can even find the subsidy that they will require from the Government, because no autonomous Government can carry on in Baluchistan and with a view to getting funds and they shall again be asking for funds from the Central Government, and it was from that point of view that I was feeling that there is a little difference between their getting autonomy and being under the Central Government, but the Central Government should advance further in giving them reforms of such a nature as will lead to their progress. Now Baluchistan has become a cosmopolitan country where there are Hindus, Muhammadans and others with all their different interests. I submit it would be a blessing for Baluchistan to have a full-fledged college.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** Thank you.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Therefore, Sir, I am not grudging them anything. I would only tell them to proceed wisely and I would also request the Government to take further steps to ameliorate their condition, to give them amenities and to bring them to that stage of education where they can carry on their own Government—because at present I am sorry to say that if autonomy is at once given, they shall require outer help to carry on. It will not be that they will themselves stand up and carry on the Government. Sir, we know the difficulties of the autonomy especially where there are Hindus, Muslims and other communities also. We know how autonomy is working in Sind. We curse the day when Sind was separated from Bombay. We have seen what the conditions in Sind are. Baluchistan is a country where there is a lot of hot-headedness and if provincial autonomy is granted to Baluchistan and if Ministers fight among themselves, how can you have a stable Ministry. It will result in bloodshed and streams of blood might pass there as it did in Sind. I am submitting that you must act in a manner which wisdom dictates. With that view I have full sympathy.

(Both Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani stood up in their seats.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.

(Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani did not begin his speech.)

If the Honourable Member Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani does not want to speak, the Chair will call upon Maulana Zafar Ali Khan to speak. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani will not be called upon again to speak in this debate.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Sir, when bureaucracy once makes up its mind not to do a thing it manages to create all sorts of pretexts and excuses for accomplishing this purpose. This has been the case in regard

to the long overdue question of reforms in Baluchistan. Only the other day, that is on 15th February, a magnificent Durbar was held in Baluchistan where Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, the Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan, made a speech which was heard by a number of tribal Chiefs and their retainers who are very loyal and devoted to the British Government. In that speech, he said that Baluchistan was having all that it required. The system of Government introduced sixty years ago by Sir Robert Sandeman remains there unchanged excepting for minor modifications that have been introduced. The country is inhabited by a number of wild tribes and they are given full independence. They can manage the country as they like and we won't disturb the conditions. The country is a very large one, hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of miles in length and breadth with very little agricultural, industrial and economic resources and so it would be difficult to have a system of Government here on all fours with the system of government in the provinces of India. Now, Sir, I maintain that for strategic reasons, the Government want to make Baluchistan a close preserve for British Imperialism. Although the conditions are very nearly the same as they are in the neighbouring province of the North-West Frontier Province, yet the Government do not want to raise Baluchistan to the status of an autonomous province. The North-West Frontier Provinces also are inhibited by the Pathans, as Baluchistan or a major part of it, and according to Sir Aubrey Metcalfe is Pathanistan instead of Baluchistan. Lord Curzon carved out a province in the North-Western part of India and he gave it eventually a form of Government which after having made developments blossomed into a full-fledged autonomous province. Is it not possible for Baluchistan to be treated in the same manner? If the North-West Frontier Province is a military province and has been created by military necessities and by military requirements, the same is the condition of Baluchistan. If out of Imperial revenues you can offer one crore of rupees as subvention to North-West Frontier Province, you can grant a similar subsidy to Baluchistan. In fact the money is being spent there in lakhs on all military requirements but not upon the development of the country. By 1938, according to the Administration Report of Baluchistan for that year: "Owing to paucity of funds, no Government educational institution was established in Quetta". Well, Sir, after 60 years of administration according to the plan laid out by Sir Robert Sandeman, we are told that Government have not got the funds enough to have a college there. What greater condemnation of the system of Government in Baluchistan could be than this? My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, told me that he had been to Baluchistan and that he found there no local demand for freedom, and that it is the outsiders who go and create agitation. This was exactly the argument which was developed by Sir Aubrey Metcalfe. He said the people are contented here, but that people from outside come and create unrest.

Now, Sir, I can tell Sir Aubrey Metcalfe and his henchmen in Baluchistan and also my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, that two years ago I went to Baluchistan myself and I visited a number of towns in Baluchistan, I went to Quetta, I went to Sandeman and I went to Loralai and many other parts of Baluchistan and I addressed big meetings in all the places under the auspices of the Muslim League. In Quetta, I addressed a meeting of 25 thousand people on the first night, the second night also 25 thousand people came. I believe the Government must have the C. I. D. reports of those days and the External Secretary can look

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into them. Although I was an outsider, yet Mr. Muhammad Esa, Bar-at-Law, the President of the Muslim League, Quetta, was not an outsider. There were the tribal chieftains, scores of them, all of them were not outsiders and all of them demanded independence and they said, as long as we do not have independence, we will go on fighting, fighting and fighting, agitating, agitating and agitating. That was the true voice of Quetta. Then I went to Loralai and Fort Sandeman . . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Were you welcomed there?

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Wherever I go as a Mussalman, I am welcomed by the Mussalmans, even if I go to Tokio or Moscow.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** I am quoting Judge Weston.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** All the people there want independence and unless you give it to them, this agitation will go on. I have just before me a newspaper called *Istaklal* of Quetta edited by a Baluchi, written by Baluchis, contributed by Baluchis, in which there is an article calling upon the British Government to concede to them the same right to self-government and self-determination as is conceded in a small measure to the provinces of India. You say you are fighting for the liberty of the world, you say you are fighting for the freedom of the British Commonwealth as well as for India and the whole world, you say that after the war you will grant us Dominion Status of the type of Westminster, whatever that may mean. I do not want that, because after all that is a western form of democratic government which is not suited to us here. We will create a world of our own. You say that after the war is over, you will concede Dominion Status to the whole of India. Now, I ask my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, and my friends of the Hindu Mahasabha, is Baluchistan not a part of India? Are you going to have Dominion Status granted to India excluding Baluchistan from it? You cannot exclude Baluchistan from it. So after these facts are placed before the House, I ask the Secretary to the External Affairs Department to consider this question impartially. You can of course advance the same argument that you did in your last speech, when a meeting was held in Simla and the same motion was put forward there, and the same lame excuses will be again placed before us. But that will not satisfy us. We are pledged to get independence for Baluchistan. You might have created a United Province of Sind and Baluchistan as you created the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, but I am glad you did not do that because I want to have a number of independent States in the North-West. We want to have an independent North-West Frontier Province, an independent Punjab, independent Sind, independent Baluchistan and independent Bengal as also independent States all over India. We will fight for our objective and we will attain it whatever you may do. We have made up our mind and we will attain our objective whatever the sacrifice may be. Therefore I say, give freedom and independence to Baluchistan, otherwise you are doomed.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe** (Secretary, External Affairs Department): Sir, as my Honourable friend, the Mover of this motion, said, this matter was discussed a little more than a year ago and I think on very much the same

issues. I was in some doubt myself as to what was meant by the citing of the word "reforms". But I understood from the speech of my Honourable friend, the Mover, that he meant Provincial Autonomy. I am not quite sure what my other Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali, meant when he was speaking of complete independence or independence, but I imagine he also was thinking of Provincial Autonomy, that is to say, an elected legislature and certain safeguards as in the Government of India Act for the other provinces.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** Sir, may I explain? I did claim Provincial Autonomy for Baluchistan, but it will have been noticed that I wanted either autonomy for Baluchistan as it exists, or that Baluchistan should be attached to some autonomous province like Sind.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** In any case I understand my Honourable friend means that it should either be an independent autonomous province on the same lines as other Governors' provinces or it should be joined up to an existing Governor's province, that is to say, with an executive responsible to the legislature, just as in the rest of India. Well, a certain opposition has been shown by Mr. Lalchand Navalrai to that and that is all that this House so far has before it. The Honourable the Mover recapitulated much of the ground that was covered in 1939 in which it was explained that there are many constitutional difficulties in Baluchistan; and to speak of Provincial autonomy for British Baluchistan, which alone can be considered at present, there has to be an amendment of Acts and an entirely different constitutional position set up. British Baluchistan about ten years ago had a population of 1 lakh and one-third, and the most that we can expect is that it may have gone up to something less than two lakhs at the present census. It still seems to me that all these matters of representative institutions must be decided in terms of men and not in terms of areas. It is true that even British Baluchistan has a very vast area but with a population which is the sparsest of any part of India with the possible exception of the Thar desert. We cannot consider representative institutions or any other form of institution or constitutional reforms except in terms of men. Is it possible, I ask the House to consider seriously, to set up a Governor's province for a *tahsil*, for a number of men equal to one *tahsil* in the Punjab or the United Provinces, or a *taluka* as they call it in Southern India?

**Maulvi Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur:** Do you know the population of Coorg, Sir?

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** That is not a Governor's province.

**Maulvi Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur:** It is a Chief Commissioner's province.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** So is Baluchistan a Chief Commissioner's province. But the motion is that Provincial Autonomy, that is to say, the constitution of a Governor's province, should be introduced into Baluchistan.

**Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait** (West Coast and Nilgiris: Muham-  
madan): But Coorg has a Legislative Council.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** It has, but that is not the proposal. The proposal before the House on this cut motion is that Baluchistan should be set up as a Governor's province. That I have ascertained from the Honourable the Mover of the motion.

Then, I will turn to the alternative proposition that British Baluchistan should be amalgamated with Sind. That may seem in some ways to be an attractive proposition. It is the first time that I have heard it seriously put forward in a very responsible quarter. Government would, before proceeding any further, have to be very certain that the people of Baluchistan are really anxious to be amalgamated with the people of Sind. It may even be said that it would be necessary to be certain that the people of Sind were anxious to be amalgamated with Baluchistan.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** We are not.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** The peoples of Sind and the peoples of Baluchistan have not necessarily got much in common and I understood my Honourable friend, the Maulana Saheb, also to say that he was not in favour of linking up with Sind or with any other province. He only mentioned independence and he talked of several independent provinces in the north of India. And what is meant by an entirely independent Baluchistan I do not understand and I do not know whether the House will understand it.

But turning aside for one moment from the constitutional aspect, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai descanted at some length on the educational aspect of the matter; that is to say, he turned aside from constitutional matters to administration. Now, Sir, it is obvious that I stand here as a target of criticism for administration of Central Areas on the frontier, and if it were shown that the standard of administration in such important and vital matters as education were gravely below the standard in any other comparable part of India the case against Government would be a strong one. Well, Sir, I have here certain figures dealing with the educational position in Baluchistan and comparing it with that in other provinces in India. The population taken for these statistics is not only British Baluchistan, but it is the part of Baluchistan which is administered by Government, not by the States, that is to say, British Baluchistan, the leased areas from the Kalat State which include Quetta and certain tribal areas like the Zhob and most of the Loralai districts. The schools in Baluchistan suffered grievously from the earthquake and much time-lag had to be made up: it was difficult to get down at once to a reconstruction programme. Even today the position is that the *per capita* expenditure on education is just over 12 annas, which—I have got it compared with other provinces—is higher than the *per capita* expenditure in Madras or Bengal or Bihar or Orissa or the United Provinces: it is just about the same as the *per capita* expenditure in the North-West Frontier Province and Sind and the Punjab. It is considerably below—only about a half—of the *per capita* expenditure in Delhi, but one might expect that Delhi as the centre of India's political life would receive favourable treatment . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah** (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): What is the percentage of the educated,—the three R's?

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** I do not quite follow my Honourable friend.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** The Honourable Member has given the amount of the expenditure, but what is the result?

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** If I may, I will try to explain a little more what Government is trying to do for education in Baluchistan. A scheme has been sanctioned . . . . .

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I want to know the percentage of literacy.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** I cannot tell the Honourable Member that, I am afraid. The present position is that a scheme has been sanctioned for nine and a quarter lakhs of non-recurring expenditure, and that the recurring expenditure which is about 3½ lakhs is to be raised to four lakhs. This 9¼ lakhs is to be expended—three lakhs on a higher secondary school with intermediate classes—that, I believe, is up to the 12th class—I am not an educational expert, but I understand that that is so: the other large item is 2½ lakhs for a girls' school in Quetta, and considerable increases in primary education, and two lakhs for building grants to private schools. There is another point that I might mention and that is that the contribution from Government towards education is higher in Baluchistan than in any other part of India in proportion to the contributions received from local funds, fees and other sources. Government contribute 70 per cent. of the total expenditure on education in the province. This figure is very much higher than exists according to the statistics given to me in any other part of India. The total recurring expenditure when this education scheme is fully developed will be four lakhs, which is almost exactly one rupee per head of the population, and I have said that the existing expenditure which is just over 12 annas compares very favourably with other parts of India, when it is raised will compare even more favourably.

The Honourable the Mover suggested that the people of Baluchistan needed to be made into men. I think that any Honourable Member of this House who has to visit Baluchistan will carry away with him a very vivid impression of the virility of the people of that province. It was also suggested that as regards the economic position of Baluchistan, the people were poorer than elsewhere. I have no figures which I can quote, but I have served in Baluchistan and I should say that owing to the sparseness of the population there is on the whole little pressure on the ground and that the economic position is probably higher than in many other parts, even analogous parts, of India, such as the North-West Frontier. There is no pressure on the ground.

I have only one more word to say and that is this: Government are pressed to proceed to the development of representative institutions in this province. The Party to which the Honourable the Mover has the honour to belong has not infrequently recently criticised the counting of heads. I associate myself with neither of these policies. I am bound with Government to the development of representative institutions in India, but I do not understand a position in which it is suggested with one breath that democracy is not suitable to this country and with the other that it should be given.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, the Honourable the Foreign Secretary has not said anything new to what he had stated on the

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floor of this Honourable House in 1939, except this, that he has today told us vaguely what educational schemes the Government had in contemplation about which he had promised to tell us in 1939. The argument of the Government against giving reforms to Baluchistan as stated in 1939 and as reiterated today is that the population is so small that it is not possible for the Government to arrange for any constitution that would give freedom to the people of Baluchistan. In other words, the Government case would seem to be that because the number of people is small they are not deserving of any effective voice in the administration of the Government which rules over them. To my mind, the whole speech of the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government was quibbling with the constitutional position and the Government of India Act and so on. He knows fully well what the Muslims and the other people of Baluchistan want. They want an effective voice, a real share in the administration of their province. What is the use of coming forward and telling us that it is not possible to have a Governor's Province, it is not possible to have a Legislature, it is not possible to have highly paid Ministers? Why should the same standard of high salaries and high administrative charges be applied in every case? If the people of a province cannot afford to pay these high charges which are, shall I say, a curse of the present system of Government, then they must be satisfied with what they can afford.

Now, Sir, he has told us that the Government have prepared some scheme which is likely to expand education in that province, and he gave us figures of expenditure *per capita*, and the total amount that is spent, but he failed to supply the House with the percentage of literates in that province. The Government may be spending forty lakhs instead of four for all that we care, but what we want to know is what benefit has that money done to the people of the province. That could only be judged if the Honourable Member had given us figures as to the percentage of literates in the province of Baluchistan.

Then, Sir, there is another question in connection with this matter of education. I would ask the Honourable Member to tell me what percentage of this money is spent on the education of Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and of Christians, because when I ask that question, I have good reason for doing so. When I visited Baluchistan last year it was brought to my notice that there were a number of institutions that were specially favoured by the Government and which benefit only a very small percentage of the population of Baluchistan. Now, if that is true, it is a very sad commentary on the administration of education in the province of Baluchistan.

Sir, last time,—although the Honourable Member did not repeat it today,—when he spoke in 1939, he stated that the public opinion in Baluchistan was not being suppressed, it was not being discouraged by the administration of that province, and he said that recently a Muslim League Conference was held, when, according to his information, the number of people who attended that conference was ten thousand . . . .

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** 25,000, according to the Maulana.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** May I point out to him that it is in spite of him. The credit for that does not go to you. It shows the awakening that has come over the people of Baluchistan, and I can say, Mr. President,—and whenever I make any statement I always have proof positive for making that statement,—when I visited Baluchistan last year, I was told by responsible men, men whose integrity could never

be called in question, that the administration of Baluchistan was always trying to put hindrances in their way of organizing themselves. So much so, that the officials,—it may be news to my friend over there, but it is no news to the people of Baluchistan,—the Indian officials of the Government in Baluchistan are afraid of coming near public men in Baluchistan for fear that the Government may sit upon them. This is how the Government are encouraging the people of Baluchistan to organize themselves, and to create an awakening amongst the people.

Sir, my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, has produced a Report here which gives figures showing that the percentage of literacy of the people in Baluchistan is the lowest when compared to the percentage in the whole of India. The figures are given in this small book entitled 'the Progress of Education in India', and if any Honourable Member doubts what my Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, has pointed out to me, he can look up this Report. Now, Sir, what this Resolution demands and what the Resolution of 1939 demanded was, in simple language, that the people of Baluchistan, as human beings, are entitled to be associated with the Government and the administration of that province. I do not want to discuss the technical and constitutional problems that the Honourable Member has raised. Of course, we all know that when the Government want to do something, an Act can be framed overnight. So the difficulties that have been pointed out by the Honourable Member can be got over if the Government had the will to do justice to the people of Baluchistan. But to me it seems, Mr. President, that the Government are not going to move even a step forward than the position they had taken up sixty years ago. The Honourable Member did not say very definitely,—he only dealt with the constitutional problem and the constitutional difficulties that are in his way and in the way of the Government,—he did not tell us definitely whether the Government recognised that the people of Baluchistan should be given a voice, a real voice, in the administration of that province. He repeated what he had stated in 1939 that it is impossible to constitute an area which is only as big as a *tahsil* of a district into a Governor's province. We all know that. But it is not impossible to treat the people living in that area as human beings. It is not impossible to give them that freedom, to give them that right in the administration of a province to which they are entitled.

Mr. President, my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, blew hot and cold in the same breath. He said he was in sympathy with the Resolution, but he was opposed to give them freedom . . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** I never said that.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** He said,—don't ask for Provincial Autonomy, because our lot in Sind has been very unhappy. I am very sorry, Sir, that my Honourable friend's lot in Sind should have been so unhappy as to make him deny freedom to people belonging to other provinces . . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** On a point of personal explanation, Sir. What the Honourable Member says is not what I said. He is putting words into my mouth which I did not say. I dispute it. I did not say they should not get reforms; on the contrary I said give them reforms of a kind which would suit them at the present time.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** Sir, I noted down the words of the Honourable Member. He said Hindus are feeling that it was a



[Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan.]

mistake to separate Sind because of the financial difficulty, and because of the experience that we have had there. Am I right?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Quite right.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** Then, Sir, I do not think I have misinterpreted my Honourable friend so very much that he should have raised such a serious objection. I was only paraphrasing his speech . . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** It is a wrong paraphrase.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** That may be according to him, but it may not be the fault of the one who paraphrases, but it is the fault of the text.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend stated that all this cry for freedom and for reforms for Baluchistan has come not from the people of Baluchistan but from Honourable Members in this House. I hope I am quoting him correctly. I do not know on what authority he made that statement. I have first-hand knowledge that we are doing nothing more than giving true expression to the feelings of the people of Baluchistan.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has two minutes more to finish his speech.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan:** I assure him that the people of Baluchistan are more anxious for their freedom, are more anxious to have a real and effective voice in the administration of their country than my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, is with regard to Sind.

(At this stage, Mr. M. A. Jinnah rose in his place.)

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House should perhaps adjourn now and the debate can be continued tomorrow.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I do not want to make a speech. I will only take two minutes. I will only make a statement.

**Mr. M. S. Aney:** I also want to speak on this motion, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then the House should adjourn till tomorrow.

**Mr. M. A. Jinnah:** I do not want to make a speech, but I only want to point out merely certain figures to the Honourable Member about the percentage of literacy. I want to say to him that the percentage of literacy in Baluchistan is the question that I put to him. For 1906-37 it is 1.6, pupils attending, whereas you find in every other part of India the lowest is 4.1 and even in Coorg it is 7.5. One other statement that I want to make is this. I have got here a Statement of Educational Progress in Baluchistan from 1932 to 1938-39, and let me tell you that it is as stationary as the Honourable Member was in his speech.

2.48, 2.55, 2.73, 1.39, 2.25, 2.05, 2.42. The only question I have to ask is, what have you done with these lakhs that you have spent in Baluchistan for education. Please explain that to us.

**Mr. O. K. Caroe:** There was an earthquake in that period.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 7th March, 1941.