

10th March 1943

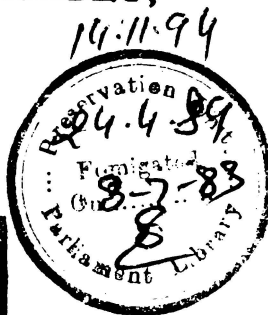
# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

## Official Report

Volumes I to II, 1943

(10th February to 2nd April, 1943)

## SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1943



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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# CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.—10th February to 10th March, 1943.

	PAGES.		PAGES.
<b>WEDNESDAY, 10TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		<b>Removal from Service of Railway Staff by the Divisional Personnel Officer, Moradabad—Not moved</b>	
Members Sworn	1	Prices of Necessaries of Life—Not moved	167—68
Starred Questions and Answers	1—21	Imposition of Financial Burdens for War Purposes without consulting the Assembly—Ruled out of order	168
Unstarred Questions and Answers	22—29	Announcement re grant of inadequate dearness allowance to Workers—Negatived	168
Statements laid on the Table	29—30	Election of a Member to the Committee on Public Accounts	169, 161—202
Deaths of Sir Muhammad Yakub and Mr. J. Ramsay Scott	30—32	Resolution re Committee for Enquiry into the alleged Military and Police excesses—Discussion not concluded	169
Motion for Adjournment re—			169—91
Failure to devise suitable system of Food Control—Not moved	32—33	<b>MONDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
Sale of Government of India Silver in England to the British Government—Ruled out of order	33—34	Member Sworn	203
Food and Standard Cloth position and lack of Atebrin and Sulphathiazole—Not moved	34	Starred Questions and Answers	203—12
Shortage of small Coins—Negatived	35, 52—68	Motion for Adjournment re—	
Nomination of the Panel of Chairmen	35	Sugar Problem—Not moved	212
Committee on petitions	35	Provision of Rupee Finance for the Government of the United Nations—Ruled out of order	212—7
Publicity of the proceedings of the Meetings of the Select Committee	35	Fast by Mahatma Gandhi in Jail—Talked out	213—6
H. E. The Governor General's Assent to Bills	35—36		247—6
Amendment to the Insurance Rules	36		21.
Amendments to certain Motor Vehicle Rules	36—45	Messages from H. E. the Governor General	
The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee	45	Presentation of the Railway Budget for 1943—44	214—23
Papers connected with the Ceylon Government's request for Additional Indian labour for Ceylon	45—46	Motion re The situation as regards food and other necessities—Discussion not concluded	223—47
Election of a Member to the Committee on Public Accounts	46	<b>TUESDAY, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
Election of a Member to the Standing Committee for the Posts and Air Department	46—47	Starred Questions and Answers	267—86
The Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill—Introduced	47	Motion for Adjournment re—	
The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	47	Maltreatment to Sikh Military Prisoners in Indore Jail—Not moved	286
The Government Savings Banks (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	47	Inability of a Member of the Legislative Assembly to attend its Session due to detention in Jail—Ruled out of order	286
Report of the Public Accounts Committee	47—49	Maltreatment to Mr. C. B. Johri in Jail—Ruled out of order	286—87
Demand for Excess Grants for 1940—41	49—51	Failure to terminate Martial Law and restore normal conditions in Sind—Ruled out of order	287
<b>THURSDAY, 11TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		Restrictions on the <i>Hindustan Times</i> re Publication of news about Mahatma Gandhi's fast—Negatived	287—88, 296—302
Member Sworn	69	Election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Department of Information and Broadcasting	288—89
Starred Questions and Answers	69—93	The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	289
Unstarred Questions and Answers	93—100	The Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Circulated	289—90
Death of Professor C. B. Johri	100	The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill—Passed	291
Motion for Adjournment re—		The Government Savings Banks (Amendment) Bill—Passed	292—95
Supply and distribution of foodstuffs—Not moved	100	<b>WEDNESDAY, 17TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
The Paper Control Order—Adopted	100—101, 122—88	Member Sworn	303
The Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Bill—Motion to continue adopted	101	Starred Questions and Answers	303—21
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment) of Sections 162, 488 and 496—Referred to Select Committee	101—11	Unstarred Questions and Answers	321—22
The Delhi Muslim Wakfs Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee	111	Statements laid on the Table	322—24
The Abolition of Whipping Bill—Circulated	111, 113—21	Dispensing with the Question Hour on the General Budget Presentation Day	324
Election of a Member to the Standing Committee for the Posts and Air Department	112	Motion re the Situation as regards Food and other necessities—Discussion not concluded	324—64
Statement of Business	112	<b>THURSDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of section 299, etc.)—Introduced	121	Members Sworn	365
The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of sections 378 and 429)—Introduced	122	Starred Questions and Answers	365—70
The Indian Merchant Shipping (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	122	Unstarred Questions and Answers	370—73
The Durgah Khawaja Saheb (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	122	Motion for Adjournment re Necessity of releasing the Congress Working Committee Members—Not moved	373
<b>FRIDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		The Reciprocity Bill—Presentation of the Report of the Select Committee	373
Member Sworn	135	Resolution re—	
Starred Questions and Answers	135—64	Committee for Enquiry into the alleged Military and Police Excesses—Negatived	373—77
Unstarred Questions and Answers	164—65	Implementing the Federation of India—Negatived	377—99
Motion for Adjournment re—		Prohibition of Export of Textile Goods—Negatived	399—410
Refusal of permission to Mr. Bajagopalachari for interviewing Mahatma Gandhi—Not moved	166	Grievances of Officials and Secretariat Assistants employed in Railways—Discussion not concluded	410—12
Legislation by Ordinances—Ruled out of order	166	<b>FRIDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
High Rates demanded by the Tongawallas of Delhi—Ruled out of order	166—67	Starred Questions and Answers	413—26
		General discussion of the Railway Budget	426—54

	PAGES.		PAGES.
<b>MONDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		<b>The Indian Army and Air Force (Military Prisons and Detention Barracks) Bill—Introduced</b>	<b>609</b>
Members Sworn	455	<b>Demands for Supplementary Grants—Railways</b>	<b>609—15</b>
Starred Questions and Answers	455—66	<b>The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Passed</b>	<b>615—20</b>
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Failure to release Mahatma Gandhi unconditionally—Ruled out of order	466	<b>The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill—Passed</b>	<b>620—22</b>
Correspondence between the Government of India and the Ceylon Government	466—74	<b>The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed</b>	<b>622—23</b>
Election of the Standing Finance Committee	474—76	<b>SATURDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>	
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	476	Members Sworn	625
The Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	476	Presentation of the General Budget for 1943-44	625—49
Motion <i>re</i> the Situation as regards Food and other necessities—Talked out	476—503	<b>The Indian Finance Bill—Introduced</b>	<b>649</b>
<b>TUESDAY, 23RD FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		<b>The Tobacco (Excise Duty) Bill—Introduced</b>	<b>650</b>
Members Sworn	505	<b>The Vegetable Product (Excise Duty) Bill—Introduced</b>	<b>650</b>
Starred Questions and Answers	505—10	<b>MONDAY, 1ST MARCH, 1943—</b>	
Unstarred Questions and Answers	510—12	Death of Dr. F. X. DeSouza	651—52
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Publication of a Review of Congress responsibility for disturbances—Ruled out of order	512—13	<b>TUESDAY, 2ND MARCH, 1943—</b>	
Election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Department of Information and Broadcasting	513	Starred Questions and Answers	653—64
The Railway Budget—List of Demands—Demand No. 1—Railway Board—Policy of Wagon allotment and Distribution	513—51	Transferred Starred Questions and Answers	664—73
Reduction in Rates and Fares	514—20	Transferred Unstarred Questions and Answers	673—77
Curtailment of Passenger Trains	520—28	<b>Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i>—</b>	
Post-War Reconstruction	528—32	Alleged insult by Soldiers to Mr. M. S.aney at Nagpur Railway Station—Not moved	677—78
Grievances of Railwaymen <i>re</i> conditions of Service	532—48	Latest restrictions on supply of Newspaper—Ruled out of order	678—79
<b>WEDNESDAY, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		Election of Members to the Standing Finance Committee	679
Starred Questions and Answers	553—59	<b>The Hindu Code, Part I (Intestate Succession)—Introduced</b>	<b>679</b>
The Railway Budget—List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>		<b>The Hindu Code, Part II (Marriage)—Introduced</b>	<b>679</b>
Demand No. 1—Railway Board—Grievances of Railwaymen <i>re</i> conditions of Service	559—600	Election of the Standing Committee on Emigration	679—80
Inadequate and illusory provisions for Appeals from Railway Employees	559—65	Resolution <i>re</i> Revision of the Convention in respect of Contribution from Railway to General Revenue—Adopted	680—716
Recognition of Railway Muslim Employees Unions and Associations	565—73	<b>The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill—Passed</b>	<b>716—17</b>
Extensions given to employees in Railway Services	573—88	<b>The Coffee Market Expansion (Amendment) Bill—Passed</b>	<b>717—18</b>
Need for fixing quota for Muslims and Other Minorities in the Selection grades in Railway Services	588—94	<b>The Indian Army and Air Force (Military Prisons and Detention Barracks) Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded</b>	<b>718—21</b>
Imperative need of Allotment of Wagons for transport of Rice to deficit Areas of the Madras Presidency	594—98	<b>WEDNESDAY, 3RD MARCH, 1943—</b>	
	598—600	Members Sworn	723
Demand No. 2—Audit	600	Starred Questions and Answers	723—25
Demand No. 3—Miscellaneous Expenditure	600	<b>The Delhi Muslim Wakfs Bill—Passed as amended</b>	<b>725—41</b>
Demand No. 5—Payments to Indian States and Companies	600	<b>The Reciprocity Bill—Passed as amended</b>	<b>741—52</b>
Demand No. 6-A—Working Expenses—Maintenance of Structural Works	600	<b>The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill (Amendment of Sections 269, 272, etc.)—Discussion on the motion to refer to Select Committee not concluded</b>	<b>752—64</b>
Demand No. 6-B—Working Expenses—Maintenance and Supply of Locomotive Power	600	<b>FRIDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1943—</b>	
Demand No. 6-C—Working Expenses—Maintenance of Carriage and Wagon Stock	600	Members Sworn	765
Demand No. 6-D—Working Expenses—Maintenance and Working of Ferry Steamers and Harbours	600	Starred Questions and Answers	765—70
Demand No. 6-E—Working Expenses—Expenses of Traffic Department	600—01	Unstarred Questions and Answer	770
Demand No. 6-F—Working Expenses—Expenses of General Department	601	General discussion of the General Budget	770—809
Demand No. 6-G—Working Expenses—Miscellaneous Expenses	601	<b>MONDAY, 8TH MARCH, 1943—</b>	
Demand No. 6-H—Working Expenses—Expenses of Electrical Department	601	Members Sworn	811
Demand No. 7—Working Expenses—Appropriation to Depreciation Fund	601	Starred Questions and Answers	811—17
Demand No. 8—Interest Charges	601	Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Failure to prosecute the European passenger resisting occupation of the reserved seat by Dewan Bahadur A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar—Ruled out of order	817
Demand No. 10—Appropriation to Reserve	601	Amendment of the Coorg Motor Vehicles Rules	817—18
Demand No. 11—New Construction	601	<b>The General Budget—List of Demands—Demand No. 12—Executive Council</b>	<b>819, 842—58</b>
Demand No. 12—Open Line Works	601	Grievances of the Personnel and Students of the I. M. D.	842—45
<b>THURSDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY, 1943—</b>		Government attitude towards the Press in India and the working of Press Censorship	845—51
Starred Questions and Answers	603—05	Dearness Allowance	851—58
Declarations of Exemption under the Registration of Foreigners Act	606—08	Demand No. 15—Home Department—Repressive Policy of the Government	819—32
Summaries of the Proceedings of the Fourth Labour Conference and of Meetings of the Standing Labour Committee	609	Demand No. 21—Finance Department—Utilisation of the Sterling Balances	832—42
The Coffee Market Expansion (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	609	<b>TUESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 1943—</b>	
		Members Sworn	859
		Starred Questions and Answers	859—66
		Nominations to the House Committee	867
		Election of Members to the Standing Committee on Emigration	867



	PAGES.
The General Budget—List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	867—81
Demand No. 12—Executive Council— Means whereby by people may have better Opportunity to place their Views before the Government re War Activities and the future Posi- tion of the Country and of the future needs for the Prosperity of the Country	867—81
Demand No. 14—Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Depart- ment— Necessity of holding more Sessions of the Legislatures in view of the War and the future position of the Coun- try in the great developments that are taking place in the World at large	881—89
Demand No. 22—Commerce Depart- ment— Exports from India and Trade rela- tionship with other Countries	889—91
Demand No. 23—Department of Labour— Position of labour including Indian Seamen	890—91
Demand No. 56—Broadcasting— Grievances of Muslims with regard to Services, Language and Pro- grammes of the Broadcasting De- partment	892—93 893—910
WEDNESDAY, 10TH MARCH, 1943—	894—910
Starred Questions and Answers	911—16
Unstarred Questions and Answers	916—17
Motion for Adjournment	917
The General Budget—List of Demands— <i>contd.</i>	917—60
Demand No. 12—Executive Council— <i>contd.</i> Administration of Martial Law in Sind Grievances of Muslims in regard to their meagre share in the Services of the Supply Department and in the Contracts given by the Depart- ment Means whereby the present prosper- ous Agricultural conditions might be used for the permanent re- habilitation of Agriculture in India	917—30 917—30 930—36
Demand No. 1—Customs	936—60
Demand No. 2—Central Excise Duties	960
Demand No. 3—Taxes on Income in- cluding Corporation Tax	960
Demand No. 4—Salt	960
Demand No. 5—Opium	961
Demand No. 6—Provincial Excise	961
Demand No. 7—Stamps	961
Demand No. 8—Forest	961
Demand No. 9—Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Em- bankment and Drainage Works	961
Demand No. 10—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)	961
Demand No. 11—Interest on Debt and Other Obligations and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt	961
Demand No. 12—Executive Council	961
Demand No. 13—Council of State	961
Demand No. 14—Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Depart- ment	962
Demand No. 16—Civil Defence Depart- ment	962
Demand No. 17—Department of In- formation and Broadcasting	962
Demand No. 18—Legislative Depart- ment	962
Demand No. 19—Department of Edu- cation, Health and Lands	962
Demand No. 20—Department of Indian Overseas	962
Demand No. 21—Finance Department	962
Demand No. 22—Commerce Depart- ment	962
Demand No. 23—Department of Labour	962
Demand No. 24—Department of Posts and Air	962

	PAGES.
Demand No. 25—War Transport De- partment	963
Demand No. 26—Food Department	963
Demand No. 27—Central Board of Revenue	963
Demand No. 28—India Office and High Commissioner's Establishment Charges	963
Demand No. 29—Payments to other Governments, Departments, etc., on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and Management of Treasuries	963
Demand No. 30—Audit	963
Demand No. 31—Administration of Justice	963
Demand No. 32—Jails and Convict Settlements	963
Demand No. 33—Police	963
Demand No. 34—Ports and Pilotage	964
Demand No. 35—Lighthouses and Lightships	964
Demand No. 36—Survey of India	964
Demand No. 37—Botanical Survey	964
Demand No. 38—Zoological Survey	964
Demand No. 39—Geological Survey	964
Demand No. 40—Mines	964
Demand No. 41—Aerology	964
Demand No. 42—Meteorology	964
Demand No. 43—Other Scientific De- partments	964
Demand No. 44—Education	965
Demand No. 45—Medical Services	965
Demand No. 46—Public Health	965
Demand No. 47—Agriculture	965
Demand No. 48—Imperial Council of Agricultural Research	965
Demand No. 49—Agricultural Market- ing	965
Demand No. 50—Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology	965
Demand No. 51—Civil Veterinary Ser- vices	965
Demand No. 52—Industries	965
Demand No. 53—Scientific and Indus- trial Research	965
Demand No. 54—Aviation	966
Demand No. 55—Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation Charges to Revenue	966
Demand No. 56—Broadcasting	966
Demand No. 57—Capital Outlay on Broadcasting Charged to Revenue	966
Demand No. 58—Emigration—Internal	966
Demand No. 59—Emigration—External	966
Demand No. 60—Commercial Intelli- gence and Statistics	966
Demand No. 61—Census	966
Demand No. 62—Joint Stock Com- panies	966
Demand No. 63—Imperial Dairy De- partment	966
Demand No. 64—Miscellaneous Depart- ments	967
Demand No. 65—Currency	967
Demand No. 66—Mint	967
Demand No. 67—Civil Works	967
Demand No. 68—Central Road Fund	967
Demand No. 69—Supraannuation Allowances and Pensions	967
Demand No. 70—Stationery and Print- ing	967
Demand No. 71—Miscellaneous	967
Demand No. 72—Miscellaneous Adjust- ments between the Central and Pro- vincial Governments	967
Demand No. 73—Civil Defence	967
Demand No. 74—Delhi	968
Demand No. 75—Ajmer-Merwara	968
Demand No. 76—Panth Pipoda	968
Demand No. 77—Indian Posts and Telegraphs	968
Demand No. 78—Indian Posts and Telegraphs—Stores Suspense (Not charged to Revenue)	968
Demand No. 79—Delhi Capital Outlay	968
Demand No. 80—Commuted Value of Pensions	968
Demand No. 81—Interest-free Advances	968
Demand No. 82—Loans and Advances bearing interests	968

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Wednesday, 10th March, 1943.

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

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### GUARDS ON NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**271. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** With reference to the answers to unstarred questions No. 26 (c), and 27 of the 5th November, 1940, asked on the 23rd February, 1940, regarding the grades for Guards on the North Western Railway, will the Honourable Member for Railways please state the result of the consideration mentioned?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** The position has been explained in the speech of the Honourable Member for Railways reported at page 741 of the Legislative Assembly Debates, Volume I, No. 11, for 26th February, 1941.

#### GUARDS ON NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**272. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay on the table of the House a statement showing:

- (i) the sanctioned and actual strength of each of I, II, III, IV grades for Guards on the North Western Railway for each Division, separately, employed in the old and new scales of pay as on the 1st January, 1943; and
- (ii) the number of Guards on the North Western Railway in each Division, separately, who are blocked on Rs. 68 and Rs. 115 showing the length of their blockade in years as on 1st January, 1943?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (i) and (ii). I have no information beyond that contained in the replies to the Honourable Member's following questions; unstarred question No. 109 asked on the 16th March, 1941, and starred question No. 149 asked on the 23rd February, 1940, respectively.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know if there has been any change since then?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I have no information.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable Member make enquiries?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** An enquiry would take a good deal of time and I do not think that in the present circumstances it will be justified.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I know if the Honourable Member is aware of the fact that the guards on the N. W. R. are asked to do higher work with lesser pay?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Not with lesser pay. This matter was very carefully enquired into by my predecessor. He spent a great deal of time and trouble over it and I understand that he was satisfied with the position.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if they are paid any overtime allowance?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I understand so, but I should require notice of that question.

#### INSTRUCTIONS FOR AVOIDING LONG WORKING HOURS FOR THE RAILWAY RUNNING STAFF.

**273. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to his speech in the Legislative Assembly on the 19th February, 1943, in reply to the General Discussion on the Railway Budget and lay on the table of the House a copy of the instructions issued to Railways to avoid long hours of work, especially for the running staff?

(b) With a view to avoiding hardship to the running staff for long duty hours extracted under rule 787D of the old Operating Manual, has the

Honourable Member fixed some definite unalterable maximum number of hours for the working of the running staff assuring sufficient rest?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) No.

(b) No. In pursuance, however of my undertaking to the House, the question of long working hours is undergoing a fresh investigation.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know when the Honourable Member undertook to go into this question and how long still it will take?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** To enquire into the working hours of running staff all over the railways will naturally take a considerable time if it is to be done thoroughly.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** There is the question of their working overtime at present, and therefore this matter should be decided soon. May I know if it will be taken up early? After the budget is over the Honourable Member may go into that question or rather ask the General Manager to do it and come to a conclusion.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I have informed the Honourable Member that I have already initiated investigation.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Hurry it up.

#### CANCELLATION OF PROMOTIONS OF TWO SIKH STATION MASTERS IN RAWALPINDI DIVISION, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**274. \*Sardar Sant Singh:** (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state if it is within the competence of a General Manager alone to order the promotion of station-masters from Grade V to Grade VI? If so, is it a fact that the General Manager, North Western Railway, ordered two Sikh station-masters in the Rawalpindi Division to be promoted from grade V to grade VI in February 1942 or thereabout?

(b) Is it a fact that the order for promotion was communicated to one of them? If so, is it a fact that the said order was withheld from being communicated to the other? If so; who withheld that order and under what authority?

(c) Is it a fact that subsequently both orders for promotion were got cancelled? If so, at whose instance?

(d) Were there any adverse remarks against these two Sikh station-masters prior to the passing of the order for promotion? If not, is it not a fact that communal considerations outweighed with the Divisional Superintendent over the first claims of the two Sikhs in the matter of promotion?

(e) Is it a fact that I brought the matter of communal consideration to the notice of the General Manager? If so, what action was taken on that representation?

(f) What is the position now about these promotions?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) As regards the first part, the promotions referred to are made on the recommendation of the Selection Board held in the Headquarters Office who in making their recommendations take into account the reports of the Divisional Superintendent who is the competent authority for passing the orders. The second part does not arise, but I am informed that the Selection Board recommended in succession two Sikh station-masters of the Rawalpindi Division for promotion to station master Grade VI in February and March, 1942.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, the competent authority did not issue orders of promotion. The third and fourth parts do not arise.

(c) The orders issued in the case of the first man were cancelled; as stated in reply to part (a), no orders were issued to the second. As regards the last part, the Divisional Superintendent, Rawalpindi.

(d) In the case of one, I am informed the previous year's confidential report was not entirely satisfactory; in the case of the other, a complaint received at

about the time he was selected required investigation. As regards the second part, the reply is in the negative.

(e) I am informed that the Honourable Member did what he claims to have done. As regards the second part, the Administration, after investigation, held that there was no justification for the charge made.

(f) One of the men concerned has not been considered fit for promotion; the other is at present considered fit for promotion and subject to his continuing to be so will be promoted in due course.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask the Honourable Member if the order had been passed and had been communicated to the person to be promoted? Is it permissible under any rule of equity or justice to withdraw or withhold that order?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Yes, because reports at that time in the case of this particular man were not satisfactory and necessitated investigation.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask who considered the report to be unsatisfactory? When the order was passed, was not that report taken into consideration?

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

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** No. The report was received subsequent to the first report of the Divisional Superintendent which was submitted to the Selection Board.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask the Honourable Member to explain to the House this curious procedure—selection is made, the man is promoted, orders are issued and orders are communicated to the person concerned . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is again arguing.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I ask if there is any rule of service by which such order can be withheld by subordinates?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I cannot without notice point to the rules of service which cover that point, but it seems to me common sense that if unsatisfactory reports are received about a particular man he should not be promoted at that particular time.

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

**Sardar Sant Singh:** May I submit one supplementary question? This is an important question.

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

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I want to elicit information. This is a most abnormal case.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has got enough information.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** This is a question of communal consideration. That is why I am asking. . . .

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Communal questions do not enter into it at all.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Next question. Bhai Parma Nand.

#### CONSERVANCY CONTRACT IN RAILWAY COLONY AT GHAZIABAD.

**275. \*Bhai Parma Nand:** (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member be pleased to state if he is aware that:

- (i) in the Railway Colony at Ghaziabad the conservancy contract has been held by a contractor for the last ten years with only a few breaks;
- (ii) although according to the terms of the contract the Railway was to supply carts in working order, the Railway have failed to discharge their part of contract and although the Divisional Superintendent Delhi, ordered the thorough repair of the carts or their replacement

by new ones, nothing has been done by the Sanitary Inspector and the A. E. N. to improve their condition;

- (iii) on account of no improvement being made and no heed paid to his complaints by the Sanitary Inspector, the contractor has been obliged to use his own carts and although he has been urging for an enquiry into his grievance, nothing has been done in the matter;
- (iv) the contractor has not been paid since April, 1942, and the Sanitary Inspector whose duty it was to prepare bills, marked the animals and drivers as absent although according to the terms of the contract the animals and drivers could be marked absent only when they were actually absent and not because their work was not up to the mark?

(b) Is it a fact that the contractor represented to the authorities that as the price of all commodities had gone up three to four hundred per cent., the amount of contract should be increased by at least a hundred per cent., but no decision has been taken on his representation?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Government have no information and do not consider that the amount of time and labour involved in its collection is justifiable in War time. A copy of the question will however be forwarded to the General Manager, North Western Railway for such action as he may consider necessary.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if the Honourable Member is aware that this contractor actually made complaints that the sanitary inspector was coming in his way on account of certain ulterior motives? What was done to the complaint that was made to the Divisional Superintendent?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I have already undertaken to take up the whole matter with the General Manager of the N. W. R.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Will the Honourable Member enquire into that report that the sanitary inspector is really inimical to this contractor and the contractor is fed up with the contract?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I dare say that other contractors will take on the work if necessary. But in any case I have undertaken to refer the matter to the General Manager.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** All right, but I may tell the Honourable Member that there is no other contractor so competent as this man.

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

#### LONG WORKING HOURS FOR THE RAILWAY RUNNING STAFF.

**276. \*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** With reference to the Honourable the Railway Member's speech on the 19th February last, in reply to the General Discussion on the Railway Budget, to the effect that the complaint regarding long hours of work on railways was incorrect, will he be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his observations apply to the members of the running staff as well; if not, does he propose to make enquiries in regard to their hours of work;
- (b) if it is a fact that a guard or an engine crew on the North Western Railway can claim rest only after 16 hours' continuous work;
- (c) if it is a fact that such employees are frequently on duty for 16 hours or more with Shunting and Van Goods Trains;
- (d) if it is proposed to issue instructions that no member of the running staff should be employed at work continuously for more than 12 hours; if not, why not; and
- (e) the reasons for laying down the maximum of 16 hours' work at a stretch for members of the running staff?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative; the second part does not arise.

(b) Yes, but this is not to say that under normal conditions guards actually remain on duty for 16 hours.

(c) I have no information which suggests that the occurrence is frequent.

(d) The answer to the first part is in the negative; as regards the second part, the matter is one which will receive attention when the application of the Hours of Employment Regulations to running staff is considered after the war.

(e) The railway considers this reasonable taking into account all the circumstances.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** May I know if it is a fact that they have to work actually for 16 hours or they are made to work for 16 hours?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** They are not made to work for 16 hours, but the exigencies of service in war time sometimes necessitate their doing so.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Is it without any more compensation to them?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** They receive overtime or mileage, which I think reconciles them to some extent.

#### RIGHT TO GRATUITY ON RESIGNATION BY RAILWAY EMPLOYEES WITH OVER 15 YEARS' SERVICE.

**277. \*Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that employees with over 15 years of service are entitled to Special Contribution (Gratuity) on discharge from service;
- (b) whether it is a fact that employees with over 15 years of service while resigning their employment in terms of agreement, are not entitled to gratuity unless the grounds for such resignation are admitted as good and sufficient from the point of view of the Railway Administration; if so, the reason for this discriminatory treatment;
- (c) the reasons which are admitted as satisfying the conditions referred to in (b) above; if the Railway Board or local administrations have issued any instructions on the point; if not, why not;
- (d) if it is a fact that a proviso to this effect was added to Rule 1508 (b) of the State Railway Establishment Code, Volume I; what the intention of this proviso was; and
- (e) if the reply to the first portion of (d) be in the affirmative, if the rules will be suitably amended to make the intention clear; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) Nobody is entitled to special contribution (gratuity) as a matter of right. Under the rules, an employee with over 15 years' service is eligible for special contribution, if discharged for reasons other than misconduct.

(b) The reply is in the affirmative. Government see no discrimination in this.

(c) Such reasons cannot be catalogued. Each case has to be considered on its merits, and the question of any instructions by the Railway Board or the local administrations does not arise.

(d) The proviso was not added, but already existed in the original rule. The intention of the rule is to discourage persons from resigning for inadequate reasons.

(e) Does not arise.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** The resignation is given because they have very strong reasons for doing so. In that case, why should they not get gratuity? Will they get it?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** The Railway Administration has to be the judge whether the reasons given are good and sufficient.

## SUPPLY OF MACHINERY FOR CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES.

**†278. \*Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable Member representing the Supply Department be pleased to state whether machinery and other equipments for chemical industries have been, or are proposed to be, imported at the instance of the Government and supplied to different parties for the purpose of undertaking the manufacture of specific chemicals? If so, does he propose to explain the policy of Government in this matter, indicating the considerations that determine the selection of the individual parties for the purpose of undertaking different specific industries, and the terms on which the agreements are made with them?

(b) What are the names of the parties that have so far been selected for being supplied with machinery and other equipments under this scheme, indicating the cost of the machinery supplied to each and the nature of the chemicals which each such party is expected to manufacture?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** (a) The Government of India hope to be able to establish or increase the manufacture of certain chemicals, but the availability of imported plant is not certain in all cases. The present intention is not to instal Government factories, but to have factories installed by private firms.

The selection of firms will depend on a number of factors, such as geographical location, availability of power, previous experience, capacity to make the best use of the plant and others. Generally speaking, the projects will be financed by the selected firms, while Government will give every assistance in obtaining plant and the services of technical personnel. Distribution of the products and prices will be controlled by Government and the selected firms will be required to pay for all items of plant imported by or for them. If plant is secured from the United States Government on Lease/Lend its transfer to a private party will of course be subject to the conditions attaching to the use of Lease/Lend goods.

(b) No final selection has been made in any case.

## UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

## GUARDS ON NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**46. Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if the Running Links for Guards are enforced on the North Western Railway? If so, what is the number of guards with their grades who are required to work on Mail, Express, Passenger, Branch and Luggage trains, separately, for each Division as required under the latest Time Table?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** As regards the first part, Government understand that links for guards are in force on the North Western Railway. As regards the second part, information is not readily available and Government regret they cannot undertake to collect it under present circumstances.

## SETTLEMENT PASSES TO RETIRED RAILWAYMEN.

**47. Sardar Sant Singh:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if settlement passes are given to railwaymen who retire from service for taking their luggage and live-stock to their native places if they be on the foreign railways? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I understand that settlement passes are given under Conference Regulations to certain Railway employees on retirement. These cover the usual luggage allowance admissible on a pass but not live-stock. Reciprocal arrangements exist by which certain Railways issue passes for extra luggage to retired employees and for transport of their live-stock to their native places at concession rates.

## EXPENDITURE ON COMPILATION OF COST OF LIVING INDEX.

**48. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state how the provision for Rs. 25,000 for the compilation of the Cost of Living Index, referred to on page 16 of the "Demands for Grant for 1943-44" was spent?

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

(b) Have any figures for the Cost of Living Index been collected on behalf of Railways, and have they been published? If so, where?

(c) Does the Honourable Member propose to make a brief statement giving important details as to how the sum of Rs. 75,000 budgeted for the year 1949-44 for the Compilation of Cost of Living Index is proposed to be spent and what benefit will be derived by Railways and railwaymen therefrom?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) The amount represents the railways share of the expenses incurred in the Scheme, most of which relate to payments to staff collecting the data.

(b) Not yet; the second part does not arise.

(c) The amount is made up as follows:—

Half share of cost of Central Organization—44 thousand, quarter share of cost of Provincial Organisation—25 thousand; full share of rural area scheme—4 thousand; rounded off to—75 thousand.

As regards the second part, Government accepted the recommendation of the Rau Report that steps should be taken to compile reliable cost of living indices and Railways as a large employer of labour stand to gain whatever advantage may accrue from the existence of such figures.

#### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Bhai Parma Nand. The notice was handed in just as I was coming into the Chamber. The Honourable Member ought to know that he ought to have allowed me a few minutes to read the notice and consider it. I do not know whether the Government Member received any notice of it or not.

**The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell** (Home Member): I did not receive it before the Assembly commenced sitting.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then it cannot be allowed.

**Bhai Parma Nand** (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Can it be taken up tomorrow?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): No.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** May I know the reason, Sir?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The notice was received too late. The rules ought to have been complied with. It is not a valid notice.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** In what sense?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The discussion on the cut motions will continue. I think it is the Muslim League Party cut motion, No. 65. Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** May I know, Sir, why it cannot be taken up tomorrow, if it is not possible to take it up today?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. Mr. Yusuf Haroon is in possession of the House.

#### THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—concl'd.

##### SECOND STAGE—concl'd.

##### DEMAND No. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—concl'd.

##### *Administration of Martial Law in Sind.*

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon** (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

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

Sir, after the arrest of the Pir Sahib of Pagaro, who was considered by thousands of Sindi Mussalmans as their religious head, but in many of his followers, there is a fanatic band of people called Hurs, who have pledged their lives and their property to the Pir Sahib, have been the real cause of trouble in Sind. It was in the early week of May that the first sabotage on a railway goods train was committed near Gotkhi railway station. After this sabotage, there was



[Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon.]

some looting and murders in the Province and then a more serious sabotage took place on the 16th May near Hyderabad station of Lahore Mail in which many precious lives were lost. Among them was the brilliant son of the then Home Minister, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah. It was after that incident when General Richardson proclaimed martial law in Sind. I am not here to discuss under what authority General Richardson proclaimed martial law. There was no order from the Governor General in Council or the Governor General. On the evening of 31st of May, while I and some friends including Khan Bahadur Khurho, Sheikh Abdul Majid and G. M. Syed were touring Jacobabad, we were handed a leaflet by a friend, by which we were informed that military law was coming into force in Sind from the 1st of June. It is now just over nine months. Has martial law achieved anything in these nine months? There has been a reign of terror in Sind and poor innocent people have been harassed and what has been achieved. The War Secretary will get up and say "We have arrested so many Hurs, we have shot so many Hurs and so many Hurs are still at large".

Martial law was first proclaimed on the East Bank of the Indus. After two months, General Richardson not being satisfied with the area thought that it did not cover the area which was still free from martial law and did not give him more power and therefore he proclaimed martial law on the West Bank of Indus. Thus three-fourths of Sind was brought under martial law, although the Hur menace existed only in one or two districts, Nawabshah and Tharpar Kar districts and even there also in only in some Talukas of those districts.

Sir, when martial law was proclaimed, the military was stationed in Hyderabad and from there the Military was despatched to Rural areas. Illiterate people in the villages were unaware of the regulations. The result was that many innocent lives were lost. The military authorities did not give sufficient time to educate these poor rural people about the military regulations. The result was that people were shot at sight. For the information of the House, I will quote one incident that happened at Sukker, near the Sukker Barrage. Three fishermen were returning from their work early in the morning at 5 o'clock. They were called to halt by some of the military soldiers. These innocent people did not know what to do. They were frightened and naturally villagers are always frightened of the police and the military. They got confused and ran and the military opened fire, one was killed and the others jumped into the River Indus for safety and were drowned. Their bodies were found a few hours afterwards. This was not reported in the papers but I was at Sukker in those days along with some of the League Leaders who are now Ministers. There are many other cases in which innocent lives were lost but no notice was taken. Now what did the military do when they went to the villages and rural areas? They stayed there and enjoyed the luxuries, of course, at the expense of the zamindars. They went and sat in their houses and asked the zamindars to provide them with luxurious food, harassed them and took their money. The harassment was so much that the zamindars were fed up and many of them left the villages and came to the towns. Sir, this was not all. There are instances where rapes were committed by the soldiers and this was brought to the notice of the authorities of the Muslim League several times. We made representations on the subject but were not heard. These soldiers went to the villages and sat there comfortably and forgot all about their work. Instead of moving into jungles, and places where they could find dacoits, they thought it was the time to enjoy and make themselves comfortable. Sir, it was a reign of terror which was going to start in fact, it was more than the Hur terror. People started wondering in the villages and the cities whether the Hur menace was more terrible or the British menace. You cannot imagine what was going on. People actually said that the Hur

menace was many times better than the British menace which was going to be set up.

Now, Sir, this was the only beginning of what was going to come. When the military started occupying the martial law area and when they started moving towards the villages which were supposed to be occupied by the Hurs, what did they do? The military started their operations in an actual warfare manner. They encircled the villages and machine-guns were brought; mobile forces were brought and trenches were dug; wireless poles were erected and telephones were installed; it was an actual warfare-like Lybian campaign. The only difference was that it was now a war against a few criminals but many innocent people who were unarmed, illiterate and who never knew what was going to happen. The voice of these people was throttled and they were not allowed to raise protest to their leaders or Government. No educated man with responsibility was allowed to go to the villages and tell them whether they should evacuate villages or not. Even this is not all. The military threw leaflets from planes demanding from those villages which were surrounded by military to evacuate within ten or fifteen days. How could they expect those illiterate people to read these leaflets and how can you expect them to leave their villages without enough warning? Did you consider these leaflets enough warning to those villagers? Those people who had commonsense and who could read and write had already left the villages. These leaflets contain an order evacuating villages within 10 or 15 days, otherwise the responsibility will be of people who stayed. After the expiry of time, the villages were bombarded by planes. Actual bombardment took place of these villages and consider how many innocent lives were lost. Children and ladies were killed. It was a ruthless war against the innocent people. When the military were closing the circle on these villages that they had encircled, they caught hold of those people who were left behind in the villages. They were put in concentration camps; they were beaten and ladies were stripped naked. The wives and children of Hurs were so much beaten that some of the children actually died in the concentration camps. There was no arrangement for their food or for their clothing. The wives of these Hurs were innocent and they did not know anything about their husbands. The Indian wives are not like the wives of Europeans. They are uneducated ladies and they do not know anything except their home and children. These ladies know to live and eat and nothing else. Those ladies were brought before these soldiers; they were stripped absolutely naked and were asked to say whereabouts of their husbands. They could not answer and even say a word because they had never gone out of *Pardah*. Sir, it was a reign of terror. It was my misfortune and the misfortune of a few friends of mine who had gone to Tharpar Kar and Nawabshah and actually heard these accounts from the victims of these outrages and from those who had escaped from these prison camps. We made representations.

I believe the Honourable the Home Member will bear me out, that this martial law was proclaimed with his consultation but although two days ago he had denied that the Home Department had anything to do with it. He will bear me out when I say that the Muslim League deputation consisting of Khan Bahadur Khurho and Sheikh Abdul Majid, G. M. Syed had come to him when Allah Bakhsh was in power in Sind. They made a representation to him that at least the martial law should be withdrawn from that area where there was no Hur menace.

Sir, although so much has happened in Sind, nothing was mentioned in the papers because it is our misfortune that the Musalmans have no paper and their voice cannot be heard. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, told us the other day that the Musalmans and the Hindus were happy. . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** (Sind: Non-Muhammadian Rural): I must correct the Honourable Member. I never said that they were happy. On the contrary, it was said from the Muslim side that Hindus were jubilant and I can assure the House they were not.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** I stand corrected, but I must say that it was only the Muslim League which raised its voice as soon as the martial law was declared. We questioned the authority on which this martial law was declared. There was no such order by the Governor General. We made inquiries in the matter and we were on the point of going to the civil court. The result of this martial law has been that the tenants have left the villages. The Hariss of lower Sind have migrated to Kathiawar and the Hariss of Central Sind have gone to Baluchistan because they could not remain there. The harvest was ready to be cut but it was left on the fields; the villages became barren. Only the zamindars were left in their houses and all the tenants left them. It was a pitiable sight. Lands are lying uncultivated. The crop is surely going to suffer. The Members of the Agricultural Department will bear me out next year as to what will be crop of Sind and how much Sind has suffered. May I ask the Government how long can this go on? We have suffered to a large extent. His Excellency the Governor of Sind in the month of December, while addressing Durbar, told the people that at least martial law will be removed from the area between Sukker and on the west bank of Indus. It is well over three months, yet martial law has not been removed. Under the Defence of India Rules we could not publish, our voice was throttled and we could not raise voice. Why does not this Government consult the Provincial Government? Why does not this Government take into confidence the Provincial Government? Is it because of Allah Bux's faults and mistakes that we are going to suffer? Are we still going to suffer? Why does not the Central Government take the Provincial Government—now popularly known as the people's Government—into confidence and ask for their opinion on the matter.

Sir, Government have not still finished with Hur menace as they are still keeping martial law in Sind. I believe these military lords sitting there want to enjoy themselves, because they do not want to go to any war front. They want to remain in villages and enjoy, because they feel that it is a more safe place than any other place in the world.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has got two minutes more.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** I will finish my speech. In spite of all the drastic measures, the military started some other methods of meeting with the situation. It was indeed ruthless. But have they succeeded in putting an end to this menace? A person was brought to give evidence and his head chopped off under the very nose of the military. You can understand what the military has achieved there. Hurs are still at large. They are arresting thousands and thousands of innocent people who have nothing to do with Hurs. One K. B. Mohamed Hayat Junnajo, a relative of the Pir who has given evidence against him, has been arrested and kept in detention for months and months. He was a man of lakhs a few months ago. But now his property has been snatched from him. Military officers and police officers have taken money from those people. I ask the Government, how long can this go on? People have got hatred against you. They are not going to forget what has been done with their mothers, brothers and sisters. Time will come when they will tell you all about that. Sir, I wish these lords who sit over there should only go to Sind and see for themselves with their eyes open what is the actual state of affairs in Sind and should not rely on the correspondence which they received from their officials presenting a rosy picture. Why don't they go there and speak to those people and hear their grievances. I hope Government will now realize that it is high time that they should withdraw martial law. With these few words I move the motion standing in my name.

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

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

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur cum Orissa; Muhammadan): Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support the motion before this House.

I have no desire to take brief for rebels and insurgents in this country, but what I find is that this indiscriminate killing of human-beings of one section or other is going to such an extent that Government should now decide what really they are going to do in future and what form this Government is going to assume for introducing measures like this in conditions which have been revealed in Sind. I do not want to describe the wanton actions of military authorities which have been fully discussed by my Honourable friend the Mover of this motion, but I would only like to impress on the House, Sir, that under the garb of martial law all sorts of wanton actions are allowed and abuse of law has become probably the order of the day. Innocent people are killed and put to all sorts of humiliation, trouble and I do not know what not. What I want to impress is this, if Hurs are accused of certain hooliganism or of certain excess towards the public peace and tranquility, the Government established by law and order has not been acting in a manner worthy of its name but on the other hand it has retaliated and acted in the manner probably far worse than Hurs. As my Honourable friend Mr. Yusuf has just described, I feel, Sir, that the Government authorities have resorted to even worst hooliganism and to such actions which probably would not be tolerated by any civilized power in the world. I really want to know whether the Government who claims to champion the cause of democracy and who claims that she has taken up the responsibility of fighting this great war to relieve the world from the menace of terrorism like Nazi-ism, has any claim or justification for that ideal with such actions as they are taking in the small province like Sind against an armless mob of destitute and forsaken Hurs. That is the only question I want to ask.

There is another point which I will try to make before I close my speech and it is this: if one leader of a certain section or community is condemnable in the mind of Government is it necessary for the Government to condemn all other peaceful members of that section or the community and treat all of them with atrocities with which the Government has treated the Hurs. Could not the Government ask other leaders of the public to help them in restoring law and order and to come to an understanding with that section of the Hurs whom they are treating as rebels by their own choice. That point has also to some extent been brought in by the Honourable the Mover when he said that the present Ministry which is a responsible ministry in Sind was not associated or consulted when this martial law was proclaimed. That is the point that I wanted to make and nothing more. I only want to impress that it was the duty of the Government established by law and order to take all precautions in treating Hurs as rebels and should have tried to create understanding and confidence in those people and Government of India should not have handled the situation in the manner in which they did and which means atrocities of hunting down the Hurs and allowing soldiers to acts of violence unparalleled in the history of the province. With these few words I support the motion to remove the martial law order immediately.

**Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban** (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars: Landholders): Sir, I rise to support the motion. Sir, the ostensible purpose of the introduction of martial law in Sind was to suppress the 'Hur trouble'. But the House will be surprised to hear that this is not the first time that there has been 'Hur trouble' in Sind. The 'Hur trouble' started in Sind in the nineties and assumed a very violent form in that period, but it was suppressed thoroughly by the Deputy Commissioner of the District Mr. W. H. Lucas and his Assistant Sardar Muhammad Yakub Khan. Again when the trouble began to manifest itself in 1913, Mr. Lucas was fortunately the Commissioner in Sind and with the aid of one Sub-Divisional Officer, on whom he relied fully, namely, Khan Bahadur Nabi Buksh Muhammad Hussein, the trouble was completely nipped in the bud. It was subsequently acknowledged by the authorities that had not these measures been taken, the situation would have

[Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban.]

become complicated during the last Great War. Why was then the introduction of martial law necessary now? The answer is clear, namely, the incompetency of the present local officers and the Local Government, or undue interference of the Government of India. Now, Sir, when the trouble began the police outposts instead of being strengthened were abolished and the Zamindars were deprived of their arms. It was a confession to the criminal elements that the Government had become powerless and thereby they were encouraged to embark on a series of violent crimes.

With the introduction of the martial law, it was felt by every one that the Administrator of the martial law would make his headquarters in the heart of the troubled area, namely Sanghar. But, instead, he chose his headquarters, where he has remained throughout, except cursory visits here and there, in the comfortable climate of Hyderabad, Sind, which is hundred miles away from the core of the trouble and in a corner outside the troubled area. Ignorant of the conditions of Sind and the characteristics of the various people, how could he possibly enter into the spirit of the whole affair? The evident result has been that too much has been left to the subordinates, underlings and hirelings. The harassment of the innocent and poor people has been very great and this is acknowledged and proved by the fact that a Special Magistrate has recently been appointed to investigate into the cases of people who have been wrongly dealt with as *Hurs*. This is a sufficient instance of the lack of responsibility on the part of the Martial Law Administration. Should sufficient vigilance have been exercised from the beginning, such things would not have happened. It is a fact that martial law has been extended over much larger area than necessary. It is also a fact that though the martial law was introduced for the *Hurs*, other offences have also been tried under that law. This is rightly regarded as an abuse of authority by the Martial Law Administration, by the public of Sind. One more glaring instance of the lawlessness of the martial law is that the Administrator has passed a Regulation giving powers to his administration to try cases which had occurred before the martial law was introduced. The Deputy Commander-in-Chief admitted in the Council of State, in answer to the interpellation by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam that such a procedure was without a precedent. May I know, why the Government of India has given such unbridled authority in this case? May I also appeal to this House to take note of this unprecedented procedure? Are these things possible only in this country? The general impression in the mind of the public is that this is an expedient to victimise persons who could not be dealt with by ordinary courts or tribunals. I again repeat that it is the general impression in the mind of the public that this is an expedient to victimise persons who could not be dealt with by ordinary courts or tribunals. Is this House going to sit silent over such a state of things?

It is evident that the Government of India have not done their proper duty in not observing a greater degree of vigilance over the martial law administration in Sind which extends over a larger area than necessary. It is also true that in spite of being in existence for the last nine months, the martial law has failed to suppress 'the Hur trouble' completely, and it has caused undue inconvenience to the public. Therefore it is high time that it should be withdrawn.

I accordingly support the motion, Sir.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sir, this is a question pertaining to Sind only but I hope the House will pay due consideration to this; because if anything wrong has been done in Sind, it will not only affect Sind, but it will affect at some time the administration of other Provinces as well. Now, Sir, the motion before the House is to discuss the Martial Law Administration in Sind. I welcome such a motion. I will first of all say something with regard to what my Honourable friend, the young Muslim League hero from Sind, said. I would have been very glad if he had represented questions in the interests of whole of Sind instead of only from the point of view of the Muslim League or

communal point of view. I will dilate on this point, but there is of course not much time for me to do so. Now with regard to the application of the martial law, at the outset I agree with him, though I do not know myself personally how the real fact is. He says that martial law was introduced in Sind without any order or without any proclamation of the Governor General in Council. This is the point which I also raised in certain of my interpellations. But no satisfactory reply has yet been given up to this time. It was said that martial law was introduced by the Administrator General of the Martial Law who is doing the work there. He may pass Regulations, but under what authority was he appointed and sent there. Therefore that legal question must be made clear.

Now, coming to the second question that was raised, as to what has been achieved up to this time by this martial law? There is a long tale to tell but the reply should come from the Treasury Benches. What has been done, they know it most. There have been many allegations made. I personally do not know whether any rapes were committed or whether any people were stripped naked. These allegations have come from my Honourable friend. I submit that such charges should not go uninvestigated. They should be investigated and vindicated. But I must say that by the application of martial law something has been achieved. There is no doubt about it. When I give the facts to this House as to how martial law was introduced in Sind, it will make it clear that at any rate the intensity of the Hur menace has been lessened. It has not been extirpated, it has not been terminated altogether. Some progress has been done, without which greater harm would have been done by the Hurs.

Now, Sir, coming to the question of the application of martial law to a larger area than necessary, I say that this was not necessary because the Hur menace was confined to a particular area only. My Honourable friend Mr. Shahban also referred to the application of strict measures required only for that area. That area is in Sanghar taluka of the Mirpurkhas district. There actually the Hurs have got a den, they have got what is called the 'makki dund' which is situated in the midst of a dense forest. It is a place where they can conceal themselves and go about from there doing their depredations. If the Government had promulgated martial law round about this area it would have been all right, but it has been extended too far, especially to the western side of the Indus—in the portion of Larkana District, a portion of Sakhr district, and in portions of Jacobabad and Dadu districts. There was no Hur menace in these districts and ordinary police were able to maintain law and order. People in those districts—both Hindus and Muslims—never asked that martial law should be extended towards this side nor were consulted. It seems it was done only on the pretext that people from one side may at any time come to the other side. I wondered when I was told the other day that Hurs were found on the western side. If they were found on that side, why should the whole area be brought under martial law. Those who were found in this area could have been arrested by the ordinary police and taken back to the real Hur area. Therefore, I say that it is not necessary to enforce martial law on the Western side.

I agree with my Honourable friend the Mover of the motion that Martial Law has been applied in a manner in which it should not have been applied: It is very strictly applied. Of course we know what martial law is, but as it assumes its jurisdiction over the civil population area it should be applied cautiously and mildly and not in the present manner. I have put several questions in this House regarding the flogging of children and respectable men but the reply in the beginning was that the Government had no information or that they had not any detailed information. I gave them the detailed information with names and I tell them that small boys of certain ages have been flogged. I actually cited cases. They should have in each case secured the information asked for, and not only say that "flogging has not taken place

[Mr. Lalchand Navalrai.]

in the manner in which I have suggested". But only canes were used on them. The harsh way in which the martial law is worked even the ordinary police got corrupted: they began arresting people on least pretext harming them and extracting something from them. All that was going on was known to everybody.

I also agree that it was really a war between the Hurs and the martial law authorities. There is no doubt about this. But the scourge of that war should not have come upon the civil population, and on the top of that not to apply to the offences under the Defence of India Rules. To punish such offenders under the martial law regulations is really too much. Was it the intention that the ordinary law should also be exercised through the hands of the Martial Law Administrators.

Then my Honourable friend said "take the Provincial Governments into consultation", and again he went too far and showed some bias of Muslim League-ism by saying that Khan Bahadur Allah Bux was at fault. How was he at fault? When both Hindus and Muslims wished that the martial law should be promulgated.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** Muslim League can never ask that.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** I never said Muslim League. Muslim League is soaring high now in the paradise, but it will soon tumble down; wait to see.

My Honourable friend suggested that the local Government should be consulted. I was simply surprised how he called it people's Government. It would have been all right if he had called it 'the Muslim League Government' without the other Parties. He knows fully well what it is. When you are proud enough to say to the world that Pakistan has been resolved by Sind, you should also tell the world by whom was it resolved. Only by Muslim Leaguers.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better confine his remarks to the motion under consideration.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Then Sir, I must say that the present Government in Sind is not "people's Government". It is the Muslim League Government and we do not recognize it as a complete Government.

Before I come to the question of what should be done as to withdrawal or not of the martial law, I must refer to certain remarks made by my Honourable friend, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang. Sir, I consider him a very decent gentleman. (Interruption.) Allow me to say what I say; do not run up at once. I have seen him very sober and also I take him to be a very decent gentleman, but I was feeling very sorry when he became ungenerous the other day. Perhaps it was because he did not know the facts as he does not belong to Sind. He was also misguided by Muslim Leaguers, at least these youngsters coming from Sind—and because what he said was without having real information, it was a very unpleasant spectacle. He said: "See, our Hindu friends in Sind and outside are exulting over what was being done to exterminate or wipe out the Hurs. The point which appealed to them was that all this is being done against a section of the population in Sind." I take strong exception to that. It is not right to say that the Hindus were in any way jubilant.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** If you read your own newspapers, you will find the truth.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** If you only hear a few facts about this, you will know that I am correct in what I say. How did this Hur movement arise, and how did the martial law come to Sind? Sir, this Pir Pagaro . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has only two minutes more.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Then I will say that this Pir Pagaro was the leader and his followers who are Hurs—"Hur" means one who can be set up against the other—took up arms and did harm not only to Hindus but Muslims also.

They killed Seth Seetaldas, M.L.A., of Sind Government. Sind Government could not do anything. The Hindus and Mussalmans both applied to the Sind Government for taking action and the Sind Government thought that the only way was to get promulgated the martial law. This was done and it pleased everybody, because the Hurs were committing so many atrocities. A train was derailed and so many other mischiefs were done which affected both Hindus and Muslims, and yet if my Honourable friend should get up and say in the House that the Hindus were jubilant it is very amazing. If the Hindus were pleased so were Muslims. It was only because the Sind Government was not able to do anything, and it was because of their inability to do anything that the martial law was introduced. But I do condemn the way in which the martial law is being applied in areas where there is no Hur menace. I have also said that the regulations have been applied in a manner which I

12 Noon. would call objectionable and this I will also say of areas where people are calm and quiet and where the Hur menace is absent, I hope the Central Government will take this matter up with the Administrator General there. At any rate, he is not all in all in a civil area. He may have his martial law applied in his brutal manner to his own military people when he is on the field, but he should remember that he is in the midst of a civil population to whom the Central Government and the Local Government are responsible for giving peace and tranquillity. I would therefore say that so far as the withdrawal of martial law is concerned, it should be withdrawn only from those portions of Sind where it is not necessary. It should be restricted to the parts of the four talukas of Sangar, Nawabshah, the desert division and Shahadadpur.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin** (Punjab: Landholders): May I ask the Honourable Member if he wants martial law in those places?

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Yes. Until the object is achieved, which is not wholly attained at the present moment.

**Sardar Bahadur Captain Dalsat Singh** (Nominated Non-Official): I rise to oppose one part of the speech of my Honourable friend. He has passed remarks against the military....He says that Sind is a very good place and the climate is excellent. I say that the Sind climate is bad, very bad. Libya is better than Sind, and as a retired regular army officer I can say that the military do not like to stay in such places. They want to fight with the real element and not with innocent people. But when there are disturbances we are sent to stop them and preserve law and order. So the remarks which he has passed against the military are unreasonable and quite untrue. We, military people, are very anxious to go on active service and not such places.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: I invite you to Sind at my expense.

**Sardar Bahadur Captain Dalsat Singh**: So I oppose this part of the speech of my Honourable friend.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi** (Secretary, War Department): Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, started his speech by making a number of allegations against the military authorities. He alleged that rapes had been committed, that women were stripped naked, that troops were taking forced hospitality from the countryside and that in fact there was a reign of terror. Sir, I deny that there has been anything of this kind or that there has been any reign of terror in the martial law areas in Sind. If the things which my Honourable friend has alleged have happened, how is it that no one has brought them to the notice of the Government so far? How is it that there has been no reference in this House by way of questions to any of the allegations which my Honourable friend has made this morning in his speech?

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: I had given a notice of an adjournment motion.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: Martial Law has been in existence for nine months and yet this is the first time that this House has been treated to these allegations by my Honourable friend. I would say no more about them but would go on to say . . . .



**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** Has the Honourable Member ever tried to find out how martial law has been working there? Does he deny that these are the true facts?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** On the information available to me, I am in a position to say that these allegations are absolutely incorrect.

My Honourable friend asked what martial law had achieved in Sind. Martial law was introduced not to deal with any sudden uprising in Sind but to deal with a state of affairs amounting to chronic disorder which had been going on in parts of that Province for over a year and which the civil authorities were unable to deal with effectively.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will the Honourable Member please speak up. The other side has got to hear.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** The results so far achieved by martial law are that the incidence of murders and dacoities which reached a peak in May 1942 has been greatly reduced. (Interruption by *Sardar Sant Singh*.) The affected areas, including those bordering the desert, to which many Hurs fled to avoid arrest have been penetrated by troops and police. Their main hiding places have been visited and many Hur gangs have been broken up and many leaders and their followers arrested and brought to trial or detained in special camps. In these operations, troops and police have met with armed resistance from the Hurs, resulting in dacoities. Acts of sabotage on the railways and against communications have almost entirely ceased. The task of the troops in the restoration of order and security has been attended by many difficulties, and I do not think that my Honourable friends who have spoken on this motion have made any allowance for these difficulties. In the beginning the local population having been terrorised by the Hurs for so long in the past were in such fear of them that they would not disclose any information whatsoever, and it is wellknown that intelligence is the basis of any operations. The area in which the troops have to operate is enormous, and the country, as the Honourable Members coming from Sind will testify, is difficult owing to the lack of good communication. This necessitated tying up many of the troops in purely police and static duties. Further, unusually heavy floods occurred in some parts of the area in which martial law has been in force, and to these must be added the civil disobedience movement beginning in August, which impeded to a certain extent measures against the Hurs. However, the situation has now improved very considerably. There is an increased sense of security, and order has largely been restored. At the same time, the task of restoration of order and security cannot yet be said to be complete. All the Hur leaders have not yet been disposed of. Some are still absconding. They must be traced out and brought to justice.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** What about the Pir of Pagaro? Has his case been disposed of?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi:** Not finally disposed of. Though the Sind Government are raising Sind Police Rifles and are also strengthening the ordinary district police in the areas affected, the forces at the disposal of the civil power have not yet attained adequate strength. From this review of the situation, it is clear that the state of affairs, though it is very much changed for the better, has not yet reached a stage which would justify the withdrawal of martial law. No one is more anxious for the withdrawal of martial law and handing over the area to the Civil Government than the Government of India and the military authorities, and I can assure the House that it will not be retained a day longer than is absolutely necessary. I am obviously not in a position to specify any date for the withdrawal of martial law. I would have done so if I could anticipate the course of future events. This obviously I cannot do, but I would ask the House to accept my assurance that the martial law Administrator is proceeding with the task of the complete elimination of the Hur menace and the restoration of confidence among the civil population with

the greatest possible speed, and that martial law will be withdrawn as soon as the situation reasonably warrants this being done . . . .

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): May I ask whether the Honourable Member has received any request from the Sind Government to withdraw martial law.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: No;—Sir, we have not received any request from that Government for the withdrawal of martial law.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: As regards the pronouncement of His Excellency the Governor that it will be withdrawn from the Sukkur side, the western side, is that going to be acted upon or not?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: I have not seen the exact text of the pronouncement to which my Honourable friend refers.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): It is too much to expect, an independent commission of inquiry would be appointed to investigate these charges, but may I ask whether the Government are going to investigate the definite charges made by Seth Abdoola Haroon?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: No, Sir. The charges which my Honourable friend, the Mover of the motion has levelled are not definite charges . . . .

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: In view of the misleading statement of the Honourable Member that there was no deputation or representation made to the Government, may I ask him whether a deputation consisting of Khan Bahadur Khuro and Mr. Ghulam Syed have seen the Honourable the Home Member and the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy when martial law was declared in the beginning?

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: Sir, the War Department which is in charge of this particular subject is not aware of that.

I only wish to deal with a few other points which have been raised in the debate. One was that martial law was extended to the west bank of the Indus. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, characterised the reason I gave sometime ago in this House for the extension of martial law to the west bank of the Indus as a mere pretext. I can assure him that the reason I gave was not a pretext: it was a real ground for the extension of martial law to the west bank of the Indus.

The second point which my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, made was about the trial of offences connected with the civil disobedience movement by martial law courts. I dealt with the question in some detail a few days ago in answers to supplementary questions; and what I said then was this, that civil disturbances in a martial law area, whatever their origin may be, must hamper the military authorities in their primary task, which in this particular case is one of dealing with the Hur menace, because such disorders whatever the cause may be, tie up the troops, tie up the police, tie up other civil authorities and thus necessarily divert their energies from their primary object . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Are the civil authorities unable to do that?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has had his speech: let him allow the Honourable Member to go on.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: My Honourable friend also referred to the question of flogging of children . . . .

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: Young boys and respectable men.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: I dealt with that matter too in reply to a question. I said that boys between the ages of 12 and 18 were caned and they were given four to ten strokes, because it was considered undesirable to send them to jails as a punishment for their unlawful acts.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**: That is exactly the point that is to be inquired into.

**Mr. C. M. Trivedi**: The allegation that was made then that they were stripped naked and then flogged is not correct. Sir, that is all I have to say.

**Sardar Sant Singh** (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, the approach made by the Government to this question of introduction and continuation of martial law in a particular area is such that one cannot agree to it. I wish the Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed would present a copy of Dicey's Constitution to his neighbour the Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell and his chief lieutenant, Mr. Trivedi. They forget that the rule of law and the introduction and continuation of martial law depend on certain well-known principles which the jurists have enunciated with very great clearness. First of all, is the point which the Honourable Secretary for the War Department has omitted to answer—was this martial law promulgated by the Governor General in Council? He has not answered that question. If it was not, will he justify it on any provision of the statute law in the country, that this administration and introduction of martial law is in accordance with law? He does not say so. Who is responsible for this? Who introduced it and who is continuing it? These are the questions which my Honourable friend the Mover of this motion has asked the Government in detail; but the Government has refused to answer them. The second point is that martial law has been continued now for nine months—a period which is unknown in a civilised administration. This martial law which is continued even now and which has ruthlessly suppressed the liberties of the people has not been justified by any statute in the country itself. Then again I ask, it is all very well to put down disturbances—I am at one with the Government on that; but the means adopted to put down the disturbances are to be taken into consideration as well. The law prescribes certain procedure, certain means to be adopted in suppressing offences. If those means are not adopted and if that procedure is not followed the Government cannot claim that the administration of martial law has resulted in greater security and putting down the disturbances. If that were the criterion, where is the guarantee that the Government would not take out troops to punish every Member of this House because they are making speeches against the Government. . . .

**An Honourable Member:** Not all of them.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Not always; but sometimes they will. . .

**An Honourable Member:** Not all Members.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** After you have given certain guarantees to the public in the matter of how they are to be treated when they break the law and these guarantees are contained in your law statutes, you ignore your law statutes; you suppress an act, because it is an offence, in a manner which is not prescribed in the statute of the land and then you claim you have done the right thing. The rule of law is a policy which we insist should be followed in this country, and when you do not follow the rule of law we call it a policy of frightfulness, a policy of striking terror. We have no quarrel with you when you punish an offender, but we quarrel with you when you punish the offender in a manner which is not permissible under the law. That is our quarrel with you. You say, the results achieved are good. The results may be good, we have no quarrel with that, but you are not here to achieve results by terrorising people, by making them silent and noncomplaining. You create a situation in the country which was once described by a very learned Secretary of State for India as the peace of the graveyard. But this is not a justification which can come from a civilised Government. I have called their attention several times. Here is the case of Hurs with whom nobody has any sympathy, no political organisation, or religious organisation, or any other organisation has any sympathy. But you have put down this agitation in a manner which has aroused the indignation of all honest men in the country. That is the complaint against you. Will you cure that complaint? Will you change your mind? It is monstrous to say that because security has resulted, therefore the martial law is justified. The same thing was said by General Dyer in the administration of martial law in the Punjab. He said that, people liked martial law because almonds could be had more cheaply during

the administration of martial law than it was before or after. He was for the purchase of almonds, badams; he says, badam has become cheaper because martial law is being administered! This is the way in which you had been administering martial law. May God help you. Have you forgotten what your own jurists say? I will again request the Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed to hand over a copy of Dicey's Constitution to these two gentlemen so that the Government should make out some plausible case at least. People laugh at you, people laugh at your civilisation, people laugh at the manner in which the Government acts in this country. Practically the whole country is under the heel of military rule to-day in India. We protest against that. Will you please reform yourself? That is one thing we want. Our demand is very simple, namely, the rule of law in this country, no more, no less. I am sure no Member of this House, whether sitting on this side of the House or on that side of the House, will disagree with me when I demand that the rule of law in this country should be restored. Rule of law is one rule which makes for the progress of the country, which will maintain respect for you in this country. Without that you are laying yourself open to the same comment and criticism as you levy against the Nazi administration. The other day a friend of mine said that the difference between Nazi rule and this rule would be, you are permitted to say these things here while your heads will be chopped off there. (Interruption) I am not using that very unhappy expression. I won't refer to that expression. I will excuse him because in his over enthusiasm he said that. I will excuse him. My point is this. Either deal directly with us and say, "it is the rule of the sword. Your head will be chopped off if you say anything against the Government". We will then know our position because that position will be intelligible. Or say, you are governing this country under any system of law. If you are governing this country under a system of law, please follow that law. That is the only issue between us. One I. C. S. Member after another jumps up and says, the result has been very good, security has been achieved, there are no more dacoities, no more murders. Is that the satisfaction? No. I say that the method by which you achieve that end is the main factor. If you achieve that end by a ruthless method, we call it a policy of frightfulness and warn the Government against such a policy. Therefore, I will support this motion and tell the Government that the sooner they end this regime, the sooner they appoint a committee like the Hunter Committee to go into the administration of martial law in Sind during the last nine months, the better. They will be doing justice to themselves and to this country.

**Some Honourable Members:** Let the question be now put.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** Are the Government prepared to appoint an enquiry committee?

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

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

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

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

The Assembly divided:

AYES—24.

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
Bhutto, Mr. Nabi Baksh Illahi Baksh.  
Deshmukh, Mr. Govind V.  
Esak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
Ismail Khan, Hajee Chowdhury Muhammad.  
Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulema.  
Krishnamachari, Mr. T. T.  
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.  
Lalljee, Mr. Hooseinbhoy A.  
Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad.  
Murtuza Sahib Badadur, Maulvi Syed.

Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik.  
Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.  
Neogy, Mr. K. C.  
Parma Nand, Bhai.  
Sant Singh, Sardar.  
Shahban Khan Bahadur, Mian Ghulam.  
Kadir Muhammad.  
Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.  
Umar Aly Shah, Mr.  
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.  
Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.  
Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

## NOES—39.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.  
 Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.  
 Aiyar, Mr. T. S. Sankara.  
 Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R.  
 Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.  
 Bewoor, Sir Gurnath.  
 Bozman, Mr. G. S.  
 Chettiar, Dr. Rajah Sir Annamalai.  
 Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.  
 Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.  
 Dehejia, Mr. V. T.  
 Dumasia, Mr. N. M.  
 Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.  
 Gray, Mr. B. L.  
 Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.  
 Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.  
 Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haidar.  
 Ismail Alikhan, Kunwar Hajee.  
 James, Sir F. E.  
 Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.

Jehangir, Sir Cowasjee.  
 Lawson, Mr. C. P.  
 Mackeown, Mr. J. A.  
 Maxwell, The Honourable Sir Reginald.  
 Miller, Mr. C. C.  
 Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muham-  
 mad.  
 Pai, Mr. A. V.  
 Pillay, Mr. T. S.  
 Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.  
 Richardson, Sir Henry.  
 Spear, Dr. T. G. P.  
 Spence, Sir George.  
 Stokes, Mr. H. G.  
 Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir.  
 Sundaresan, Mr. N.  
 Thakur Singh, Major.  
 Trivedi, Mr. C. M.  
 Tyson, Mr. J. D.  
 Wood, Major General E.

The motion was negatived.

*Grievances of Muslims in regard to their meagre Share in the Services of the Supply Department and in the Contracts given by the Department.*

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab: Muhammádan): Sir, I move:

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

Talking first about meagre representation in the service, the Government orders on the subject of communal proportions in the services passed in 1934 are a matter of common knowledge and I need not refer to them except merely by mentioning them as they form the basis for the communal proportions to be maintained in the services. A minimum of 25 per cent. Muslims has to be maintained. Mind you, Sir, it is a minimum and in the very nature of things, there could be no maximum. Now, in the matter of actually enforcing the principles embodied in those orders, the older departments of Government which were in existence before those orders were passed stand on a somewhat different footing from those departments which have come into existence after those orders were passed. In the case of the older departments, in the natural course of things, one has to wait till the older people in the services waste out by superannuation and retirement and junior people and new entrants get their opportunity—the juniors to rise higher in the service ladder and the entrants to get similar chances in due course, but in the case of a department like the Supply Department, which is of recent creation and is an offspring of war conditions, one would expect that those principles would be adhered to pretty rigidly. In the very beginning when this department began to be organised, it was during the Autumn Session at Simla that I wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department calling his attention to the need of a proper proportion being maintained for the Muslims in organising this department. Later on, on various occasions, we took steps from time to time to invite the attention of those responsible for the enforcement of this principle but when we found that things had really assumed an aspect, when a formal and comprehensive statement of our position to the Government was necessary and when we felt that real attention should be drawn to the grievances of Muslims, I addressed a detailed letter to the late Supply Member, Sir Homi Mody, on the 28th September, 1942, just after the end of the last Autumn Session, in which I gave a number of details and invited his attention to the grievances which had come to develop in his Department. I stated the position in that letter as far as I was able to do it to be this. You will permit me, Sir, to read one or two paragraphs of that letter which will give an idea of what I stated to him. I said that the present number of the I.C.S. officers in the Supply Secretariat (both Main and Branch) is Europeans 6, Hindus 12 and Muslims 2. Total 20.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** Does it include any Sikh Officer?

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** Sardar Sant Singh was the only Sikh.

**Sardar Sant Singh:** I am asking this as a matter of information.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** I will throw light on that later on. From the figures I have given, it was clear that the proportion of Muslims was 10 per cent. I anticipated that something might be said to explain away the position, so I said by way of anticipation:

"We do not want to be told that the posts of the Supply Department are technical posts and Muslims with technical experience are not available. It is impossible even for the most credulous to believe that every one of the hundreds of officers in the D. G. M. P., D. G. S., etc., is a technical man. If you were to order to prepare a list of the technical qualifications, of all those officers, you will know that a very large proportion have no such qualifications. For instance, the post of the Deputy Director General is the second highest post in the Directorate General, and the following non-technical officers have been appointed as Deputy Directors-General in recent months. (*Then I gave the names but I will not mention those names here.*) If the post of the Deputy Director General can be given to a non-technical man, one can easily believe that other posts can also be filled by non-technical men whenever Government is disposed to appoint them."

Then, Sir, after giving certain other details, I gave the figures for the Directorate General of Supply (Planning side). I gave these figures for different designations, such as, Superintendents, Assistants in charge, etc. The totals were Hindus 810 and Muslims 140, in all 950. That showed that the Hindus were 85.3 per cent. and the Muslims were 14.7 per cent. I added a note that the members of other minority communities whose number is insignificant have been merged with the Hindus. After giving certain other details, I made certain definite suggestions. I said that our requests are:

(a) Proper representation of Muslims in the I.C.S. appointments in the Main and Branch Secretariats and in the offices under the Department of Supply should be maintained. That was the request with regard to the I.C.S. appointments.

(b) An independent inquiry to be arranged to find out the working of the Establishment Committee of the Directorate General of Supply *vis-a-vis* the percentage of the Muslims appointed in the lower divisions, percentage of Muslims promoted from lower divisions to higher divisions and percentage of South Indians appointed in various divisions. This inquiry should also be extended to Calcutta and Bombay.

(c) An inquiry to be made regarding cases of promotions of Muslims that are deliberately delayed to give seniority to non-Muslims, especially South Indians.

(d) Appointment of one Muslim member to the Establishment Committee in addition to the present Muslim Superintendent who has no say in any matter (who being only a Superintendent has to depend upon his tingods in the Branch Secretariat for his prospects and has, therefore, to acquiesce in every proposal). Then, I invited his particular attention to this. Decision in all matters involving strictly Muslim interests to be subject to the final concurrence of the Muslim Member.

(e) Shortage in Muslim representation in higher grades to be removed immediately by promotions of Muslim members of the staff already recommended by their respective officers for such promotions.

(f) Consistent influx of Muslim recruitment in the clerical cadre to bring the minimum and compulsory percentage to 25 per cent. in the Supply organisation at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and other places as a whole.

Well, Sir, in reply to this letter I received an acknowledgment from Sir Homi Mody in which he promised to go into the details as one of the suggestions thrown out in my letter was that later on, after getting a detailed reply from him and when he had possessed himself of all the facts, it might be necessary for my Party to meet him and discuss the matter personally. He wrote to me to say he would look into the matter and address me later on. After two months precisely on the 28th November, 1942, he sent me a very detailed reply on receipt of which, of course, I felt bound to thank

[Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang.]

him for the attention which he had paid to my letter and the detailed information which he had supplied. I told him that I shall have to lay it before a meeting of my Party which will take some time and after that I shall address him further or suggest an interview with a deputation of my Party.

Now, Sir, with this detailed letter of Sir Homi Mody were annexed tabular statements giving the figures. From the figures supplied by him it appears that in the Directorate General of Supply at Delhi Muslim officers were 14.4 per cent, Muslim ministerial staff (other than routine) were 18.4 per cent. and routine staff were 20.9. As he had given the percentage of Muslims on the 1st August, 1941, also and the percentage which I have quoted was on the 1st October, 1942, it showed that there was deterioration throughout. On 1st August, 1941, in the officers' cadre the percentage was 17.6; on 1st October, 1942, it became 14.4. On the same date in 1941 the percentage in the ministerial staff other than the routine was 20.7 and that had fallen to 18.4. In the routine staff the percentage on the 1st August, 1941, was 20.9. From the figures which he gave it appears that in the Chief Controller of Purchase in the officers Muslims were 41.5, ministerial staff other than routine they were 25.3 and routine staff they were 29.3.

Then, Sir, there was the Bombay Office. I do not know what these abbreviations stand for being a layman.—D.G.S.B.R.

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown** (Government of India: Nominated Official): Director General of Ship Building and Repairs.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang**: Thank you. I expect that today in this Debate Mr. Mackeown will reply on behalf of the Government. We have known him for a long time in this House. He is a well disposed gentleman and will be helpful.

Well Sir, in that office there are no Mussalmans whatsoever—Bombay Director General of Ship Building and Repair. Controller of Supplies, Bombay, there in the officers no Mussalmans. Ministerial staff 10.7 per cent., Routine staff 4.8 per cent. In the Cotton Textile Department: officers 24.3, Ministerial staff 11.7, Routine staff 13.9. Calcutta Munitions and Production Secretariat and D.G.M.P.T.: in the officers, Mussalmans are 3.21, ministerial staff other than routine 15.1 and routine staff 21.6. Then the Chief Controller of Purchase Munitions, Calcutta: officers 15.8, ministerial staff other than routine 15.7, Routine staff 27 per cent. Controller of Supplies, Bengal: officers 20 per cent, ministerial staff nil, Routine staff 29.4 per cent. Controller of Supplies, Madras: officers nil, Ministerial other than Routine 27.2, Routine staff nil.

From these figures I think it is evident that the complaint as regards meagre proportions of Mussalmans in the services of the Supply Department is completely borne out. In the reply to my letter which Sir Homi Mody sent me he made certain remarks trying to explain the position. In the Indian Civil Service cadre the paucity of Mussalmans was explained by the remark that:

"Provincial Governments are sometimes reluctant to spare officers and the field of selection thus is limited. The reason for slight decline in the Muslim percentage is that we have not been able to secure suitable officers from Provincial Governments through the agency of the Establishment Officer. You will observe, however, that the percentage of Indian Civil Service has risen from 46 in August, to 68 in October, 1942."

Then, Sir, later on in his reply he did plead—and I had anticipated that—that this Department was a temporary war Department and majority of the posts outside the Purchase Secretariat are posts of specialised or technical character. We anticipated this answer. I may say straightaway that although perhaps to go into the personal qualifications of individuals in the course of a debate like this would be not only impracticable but also invidious and unpleasant, yet I may say generally that this plea of specialised posts and appointments meant for technically qualified people has really no substance. The Indian Civil Service people are regarded as good for anything. After

working for a month or so they become specialised in their subject and can carry on a branch efficiently and do the work properly. Any man when put on any job makes himself conversant with the technical side of his work and becomes specialised in that work. Sir, that was the excuse which did not satisfy us. Later on after the receipt of this reply we continued to ascertain the position. The position at the present moment appears to me much worse than it was when Sir Homi Mody wrote to us. It is a pity indeed that before I could finish with this subject Sir Homi Mody resigned and left the Department, so that now we have got to deal with the Department as it exists. We do not know who is going to succeed Sir Homi Mody and who will be made responsible for looking into this matter. I am prepared to state from the figures which I have been endeavouring to collect that the position has deteriorated since.

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

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang**: I have said practically all that I had to say. 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."

**Sardar Sant Singh**: Sir, I do not want to take much time of the House. I will make only a few observations. Because the motion belongs to the Muslim League Party, I do not want to transgress into their time and I will, therefore, only say . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Honourable Member representing the Government has got to reply.

**Sardar Sant Singh**: I will just finish. If I am allowed I will not take more than one minute. Government must have noticed that I have also given notice of cut motions regarding the Sikh representation in the Government of India Secretariat. I simply want to request the Honourable Member who is making reply on behalf of the Government to tell us whether there is any representation at all of the Sikhs in the Indian Civil Service in the Supply Department, in the higher services as well as in the lower services. Is there any Sikh I.C.S. in any post in the Government of India Secretariat? I will only request the Honourable Member to bear that in mind when making a reply.

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown**: Sir, it is with considerable nervousness, after some years of blissful obscurity and silence in this Assembly, that I rise to answer this motion, and I much regret that my first speech should be one opposing the motion moved by my Honourable friend of the Muslim League. But I am bound to oppose this motion, not because our Department contends that the position of Muslim representation is in all respects satisfactory, but because I contend that considering the difficulties which we have to face and the efforts we have made to surmount them and the degree of success which we have achieved, we do not deserve censure, but I think, a certain amount of credit.

Now, Sir, my Honourable friend, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, has made a very moderate and a very reasonable speech based on correspondence which he had at the beginning of the cold weather with Sir Homi Mody when he was the Supply Member. I do not think I can do better than follow the general tenor of Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang's speech and answer the points which he raised as I go along. Now, Sir, first of all he drew attention to the very valid distinction which exists between the old Departments of the Government and the newer Departments like the Supply Department. Unfortunately, he did not draw from that fact the conclusion which I would draw. He said that it ought to be easier in a new Department to adhere rigidly to the principles laid down by the Government of India to regulate recruitment of Muslims. Now, that may be true up to a point when you are dealing with smaller numbers and have a nucleus staff to build on, or to draw from, of men who are trained and fit to take the higher posts which are necessary even in a completely new organisation. But when you come to the very large numbers which the Supply Depart-



[Mr. J. A. Mackeown.]

ment has to deal with, and remember that the Supply Department practically started from nothing, it is very difficult to find in existing Government services all the trained men that you need for the higher posts. You cannot, therefore, draw entirely on the pool of Muslims who exist in existing Government services, especially as they are already being competed for by every new Department and as Departments themselves are reluctant to give them up because their duties also have extended very much owing to the war.

Now, Sir, the next point which he made was that I.C.S. and other administrative posts are not technical posts and it is not fair to give the answer that you must have technical officers for such posts. With that remark, I entirely agree. It is perfectly correct that we have many posts which do not require technical qualifications. But when you come to examine the matter more deeply, you find that it is not so easy to get Muslims for our higher administrative posts. Now, take the I.C.S. cadre. When we want to recruit I.C.S. officers we have to go through the Establishment Officer of the Government of India and approach the Provincial Governments to release suitable officers to us. The Provincial Governments are themselves short of Muslim Officers and not always willing to give them up. We are not the only Departments who require Muslim Officers, and it is not possible for us to get the officers whom we would like to have in all cases, or indeed in most cases.

• Then, again, I do suggest to my Honourable friend that the right way of looking at this question of Muslim I.C.S. officers is not to look at it and see how many there are in a particular Department, but to look at the I.C.S. cadre for the whole of India and to see whether the proportion of recruitment for the I.C.S., as a whole, which is an All-India service, is being observed. If their proportion in the whole I.C.S. is correct, then the fact that one Department may have a less proportion of Muslims or another Department a higher proportion in I.C.S. Muslim officers seems to lose a good deal of its relevance. That is all I wish to say on that point.

The next point made by my Honourable friend was that the statement sent to him by Sir Homi Mody showed that between 1st August, 1941, and 1st October, 1942, there had been in many cases a fall in the percentage of Muslims employed in the Supply Department in its various branches. Well, Sir, I regret that looking at it from the point of view of percentages that is perfectly correct. But my Honourable friend did not mention that in all the cases which he quoted, the actual number of Muslims employed had increased, that is to say, there has been a fall only in the percentage of Muslims compared with the total of the departmental strength, but there has been an increase in the total number of Muslims employed. For instance, in the Directorate General of Supply, amongst Officers, they had risen from 12 to 23, amongst the higher non-gazetted staff from 42 to 70, and amongst the routine staff in the office of the Chief Controller of Purchase, Supply, from 84 to 146.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani** (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): What about the total?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** I am coming to that later on. The only point I wish to make there is that we have recruited considerable numbers of Muslims, although we have not been able in all cases to maintain the correct proportions. Now, Sir, I can say, and mislead the House very much by saying, that we have a high percentage of Muslim officers in certain branches. For instance, I may say we have 50 per cent. Muslims among the Chief Controllers of Purchase,—very high officers, heads of the Purchase Branches. But when I tell you there are only two such officers, you will realise that the position is not as favourable to the Muslims as appeared at first sight. In the same way my Honourable friend, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, ran through this list and hastily drew attention to cases where there were no Muslim officers. There are none in the Controller of Purchase's office in Madras. There actually there are only five

officers altogether and I think it is fair to claim that a case like that should be balanced by the cases where the Muslims have a higher proportion than 25 per cent. Take the officers in the Chief Controller of Purchase, Supply's office where the proportion is 41.5 per cent. Now, Sir, I have tried to ascertain for the information of my Honourable friends whether there has been any improvement since Sir Homi Mody wrote his letter to Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, the Mover of this Cut motion. I have not been able to get full figures, but of those that are available I shall give the chief items now. The proportion of officers in the office of the Chief Controller of Purchase, Supply, has risen from 41.5 per cent. to 43.7 per cent. In the ministerial and routine staff, it has risen from 27.6 per cent. to 27.7 per cent. It was mentioned that there was no Muslim officer in the Controller of Supplies Office, Bombay. There is now one such officer. It is rather difficult to read these figures quickly from this long list. I do not want to bore the House with a lot of figures, but here is a case where there has been an improvement in the Chief Controller of Purchase's clerical staff, at Calcutta. There has been an improvement from 23.3 per cent to 24.3 per cent. In the ministerial staff, Controller of Supplies office, Bengal, where there was no Muslim before, now there are three. Now, the general indications are—from what I have been able to find out—that since the Muslim League Party drew the attention of Sir Homi Mody to this matter there has been considerable improvement, and I think I can best occupy the time that remains to me in telling the House what we are doing to improve the position, which we do not claim is yet altogether satisfactory.

When it was discovered last year that there was considerable difficulty in recruiting 25 per cent. of Muslims in all the parts of India to which the Supply Department operations and staff had by then extended, it was decided, in consultation with the Home Department, that the percentage of compulsory recruitment of Muslim clerks should be raised in those areas where recruitment was, from our experience, easier and lowered elsewhere. Accordingly, at the end of September last year percentages were fixed for the different localities so as to bring the average recruitment based on the number of posts in the department to 25 per cent. As a result the recruitment of Muslims in the Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore and Cawnpore areas now is 30 per cent. and falls in the case of Bombay and Madras to 8½ per cent., that is to say, in the areas where recruitment is easier we have fixed a higher percentage of Muslims so that we may balance the deficiency in other areas.

Then, after the investigation caused by the Honourable the Mover's letter last year and when we had examined all the figures that had emerged from it, Sir Homi Mody ordered that a special circular should be sent to all branches of the Supply Department drawing their attention to the necessity of strict enforcement of the rules about minority representation, and we expect to get during this month returns showing the effect that the two measures, which I have already announced, have taken. Those returns are due on the 15th of March.

In addition to this, examination of the figures which Sir Homi Mody supplied to the Mover led to the belief that one reason for Muslims sometimes not yet having reached their correct share of the higher clerical posts is that no proportion had been fixed for regulating the proportion of direct recruitment as compared with promotion to such posts. Investigations were ordered as to what proportion should be fixed for all higher grade posts in the Department and when this is complete and it is possible to issue orders, it may be hoped that another step will have been taken which will result in improving Muslim representation.

I see that I have hardly any time left now . . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Members have no objection, the speaker can continue for another five minutes.

**Mr. J. A. Macdonald**: I would like to touch on the question of recruitment of officers—I have already dealt with I.C.S. posts—such as planning and

[Mr. J. A. Mackeown.]

engineering posts and the posts which need special knowledge of trade and industry—what we may call the Deputy Directors, Assistant Directors and all that kind of posts. We have a real difficulty there in getting enough suitable men, and I can assure the Honourable Members in the Muslim League Party that if they are able to give us the names of any officers who are suitably qualified for posts of that type, as they fall vacant from time to time, we shall be only too pleased to give the fullest possible consideration to their suitability for the posts and to employ any who are suitable. We are often in difficulty in filling posts in our department and if Honourable Members will only present the names to us and help us, we will respond and give the very fullest consideration to the question whether they are suitable or not.

Finally, I should like to mention the matter, which the Honourable the Mover had not the time to touch upon, but he raised it by his motion, and that is in regard to the paucity of Muslim contractors. On that question, Sir, all I can say is this that the Supply Department itself does not know whether there is in fact, any real paucity of Muslim contractors. We have over 6,000 registered contractors but we have never been able to analyse what percentage of that figure is Muslim. There are certain firms which have Muslim names and are not, in fact, Muslims, just as there are firms with European names which are Indian. We know that for a positive fact. In addition to that we cannot possibly analyse every contract of the many thousands that we award and find out how far Muslims benefit from those contracts. The real complaint of my Honourable friends, if I may suggest that, is that their share in the trade and industry of India is not all that they would like it to be, but that is a fact which it is not within the power of the Supply Department to remedy. We need the help of all the resources of India to meet the enormous demands which are placed on us and if Muslims are able to obtain a larger share of the trade and industry of India, since the methods by which we approach industry to help us are open to all, the improvement which the Muslims are able to effect in their own economic status will at once be reflected in the amount of help which they will give to our department and we will gladly receive that help and appreciate it as we will from all sections of the House. Sir, I oppose this motion.

**Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur** (South Madras: Muhammadan): Sir, may I ask one question? Is the meagre representation of Muslims in Bombay and Madras due to want of qualified Muslims? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to refer such cases to the Muslim League so that they may make recommendations of suitable qualified candidates?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown**: Sir, it is, I understand, a fact that there are few qualified Muslims in Bombay and Madras, and if the Muslim League will send in names of any suitable candidates that they know of in Madras and Bombay, we will give due consideration to those candidates.

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

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

The motion was negatived.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (one of the Panel of Chairmen) in the Chair.

**Mr. Chairman** (Sir Cowasjee Jehangir): It is now the turn of the European Group. Item No. 28 on the consolidated list.

*Means whereby the present prosperous Agricultural Conditions might be used for the Permanent Rehabilitation of Agriculture in India.*

**Mr. C. P. Lawson** (Bengal: European): Sir, I move:

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

**Mr. Chairman**, Sir, my Leader has already touched in general discussion upon the reasons which have led us to propose this cut. In the Honourable the

Finance Member's Budget speech, he observed that even if rising agricultural prices have done nothing else, they do obviously diminish the real burden of agricultural indebtedness, a source to which so many of the major evils which beset the Indian cultivator have so long been traced. Equally, of course, rising prices have produced other problems to consumers but that is the other side of the picture. What we are concerned with is the necessity for making full use of the credit side, while at the same time facing up to the measures necessary to deal with the debit side also. There is no doubt whatever that if the agriculturist is now experiencing a period of prosperity, it is a period to which he is entitled. His economic situation has for years compared so unfavourably with that of the industrial worker in every way that any raising of his general standard of life would be a most welcome feature. The question, however, which is exercising our minds is will the improvement be permanent or will the agriculturist in due course return to the husks of bare subsistence. I propose to leave the matter of the economic life of the cultivator to my Honourable colleague, Mr. Gray, who will, I hope, speak later in this debate, and I will confine my remarks mainly to conditions which are ancillary to the well-being of the cultivator rather than to his present living conditions and the raising of his standard of life.

As my Leader has said we quite realise that agriculture is a provincial subject, and at the first glance it may seem that some of my remarks are directed towards the wrong source. I, therefore, wish to make it clear that while agricultural policy must in the main be carried out by provincial units, there is a great need now and a great need in the future for central co-ordination, if not central control. A war produces many things which are bad and a few things which are good. One of the latter is a fuller realization of the necessity for agricultural and food economy. Nations at war are dependent upon food, and if the war is to be won the greatest economy in food production must be exercised. Equal economy in peace times could not but be a benefit, but for some reason or other there is less urgency in the consideration of this matter in peace times than there is in war time even though India is primarily an agricultural country and depends on agriculture for the well-being of hundreds of millions. Hundreds of crores of rupees may be spent in defending the country against Nazi domination, and I thank God that this is so, but I could wish that something more than a fraction of this expenditure could be spent on defending the country against bad agriculture and against a standard of life amongst agriculturists which is lower than that of any section of the people.

Let us examine the reactions of advisory bodies as soon as war conditions forced them to examine seriously the food situation. The first recommendation of the Central Food Advisory Council was that to the extent and degree necessary the Central Government should exercise control and co-ordination. Later we had the annual meeting of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which discussed the future planning and co-ordination of agricultural research in order to get maximum results for all provinces. If there is any doubt as to the need for central co-ordination and direction, I would merely ask two questions: first, what would be the effect on other provinces adjoining a province which subsidised and increased its food crops on a very large scale, so that there were large surpluses for disposal in other provinces at cheap prices; and, then, what would be the effect if a province encouraged the production of large quantities of poor crops to the detriment of the soil and the standard of life of its cultivators and marketed this produce in any province which encouraged better and more expensive methods, raising the living standards of its people and preserving the fertility of its soil. It may be argued that control would militate against provincial autonomy, but there should be no reason for this if sound economy and planning could be universally agreed upon. It is the absence of such co-ordination which has led in some measure to the

[Mr. C. P. Lawson.]

poor standard of agriculture and the poor level of prices which prevailed in this country up to the outbreak of the war. The vicious circle was started whereby the cultivator, although he might be able to feed himself, could possess but little money for his other needs, and, therefore, descended into a quagmire of indebtedness which impoverished himself and his land. If we have temporarily broken that vicious circle by increasing the price of food crops, can we not do something to ensure that the circle is not reconstituted? Can we not, for instance, establish in all provinces a fixed minimum price for crops and make central arrangements for dealing with surpluses and deficits? Clearly there is no chance of fixing minimum rates if cultivators are left with large surpluses for private disposal, and if these surpluses are not to reach uneconomic levels, there must be careful planning upon which all provinces would require to agree. But there seems to be no reason why some steps should not be taken in this direction before the Grow More Food campaign induces a situation wherein agriculture will slip back to its old uneconomic price levels.

This is a broad point and the necessity for maintaining price levels may be regarded as a truism. I am not unaware that crop yields in one province differs from crop yields in another, so that a price which would mean prosperity in one centre might mean poverty in another. But this problem should not be incapable of solution, first by careful planning so that the land produces the crop for which it was best suited; secondly, by improving methods of agriculture and irrigation; and thirdly, if necessary, by subsidising backward areas. As regards crop planning, there are clearly a number of main divisions which can be made, provided there is mutual agreement and a mutual guarantee of prices; and upon improved facilities for agriculture, I have a few remarks to make. In the first place, if the economic state of the cultivator is improved and if that improvement can be maintained there is no reason why the fertility of the land should not be protected, if necessary, by law. If the proper manuring of a crop will give a cultivator say, 20 per cent. increase in crop yield, the cost of such manuring must not exceed the value of the 20 per cent. yield increase. Unfortunately pre-war crop prices did not give this return and inadequate manuring leads to a progressive loss of fertility. Also the large majority of cultivators were too poor to buy fuel and the natural manure which should normally find its way into the soil found its way only to the cooking stove. The crops which before the war were generally manured were the money crops and not the food crops. Tea, sugarcane and the like gave sufficient return, but the country cannot live exclusively on tea and sugarcane. If food crop prices can be kept up there is no reason why good manuring should not pay in rupees, annas and pies, and in the longer view the fertility of the soil would be maintained. The utilisation of refuse and other methods are freely suggested, but there would be no difficulty in finding sufficient manure if manuring paid. In green manuring alone a large and most effective method lies open.

And now, may I say a word on the subject of irrigation. India is both fortunate and unfortunate in having a rainy season which provides a *kharif* crop of a type which is easy to cultivate but which takes a lot out of the soil for little return. Apart from this, there are dry season crops which depend largely upon irrigation and which are most important. In the whole of British India some 55 million acres can be irrigated and the water which supplies this irrigation comes very roughly, one quarter from wells, one quarter from tanks and the like, and one half from canal schemes. In other words, the irrigation water of India comes roughly one quarter from below the ground, one quarter from the ground level, and one half from above the ground level. Now, it is obvious that water cannot be raised or transported over the level without some labour or power, and we are all used to the sight of draught cattle which require to

be fed and maintained, drawing from wells the water which irrigates the fields. About 50 per cent. of the irrigation water of India presumably finds its way to the fields by the force of gravity and the other 50 per cent. mainly by labour or power which costs money. Many provinces have irrigation schemes of which they are justly proud, but if more money could be sent on further schemes of this nature, there is little doubt that they would not only improve the situation of the cultivator but also prove to be valuable investments. As an instance, I would quote the Ganges Canal Hydro Electric Grid. It supplies many districts with irrigation water, 93 towns are supplied with electric current for lights and fans; nearly 1,700 electric tube wells are worked by the electricity supplied, and a number of minor industries draw their current from this source. Is it impossible that one day more of the millions of tons of water which find their way to the sea from India's great northern water-shed may be harnessed in the place of the bullock so that they provide not only irrigation for the fields but electricity for industries, railways and household use? I claim no originality for the suggestion which has been exploited by many Provincial Governments in past years, but when crores of rupees are being spent by the Central Government for the very necessary purpose of defending the country against aggression, I cannot stifle the wish that some crores could equally be made available for such schemes as the Ganges Canal Hydro Electric Grid, which are not so much expensive welfare measures as good paying investments.

There are many other undertakings which might well be planned now when the financial position of the ryot has somewhat improved and when with Government assistance permanent benefits might find their foundation. For instance, I would like to see a review of money crops which can be grown in India and which could be used not only for internal consumption but also for export. Such crops as Cinchona and Pyrethrum would bring in money and supply a very great need in India itself. I know I shall be told that these matters have already been examined, but the fact remains that India has had to import quinine in the past and has now found herself short of a product which can be produced in the country. I believe also that the health of the cultivator is a matter which greatly affects his ability to work and to work efficiently. If some system of medical benefit could be started whereby the cultivator could be certain of cheap medical attention and access to the necessary remedies for universal troubles, I feel certain that the general health of the agricultural population would greatly improve. Malaria, hookworm and other diseases are present locally in all provinces and they limit the efficiency of cultivation while increasing the general burden. Even so, little can be done until housing and sanitary conditions receive attention. If the cultivator could be assisted to build for himself pucca structures which last for years instead of requiring repairs and rethatching every year, his housing could be far more economical and far more sanitary. Once again, I fear that I am putting forward nothing new. Efforts in this direction have been made in the past and have met with some local success, but equally I suggest that it is a long time since agricultural conditions have given us such an opportunity for renewed efforts. Should we succeed now in even one of the avenues which I have suggested, we will establish something of permanent benefit.

These are all schemes for the betterment of agriculture which by central co-ordination and guidance might help to place India's agriculture on a standard which would not be the lowest common factor but the highest common factor. Much depends, I admit, upon the education of the ryot and this is a matter with which my Honourable colleague will deal. All I will say in conclusion is that we have here an opportunity of deriving some good from much that is bad. The first step in any scheme for the rehabilitation of agriculture must be to improve the standard of life of the cultivator. If the war has forced us to take this initial step, can we not ensure that, even if we cannot progress,

[Mr. C. P. Lawson.]

we at least do not resile. In times of emergency, the Central Government has to take to itself certain overriding powers as necessity demands. If these steps necessitated by war time can produce the beginnings of agricultural co-ordination for peace times we will be justified in saying that it is an ill wind which blows no one any good. Sir, I move.

**Mr. Chairman** (Sir Cowasjee Jehangir): Cut motion moved:

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

**Mr. B. L. Gray** (United Provinces: European): Sir, my Honourable colleague who moved this cut motion made it clear that in my speech I would be dealing mainly with the economic life of the cultivator and the means whereby his standard of life might be raised. I take it as axiomatic that if we can raise the standard of life of the cultivator in India, we will raise also the standard of cultivation and this is a development "devoutly to be wished." As the Honourable the Finance Member said, agricultural indebtedness is the source of a number of major evils which beset the Indian cultivator. Let us consider what some of these evils are.

In the first place, a cultivator is usually born in debt, lives his life in debt and dies in debt. He is thus dependent during the whole of his life upon money which is advanced to him, frequently at a very high rate of interest. Without such loans he cannot pay the rent for his lands or purchase the seed or equipment necessary for the earning of his livelihood, and clearly, since he must pay heavy interest on everything that he borrows, he limits his purchases to the bare minimum which will show him some return on his money. The loans made to him cannot be described as unsecured loans, even though the interest is so high. There is always the security of the crop, but whether this turns out to be good or bad, the proceeds go to the moneylender rather than to the cultivator. Because he lives on a bare subsistence, he is unable or unwilling to give the land the treatment which it requires. Truly by overcultivation he knows that the land will deteriorate, but to provide for the more distant future, is a luxury in which he does not as a rule indulge. Neither the cultivator nor the moneylender are seriously concerned with maintaining the land at a high standard of fertility; the concern of both is to get a quick return for their money.

As my colleague has said, the first step in any attempt at improving this deplorable situation must be to improve the financial state of the cultivator and if by reason of war profits this step has been taken, the Central Government and the Provincial Governments have two clear duties; the first is to see that the period of prosperity is used as far as possible for permanent benefit and the second is to try to arrange that the improvement is maintained. May I say at once that my sympathy with the cultivator does not extend to countenancing profiteering on his part? I have heard that many cultivators are withholding their produce in the hope of securing higher prices, and if this is the case, corrective measures may be necessary. On the other hand, I am of opinion that the universal indebtedness of the cultivator will not permit of a general retention of supplies and I certainly would not acquit the middleman of a wish to profit by any shortages in foodstuffs. However that may be, I certainly realise that the cultivator is singularly deficient of any leaning towards thrift, and if he finds himself with money to burn, burn it he will. He has never been taught to do otherwise; so, if the money-lender does not take his profits, he spends them on such articles as cheap jewellery and things of no productive value. This brings me to my first point.

The Honourable the Finance Member, in his Budget speech, referred to war savings which he said meant to the State an indispensable aid to victory and to the investor a precaution against the perils and uncertainties of the transition from war to peace. Even if the cultivator could be made to understand this, he has no facilities for investment nor any understanding of what such investment means. There must be many producers and dealers in produce who now have money to invest and indeed while I appreciate the difficulties. I can



see virtue in compulsory investment. But even if investments cannot be made compulsory, there can at least be provided some means whereby the bare possibility of investments and the provision of facilities can be fostered. I do not propose to go at length into the matter of co-operative societies or farmers' banks; most provinces have attempted such development in one form or another and without much success. They have found it generally impossible to compete successfully with established methods of finance, which were based on permanent indebtedness. But if that permanent indebtedness has been in any way removed, there is a chance for another attempt to promote habits of thrift. It is worth spending a considerable amount of money on propaganda to this end, but I do admit that the barrier of custom will be formidable. When a marriage can absorb a man's earnings for a period of years, and when death can involve him in a ceremonial of a most expensive nature, it is difficult to convince him that thrift is desirable. I trust that I will give no offence to religious susceptibilities when I say that it seems to me that the expenses incurred by poor people on such observances cannot be justified from any moral view-point. I would earnestly inquire from my Hindu friends whether they cannot devise some means of removing this burden from the shoulders of the poor.

To return once again to the more general question of rural uplift, I realise that many Honourable Members will already have experience of provincial endeavour in this respect. In many provinces there are Purchase and Sales Societies, there are "Better Farming" societies, there are Debt Redemption societies and Debt Conciliation Boards. All these are excellent in their way, but they have not even scratched the surface of rural indebtedness. Perhaps indeed indebtedness had gone too deep to permit of their success or of the success of any measure inclining towards thrift. If you are facing a lifetime of debt, the degree of that debt declines in importance. There is a helplessness in the situation which precludes the appreciation of anything but present benefit and this is an attitude of mind which will be difficult to change. A cultivator, finding himself at last with a little money to spend, will wish to enjoy that unique situation even if afterwards he slips back to his old situation of hopeless debt. This, therefore, is the psychological moment to strike and to redouble the efforts which have produced the Debt Redemption Societies, Purchase & Sales Societies and the like.

In the larger agricultural countries, farmers' co-operative societies, standardising the prices of produce and advancing seed or equipment are already the rule rather than the exception. Indeed, the Soviet Union goes further in co-operative farming as State employment. I do not suggest that individual effort in such undertakings can be eliminated, but certainly the small holder might find relief in local co-operative movements and some general system might be devised whereby the needs of good agriculture are made available to the cultivator by some Government-supported organisations which will also guarantee the disposal of farm produce at minimum rates. Such measures would certainly necessitate the enforcement of some ordered planning and would impinge upon the liberty of the cultivator to grow what he liked, where he liked and how he liked. But if he could be made to understand that this would be to his benefit, he would soon know where his interests lay. I can, in fact, see no means whereby minimum prices can be maintained unless there exists some purchasing organisation on the lines of the farmers' co-operative societies to which I have referred. These societies could maintain direct touch with Government and supply the organisation by which surpluses and deficits could be dealt with.

The farmer all over the world is probably the most independent member of society and resents, more fully than any one else, any interference with his liberty to cultivate or to carry on his farming in the manner which suits him. He is the acme of conservatism and strongly resents new customs or new restrictions. But however true this is, there are a number of restrictions aiming at the general protection of agriculture which apply in other countries and might



[Mr. B. L. Gray.]

well be made to apply in India also. There will be obstruction to begin with and possibly trouble; but this should not deter any Government. 3 P. M. from introducing measures which will be of ultimate benefit to the agricultural community as a whole. Apart from the maintenance of the fertility of the land there is the maintenance of livestock regarding which our present Viceroy has made such great efforts. The extent to which such restrictions can be enforced by law is a matter for careful consideration and central co-ordination. The extent to which good breeding can be enforced and the provision of suitable animals for stud, are all matters which can best be undertaken when the cultivator is in the best position to face the "growing pains" which the initial stages would probably produce.

Although possessing some connection with farming interests in Bihar and the United Provinces, I speak as a layman with no particular knowledge of agriculture or of livestock farming but no specialised knowledge is required to realise that the removal of antiquated methods must involve early difficulties and early disabilities. With the cultivator in his pre-war state of indebtedness and poverty, such difficulties and disabilities might rule out the possibility of a step forward, but if the Honourable the Finance Member's anticipations regarding the situation of the cultivator are in any way justified—which I believe to be the case—the latter can face some early discomfort. There will be many problems which will find their solution only by trial and error, but trial can now at least take place without undue risk. There will doubtless come a period after the war, when there will be financial stringency and considerable dislocation in transferring the needs of war to the needs of peace. If agricultural reform is left until then, a great opportunity may have been missed. There will not only be changes from war to peace but also changes of a political nature involving the dislocation of many established organisations. The pre-occupations of war are many and pressing but to some extent the central organisation and control of agriculture which war conditions have necessitated, run parallel with the more permanent needs of the agricultural situation. Necessity has in fact provided the machinery for central activities in connection with food crops which may well exercise permanent as well as temporary significance. Rural uplift once established will not be readily relinquished whatever the other changes may be. Once good farming becomes the standard, it will be of permanent benefit. Sir, I sincerely trust that those in authority will not permit the opportunity to lapse.

**Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, the first thing I would do is to express my satisfaction at the European Group taking such keen interest in agriculturists and agriculture in the country. The prosperity of any country depends upon the purchasing power of the people of that country and India, being an agricultural country, the prosperity of this country would certainly depend upon the purchasing power of the agriculturist. The more such power, the more are industries likely to prosper in this country. It is not necessary that because this country has once been agricultural, therefore it should remain an agricultural country indefinitely. This country contains minerals and other raw materials which can be utilised to promote the industries of this country. If this country is industrialised, then surely, it will become rich. As in the case of all industries, so in the case of agriculture, two things are necessary, namely, capital and labour. The agriculturist's capital is the land and the man himself is the labourer. There is no doubt that the more skilled the labour the better the outturn. So, if the agriculturist who labours on the land is an educated person and has knowledge of agriculture, then certainly he can get greater outturn on the land than any illiterate person. If the land is of superior quality, it will bring him greater return. Let me say that though the Indian agriculturist may be illiterate, he knows his profession very well. He may not be able to read and write but he knows what crops are good for what soils and he is not inclined to waste his

money and labour where he will not get a proper return. By the experience which he and his forefathers have gained, he has become wiser and knows what crops are good for what climate. It may be that some provinces are subsidised by Government and other provinces are blessed by Providence. There may be good facilities for irrigation in one province and there may be no such facilities in another province. In some provinces, conditions are more favourable than in others. It cannot be said that in any particular province the agriculturists do not know what crops to grow and how to grow them and when to grow them. Charges have been levelled that the present position of the Indian agriculturists is due to his spending extravagant sums on marriage and other functions. This is a very very old charge. I do not think that the present indebtedness of the agriculturist is due to any such thing. I can very well say that, from my own experience, the agriculturists have not much money to spend on these objects. The agriculturist of today is not the same as the agriculturist of 50 years ago. The present day agriculturist is not inclined to spend money on extravagant matters. This false charge shows the mentality of the officers who do not want to take any responsibility for their actions. They say that the agriculturist has brought all his troubles on himself through his own actions and that he is illiterate. You cannot very well raise that argument now. These are very old and exploded arguments. Rural uplift is very much associated with the uplift of agriculture, because the agriculturists live mostly in rural areas and if there is a rural uplift, it will certainly benefit the agriculturists. The introduction of medical help would certainly help the agriculturist and make him more efficient. Efficiency of labour is always necessary for proper outturns. The emaciated agriculturist who is knee deep or ears deep in debts has very little health or sustenance left in him but he carries on somehow. If proper help is administered to him in the shape of sustenance and medical assistance, he would certainly be very efficient in his work.

Now, Sir, from my point of view the one thing that is essential is to fix the economic minimum price of the agricultural produce. If that is not done, nothing else can help the agriculturist. You are carrying on "Grow more food" campaign. But if the agriculturists were to grow more food in response to your demand and irrespective of other things, the supply will increase. If the supply increases, the prices must go down. This is a very simple rule which he has learnt by experience. If you are not going to guarantee the minimum economic price, there is no incentive for any agriculturist to grow more crops, whether they are food crops or money crops. I had raised on the floor of the House so many times the question about the short staple cotton and I was always told by the then Commerce Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, that I made the most bitter speeches when I was speaking as an agriculturist. I told him that he would have to listen to most bitter speeches from me hereafter. There is somebody else to hear my speeches today in the absence of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. What I used to insist upon then was that you must fix the minimum economic price for this variety of cotton. The then Commerce Member was in favour of fixing the maximum price which was too low. People were not prepared to sell it at that price. So, what you have to do is to fix the minimum economic price so that persons might compete with each other in order to get more cotton at a better price. By fixing the maximum price which was low in itself every purchaser speculator profited in buying. Even the Government themselves went to the market and purchased at a lower price. The only body that would come into the market and purchase cotton would be the Government just to keep their word. They had fixed a very low price. In fact, it was so low that it would not meet the cost of production. I wished to benefit those who were growing food crops, and it was because of that that on the floor of the House I constantly urged that there should be no price control. I carried a campaign in my province and also through the

[Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh.]

press that there should be no price control of the foodstuffs. For years together, very nearly till last year, the agriculturists were suffering from depression. This depression was brought about by world conditions as well as by the conditions in this country and when they were just going to have favourable circumstances to improve their conditions, a hue and cry was raised. It was said that the prices were going up and they should be controlled and they should be brought down. All persons except agriculturists had benefited owing to this depression because their purchasing power had automatically gone up twice or thrice, because the food and cloth they used to purchase for a particular amount were now being purchased for a much lower amount. When the agriculturists were suffering from depression, Government did not think of starting any relief societies for them. Government did nothing of the kind. Neither the public did anything. So, if you want the food to be produced on an extensive scale in this country in order to meet the needs of the civilians and the army, you must fix the minimum price and the minimum price should be such that the agriculturists ought to be able to have a fairly good margin of profit so that they may recover from their present position. In other words, you must guarantee the minimum economic price for a very long period of time in order that they may cover the loss they have already incurred and save something. It is a misrepresentation of facts to say that the agriculturist today is benefiting tremendously or the conditions are very prosperous for him. The conditions have only recently started improving. They have not been able to get themselves out of the woods. They are still in debt. There is nobody to free them from the quagmire in which they find themselves at present. So, the most essential thing is to fix the minimum price for a long time. That is the only way of salvation that I can see for the agriculturist.

Then with regard to co-operative societies and co-operative banks. These institutions have been in existence for a very long time, but the real agriculturist has not been benefited by them. That is my experience so far as the co-operative societies are concerned. It may be that people in the Punjab are more fortunate but so far as my province is concerned, I do not think that these co-operative societies have to any extent benefited the agriculturists as a class.

Then, the next thing that I wish to touch upon is the marketing. The Government must devise certain methods by which they could dispose of the produce that may be surplus or that may have been produced by the agriculturist which he can safely put on the market, merely fixing the minimum price will not do. They must themselves purchase his produce. If they purchase the whole stock, then alone can they come into the market with a certain price. Government can very well have a margin to meet their own expenses for transporting and disposing of the agricultural produce and the original cost at which they have been purchased. So, it would be necessary for them to open up their own agencies so that the crops of the agriculturists may be sent to the agricultural markets and reasonable and profitable rates could be secured for them. It may be necessary on account of the war conditions not only now but hereafter also that certain long contracts would have to be entered into with other nations which import agricultural produce. In those circumstances, it would be necessary for the Government to secure such contracts as would be profitable to this country. It would be no use giving preferences to other countries in the matter of agricultural raw produce to the disadvantage of this country. It may be that tariffs would also have to be fixed in order that the minimum price should be maintained. It may be that legislation will have to be enacted to maintain these minimum prices, but the basic thing is to fix the minimum economic price for a long period of time so that the agriculturist may feel safe and secure; it is the panacea for all the evils of the agriculturist.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** It is said that these are the prosperous days for the agriculturist. I do not agree with that: these are not prosperous days for them. Owing to control system, whatever is produced by the agriculturist, just after the harvest season, has to be sold at a very low price. Government fix up prices for foodstuffs, and the agriculturist has to sell it. So the poor agriculturist has to sell all his foodstuffs, etc., at a very small price. Last year there was a case in the Punjab when the Government of India fixed price for wheat at Rs. 5 per maund but the Government of the Punjab purchased wheat at the rate of Rs. 5-8 per maund. However, take it that the control price was Rs. 5-8 a maund. Now, the wheat is being sold at present at more than Rs. 15 per maund. Now, the poor cultivator sold his produce at the maximum price of Rs. 5-8 a maund in the beginning of the year. Who are being benefited and who are in prosperous conditions? Not the poor agriculturist who sold his produce at Rs. 5-8 a maund, but the companies—middlemen and the like—U. K. C. C.—which are going to take the place of the East India Company. They purchased in lot and exported it to other countries at the cost of the inhabitants of this country. There is a campaign called "Grow More Food" campaign. It is just on paper, and it is not helping the poor cultivators. Actual help is required to be given to these poor cultivators. There are certain things which stand in the way of the poor cultivators. They may be helped and they should be encouraged to grow more food in the interest of others also who are living in this country and elsewhere. They require help in matters of manure, irrigation and consolidation of their holdings. Their holdings are divided. If any cultivator wants to irrigate his holdings or to put manure in his holdings, it is very difficult for him with a small area—say half an acre here and half an acre there—scattered over different places. He feels great difficulty in the supervision as well. I think, it is the duty of the Government of India to impress upon the various Provincial Governments to legislate on this point that there should be a law enforcing consolidation of holdings, so that the agriculturists—cultivators—may be given facilities and it will help them much. A cultivator who has one acre here and another acre there, it is difficult for him to look after it properly. If there is a law permitting consolidation of holdings, cultivators can very well irrigate and take care of the holding without much difficulty.

In this country on account of poverty, as you know, Sir, the manure which is in the shape of cow-dung, is used as fuel. If the authorities here, I mean the Government of India, should have taken care to improve the condition of poor cultivators, they would have provided some money in the shape of subsidy in their budget and with that amount the poor cultivators would have been supplied with manure free of charge. Some system of irrigation should also be introduced in this country: not like big irrigation systems as in Punjab and Sind and other places, but on a small scale. After the legislation of consolidation of holdings some system of pumping machine or something like that can very well be introduced by which they can irrigate more area than they are at present doing. Sir, in this way they can be held and they can grow more food and in that case only when they will be growing more food their conditions may be said to be prosperous one. These days are not prosperous for the agriculturists at all. After great labour in Bihar they produce sugarcane. The maximum price fixed in the beginning was annas eight per maund; now it has been raised to annas ten or twelve. But the poor cultivators who had sold their sugarcane in the beginning of the year, would be losing three annas or four annas a maund. They are not going to get anything more. When at the time of harvest a certain control price is fixed for food grains and if afterwards that price is increased towards the end of the year, then the poor cultivators should get proportionate share of that increase. In that case the poor cultivators can be helped. It may be done, if Government are out to bring the poor cultivators in prosperous conditions. The Government should also provide some money in the shape of subsidy to

[Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.]

help the agriculturists and that would be a better substitute for dearness allowances. All the amount which has been provided under dearness allowance can with some addition be provided under one head and given to the poor cultivators as subsidy. Manure should be distributed free of charge and loan may be given to them without interest and irrigational facilities should be provided. Thus the quantity of food grain will certainly be increased. It has been pointed out on another occasion that with all the efforts in the direction of "Grow more food" the acreage under cultivation of wheat and rice has been decreased to a large extent. If it is going to be decreased, how the outturn will be increased, except by means of subsidy, so that they may get manure free and they have some facility in the matter of irrigation. With these few words, I resume my seat.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Sir, I think we are covering a very wide issue at present when we should only look at the present conditions and try to meet those conditions. Now, the conditions at present are that there is a scarcity of food; food is wanted for the poor as well for others and for war front also. How are you going to produce more? This is the main question and every question should be considered in this light. There ought to be some co-ordination between the Central Government and the Local Government. The second thing is that prices should be considered and when you have more production, then and then only you can consider of this minimum and maximum prices. First of all look at the production and the means by which you will do it. What have you done upto now? Local Governments have been doing in their own way. Some Local Governments are bankrupt to give help to the poor agriculturist. You have been negligent all this time, and it is on that account that there has been no sufficient production. But now the time is coming when you cannot afford to be negligent. I know, Sir, of the agriculture in Sind. We have got barrage which gives water. Apart from the consideration or rather the dispute between the Punjab Government and the Sind Government, I think there is still water for purposes of more cultivation. What are the conditions there? There are three classes of people. Everybody should not be called cultivator, there are big and small landholders and there is the cultivator who only tills and who owns no lands. In Sind, the first category is the class of tiller or the cultivator. The second is the small landholder, who owns a few acres of land, one or two acres, and the third is the big landlord who may be called the bull dog, who controls the under-dog, namely the cultivator. The cultivator in Sind does not get even as much as an ordinary labourer gets. The cultivator has no land of his own. He has to provide himself with seed, he has to till the land himself. Of course, he borrows from the zamindar and pays afterwards for the seed. The second thing is he should have bullocks to plough. Money is needed for all that. The zamindar gives him money but at the time of the harvest, he has first lien on the produce for his money. When the produce is ready, a division is made. In Sind, it is mostly half and half. The cultivator is actually a beggar. Even half the produce which is his due does not go to him. The landlord has to pay Government assessment. So far as the cultivator is concerned, he must also pay for the perquisites of the zamindar. The zamindar will tell him, I have been paying something to the tax gatherer, something for entertaining some officers and so on, with the result that the cultivator has to bear all these expenses. Then nothing remains for the poor cultivator. This is the condition of the cultivator, who is the tiller of the soil himself. You cannot expect him to till more land when nothing is left for him to live. There is no surplus left for him. He is actually living from hand to mouth. Who is going to do something for him? What the Government can do? I shall come to it later on. With regard to the small landholder, his condition may be a little better because he has got his own land to some extent. He is at the same time

not much different from the cultivator because he has to provide for bullocks, for the manure and for everything. Then comes the big landlord.

**An Honourable Member:** The cotton grower.

**Mr. Laichand Navairai:** Yes, cotton grower also. Cotton is of late growth in Sind after the Sukkur barrage. So far as the bigger zamindar is concerned, he is also helpless. He has got large tracts of land, but he is not able to cultivate all of them. He leaves large tracts uncultivated. What have the Government done for him to enable him to bring under cultivation all the land he possesses. Have the Government helped him with any subsidy. If only the Government had enabled the big landlords to cultivate all the lands they possess, then there would have been no occasion for complaining for scarcity of food. In Sind, where there is much scope for cultivation, the Government are not doing anything. The Sind Government is being run on the subsidy from the Central Government. If the Central Government wishes for more food for the purpose of keeping people satisfied and also for winning the war, then they must come forward to help the zamindars. Now, then, it may be said, there are co-operative societies. But the condition of co-operative societies in Sind is not rosy. They are in the most deplorable and in the most condemnable state. Of course, there are co-operative societies in Sind. The co-operative system prevails there. But what happens? The cultivator is in need of money, so is the big zamindar, the big zamindar wants more and more money than the cultivator. The poor cultivator at least can go on if he has some small means to eat and he can pull on, but what about the big zamindar? He has to live in luxury. What the big zamindar does to get money from the co-operative bank is this. He goes to a co-operative bank along with these cultivators and then represents to the officer in charge of the co-operative society that these cultivators want money for tiling the land, for purchasing manure and purchasing bullocks and so on. In this way the big zamindar is able to get a lot of money in the name of the cultivators and takes it away. Now, these poor cultivators do not know what has happened. They have simply to sign the forms. Such cases were very many in Sind. So much so, that some co-operative societies become bankrupt on that account in Sind. The big zamindar takes away all the money. He keeps it to himself. When the time comes for payment of the debt, and when the zamindar is called upon to pay up the dues, he refers them to the cultivators. The poor cultivators are hauled up, but then they have no property and the co-operative society is not able to realise the money from them. This is what happened in Sind. I have learnt that in some Provinces the co-operative societies are working well. But in Sind, unfortunately it is not so. I submit it is the duty of the Central Government to see that all the lands are cultivated if they want to get more food, they should see that no land is left uncultivated on account of the negligence or fault of the zamindars. The Government should advance the big zamindars and cultivators some money to enable them to cultivate these lands in full. You cannot depend upon the Local Government, because the Local Government in Sind is not rich. Though they say that it is the people's Government in Sind, yet it is not so. It represents mostly the Muslim League people. So, I submit the Central Government should take up the matter in their own hands if they really want to further war efforts. If the Government on the other hand is only bent upon collecting land tax somehow or other without caring whether the lands are cultivated or not, they are not going to solve this food problem. They cannot produce more food. When first more food is produced, then will arise the time to control prices and fix minimum prices or maximum prices. Of course, the question of price control is also very important. It is also a moot question, but the very origin of it is more production. When the food problem was very acute we asked the Commerce Member as to how he proposed to produce more food because the crops of last year did not yield sufficient quantities to keep the war front going or even to feed the people, even though from hand to mouth. The

[Mr. Lalchand Navalrai.]

answer was that they expected more production this year. When we asked the Department, how much, they were not able to give the figure because the month was not yet over. They said, let February be over and then they will give us figures. That is how they are tackling the problem. What confidence can we have in what they say. We will all starve and then there will be a great trouble. Government should realise that all are not Mahatma Gandhis to go on fasting and yet live; the people should be given enough to eat. They require food and if you are not going to provide them with food, then the Government will come to an end. All kind of foodstuff should be cultivated more and more. That is the solution. No doubt people need more food and also more clothes. I think foodstuffs should, however, take precedence. In certain areas where there is more cotton cultivation, let there be less cotton growing. But what is more urgently required is the cultivation of rice, wheat, *juar* and *bajra*. All these grains are needed for all people and, therefore, the cultivation of these crops should be increased. Of course, in Sind, they have restricted certain portions for rice, they have also restricted certain portions for wheat. They also allow some land for cotton. There again they are creating many difficulties. If land is such that only rice can be cultivated, they still want that wheat should be cultivated. Why? Because they say that Engineers have earmarked the land for the purpose of wheat. These are the difficulties. The Central Government should be very vigilant for more productions. They should co-operate, rather co-ordinate, with the Provincial Governments and give them enough money for agricultural purposes. If they do so, the whole difficulty will be solved.

**Sir F. E. James** (Madras: European): I should like, if I may, to bring the House back to the main points which were made by my Honourable colleagues.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** I hope I added to them.

**Sir F. E. James:** I take it that my Honourable friend was speaking as a cultivator. (Interruption) I hope he cultivates his constituency. But I am sure, like most of us, when he ploughs and scatters his seed, it falls upon extraordinarily stony ground and in some cases the weeds grow up and choke it altogether.

I think it is better to get back to the main topics of the cut motion because we are very fortunate this afternoon in having, to listen to this debate, and I hope to reply to it, the Honourable Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands. I am tempted to repeat what a Palmerston once wrote to some one: "Thank God. At last we have a farmer in charge of agriculture". The Council consists of very eminent and wise men: We have the big business magnates of indescribable riches; we have the financier; we have the lawyer; we have the absentee landlord; and we have some distinguished members of the Civil Service, but we have in Sir Joginder Singh a farmer, one who has had practical and direct farming experience and, therefore, we look to him to give us a reply to the main points that have been urged in the course of this debate.

Now, what are these main points? As far as I understood the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson, he asked a general question. He said, what is perfectly true, that through the exigencies of war we have learnt some very valuable lessons. One lesson we have learnt is that by direct central control and co-ordination we can benefit the agriculturist by keeping in reserve large stocks which can be thrown into the market, and which by their purchase can ensure a reasonable price to the agriculturist, and at the same time break the hideous ring of the middleman who stands between the welfare of the agriculturist and the benefit of the consumer. Now, if that can be done in war-time why cannot it be done during peace-time. I myself have had experience in the last two years of a form of co-operative marketing in connection with the coffee industry. I have been completely convinced by my own experience in that small industry of the enormous possibilities of widespread co-operative marketing, under direction and control. What has that done in the case of coffee? Rather



I would say what is it doing in the case of coffee? It is, first of all, ensuring that the producer, who must get rid of his produce within a comparatively short time, is not forced to get rid of that produce at a very small price. In other words, instead of his being forced to sell to the middleman at a low price, while the middleman can afford to hold for some months and then sell later on at a high price, the co-operative marketing organization has now stepped in and is purchasing coffee from the producer at a reasonable and remunerative rate. Indeed it is borrowing, at reasonable rates, from the Central Bank in order to pay the producer who must have money in hand at the beginning of the season in order to pay his agricultural expenses. Then, when the marketing organization holds the crop and releases it to the market over the remaining months, it can at least ensure that the crop does not go uncontrolled into the hands of the middleman, and the middleman is thus prevented from hoarding to ransom the consumer. Now, Sir, it is that kind of action that, I believe, my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson, had in mind when he spoke of the necessity of carrying into peace some of the methods which the emergencies of war have shown to be so feasible and so advantageous to the producer. That is one point.

Another point he made was that it was essential for the economy of this country that the growing of money crops should be encouraged. Now, what is my Honourable friend in charge of the Department doing to plan and encourage the growth of money crops?

The third point he made relates to, what I may call, the rationalization of agriculture. I was very interested to hear the Honourable the Finance Member talk about the utilization of the sterling balances, and about certain proposals which were in the air in regard to a Reconstruction Fund which might be used for the reconstruction of industry in this country. May I suggest to him that one of the most valuable uses for some, at any rate, of those sterling balances would be the reconstruction of agriculture? May I suggest that he listens occasionally to the voice of the agriculturist, which is not quite so vocal as the voice of the industrialist in that matter? I am told there are countries which have purchased on a large scale for agriculture within their territories, pumps for pumping water, tractors, ploughs, threshing machines, and so on. What a remarkable thing it would be if some of this money, which belongs to India and is paid by the agriculturist, what a remarkable thing it would be if some of that money could come back to the agriculturist and could benefit him. After all, the benefit of the agriculturist in the long run is the benefit of the industrialist and indeed of the whole country.

Then, Sir, I would like to add to these three points which my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson, made, and which I have endeavoured to repeat, one further point which I regard as equally important, and that is the provision of cheap and effective transport for the agriculturist; for how can he market his goods unless he can bring his goods into the market place. If the transport facilities are there and at reasonable cost, it will help the agriculturist to bring his produce to the market-place, and that is what you want to encourage. I was going to mention this matter on another occasion, but I might just as well mention it now, because my Honourable friend, the War Transport Member, is here. I was, I must say, rather disheartened the other day when I was talking about reconstruction after the war and the necessity of doing something for road and rail transport. I was rather discouraged by what I thought was a lukewarm and somewhat indeterminate reply. It seems to me that on this agricultural question the proper planning of transport facilities after the war is of primary importance; and if the benefits which the agriculturist has gained by war conditions are to be retained in his interest, then I do beg of my Honourable friend to apply his great intelligence and industry to this problem of the provision of better facilities for transport both by road and by rail, and by water if you like, for the agriculturist. These four things, then: first of all, what measure of central



[Sir F. E. James.]

control and co-ordination is possible and feasible in order to preserve to the agriculturist the benefits that the war has given him; secondly, what can be done to ensure for him, and, therefore, to give him confidence, a minimum price for his produce; thirdly, what is being done now to plan and encourage the development of money crops in this country; and fourthly, what is being done to prepare for the future and to open up the country so that the agriculturist is not hampered and hindered by expensive and difficult transport, so that he is free to bring his products to the market-place where they can be sold direct to the consumer. These are some of the greatest problems confronting India. These are some of the problems which India must face after this war if she is to retain any of the great advantages which the war has brought to her. May I express the hope that the Government of India will, without delay, make up its mind to plan wisely in these directions.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh** (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I have listened with interest to all that fell from the lips of Mr. Lawson. I agree with him that the Government of India must remain for a long time a vitalising centre and a co-ordinating centre. I am in agreement with much of what he said as I will make it clear as I proceed with my speech. He dwelt on the raising of money crops, such as Pyrethrum and Cinchona, and I can tell him that we propose to place at least 5,000 acres under Pyrethrum this season and we are making plans to plant more land under Cinchona.

Mr. Gray dwelt on the problem of agricultural debt and I hold that its solution depends on cheap, short and long term credit. I am hoping to examine the problem in all these aspects. I do not agree that co-operative banks have not succeeded. If my memory serves me right, in the Punjab we have at least fifty thousand credit societies with a membership which runs into thousands, and I know that Madras and Bombay have been equally successful.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Enquire about Sind, Sir.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** I did not mention Sind.

There are areas in the Punjab where the entire money for these co-operative organizations is provided by the members themselves.

The Honourable Mr. Abdul Ghani spoke on the need of consolidation of holdings. Perhaps he is not aware that in the Punjab there is a law providing for compulsory consolidation under certain circumstances and a large number of cultivators are now subscribing money to secure the services of consolidating inspectors and a very large area has already been consolidated.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadian Urban): That is only in the Punjab.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** There is one point raised by Sir Frederick James with which I cannot agree. As a farmer I have always found that the middleman takes the risk and secures the best possible markets. I myself have sometimes tried to put my produce in the market directly and never gained by the experiment.

Sir Henry Richardson, while dwelling on the dangers inherent in purchasing power and advocating effective price control, was drawn—by a remark of the Finance Member that an increase of price of agricultural produce meant a reduction in the burden of agricultural debt—to ask what is being done to sow the seed for permanent benefit of the producer.

I am grateful to the Honourable friends of the European Group for giving me an opportunity, which this cut motion gives, to dwell on the plight of the primary producer and attempt in some measure to clear the soil of the weeds of wrong ideas so as to prepare the seedbed for the sowing of the seed of prosperity.

May I begin by mentioning that even in normal years our production is not sufficient to give all the people a balanced diet, and the purchasing power, which frightens Sir Henry Richardson, does not even today permit a producer of food to purchase a new set of clothes for himself and his family? The

emphasis on dangers which lurk in an increased purchasing power coming from a leader of the British mercantile community strikes a note which recalls to my mind, the words of a Persian poet, who exclaimed :

*"Chun Kufr az Kaaba barkhezad Kuja manad Musalmani."*

"When heresy springs from Kaba itself, where can faith abide!"

The limit of our purchasing power is clearly shown by the currency which ranged round Rs. 5 per head of population before the war as compared with England and America where it stood at £13 or Rs. 138 and \$40 or Rs. 160. Our reservoir of money which was drained when England returned to gold standard is now filling up and we have about Rs. 15 per head of population in circulation. Sir John Maynard, who was the Finance Member in the Punjab, in his new book on Russia has shown how disposable surplus in money has helped in improving the economic condition of Russia. We may also hope the volume of money in circulation will stimulate economic progress in this land of low purchasing power.

May I request the Honourable Member to reflect how "within the various measures for the control, supply and distribution of foodstuffs" is it possible to plant the seed of prosperity? I would beg him to consider the problem in its proper perspective.

When we ask for control of prices and cheap food, do we not unconsciously demand that the human labour of 89 per cent. of the population should remain permanently at a low level? "Price" is defined by economists as "the value of a commodity expressed in terms of money". Value itself has two different aspects: usefulness and power to command other goods in exchange. If a maund of wheat could have the same value in exchange, to purchase cloth or a ploughing bullock, as before the war, there would be little justification for a rise in the price of wheat, but the exchange value of wheat or rice cannot be divorced from exchangeable value of other goods.

In the last analysis, we cannot escape the conclusion that it is not possible to separate production from the main structure of rural economics; we cannot increase production without guaranteeing an adequate return to the growers in money value, nor should we fix a price without taking into account the cost of production. The basic agricultural wage should cover normal needs of an average worker regarded as a human being in a civilised state.

My point is that it is not "within the various measures of control, supply and distribution of food" that we can plant the seed for the permanent benefit of the agriculturist, but by careful planning of production, creation of agricultural credits, supported by a financial policy which has no other aim but to make a better life for all the people of India.

I am sure Sir Henry Richardson will never be satisfied till we feed and clothe our whole population and give them decent dwelling houses to reside in, and some share in the gifts which nature distributes in the name of God.

As an essential basis for all future planning, we already have a great *corpus* of knowledge and experience on the technical side readily available for application once funds are provided and a policy laid down. The report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture still stands as a guide for almost any aspect of Indian agriculture. The labours of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research in fostering and co-ordinating research over a period of years have made available detailed and authoritative information on the technique of agricultural improvement for application by the provinces, on which rests, under the constitution, the responsibility for carrying through large-scale schemes of agricultural development. The technical knowledge is expanding: what is wanted is a policy to inspire, and money to give birth to, the dry bones of knowledge and research and "make the dry bones live". United Kingdom which has less area under crops than some of our major provinces spend £6½ millions in subsidies to agriculture and guarantees a minimum wage of £3 a week to a male labourer. In short, increased production depends on increased capital expenditure on land.

[Sir Jogendra Singh.]

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

Under the stress of war, we are at present concentrating on the increased production of food crops. In peace conditions we should have to divide our attention, and divide it in some scientific manner, between food crops and cash crops. Production may be increased either by bringing new areas under cultivation or by securing increased yields from existing cultivated areas. The possibilities of bringing new areas under cultivation are not great. The areas that have remained untilled lie mostly in zones of scanty rainfall; without irrigation it is impossible to bring them under the plough. I am hoping, however, to start rapid soil-sampling and testing of sub-soil water-supply in these areas to find out whether it is possible to reclaim some culturable lands for the production of crops and for afforestation.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Remember Sind in that scheme.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** I will certainly do that. Increased yields are largely a matter of improved seed-strains and of improved methods of cultivation, including especially the application of manures. Chemical fertilizers are hardly within reach of the cultivator even in peace time. Oil-cake can be used to some extent, but its use as manure competes with its use as food for livestock. I have under examination the question whether leaf-mould from our forests can be composted and its Nitrogen content improved. Another question under our active consideration is how to make larger use of our town refuse as manure, the feasibility of which has been demonstrated by the experiments carried out at the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore . . . .

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Why do you not include in this, fish manure and mineral manure?

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** Everything is included. Lakhs of tons of manure are available from this source. These measures, especially the latter, will be of permanent benefit to India's agriculture. There is also great scope for the development of other sources of food, such as milk, fish and eggs. England, with its rich and varied peace-time diet, consumes 40·7 ounces of milk per head, whereas in India the consumption of milk and milk products is 10·4 ounces only. I hope to do something permanent for animal husbandry also by spreading modern knowledge and methods of feeding and breeding.

In short, finance, water-supply and security are the primary factors of agricultural advance and rural happiness,—just as low and widely fluctuating prices are a factor detrimental to a sound agricultural economy. It must never be forgotten that agriculture is our major industry and an efficient agricultural industry is essential to the well-being of our people, both rural and urban. If agriculture can attain a satisfactory economic level, leading to a reasonably prosperous rural life, it will provide expanding markets for the development of trade and industry of every kind. My own feeling is that agriculture will be unable to rise above its present low level without an assurance of stable conditions from now onwards, for at least five years, so that producers can be enabled to see sufficiently far ahead to plan on the basis of the continuity of a well-defined agricultural policy.

Let us take these three requirements in turn and see what the prospects are and whether they can be improved. First, the agriculturist needs money for his agricultural operations, and particularly for the purchase of manure. There is another—and an important—aspect on the financial side, namely, rural indebtedness. Many, perhaps most, cultivators in India labour under a heavy load of debt. Almost every province has legislated to provide for the scaling down of agricultural debt but the volume of indebtedness shows no sign of any substantial decrease. The present rise in prices—which means (and this is important) that the cultivator has to devote so much less of his produce to meet his rent or revenue liabilities which are fixed in terms of money, should give

the cultivator for so long as it lasts, a golden opportunity to put himself financially on his feet—provided (and it is an important proviso) his expenses which are not fixed in terms of money—his clothing, fuel, lighting, obligatory social and religious ceremonies—do not also cost him so much more as to put him relatively on a worse footing than before prices began to rise. This involves seeing that prices of food grains are not forced down out of parity with the other elements that go to make up the cost of living. This is a big matter in which I am keenly interested but on which I am not in a position to make any pronouncement as the fixing of prices is not primarily the concern of my Department.

The cultivator's second need is an assured water supply, if he is not to continue to practise his calling as a kind of gamble on the rains. Under the head water-supply I would include not only the provision of irrigation facilities through wells, tanks, canals, etc., but the preservation of water in fields by the construction of embankments and bunds, and the prevention of flooding, water-logging and erosion. Much has already been done in the way of big scale irrigation projects in the Punjab, the U. P., Sind and Madras. Much can probably still be done even in war time on smaller projects. Mr. Lawson will be glad to know that we have, within the last ten days, offered the provinces, at the expense of the Central Government, the services of an expert in irrigation to help them to put into effect schemes of this kind which have hitherto been pigeon-holed for lack of funds.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Who is this expert?

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** Sir William Stamp. This offer, if accepted, should result in benefits which will long outlast the war.

**Sir F. E. James:** Please don't pigeon-hole his report.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** So long as I am here, it will not be pigeon-holed.

Finally, the cultivator needs security. Security of tenure is reasonably well assured by existing legislation. The principal security problem—and in many ways it is the crux of the whole problem—is that of prices for agricultural produce,—to ensure for the cultivator some level (in relation to the general cost of living) below which prices will not be allowed to fall in peace time—something perhaps on the lines of the “ever-normal granary” proposal which has received so much attention in the U. S. A. and in England. Under such a system, a surplus over normal would be stored against the eventuality of a lean year and prices would thereby be maintained in a bumper year (by the taking of as much as was necessary off the market for storage) and would be kept down in years of shortage. My point is that it is little use giving the cultivator improved seed cheap manure and plentiful water if, when a bumper crop matures, he has to sell his crop at a price which leaves him with less margin to meet his own purchases than he enjoyed before.

It is planning ahead on lines like these that I think my friends of the European Group wish to see undertaken. While I agree with them as to the need, I hope they will not under-estimate the difficulties. Crop planning in the conditions obtaining at the moment is not very difficult as so many of the factors are known or calculable. For example, we know that we have to feed ourselves, with next to no help from outside, while, even if we have a surplus, we shall be unable to export very much of it for lack of shipping facilities. We know also that, merely to feed ourselves, we can safely afford to go “all out” for maximum production of food crops to that end. Even so, the matter is not entirely free from difficulty. In the *kharif* we succeeded in increasing the acreage under food crops by 8 million acres, largely by replacing short-staple cotton by food crops. We are now faced with the problem how to retain this area under food crops without making the producers feel that they have been losers by the diversion. A comparison of current prices of short-staple cotton and the alternative food crops will eloquently explain my meaning.

[Sir Jogendra Singh.]

Crop planning for the post-war period raises more difficult problems still. What world conditions are we planning to meet? What is to be our attitude as regards Burma rice or Australian wheat? Can we say now—ought we to say now—that we wish to be self-sufficient and not to import these in future?

These are all large matters of policy on which the House will not expect me to make any pronouncement. I can only say that they are very prominent in my mind. They are problems of what, after the last war, we used to call "Reconstruction". On this subject I can assure the House,—and this, I think, is what the House wishes to be assured of . . .

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

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** Just two minutes, Sir. What the House wishes to be assured of is that reconstruction problems are already much to the fore. Government have no intention of waiting till the war is over to mature their reconstruction plans. To do so would be to risk "winning the war but losing the peace". On some subjects progress has already been made. The setting up of a reconstruction committee dealing specifically with agriculture and agricultural policy cannot but be among the steps to be taken. The debate has afforded an opportunity for the expression of views and suggestions to which due regard will be paid. Personally, I welcome this debate on a subject which is very near my heart. The European Group have done a great service in bringing the matter prominently before the House. The subject matter of the debate vitally affects more than four-fifths of our population which is directly dependent on agriculture for a living. This alone is a measure of the importance of the subject. Government are in full sympathy with the object of the motion and I can assure the House that the suggestions made today will receive my closest attention. I am confident that in the circumstances the mover will agree that his object has been served and that he will withdraw the motion.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** May I ask the Honourable Member if he will ask the Bihar Government to adopt the same legislation regarding consolidation of holdings as is prevalent in his own province of Punjab?

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** I can draw their attention.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali** (Lucknow and Fyzabad Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have listened with great attention to what the Government have said in reply and the speeches that have been made on the floor of the House today, especially from the European Group. This is the first time in the life of this Assembly that the European Group has taken such keen interest in the agriculturist of India. Having travelled long and wide distances in this country in connection with the Committee on Co-operation, I know very well the conditions prevailing all over India. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, when he was speaking, showed that he knew something about co-operative societies. He said that a zamindar, if he wants money, simply drags his poor tenants and brings them to the Central Bank or co-operative society and there he forms a society but when the time comes for the repayment of loans, he runs away. My friend has shown colossal ignorance of the working of the co-operative banks. I have experience of the whole of India, including Burma. The position is that if a zamindar wants money he will very seldom join with his tenants and borrow money from the co-operative bank, inasmuch as under the co-operative society's rules and regulations, the first condition is one of joint responsibility. When it is a case of joint responsibility, how can my friend say that a zamindar would absolve himself of all responsibilities and duties.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** Is it joint everywhere? It is not so.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** Read the Act. You have not read the Act.

**The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh:** It is joint responsibility.

**Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** In practice it is not so.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** If you enter as a member of a co-operative bank, you cannot break the rules and regulations. So, this proposition of my friend that a zamindar leaves his tenants when he joins the co-operative bank and that the tenants suffer is not correct. The case is quite otherwise. If a zamindar joins a co-operative society, the Central Bank generally saddles the zamindar with all the debts and the zamindar has to pay and liquidate all the debts of his tenants.

**Mr. Lalchand Navarai:** Come one day to Sind and see for yourself.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali:** In Burma, the co-operative societies flourished to an extent that we did not dream of in India and the reason was that the Europeans living in Burma and even people in England came to the help of the co-operative banks in Burma, just as in the Punjab, co-operation has succeeded because our banker friends in the Punjab have done a lot for the co-operative working in the Punjab and, therefore, today we find that the co-operative banks in the Punjab are in a flourishing condition. I do not allege that in all the provinces co-operative banks are in a flourishing condition. Some of them are in a moribund condition and some are decaying. The reason is that the Local Governments have not been able to institute Provincial Banks to help the cultivators of their own provinces. If the Government or the European Group want to improve the condition of the cultivators they ought to come forward to provide money lavishly for the benefit of the cultivator. My friends of the European Group have suggested that the profits of the sterling loan should be divided between the industrialists and the cultivators. I welcome that suggestion. The Government may give money as a sort of subsidy, as my friend, Mr. Abdul Ghani, has said but what you give with your right hand you take away with your left hand. What do we find in every province today? The cultivator is taxed for war subscriptions. If you ask your poor naked tenants for subscriptions to your aircraft, your war loans, your parachutes and other war arrangements, how you can expect the cultivator to flourish. I want to say to the Government plainly that this collection of subscriptions for war are harassing the tenants everywhere, in every tahsil and every sub-division. These cultivators for whom you profess such lip sympathy will never flourish, unless and until, you see the conditions for yourself in the villages. You must see how they live, in what way they cultivate. The suggestion has been made that one method of improving his condition is to provide him with water for irrigation. We have got canals in the U. P. We have got canals in the Punjab but the taxes you levy are simply crushing the cultivators and killing them. Canal dues are prohibitive and badly realized. The only way to help the cultivators is for the Government and the European Group to find the money to help them. You should not take away with the left hand what you give with the right hand.

The cut motion is to the effect that we should discuss the means for the improvement of the condition of the cultivator. How can you do it? I would refer to the sad spectacle that you see in every Province today. If you go to the law courts, you will see the condition of the cultivator. Every law court, every small cause court, is full of cases between the *baniya* and the cultivator. The *baniya* forges pro-notes and advances money to the cultivator. He goes to the fields and gives the cultivator 20 or 30 rupees and jots it down in his note book that he gave the money on such and such date and at such and such rate. This pamphlet is the only evidence sometimes in the courts against the cultivators and decrees are passed on the strength of this evidence. The cultivator has no means of disputing this evidence. The decree is passed and what happens? The next day, the *baniya* takes the decree in his hand and goes to the cultivator's village with two chaprasis of the tahsil and robs the cultivator of his whole assets. Even the standing crop is taken away. Thus villages and villages are looted.

Sir, these are the facts which we have to look into. It is not enough to say what we should do and what we should not do. You should look into the facts.

[Mr. Muhaminad Azhar Ali.]

like a sympathetic man and then you will realise how the cultivator is suffering in India. You say you must provide him with good seed. But does the cultivator get good seed? No, he does not. He has to approach the Agriculture Department and my Indian friends can very well realise what process a man has to adopt when he approaches Government Departments. He knows how to get money; he knows how to get seed; he knows how to get help from anybody and everybody, but to repay them is his difficulty. Then other difficulties are in the way of the cultivator. It is not an easy job that we can here today say that if we do this or that for the cultivator, he will have money. You may have schemes but those schemes should be practical and ought to be considered in the light of the true perspective and not in the light that the industrialist should get so much money and so much money should be given to the cultivator. I am sure Government will not agree to this proposal of the European Group. Therefore, I know that the cultivator will get nothing. It is only lip sympathy that has been shown to him. Still, because the European Group has taken up this subject, I am glad that the Government has promised to do something for the poor cultivator and I shall wait to see, if I live, what the Government does for the poor cultivator of India.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the cut motion bases a very ambitious programme on a somewhat elusive prosperity of the cultivator. My Honourable friends of the European Group want the permanent rehabilitation of agriculture on a partial and somewhat elusive prosperity of the war period. I, therefore, very respectfully ask them to be careful that they do not ride for a fall. The assumption that today the agriculturist is prosperous is somewhat an exaggerated one. Perhaps my Honourable European friends do not know that nearly 540 lakhs of tillers of the land are landless labourers. Therefore, there can obviously be no agricultural prosperity for them except such wages as they get which often do not exceed two annas a day or even less or food, clothing and shelter given by the peasant proprietor who employs them. These people have got no prospects of a prosperity and unless this large section is absorbed in some kind of rapid industrialisation, the rehabilitation of agriculture will remain a dream. The fact that 80 per cent. of the population of this country depend for their living on agriculture is not a matter on which we have to congratulate ourselves but it is a matter on which we have to condole with ourselves that this large percentage still continues to be a pressure on land as they have done for so many years. Next to that is the very large fragmentation of holdings which makes the lot of peasant proprietors no better than that of landless labourers. I do not know what the condition in all parts of India is but I can confidently say about my province of Bombay that the fragmentation has reached the limit beyond which it cannot possibly go and even today it has reached the disastrous limit. Our Government have tried to remedy this situation and they have met with little success. Therefore, after you have eliminated the landless labourer who remains to be provided for in the scheme of my European friends, they are next to meet this unheard of sub-fragmentation which practically makes the holding uneconomic. What the three lakhs of the mill hands and other workers in Bombay earn in mills they pay by way of land revenue for their fragmented holdings. Even today it is a wrong assumption to say that they are prosperous because as against such higher price that they may be getting the market rate is not what they get. The Ralli Brothers, the Volkart Brothers, Sasoon and Company and all the fraternity of the wholesale purchasers are in the field long before the man even knows that the market has risen. And they buy him out. His needs are so great that he agrees to be bought out. He has to pay for the house; he has to pay even to the co-operative societies; he has to pay to the Government; he has to pay for his salt, for his kerosene oil, for the little rags that he gives

his children and for an occasional wedding or funeral among his family members. Besides, the prices of these articles have risen much more than the prices of agricultural commodities. Therefore, let there be no delusion that amongst the large class of agriculturists this war time prosperity even exists. The prosperity, where it may exist, can reasonably be supposed to rest amongst large landed proprietors who are not addicted to modern vices but who live their old time methods of conventional existence. These people have got some money. But the landlords who come to Calcutta must be ruined men and in my province, at any rate, there are not many large land-holders. Amongst the Sindhi landlords, all that I heard from late Mr. Bhurgari, who was a landlord himself, was that their lot was not over-happy; that they were sufficiently oppressive on the tenant and they were sufficiently under the thumb of the money-lender. That was his version some years ago; I do not know if they are better off now. Therefore, this idea that any substantial section of the agriculturist community today is prosperous is wrong. Even if it is partially true, then this prosperity is for a year or two. On that, if you want to build any large scheme of rehabilitation, you are likely to be disappointed. Then I heard of agriculturist being weaned from some supposed traditional vices or evil habits which have become the stock-in-trade of the most ignorant people. What is it that the agriculturist wastes his money on? There are people who talk of the extravagance of the agriculturist, of his supposed idleness for four months or six months in the year. Do they know whether that is a fact? There is a proverb in the vernacular that the peasant is never unemployed. In the busy season he is either sowing or reaping or weeding or harvesting and then marketing. When that season is over, he has to prepare for the next season. In between he has to arrange for his bullocks and other implements of agriculture. So, there is no time in the year when the agriculturist is lazy. This superstition of the agriculturist being idle for six months is a calculated propaganda and has no foundation in fact.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** Who said all this?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** You said that the cultivator was wasteful.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** I am sorry to interrupt the Honourable Member, but I never said that he was wasteful. What my Honourable friend, Mr. Gray, said, was that on deaths and marriages he incurs very heavy expenditure in ceremonial; expenditure more heavy than he should be called upon to bear.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am going to say that is a superstition and it is a belief calculated to mislead people. What is an agriculturist? Is he a human being or not? Has he any human rights or not? If a child is born, can he eat some sweets or not? What is intended by that which you call extravagance? What has he to do when a marriage takes place? What was described by Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta in 1904, is as true today, as it was then. The so-called extravagance of weddings consists of rice and little *gur* and some ghee, if there is any—an infinitesimal amount. That is all about extravagance. At the time of marriage or wedding has he no right to offer some sweets to his guests. You have a right to attend races all the year round, and this poor man, if he has got some little family ceremony, you envy him and you call him extravagant. After all he does nothing, he is the most simple man with simple mode of living that we find in India. The remedy is not to blame him or deny him a little simple enjoyment and call him extravagant. You will not be able to improve the conditions of agriculturist unless you first of all divest yourself of the superstition under which you are labouring about the agriculturists. They are the most hardworked lot. They rarely get any joy out of life. Thank God, they are very religious. They reconcile themselves to any condition. They do not blame you. You might know of their fate if you examine the land revenue system of the Government. This has been described, as the highest burden on the agriculturists. I do not find that the Honourable



[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

the Mover of this cut motion has given any suggestions that the land revenue burden should be reduced. In a way in the Taxation Enquiry Committee this question was particularly excluded from the purview of that Committee. Government are so conscious of the skeleton in the cupboard that they have never charged any Committee with the question of examining the land revenue system. Therefore, I wish to say to him, first you know the problem. And that problem is even today in the war time when prosperity has come to some extent, no doubt, to a certain section of the community, but undoubtedly a large bulk of the agriculturists are still dwelling in poverty and destitution.

I agree with your electricity scheme. I agree with my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, that many Provincial Governments have got irrigation schemes which have been shelved for want of money for a number of years, and that they should be put into effect. To that extent I am absolutely wholeheartedly at one with that suggestion. In my own Province, for a short time it was my privilege to be Revenue Minister, and during that period I got out all those shelved documents to which my Honourable friend referred. I did my little bit in that respect. Sir, I agree 100 per cent. with my friends of the European Group, but they must also realise the sad plight of the poor agriculturist. I might tell them that rapid industrialisation of the country is one of the first essentials for improving the conditions of a large section of the community which today is very hard pressed. They must realise that for rehabilitation of agriculture in India rapid industrialisation is absolutely necessary. Sir, I think, if you really want to rehabilitate agriculture in this country, the first and foremost thing for you is to assure that in normal peace time the agriculturist gets the wages of his labour. What are wages for the industrial worker are prices to the agriculturist. But they know very well that wages of an agriculturist are even one anna or two annas as against six or seven annas or more of the lowest paid industrial worker. I say the problem is primarily the removal of indebtedness in every province. That indebtedness is very great. The Honourable the Mover of this motion read out a quotation from the Report of the Agricultural Commission which is still true today as it was in 1927 when the Agricultural Commission sat.

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

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Therefore, I say, remove first of all this indebtedness. It will pay the Government and it will pay the country, if it is taken over by the State, and debentures are issued to the creditors at four per cent. or three per cent. bond for the proved and adjusted amount. What amount of saving in interest it will mean can be counted by crores.

Now, Sir, I cannot agree with the Honourable Member in charge of the Department that the co-operative movement has been a success in my province. There the peasant is unable to pay even the interest on his loans. Interest is in arrears and repayment of loans is also very much in arrears. Co-operative societies are very often considered worse than *sahukars*. Therefore, Sir, as I understand the problem, remove indebtedness and rent, tax burden, give the agriculturist in peace time normal prices for his produce, then we can safely pass on to the method of industrialisation and rehabilitation of agriculture in India.

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam** (Surma Valley *cum* Shillong: Non-Muhammadian):

Mr. President, my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson, has brought before this House a very good suggestion for the improvement of agriculture. The question has been discussed threadbare in this House. All those problems and implications which were considered by the Royal Commission on Agriculture have been considered by this House. The Honourable Member in charge in giving a reply showed his sympathy towards the objects of this motion. Sir, I want to point

out that the financial problem is the most acute problem with regard to agriculture. The cultivator in India is willing to take advantage of the opportunities presented to him, by science, wise laws and good administration. But he is economically unfit to take advantage of these. Viewed from this angle of vision, poverty is the only political problem of India. Sir, these people cannot buy their plough cattle. There are many agriculturists who are sitting idle, because it is not possible for them to buy one ordinary bullock which cost Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 not to speak of better breeds.

I wholeheartedly support the suggestion of my friend, Mr. Mehta, that rapid industrialisation of the country should be seriously considered because that step will reduce the pressure on lands and the poverty problem of the rural people will be solved to a large extent by this method. But still there are those who will be left to agriculture and their financial problem ought to be solved by the Government. The thing is that these poor people cannot improve their own lot, they cannot improve their conditions. Every condition favourable for their improvement should be created by the Government themselves. All the resources of the State should be brought to bear on the problem of rural uplift. It must be said to the discredit of the Central and the Provincial Governments that the conclusions reached by the Royal Commission on Agriculture and their recommendations were not given effect to by any of the Governments, Central or Provincial. It was in 1928 that the Royal Commission worked, and now we are in 1943, still the results of the Commission have not reached the poor cultivators and poor villagers. The duty of the Government is to make the results of its labours available to the villagers. The expert conclusions reached by the Commission should be brought to the door of the cultivators, so that agriculture might improve.

I shall not take up much of the time of the House in dilating on this subject and on the different processes. I shall refer to one point which has not been touched upon by any of the Honourable Members or the Honourable Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands. Agricultural banks should be established throughout the country. The Reserve Bank has not been able so far to help the formation or promotion of these Banks. The Reserve Bank must now be able to help the establishment of these Banks with the help of the accumulated sterling surplus lying idle in England. My Honourable friend, Sir F. E. James, suggested the utilisation of sterling balances for the improvement of agriculture and I wholeheartedly approve that suggestion. This is the only way in which agricultural banks could be established with Government help throughout India, in every Province in every district and in every sub-division and in every village. If we can utilise the sterling reserves lying idle in England for the establishment of agricultural banks throughout the country, it will be a noble thing done for the good of our people. With these words, I support the motion of my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Sir, I should like to ask the Honourable Member in charge, if he is in a position to do so, to answer one or two questions which I will put to him. Has he examined the possibility of importing Australian wheat in 1943-44 and if so, what quantity and at what price? If it is possible to answer, he may do so now, or he may answer later on. About the import of rice from Burma, I shall not touch upon that, because it is a problematical proposition and India is not in a position to say anything about it. But as regards import of wheat from Australia, that is an important question. If we make our allotment for 1943-44, then this fact will have to be taken into consideration.

The next point to which I should like to draw attention is that while the Provincial Governments have legislated to safeguard the interests of the tenants against landlords, they have taken no action whatsoever, so far as I am aware, to safeguard the interests of the village tenants against *sahukars* and *baniyas*.

[Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad.]

When I put a question on this, I was told that this practice of money lending has been going on from time immemorial and, therefore, there was no reason why the Government should intervene now. In this argument, the Government forget one factor, which is important, that from time immemorial, once in every fifty years, there used to occur revolutions when the books of the *baniyas* were destroyed. They all started on a clean slate. We have no such possibility now in this country. We have been living for a long time past in peace and no factor has arisen to disturb the peace and bring about the destruction of the *baniya's* account books. Some method ought to be devised to protect these villagers against the ravages of the *baniyas*, against the moneylending class. This is really the greatest problem and so far no province has taken any action in this direction. They did not dare to take any action. Some persons were thinking on these lines, but they could not secure proper votes for legislating on this point. The Provincial Governments have always been weak and no action was taken by them. If the Central Government is bold enough to take some action on these lines and safeguard the interest of these tenants against the moneylending class, then and then alone there is some possibility of having some little comfort in the family of the poor tenant. These are some of the points to which I want to draw the attention of the Honourable Member in Charge of the Department and I want him to consider these points.

**Mr. O. P. Lawson:** Sir, I beg leave to withdraw my motion.

The motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There are only five minutes left and no further cut motions can be taken up now.

In putting the remaining Demands to the vote of the House, I propose not to repeat the words "to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1944", which occur in each of the 82 Demands. In this way unnecessary repetition will be avoided and much time will be saved. Honourable Members know quite well that the votes on these Demands are required for the financial year ending on the 31st March, 1944. In the proceedings, however, each question put by me will be recorded in its present form, *that is*, including the words which I have considered unnecessary to read out each time.

#### DEMAND No. 1—CUSTOMS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 79,39,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Customs'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND No. 2—CENTRAL EXCISE DUTIES.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,50,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Central Excise Duties'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND No. 3—TAXES ON INCOME INCLUDING CORPORATION TAX.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 91,46,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Taxes on Income including Corporation Tax'."

The motion was adopted.

#### DEMAND No. 4—SALT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 79,39,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Salt'."

The motion was adopted.

THE GENERAL BUDGET

961

DEMAND No. 5—OPIUM.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 99,70,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Opium'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 6—PROVINCIAL EXCISE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,84,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Provincial Excise'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 7—STAMPS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,53,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Stamps'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 8—FOREST.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,09,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Forest'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 9—IRRIGATION (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES), NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Irrigation (including, Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 10—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES).

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,55,33,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 11—INTEREST ON DEBT AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS AND REDUCTION OR AVOIDANCE OF DEBT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 71,99,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Interest on Debt and Other Obligations and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 12—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,36,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Executive Council'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 13—COUNCIL OF STATE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Council of State'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 14—LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY  
DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,47,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Legislative Assembly and Legislative Assembly Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 16—CIVIL DEFENCE DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,35,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Civil Defence Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 17—DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,39,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Department of Information and Broadcasting'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 18—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,78,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Legislative Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 19—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,28,000 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, 1944, in respect of 'Department of Education, Health and Lands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 20—DEPARTMENT OF INDIANS OVERSEAS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,84,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Department of Indians Overseas'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 21—FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,46,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Finance Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 22—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,16,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Commerce Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 23—DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,84,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Department of Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 24—DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND AIR.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,13,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Department of Posts and Air'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 25—WAR TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,54,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'War Transport Department'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 26—FOOD DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,81,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Food Department'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 27—CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,23,000, 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 day of March, 1944, in respect of 'Central Board of Revenue'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 28—INDIA OFFICE AND HIGH COMMISSIONER'S ESTABLISHMENT CHARGES.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,95,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'India Office and High Commissioner's Establishment Charges'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 29—PAYMENTS TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS, DEPARTMENTS, ETC., ON ACCOUNT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS AND MANAGEMENT OF TREASURIES.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,06,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Payments to other Governments, Departments, etc., on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and Management of Treasuries'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 30—AUDIT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 89,81,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Audit'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 31—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 32—JAILS AND CONVICT SETTLEMENTS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,06,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Jails and Convict Settlements'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 33—POLICE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,63,10,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Police'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 84—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,25,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 35—LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,24,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 36—SURVEY OF INDIA.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,55,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 37—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 38—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,16,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 39—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,11,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 40—MINES.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,71,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 41—ARCHAEOLOGY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,09,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Archæology'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 42—METEOROLOGY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,24,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 43—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,32,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 44—EDUCATION.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,22,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Education'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 45—MEDICAL SERVICES.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,79,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Medical Services'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 46—PUBLIC HEALTH.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,09,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Public Health'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 47—AGRICULTURE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,72,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Agriculture'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 48—IMPERIAL COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,39,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Imperial Council of Agricultural Research'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 49—AGRICULTURAL MARKETING.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,43,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Agricultural Marketing'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 50—IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF SUGAR TECHNOLOGY.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 51—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,47,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 52—INDUSTRIES.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,38,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Industries'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 53—SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,49,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Scientific and Industrial Research'." The motion was adopted.



## DEMAND No. 54—AVIATION.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,48,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Aviation'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 55—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL AVIATION CHARGED TO REVENUE.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation charged to Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 56—BROADCASTING.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,64,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 57—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON BROADCASTING CHARGED TO REVENUE.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Broadcasting charged to Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 58—EMIGRATION—INTERNAL.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Emigration—Internal'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 59—EMIGRATION—EXTERNAL.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 60—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,96,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 61—CENSUS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Census'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 62—JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,92,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Joint-Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 63—IMPERIAL DAIRY DEPARTMENT.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,91,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Imperial Dairy Department'."

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 64—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,90,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Department'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 65—CURRENCY.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,83,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Currency'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 66—MINT.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 91,33,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Mint'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 67—CIVIL WORKS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,84,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Civil Works'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 68—CENTRAL ROAD FUND.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,70,00,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Central Road Fund'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 69—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20,44,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 70—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,46,72,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 71—MISCELLANEOUS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,21,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 72—MISCELLANEOUS ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments'." The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 73—CIVIL DEFENCE.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,16,39,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Civil Defence'." The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 74—DELHI.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,99,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 75—AJMER-MERWARA.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 31,06,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 76—PANTH PIPLODA.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Panth Piploda'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 77—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,10,08,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS—STORES SUSPENSE (NOT CHARGED TO REVENUE).

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,31,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs—Stores Suspense (not charged to Revenue)'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 79—DELHI CAPITAL OUTLAY.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,48,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Delhi Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 81—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,76,50,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Interest-Free Advances'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 82—LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

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

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,62,93,000, 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, 1944, in respect of 'Loans and Advances bearing Interests'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 11th March, 1943.