

15th September 1942

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(Official Report)

Volume III, 1942

(14th September to 24th September, 1942)

**SIXTEENTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
1942**

Chamber Furnigated... 18/X/22



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

Legislative Assembly

President :

THE HONOURABLE SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I.

Deputy President :

MR. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.

MR. JAMNADAS M. MEHTA, M.L.A.

SIR HENRY RICHARDSON, M.L.A.

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR, BART., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.

Secretary :

MR. M. N. KAUL, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Assistants of the Secretary :

MR. KHAN BAHADUR S. G. HASNAIN.

MR. M. V. H. COLLINS.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUR AHMAD KHAN, M.C., I.O.M., I.A.

Committee on Petitions :

MR. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, M.L.A., *Chairman.*

SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.

MR. GOVIND V. DESHMUKH, M.L.A.

SIR ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.

MR. N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.

CONTENTS

VOLUME III.—14th September to 24th September, 1942.

	Pages.
MONDAY, 14TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—	
Members Sworn	1
Starred Questions and Answers	2—26
Statements laid on the Table	26—54
Deaths of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Seth Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney	55—59
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> —Extradition of Pandit Lakhpat Ram Sharma, Editor of the <i>Beski Rajya</i> —Ruled out of Order	60-61
Railway accident at the Burdwan Railway Station—Disallowed	61
Restrictions on the export of Raw Hides—Not moved	61
Failure to take measures for saving the Building and Record of Railway Clearing Accounts Office, Delhi—Not moved	62
Certain remarks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief—Disallowed by the Governor General	62
Government Policy in adopting the New Standard Time—Leave refused	62-63
H. E. the Governor General's assent to Bills	63-64
Statement laid on the Table <i>re</i> Net Earnings of recently constructed Railway Lines	64
Department of Education, Health and Lands Notification under the Destructive Insects and Pests Act	65
Indians Overseas Department Notification under the Indian Emigration Act	66
Statements laid on the Table	66-67

	Pages.
MONDAY, 14TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—contd.	
Amendments to certain Motor Vehicles Rules	67—76
Election of a Member to the Defence Consultative Committee	76
Election of a Member to the Advisory Committee for the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India	76—79
Election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Posts and Air Department	79
The Repealing and Amending Bill—Introduced	80
The Indian Rubber Control (Temporary Amendment) Bill—Introduced	80
The Indian Companies (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	80
The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	81
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	81
The Code of Civil Procedure (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	81
Resolution <i>re</i> Amendment of Rules governing the grant of Travelling and other Allowances to Members of the Indian Legislature—Amendment of Sir Henry Richardson adopted	81—85
TUESDAY, 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—	
Starred Questions and Answers	87—133
Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Alleged insult by the Delhi Police to Lady Volunteers picketing the Legislative Assembly Chamber—Ruled out of Order	134—36
Statement of Business	137

	<i>Pages</i>		<i>Pages.</i>
TUESDAY, 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—		MONDAY, 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1942—	
Home Department Declarations of Exemption under the Registration of Foreigners Act	137—40	Member Sworn	311
Motion <i>re</i> the Situation in India—Discussion not concluded	140—61	Starred Questions and Answers	311—24
WEDNESDAY, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—		Postponed Questions and Answers	325—30
Member Sworn	163	Short Notice Questions and Answers	330—37
Starred Questions and Answers	163—94	Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> the Alleged Maltreatment to Mr. and Mrs. S. N. Jauhar by the Delhi Police—Ruled out of order	337—39
Short Notice Questions and Answers	194—96	Election of a Member to the Advisory Committee for the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India	339—50
Election of a Member to the Defence Consultative Committee	196	The Indian Companies (Second Amendment) Bill—Passed	350—54
Election of Members to the Standing Committee for the Posts and Air Department	196	The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed	354—55
Home Department Declarations of Exemption under the Registration of Foreigners Act	196—97	The Code of Civil Procedure (Second Amendment) Bill—Passed	355—59
Amendments to the Insurance Rules	197—209	The Repealing and Amending Bill—Passed	359—63
Motion <i>re</i> The Situation in India—Discussion not concluded	210—31	TUESDAY, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1942—	
THURSDAY, 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—		Starred Questions and Answers	363—72
Member Sworn	233	Unstarred Questions and Answers	372—79
Starred Questions and Answers	233	Short Notice Questions and Answers	379—87
Nomination of the Panel of Chairmen	233	Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> Unsatisfactory Reply of the Finance Member in regard to early Opportunity for Discussion of certain Financial Arrangements between the British Government and the Government of India—Negatived	387—89
Committee on Petitions	234	The Indian Rubber Control (Temporary Amendment) Bill—Passed	389
Presentation of the Report of the Public Accounts Committee	234	The Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	390—99
Motion <i>re</i> The Situation in India—Discussion not concluded	234—71		
FRIDAY, 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—			
Starred Questions and Answers	273		
Unstarred Questions and Answers	273		
Motion <i>re</i> The Situation in India—Talked out	273—310		

	<i>Pages.</i>		<i>Pages.</i>
TUESDAY, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1942—contd.		WEDNESDAY, 23RD SEPTEMBER, 1942.—contd.	
The Reciprocity Bill— Referred to Select Committee	399—412	Motion for Adjournment re—contd.	
The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages (Amendment) Bill—Motion to continue adopted	413	Restrictions on Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, Dr. K. N. Katju and Detenus in the United Provinces—Disallowed .	458-59
The Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill— Motion to continue adopted	413	Maltreatment of Political Prisoners and Detenus in the United Provinces —Disallowed .	459
The Muslim Kazis Bill—Mo- tion to continue adopted .	413	Appointment of Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt to the Committee on Travelling and other Allowances to Members of the Indian Legislature .	459-60
The Indian Evidence (Amendment) Bill— Motion to continue adopted	413	Resolution re Ban on the Khaksar Movement— Adopted as amended .	460—86
The Legislative Members' Exemption Bill—Intro- duced	414	THURSDAY, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1942—	
The Aligarh Muslim Univer- sity (Amendment) Bill— Introduced	414	Member Sworn	487
The Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Bill—Intro- duced	414	Transferred Starred Ques- tions and Answers	487—506
Resolution re Ban on the Khaksar Movement—Dis- cussion not concluded .	414—18	Transferred Unstarred Ques- tions and Answers	507—09
WEDNESDAY, 23RD SEPTEMBER, 1942—		Short Notice Questions and Answers	510—17
Transferred Starred Ques- tions and Answers	435—53	Statement laid on the Table	517
Short Notice Questions and Answers	453—58	Report of the Committee on Travelling and other Allowances to Members of the Indian Legislature .	517
Motion for Adjournment re— Durban City Council's Move for Expropriation of Indian-owned Lands —Not moved	458	Resolution re Committee for Enquiry into the alleged Military and Police Ex- cesses—Discussion not concluded	518—44
		Election of Members to the Advisory Committee for the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India	544
		Appendix	545

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 15th September, 1942.

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.

RECENT LABOUR STRIKES IN INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS.

16. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour be pleased to state whether during recent weeks there have been labour strikes in important industrial undertakings, such as iron and steel, coal and textiles?

(b) If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to make a comprehensive statement dealing with the principal features of these strikes and giving in each case the issues on which the strike was declared, the number of persons involved and the duration of the strike?

The Honourable Dr. B. E. Ambedkar: (a) Certain important industrial undertakings did cease to work for certain periods during the previous five weeks. It is not in public interest to name them or particularize them.

(b) It is not in the public interest that the full information asked for should be given in respect of those industrial undertakings which are engaged on important war work.

2. In many cases cessation of work appears to have had no connection with economic grievances; in a few others cessation of work has been more in the nature of an ordinary strike with demands for increase in wages or dearness allowance.

3. Ahmedabad was the town in which cessation of work was the longest—here there were no economic grievances apparent and the mills have not yet reopened. In Bombay on no date were all mills closed, and cessation of work in those mills that did remain closed was only of short duration—here too no economic grievances were put forward. In Coimbatore where mills reopened and have closed again economic grievances were to some extent apparent.

4. Apart from the cessation of work in the textile mills of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Coimbatore, the number of industrial undertakings which employ more than a thousand workers each and in which work was stopped for any appreciable time, for reasons not purely economic, was only about a dozen. In about ten other undertakings employing about a thousand workers each, cessations of work were of a very short duration. The number of undertakings employing less than a thousand workers in which work was stopped since the 9th August for non-political reasons was less than 20

5. A large majority of cessations of work were in the provinces of Bombay and Bengal, only just over half a dozen occurring elsewhere.

6. The Government are not aware of any sabotage in industrial undertakings by persons who have ceased work.

7. As regards strikes from the second week of August, which are known to have occurred for purely economic reasons, these numbered about 24; only seven of the undertakings employ more than a thousand workers.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I ask whether it has been brought to the notice of the Government that some of the factories that closed allowed their workers to go out and paid them salaries for the day?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Government have no definite information beyond the statement already made. But there are indications that in some cases the things that have been referred to by my Honourable friend have in all probability occurred.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if these strikes closed on certain terms, or were they closed of themselves, or with the help of the Government, on certain conditions?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I do not follow the question.

Mr Lalchand Navalrai: The Honourable Member has said that some of these strikes ceased. Now, I am asking if they did do it on certain terms given by Government, or of their own will, or whether they ceased these strikes on any conditions?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: In some cases they went back of their own will.

Mr Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if any went on terms given by Government, and what were those terms?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No. I am not aware of any case where Government had to give any terms to ask labourers to resume work.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask, on the statement made by the Honourable Member whether the demands made by the workers of Bombay were placed before the Government? Whether he is aware that the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union had sent to the Bombay Government, more than a month ago, a statement regarding their demands about pay and other matters?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am aware that some demands were made, but the point that I wish to emphasize is this: that in no case in Bombay so far as I am aware, the making of grievances was the cause for the stoppage of work.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask if the Girni Kamgar Union sent their demands to the Bombay Government, and if, after that, there were strikes, what is the point in the Honourable Member stating that no economic demands were made, or no economic demands were the cause of the strike? How did he come by that?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have no report from the Government of Bombay, but the information to which my Honourable Member has referred, is the information which I have got from the papers.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask the Honourable Member to enquire from the Bombay Government whether they have taken any steps to remove grievances of the Bombay textile workers and consider the demands made by the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I ask the Honourable Member how many strikes there were in the textile mills of Bombay after the 8th/9th August?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: There were very few.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Can the Honourable Member give any indication of the pay of the Tata Iron and Steel Company workers? Were their specific demands sent to Government?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is not in the interests of the public to give any information.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Honourable Member know that it is published in the newspapers?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That may be so. Government will not take any responsibility.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: This report is from the Associated Press, one of the authorised agencies. It is stated that they struck work on the issue of a National Government in India.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I do not know what the Honourable Member means that the Associated Press is an authorised agency.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I am afraid the Honourable Member does not care to read the Government communiques.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I know whether it is a fact that all these strikes occurred after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, I cannot give definite information, but my impression is that these strikes were not spontaneous.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state the dates on which the strikes started? We can draw inferences therefrom.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Where? In what place?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: In Tata's.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: As I said, I am not prepared to give any information because it is not in the public interest to give any information.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I do not want the reasons for the strike or any such information; I want the dates on which the strikes were declared.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have stated that it will not be in the public interest to give any information.

Sardar Sant Singh: Is it a fact or not that all these strikes had occurred after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and does the Government believe or not that this shows the intensity of the movement and the following that Mahatma Gandhi has got in the country?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That is an argument; it is not a question.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether the strike at Jamshedpur has ended?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I believe it has.

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

PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES OF THE UTILISATION SECTION OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

17. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour be pleased to state whether a detailed programme has been drawn up in respect of activities of the newly started Utilisation Section of the Geological Survey of India?

(b) What are the minerals that are now intended to be included within the purview of such activities?

(c) Is it a fact that the Section will be concerned initially with pioneering work in respect of select minerals with the help of experts, while ultimately entrusting their exploitation to suitable commercial concerns?

(d) Is petroleum included among the minerals with which the Section is concerned?

(e) What practical steps have been taken so far for furtherance of the object of this Section, and in respect of what minerals and with the help of which experts, and with what ultimate object in view have such steps been taken?

(f) Are the efforts of the Utilisation Section co-ordinated with the activities of the organisations relating to Scientific and Industrial Research and Utilisation attached to the Commerce Department? If so, in what manner?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Yes. The programme is however, liable to alteration if there is urgent demand for a particular mineral.

(b) All minerals which are required for war purposes and for which there are reasonable prospects of working in India. These include sulphur, mica, tungsten or wolfram, and non-ferrous metals such as lead, zinc, copper and tin.

(c) The Utilisation Branch will with the help of experts prove deposits and undertake small-scale mining operations which may include the operation of experimental and pilot plants for smelting, etc., up to the stage

when it becomes clear that production can be undertaken by Commercial firms. It is the present intention (subject to the necessity of maintaining war production and to the circumstances of each case) that at that stage commercial development should be encouraged.

(d) No, according to present programme.

(e) The Utilisation Branch has already taken steps to examine the possibility of obtaining early production of lead and zinc. The most promising lead-zinc mines in India appear to be the mines at Zawar in Udaipur State. The Government of India, acting through Mr. W. P. Cowen, late General Manager of the Mawchi mines in Burma, negotiated with the Mewar Government. They secured the cancellation on payment of compensation of the lease of the mines held by a private company, and obtained a prospecting licence from the Mewar Government. Mr. Cowen was placed in charge of the operations and began work at the end of May 1942. Operations have been planned in two stages (1) a detailed plane-table survey and deep-drilling operations to be followed by (2) opening up of deposits and the erection of a pilot ore-dressing plant and smelters as soon as drilling operations establish the workability of the lode. As a result of the Survey's progress so far made it is hoped that it will be possible to obtain information regarding the "payability" of the lode earlier than was originally expected. Most of the machinery required by Mr. Cowen in the way of drilling equipment, etc., has now arrived. Two Mining Engineers, one Mechanical Engineer, two Metallurgists and three Surveyors have been appointed to assist Mr. Cowen.

Exploitation of the sulphur deposits in the extinct volcano of Koh-i-Sultan, has been taken over by the Utilisation Branch from the Supply Department and a Superintending Geologist of the Geological Survey of India is in charge of the operations.

The Branch is also engaged in an endeavour to stimulate the production of mica. A Superintending Geologist of the Geological Survey of India is in charge of a newly-formed Mica Production Section. It will be the work of the Branch to give all possible assistance to mica miners in obtaining the supplies necessary for increasing production.

Investigations have also been taken in hand by the Branch regarding wolfram, copper, etc., and a possibility regarding tin is receiving urgent consideration.

The ultimate object is to make India as self-sufficient as possible in respect of minerals which are needed for the war effort.

(f) Yes; the Director, Scientific and Industrial Research and a Senior official of the Commerce Department are members of the Advisory Body which has been set up to assist this Branch.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I enquire, when the Honourable Member was referring to certain types of technical staff, if they are all British officials evacuated from Burma?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: With regard to the two mining engineers referred to in my reply to this part of the question, the information is this: the two gentlemen employed as mining engineers are Mr. Smith and Mr. Robottam.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Do they all come from Burma?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: They are Burmese evacuees. Under them there are two probationers; both of them are Indians. Then the mechanical engineer is one Mr. Symes. He is also an evacuee. Of the two metallurgists, one is an Indian—Mr. Narayan—and the other is Mr. Fleming. There are three surveyors with regard to sulphur; they are all Indians. I may say that the reason why we had to employ these Burmese evacuees is because they are the only people who happened to know something about mining in regard to lead and zinc. They are all taken from the Mawchi mines; and probably the Honourable Member knows that the Mawchi mines in Burma are the only mines which are lead and zinc mines. We had no expert from anywhere else. The policy of the Department is this, that while in the first place the necessity of employing Europeans who have experience in the mining of lead and zinc is inevitable, the department is taking steps that wherever a European is appointed there shall be appointed under him an Indian to be trained so that when the European vacates the Indian would be able to take charge of the department.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The Honourable Member said just now that Mr. Cowen started work at the end of May 1942, and that in regard to these non-ferrous metals, zinc and lead, the appointment of British officials was inevitable. When did it occur to the Government of India to have these mines explored? Was it after the fall of Burma, so as to provide for these gentlemen who have been thrown out of employment?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I cannot give an answer to that question.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: When did the Government first take it into their head to have these mines worked in India? What have they been doing all this time?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Probably quite spontaneously; without reference to anything external.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask whether the need for working these mines was felt as a necessity to provide for the war effort, or was it to provide these evacuees from Burma with some jobs?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Certainly not; the supplies from Burma having ceased it was necessary for the Government of India to exploit their own resources.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: With reference to clause (d) of the question, my Honourable friend stated that petroleum was not included among the minerals at the present moment. Has petroleum been excluded from the programme as a matter of discretion with the department or because the Government has been committed to some other agency for the development of petroleum in India?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Not at all. My answer was that for the present the programme does not include it; it does not mean that it is excluded from the programme altogether.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Will the Honourable Member be surprised if I were to tell him that Dr. Fox made a statement on the 6th of July, a portion of which I referred to yesterday, somewhat to that effect?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I would like to say this to my Honourable friend, that Dr. Fox does not decide the policy of the Government of India.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: But Dr. Fox may at least be expected to be truthful. Anyway, may I ask another very short question? My Honourable friend stated that the Udaipur Durbar had to be persuaded to cancel the lease in respect of lead and zinc mines in that State, which had already been granted to a private party. Before getting the Udaipur Durbar obligingly to cancel this lease, was any attempt made by the Government to find out whether an agreement could not be arrived at with that private party for the purpose of enabling whatever activities the department wanted to carry on, to be carried on?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I must have notice of that question.

ORDINANCES PROMULGATED SINCE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR.

18. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable the Law Member please state if the Governor General consults the Governor General in Council, either formally or informally, while making and promulgating Ordinances for the peace and good government of British India in cases of emergency?

(b) Does any Department of Government or any individual officer thereof, render any assistance to the Governor General either in the determination of the lines on which an Ordinance may be made or in its drafting?

(c) How many Ordinances have been promulgated by the Governor General since the outbreak of the war, while the legislature was either actually in session, or within ten days of the commencement of a session, or within ten days after a session had terminated?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: (a) It would be wholly opposed to established practice to make public the arrangements which prevail in a matter of this nature and I regret that I am unable to furnish the information desired by the Honourable Member.

(b) The Honourable Member may take it that the services of the Official Draftsman and of all Departmental officers concerned with the relevant subject-matter are available in connection with the making of Ordinances.

(c) Sixteen.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: In view of the statement made by the Honourable Member that it is not the practice of the Government of India to tell the House how the different elements in the Government of India Act, may I ask whether he is aware that recently statements have been made that Indian Members of the Executive Council have acted in a particular way in a particular situation?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: This has nothing to do with the question under reply.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Would I be right in assuming, that although the authority for the promulgation of Ordinances is the Governor General, the decision as to the necessity for arming the Government with sufficient powers as given under any particular Ordinance—the responsibility for deciding upon the line which an Ordinance should pursue—does not lie with the Government?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: I have already answered that question in my reply to part (a).

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I know if any actual advice has been tendered by the Executive Council to the Governor General? I do not want to know the content of the advice tendered, but I want to know whether or not it is a fact that some form of advice is tendered by the Executive Council to the Governor General in the matter of promulgation of an Ordinance?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: I am afraid I cannot furnish the information.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if it is a fact that the Government of India Act allows Ordinances to be issued only in rare instances and not on subjects on which the Legislatures can legislate? Have the Government of India advised the Governor General not to issue these Ordinances so frequently and on so many subjects when it is the right of the Legislatures to legislate?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: I have replied to this question in reply to a query put by Mr. Navalrai some time in February last.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I should like to know what the present position now is—whether, since the Honourable Member answered that question, there have been several occasions on which Ordinances have been issued. I am asking the Honourable Member, if in view of what the law requires, the Government of India have advised the Governor General not to issue so many Ordinances on every matter of detail.

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: The Government of India have got nothing to do with the promulgation of Ordinances. That is entirely the authority of the Governor General. My Honourable friend may rest assured that the Governor General has taken all the advice necessary for the purpose.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask whether the Government of India have tendered their advice to the Governor General that the Legislature, especially this House, resents this rule by the Ordinances over the head of the Legislature and expression was given in respect to this in this House during the last Session as well?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: I am not sure about resentment at all to begin with, and, secondly, this is a question which I cannot answer as I have already informed the Honourable Member.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask if the Honourable Members who now compose the Government of India do not feel it humiliating that rule by Ordinance is prevalent in India?

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

Mr. K. O. Neogy: May I put one question? Have the Government of India ever conveyed to the Governor General the undesirability of issuing Ordinances when the Assembly was actually in session?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: No, Sir.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Why not?

The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed: Because by the India and Burma Emergency Act it is not necessary to do so. The Governor General can issue such Ordinances any time he likes and when he considers necessary. It is entirely his authority.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I know whether it is the practice that every Member of the Council issues an Ordinance pertaining to his department without any reference to his colleagues?

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

POSITION CONCERNING STOCKS AND PRODUCTION OF WHEAT, RICE, ETC.

19. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce be pleased to state what the present position is as regards stocks of wheat, rice and important subsidiary cereals, respectively, in India, Province by Province, and what are the estimates of production thereof during the next season in each Province?

(b) To what extent are the locust menace, and the floods in certain areas and ill-distributed or deficient rainfall in others, likely to affect the future crop prospects?

(c) What is the average *per capita* figure of human requirement, as well as the standard requirement in respect of seed and cattle food, on the basis of which the sufficiency or otherwise of the production and supply of foodgrains in India is calculated in any year?

(d) How does each Province stand, judged by the above standards, in point of self-sufficiency in normal average years, as compared with the present year?

(e) To what extent has the production of primary foodgrains in India as well as important subsidiary cereals kept pace with the increase in population in the last two census periods?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) No figures regarding the present stocks of wheat, rice and important cereals in India are available. A statement giving a forecast of production for those foodgrains is laid on the table.

(b) The information is not available at present but revised estimates of *khari* production have been asked for from Provinces and States.

(c) "The annual *per capita* figure of human requirement" is rather an ambiguous phrase. In the absence of exact figures of consumption, the practice has been to calculate the annual requirements of each area by taking the average production during a period of years, adding thereto the average imports and deducting the average exports: the resultant figure is deemed to include requirements for seed. Cattle are mostly fed on stalks, straw and grass, with oil cakes as concentrates. These do not enter into competition with human food.

(d) A statement based on the method of calculation explained in reply to part (c) is laid on the table. It may be added that figures for maize, ragi and other millets have to be added to the annual cereal requirements and production and that these additions are appreciable in some provinces.

(e) According to the published statistics, there has been no substantial alteration in the total production of food grains during the 20 years 1921—1941.

Statement giving a Forecast of Production of Principal Foodgrains in the various Provinces in 1942-43.

Production in 000 tons.

	Rice.	Wheat.	Millets.	Gram.
Assam	1,867	..	..	20
Bengal	8,982	45	3	89
Bihar	3,097	498	40	439
Bombay	1,120	487	2,023	91
C. P. & Berar	2,254	711	1,197	226
Madras	4,798	..	1,973	12
N.-W. F. P. . . . .	..	259	30	27
Orissa	1,557	1	11	2
Punjab	320	4,117	424	656
Sind	382	378	165	55
U. P.	2,226	2,756	806	1,680
Coorg	56	..	..	..
Delhi . . . . .	..	18	12	8

Statement showing the Surplus/Deficit position of the Principal Foodgrains in the various Provinces in 1942-43, as compared with the normal position.

Normal (in 000 tons).

This year (in 000 tons).

Region.	Crop.	Normal (in 000 tons).		This year (in 000 tons).		
		Annual Production.	Deficit.	Surplus.	Deficit in 1942-43.	Surplus in 1942-43.
Assam	Rice	1,790	1,797	7	1,466	324
	Wheat	—16	..	16	..	16
	Gram	—3	..	3	..	3
Bengal	Rice	8,866	8,802	64	10,217	1,351
	Wheat	286	45	241	41	245
	Millets	4	3	1	3	1
	Gram	117	779	38	79	38

Region	Crop	Normal (in 000 tons).			This year (000 tons).		
		Annual Production require-ments.	Deficit.	Surplus.	Production in 1941-42.	Deficit in 1942-43.	Surplus in 1942-43.
Bihar	Rice	3,243	3,052	191	2,747	496	..
	Wheat	456	418	38	485	..	29
	Millets	40	40	..	18	22	..
	Gram	419	439	..	20	482	63
Bombay	Rice	1,512	1,030	482	780	723	..
	Wheat	700	463	237	364	336	..
	Millets	1,867	1,813	54	1,813	54	..
	Gram	157	1,374	66	85	72	..
Central Pro- vinces & Berar.	Rice	2,032	2,224	..	192	1,214	818
	Wheat	639	661	..	22	406	233
	Millets	1,034	1,027	7	..	939	95
	Gram	186	206	..	20	197	11
Coorg	Rice	56	56	..	..	60	4
Delhi	Rice	11	..	11	..	..	11
	Wheat	59	18	41	..	11	48
	Millets	15	12	3	..	12	3
	Gram	21	8	13	..	8	13
Madras	Rice	5,359	4,581	778	..	5,080	279
	Wheat	—29	..	29	..	..	29
	Millets	1,907	1,893	14	..	1,893	14
	Gram	155	12	143	..	12	143
N.-W. F. P.	Rice	6	..	6	..	..	6
	Wheat	260	259	1	..	263	3
	Millets	30	30	..	..	30	..
	Gram	31	27	4	..	27	4
Orissa	Rice	1,341	1,527	..	186	1,380	39
	Wheat	10	1	9	..	1	9
	Millets	11	11	..	..	11	..
	Gram	2	2	..	..	2	..
Punjab	Rice	318	320	..	2	299	19
	Wheat	3,247	3,920	..	673	4,350	1,103
	Millets	382	367	15	..	530	148
	Gram	557	656	..	99	651	94
Sind	Rice	332	482	..	1,502	392	60
	Wheat	328	378	..	50	412	84
	Millets	195	215	..	20	215	20
	Gram	71	55	16	..	55	16
United Pro- vinces.	Rice	2,316	2,111	205	..	1,581	635
	Wheat	2,604	2,676	..	72	2,647	43
	Millets	683	771	..	88	842	159
	Gram	1,592	1,680	..	88	1,680	88

NOTE 1.—The figures for rice, wheat and millets in Bombay include the Bombay States and Baroda.

NOTE 2.—The figures for rice and wheat for the Central Provinces and Berar include those for the Central Provinces States.

NOTE 3.—The figures for rice and wheat for the Punjab, Sind and the United Provinces include those for the corresponding Indian States.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: With reference to the Honourable Member's answer to part (c) of the question, where he said that he could not understand what was meant by "the average *per capita* figure of human requirement", is the Honourable Member aware that this very matter has engaged the attention of many students of economics who have published their articles in various journals, including an Assistant Wheat Commissioner of the Government of India whose name was Mr. O'Byrne? He made the calculation that we require between five and six maunds of grains per head for human consumption alone. Apart from that, does the Honourable Member know that there are famine codes prescribed for the different provinces which lay down, not on a very liberal scale, the requirements of human consumption in times of need?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: Yes, Sir. I am aware of those facts. I am aware also of the perhaps somewhat more authoritative estimate of human requirement that was made by Dr. Aykroyd and endorsed by Sir John Russell. But, Sir, the difficulty is that the estimates given in those cases are, in most cases anyhow, for total diet. If I had wished to take advantage of the opportunity offered by my Honourable friend, I could have said that Sir John Russell and Dr. Aykroyd considered that 15 ozs. of cereals per head per day are what the human frame in India requires, and I could have pointed out that that required a total of some 508 lakh tons of cereals per year and that India produces 600 lakh tons of cereals per year. But I did not take advantage of that opportunity because the figure of 15 ozs. of cereals per day is conditional on a number of other elements being present, such as 3 ozs. of pulses, 10 ozs. of vegetables, 2 ozs. of fats and oils, 2 ozs. of fruits, and 8 ozs. of milk. Sir, the position is that while we have ample production of cereals and pulses, I am not sure that, over India as a whole, we have ample production of vegetables, fats, oils and fruits, and I know that, unfortunately, over India as a whole, we have a production of only about 5 ozs., as against a desideratum of 8 ozs. of milk; and therefore, Sir, I thought it unfair to take advantage of a reference to food grains only and I have not therefore given a reply based on any assumed figure of human requirement.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I should be much obliged to the Honourable Member if he could give an idea to this House about the position of food grains alone judged with reference to the famine code figures.

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I must ask for notice of that. That is not the original question.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is the Honourable Member aware that in the reference he made to Dr. Aykroyd and Sir John Russell of 15 ounces of cereals for every adult human being, the context there was entirely different. He was talking there in terms of the calorific value of food and what he was postulating there was that 2000 calories were required for an average. That has nothing to do with the question here.

Mr. J. D. Tyson: But you cannot divorce human requirements of cereals from requirements in the other foodstuffs that may be available.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Does the Honourable Member know that there have been very large and damaging floods in Sind and that the cultivation in two districts has been destroyed? What arrangements have the Government made to know how much damage has been done and how Government is going to provide for foodstuffs in a large part of Sind?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I am grateful to my Honourable friend for his supplementary question. There has unfortunately been serious damage in Sind. Though we have no detailed figures yet from the Government of Sind, it is quite clear that great loss has been caused to the *kharif* crop; but within the last few days we have had encouraging news from Sind that, provided seed can be made immediately available, there should be a very good prospect of the damage being fully made up on the *rabi* crop, as a result of the present flood-spill, and the Government of India have today made an offer to the Government of Sind of Rs. 20 lakhs, interest-free loan, to enable them to distribute seed with the *rabi* season in view.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Does the Honourable Member know that these breaches that have happened in Sind are spread over a very large area, in the districts of Dadu and Larkhana? What attempts are being made to divert that water or to take steps to see that the *rabi* crop can be grown there?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I am afraid I cannot answer that. That seems to be a matter for the Provincial Government.

POSITION OF THE INDIAN REPRESENTATIVES AT THE BRITISH WAR CABINET.

20. *Sir F. E. James: Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state—

- (a) what is the relationship, if any, of the Honourable Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and a representative of India at the British War Cabinet:
- (i) to the Secretary of State for India and the India Office; and
 - (ii) to the High Commissioner for India;
- (b) whether Sir Ramaswami will receive his instructions from the Government of India direct or through the medium of the India Office; and if the latter, whether the Secretary of State for India will in any way be concerned with those instructions, or have power to modify them; and
- (c) whether any of the functions at present discharged by the Secretary of State and the India Office will be transferred to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and his office?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: (a) Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has been nominated by and is responsible to the Governor-General in Council as one of India's representatives at the War Cabinet. As the Honourable Member points out, he retains his membership of the Governor-General's Executive Council. The statutory relationship of the Governor-General in Council, in turn, to the Secretary of State is laid down in the

Constitution Act. Sir Ramaswami will not be formally connected with the High Commissioner for India but the latter will naturally render any assistance in his power to India's representatives at the War Cabinet.

(b) Sir Ramaswami will receive his instructions from the Governor-General in Council. The Secretary of State will not of course amend those instructions without reference to the Government of India, but I have already reminded the Honourable Member that the powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the Governor-General in Council, by whom they are issued, are laid down by Statute.

(c) No, Sir.

Sir F. E. James: May I take it that that in fact means that the final instructions to the Honourable Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar will issue from the Governor-General in Council and from no other authority?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Yes.

Sir F. E. James: Is my Honourable friend aware that that is an extremely important constitutional departure? If so, why has not an official announcement been made in that sense previously? Why has not the machinery of the Information and Broadcasting Department been utilised to make that much more abundantly clear?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: I think the fact was announced by the Broadcasting Department.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if the Honourable Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar has the same voice and the same vote as the other members of the Council there?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: As representing the Government of India, he has the same status as any other member.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: With regard to the vote also?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Yes, he has the same status as any other member.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, who is the other member from India, also under the same kind and amount of control from the Government of India?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Both of them represent the Government of India.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Do I take it that these two would jointly represent the Government of India?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: There are two parts in the country and both of them are controlled by the Government of India and they are the two representatives representing the two parts.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Will these two represent the Government of India jointly in everything?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: One represents the Governor General in Council and the other the Governor General.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The Honourable Member should have made that distinction clear.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: I have made it now.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: As the personal representative of the Governor General, I take it that the Government of India will have nothing to do with His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: Not the personal representative. He is the representative of the Governor General.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: In what capacity can the Governor General appoint a representative on the War Cabinet?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: The Crown Representative can.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I know what are the relations between these two members of the War Cabinet? I take it that they can independently express their views, without any obligation to have previous discussions?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: If my Honourable friend would table a question, I will try to give a reply.

Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee: May I ask whether it is not a fact that Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and His Highness will take final orders from the Government of India but they will be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State under the constitution?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: These orders will be from the Government of India.

Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee: Those orders cannot really be final as under the present constitution they can be changed by the Secretary of State.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: They will get their orders from the Government of India.

Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalljee: I quite agree that the final orders will be issued by the Government of India but what I want to know is whether these worthy representatives will or will not be under the Secretary of State?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has explained the position. In whatever these representatives do, they act under instructions of the Government of India.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know whether the Secretary of State can issue final instructions to the Government of India with regard to the matters with which Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar will deal in the War Cabinet?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: The Secretary of State cannot issue any final instructions.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether it makes any difference whether the Secretary of State can issue final orders to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar direct or the Secretary of State issues final instructions to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar through the Government of India?

Mr. M. Ghiasuddin: May I know from the Leader of the House whether the Secretary of State has so far interfered with the instructions given to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar by the Government of India or not?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: No.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Have the Government of India provided their representative on the War Cabinet with an independent secretariat?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: He has the liberty to have his secretariat if he so likes.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Or borrow from the India Office?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: It will be in his discretion.

PROGRESS AND PROGRAMME OF WORK OF THE RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES.

21. *Sir F. E. James: Will the Honourable Member for Commerce be pleased to state:

- (a) what progress is being made in the work of the Reconstruction Committees which were constituted in March 1942;
- (b) what is their future programme of work;
- (c) whether he is satisfied that the machinery is adequate for the study of the immense and urgent problems which will confront India at the end of the war; and
- (d) what co-ordination, if any, has been established between the Committees and the Defence Authorities in connection with demobilisation and re-employment after the war?

The Honourable Mr. N. B. Sarker: (a) Arrangements have been made for collection of factual data about various matters connected with post-war reconstruction. Apart from other arrangements, five Economic Investigators have been appointed for the purpose. Moreover, the members of the Consultative Committee of Economists have undertaken to prepare preliminary Reports on certain aspects of post-war reconstruction.

(b) A copy of the programme of work drawn up by the Consultative Committee of Economists is placed on the table.

(c) Yes, at the present stage. However, the Reconstruction Committees are free to suggest any further administrative arrangements required for carrying on their work.

(d) The War Department is represented on the Reconstruction Committee dealing with Labour and Demobilisation and the Secretary of that Department is the Vice-Chairman of that Committee.

Programme of Work drafted by the Sub-Committees of the Consultative Committee of Economists and approved by the latter Committee in its full Meetings held on the 6th and 7th March, 1942.

I. Labour and Demobilisation.

1. The following resolutions were agreed to :

(i) It is desirable that the Labour Department of the Government of India should proceed to the collection of data relating to—

- (a) Changes in the total volume of employment.
- (b) Changes in the composition of the employed population according to the categories of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled and daily and monthly rated workers.
- (c) Changes in methods of recruitment.
- (d) Changes in the hours of work.
- (e) Changes in wages, both time and piece rates.
- (f) Rationalisation of Industrial technique in relation to work.
- (g) Deferred payment systems.
- (h) Numbers employed in :
 - (i) Munitions and Armaments Factories.
 - (ii) Industries directly connected with war supplies.
 - (iii) Industries in general.

[(h) will include an investigation of the probable magnitude of unemployment in (i) to (iii) above.]

(ii) It is desirable to proceed at once to an investigation of the kind of employment-machinery which is likely to be needed at the end of the war and in the light of India's general industrial development.

(iii) It is desirable to proceed to an investigation of the kind of training machinery which is likely to be needed at the end of the war in the light of (a) the retransfer problem and (b) industrial development generally.

II. Industry.

1. It was decided to break the subject-matter into the following main heads..

- (i) Regionalism and the location of industry.
- (ii) Consumers' goods industries.
- (iii) Capital goods industries.
- (iv) Small scale (including cottage) industries.
- (v) Finance and structure of industry.
- (vi) Power resources.

2. Under the first head, i.e., Regionalism and location of industries, it was decided to proceed to the following enquiries :

- (a) A factual study of developments since 1919 and their causes.
- (b) To study the following :
 - (i) Upon what principles, economic and non-economic should the location of industries be decided in the future, and
 - (ii) What machinery of Government is likely to be called for?

3. Under the second head it was decided :—

- (a) To proceed to a factual study of changes in the standard of life since 1919-35 and the contribution made thereto by the development of consumers' goods in India.

(b) To enquire into the impact of the war on the standard of life in India, including the substitution of domestic for imported goods.

(c) To enquire into the following :—

In what directions and with what means can the State most usefully assist the improvement in the standard of living in the Post-War period, *e.g.*, what are the commodities which under the existing and prospective conditions are likely to command a market and what type of assistance can the State afford?

4. Under the third head, *i.e.*, capital goods industries, it was decided :

(a) To proceed to a factual study of developments—

(i) between 1919-39, and

(ii) since 1939.

(b) To study the following :

(i) In what directions and with what means can the State most usefully assist the production of :

(a) Durable consumers' goods, *e.g.*, motor-cars.

(b) Machinery for producing consumers' goods, *e.g.*, textile machinery, agricultural machinery, implements and tools; and

(c) Other capital goods?

Under the same head it was decided to investigate the following :

What are the possibilities from the economic point of view of establishing or extending in India—

(a) A synthetic dye-stuff industry.

(b) a fine chemical industry.

(c) a plastic industry.

(d) a heavy chemical industry.

(e) the production of synthetic petrol and coal tar products.

(f) the production of rayon and other artificial fibres and what are likely to be the consequences of the economic position on existing producers, if any, in India,

(g) ship building industry,

(h) canning industry?

5. Under the head (iv) small scale (including cottage) industries, it was decided to deal with the following enquiries :

(a) What are the principal small-scale industries in the country and where are they localised?

(b) What is the approximate extent of employment in each of the industries? What is the future scope of employment in them? In particular how far can they provide employment to demobilised labour.

(c) What is the chance of survival of each in competition with large-scale industries?

(d) Which of the small-scale industries should be reorganised in case their survival is considered desirable on any grounds? What should be the form of such re-organisation?

(e) What should be the place of small-scale industries in post-war reconstruction? Which existing or new small scale industries can be re-organised or fitted into the wider industrial structure (*e.g.*, as suppliers of parts, etc., to organised industries)?

(f) What seasonal or part-time occupations can be introduced in both urban and rural areas as subsidiary to the main occupations?

(g) In the light of the above, what would be the appropriate State action in regard to the creation, reorganisation and sustenance of these industries and occupations?

6. Under the head (v) i.e., Finance and structure of industry, it was decided to proceed to a study of the following :

- (a) Are the existing methods by which Indian industries are financed suitable for the expansion of industrialisation?
 - (b) In what directions should changes be made?
 - (c) Does the growth of industrialisation necessitate further regulation of :
 - (i) Importation of capital, and
 - (ii) The control over industry?
 - (d) To what extent is the maintenance or rehabilitation of small-scale industries dependent upon improved methods of state-aid in the financial field?
 - (e) To what extent will industrialisation require changes in the Indian banking and financial institution and their practices?
 - (f) In what directions should the present system of industrial organisation and structure be changed to ensure efficiency and public interest in general, particularly in the case of those industries which receive State-aid?
 - (g) What are the most appropriate forms of State action in the economic sphere in a period of reconstruction and further industrialisation?
 - (h) What should be the policy of the State in regard to industries in which, owing to the predominance of a single firm or a small group of firms, a quasi-monopolistic position has been reached?
7. (a) A survey of the existing power resources in the country.
- (b) What steps should be taken to conserve and develop the power resources of the country to help further industrialisation with particular reference to electric power?
- (c) What measures are necessary for co-ordination of power schemes for the different regional units?
- (d) Consideration of the possibility of manufacturing power alcohol in the country.

III. Public Works.

1. The members were agreeable to a consideration of the following questions :

- (a) Should the public works policy in India in the post-war period be governed primarily by considerations of affording the maximum degree of employment or by purely technical considerations of India's industrial and developmental needs?
- (b) In the light of any general principles concurred in, what order or priority should be arrived at among the following?
 - (i) Roads and bridges;
 - (ii) Railway lines;
 - (iii) Drainage and irrigation;
 - (iv) Canals and defensive works against flood;
 - (v) Afforestation and land reclamation;
 - (vi) Control of soil erosion;
 - (vii) Drinking water supplies and sewage disposal;
 - (viii) Sea and river ports—equipment of;
 - (ix) Air ports—equipment of;
 - (x) Building and construction works, including large scale building projects;
 - (xi) Electric installation, hydro-electric and heating power centres, motive power transmissions;
 - (xii) Gas works and long distance gas supply;
 - (xiii) Telegraph and telephone installations;
 - (xiv) River control and management?

(c) Assuming that public works policy should be governed primarily by considerations of a technical character, what place should be taken by relief works in the post-war period and how can conflicts in wage policy and standards of output involved in the co-existence of an expanded public works policy and an expanded relief policy be best avoided.

(d) Taking Indian conditions into account, what would be the reactions of public works conducted by the State on private enterprise, and to what extent is it desirable to stimulate the participations of private capital in the task of promoting public works by—

- (i) guarantee of interest;
- (ii) grants-in-aid;
- (iii) guarantees of repayment of capital; and
- (iv) exemption from taxation?

IV. Trade and Tariffs.

1. The subject matter was divided into the following main sub-heads :

- (i) Tariffs, Subsidies and Protective Policy;
- (ii) Export Policy;
- (iii) Treaty Policy;
- (iv) Internal Trade; and
- (v) Ancillary subjects.

2. Under (i)—Tariffs, Subsidies and Protective Policy—the following subjects were considered worthy of investigation :

- (a) What should be the technical content to be given to the doctrine of Protection by tariffs or bounties (including anti-dumping measures) in the post-war period?
- (b) What modifications, if any, will the machinery of tariff-making require in the post-war period—
 - (i) Functions;
 - (ii) Composition;
 - (iii) Tenure?
- (c) What should be the relations between protected industries and the State in respect of—
 - (i) Control of profits;
 - (ii) Participation in profits;
 - (iii) Social conditions of labour;
 - (iv) Apprenticeship;
 - (v) Administrative supervision and control by the State of protected industries?
- (d) What have been the economic consequences of the existing rates of duty and to what extent will the technical structure of the tariff require modification in future?
- (e) What have been the economic consequences of war-time export and import regulations? How far should they be continued in the post-war period?

3. Under (ii)—Export Policy—

- (a) What general principles should underlie the export policy of the Government of India in the post-war period? Should it take the form, in the main, of maintaining the principle of freedom of private enterprise or should Government, as a matter of principle, encourage schemes of bulk-sales for exports, and bulk-purchases for necessary imports?
- (b) To what extent should Government envisage aid to export interests by means of—
 - (i) export-credit schemes;
 - (ii) adherence to regional pacts as regards exports of manufactures and/or raw materials (i.e., division of export-markets);
 - (iii) export subsidies; and
 - (iv) export-cartels?
- (c) To what extent should India adhere to international pacts for the quantitative regulation of exports and/or the production of basic and other raw materials (e.g., cotton, coffee, sugar, wheat, rubber, tea)?

- (d) To what extent are India's fundamental economic interests best met, so far as substitute materials are concerned (e.g., rayon, plastics) by (i) the manufacture of such commodities within India, (ii) pursuing price-policies designed to maintain the market for the natural products of Indian soil?

4. Under (iii)—Treaty Policy—

Given the various possibilities of the post-war situation (closer co-operation between the British Empire and the U. S. A., the "rationalisation" of export and import trade etc.), should India choose :

- (a) a policy of complete autonomy, i.e., no trade treaties,
 - (b) a policy of conditional, or, alternatively, unconditional most-favoured treatment, only,
 - (c) adherence to the Imperial Preferential System (and with what modifications),
 - (d) adherence to low-tariff or no-tariff zones,
 - (e) bi-lateralism of the Continental type?
5. Under (iv)—Internal Trade Problems—
- (a) How can internal trade be developed so as to provide large and expanding markets for the products of our industries and of agriculture?
 - (b) What impediments exist at present in the way of the inter-provincial trade and how best they can be removed (e.g., octrois, transport difficulties, lack of advertisement and propaganda)?

V. Agriculture.

1. It was decided to divide the subject matter under two heads :

- (i) *The immediate war and post-war position.*
- (ii) *The Long Term Adjustment of Indian agriculture to Indian and World trends.*

2. Under the first head, it was agreed that the following topics required investigation :

- (a) *The structure of rights over agricultural land in India in the post-war period.*

In certain provinces, the soldier (and, in due course the returned soldier) requires to be protected in his rights in the land; what forms of protective measures are necessary, such as :

- (i) Government assistance in the collection of rent arrears from tenants during the absence of the landlord.
 - (ii) Extension of the period of leases or time-limits for the payment of rents or revenues.
 - (iii) Extension of the period of pending suits by money-lenders.
 - (iv) Protection of the rights of minors?
- (b) *The immediate post-war price situation.*

If agricultural prices show a marked rise or decline after the cessation of hostilities, what will be the best way of meeting the situation?

3. Under the second head, it was agreed that the following topics required investigation :

- (a) The adhesion of India to international agreements for the "orderly marketing" or "valorisation" of staple crops (e.g., wheat, cotton, etc.).
- (b) "Crop-planning", in relation particularly to :
 - (i) The problem of finding alternative crops in place of those for which there is likely to be an inelastic or diminishing demand, e.g., short-staple cotton, and the problem of finding alternative uses for existing crops.
 - (ii) The production of "secondary crops" for the development of existing and new agricultural industries (e.g., canning industry).
 - (iii) Nutritional problems, and, in view of population pressure, the production of heavy yielding crops such as rice, potatoes, pulses and soya-beans.
 - (iv) Development of mixed farming and marketing of daily produce at distant places.
 - (v) The fuller exploitation of the available productive powers of human labour and cattle power.

(vi) The extent to which each region should aim at self-sufficiency in regard to agricultural products.

(c) *The "Planning of Agriculture" in relation to :*

- (i) An examination of the structure of rights and interests in land including problems of tenancy, tenure, debt and transfer of land.
 - (ii) Problems of unemployment and underemployment among the cultivators with special reference to (a) Legislation regarding uneconomic holdings and (b) development of intensive and mechanised farming.
 - (iii) Improvement of the economic position of agricultural labourers.
 - (iv) Social experiments in collective and co-operative farming as alternatives to individual cultivation of the soil and the degree to which Government can undertake or encourage such experiments, and
 - (v) The co-ordination of efforts aiming at preserving the heritage in soil, forests and waters, such as erosion control, afforestation, land reclamation, etc. Is it practicable to work out a policy of an "Evernormal Granary" in India?
- (d) A re-examination of the problems involved in the financing of agriculture.
- (e) Suggestions towards improvements in agricultural statistics.

In certain provinces, the soldier (and, in due course the returned soldier) requires to be protected in his rights in the land; what forms of protective measures are necessary, such as :

- (i) Government assistance in the collection of rent arrears from tenants during the absence of the landlord.
- (ii) Extension of the period of leases or time-limits for the payment of rents or revenues.
- (iii) Extension of the period of pending suits by money-lenders.
- (iv) Protection of the rights of minors?

(b) *The immediate post-war price situation.*

If agricultural prices show a marked rise or decline after the cessation of hostilities, what will be the best way of meeting the situation?

3. Under the second head, it was agreed that the following topics required investigation :

(a) The adhesion of India to international agreements for the "orderly marketing" or "valorisation" of staple crops (e.g., wheat, cotton, etc.).

(b) "Crop-planning", in relation particularly to :

- (i) The problem of finding alternative crops in place of those for which there is likely to be an inelastic or diminishing demand, e.g., shortstaple cotton, and the problem of finding alternative uses for existing crops.
- (ii) The production of "secondary crops" for the development of existing and new agricultural industries (e.g., canning industry).
- (iii) Nutritional problems, and, in view of population pressure, the production of heavy yielding crops such as rice, potatoes, pulses and soya-beans.
- (iv) Development of mixed farming and marketing of daily produce at distant places.
- (v) The fuller exploitation of the available productive powers of human labour and cattle power.
- (vi) The extent to which each region should aim at self-sufficiency in regard to agricultural products.

(c) *The "Planning of Agriculture" in relation to :*

- (i) An examination of the structure of rights and interests in land including problems of tenancy, tenure, debt and transfer of land.
- (ii) Problems of unemployment and underemployment among the cultivators with special reference to (a) Legislation regarding uneconomic holdings and (b) development of intensive and mechanised farming.
- (iii) Improvement of the economic position of agricultural labourers.

- (iv) Social experiments in collective and co-operative farming as alternatives to individual cultivation of the soil and the degree to which Government can undertake or encourage such experiments, and
- (v) The co-ordination of efforts aiming at preserving the heritage in soil, forests and waters such as erosion control, afforestation, land reclamation, etc. Is it practicable to work out a policy of an "Evernormal Granary" in India?
- (d) A re-examination of the problems involved in the financing of agriculture.
- (e) Suggestions towards improvements in agricultural statistics.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Were the interests of agriculturists represented on any of these Committees? If so, what are their names and the names of the Committees on which they served?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I want notice of this question.

WHEAT POSITION.

22. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Commerce Member please state what the quantity of production of wheat in the year 1942 is? (The figures may be given province-wise.)

(b) What is the normal monthly consumption of wheat in India? What is the surplus of wheat after five months' consumption (from April to August)?

(c) Have the Government of India got the list of the stockists in every town and the quantity of wheat or flour these stockists have in their possession?

(d) What steps have Government taken to compel the stockists to sell at the controlled economic price fixed by the Government of India?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: (a) A statement is laid on the table.

(b) No figures are available showing normal monthly consumption of wheat in India. The total net supplies available for consumption annually worked out to approximately 8,900,000 tons or 740,000 tons per month. At this rate approximately 5,200,000 tons should be available till the end of the wheat season.

(c) No. Reports are received by the Wheat Commissioner periodically regarding the stocks held at the various Mandis from the District Officers and Trade Sources. Several Provinces have enforced the Foodgrains Control Order, which provides for the licensing of wholesale dealers and the submission by them of returns of stocks or similar orders, but only recently; while other Provinces have not yet put it in force.

(d) The Government of India have pressed the Provincial Governments to launch prosecutions and punish the offenders severely in cases of sale of wheat or wheat products at rates higher than the controlled rates. In certain cases of necessity, Provincial Governments have requisitioned the stocks.

Estimate of the Wheat Crop of 1941-42.

Provinces and States.	Yield of wheat (in tons). Current year (1941-42).
<i>British Provinces—</i>	
Punjab	3,873,000
United Provinces	2,608,000
Central Provinces and Berar	388,000
Bombay	241,000
Sind	380,000
Bihar	485,000
North-West Frontier Province	238,000
Bengal	41,000
Delhi	11,000
Ajmer-Merwara	5,000
Orissa	1,000
Total British Provinces	8,271,000
<i>Indian States:—</i>	
Punjab States	520,000
United Provinces State (Rampur)	49,000
Eastern Agency States*	12,000
Bombay States	95,000
Sind State (Khairpur)	30,000
Central India States	288,000
Gwalior State	299,000
Rajputana States	331,000
Hyderabad States	134,000
Baroda States	41,000
Mysore State	(a)
Total India States	1,799,000
GRAND TOTAL	10,070,000

*Formerly Central Provinces States.

(a) 500 tons.

Mr. Umar Aly Shah: Does the Honourable Member know the number of Indians who are starving for want of food?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I have no such information.

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Does the Government know that the Provincial Governments generally are carrying on this propaganda through the Police and the Tahsildars, and the result of it is that the Police officers themselves purchase foodgrains before the public gets it? Is the Government going to make any arrangement for the public or for the Police and Tahsildars?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I have no such information.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: May I know why the Government have not been able to procure any figure although the motion was moved in this House in last November and the Government promised that the information would be made available as to what stocks are in the country and what stocks will be available for the people in the country? If the Government is not yet in a position to enlighten this House, then what is the use of having a Wheat Commissioner and the whole paraphernalia connected with him?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad : Has the Government got the particulars about the sale price of wheat, and whether they are aware that wheat in Delhi is being sold at a much higher price than the controlled price?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: We have not changed the orders and I do not know that wheat is being sold at a higher price.

Sardar Sant Singh: Is the Honourable Member aware that wheat which is being sold to private consumers is sold at a much higher price than the control order contemplates? Is it not a fact that this complaint is to be found throughout India? Will the Honourable Member take steps either to strengthen the control order or to relax it in such a manner that this state of affairs should not continue?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: Wheat may be sold at a higher price in retail, but the Government control order fixes the wholesale rate. I have no information that the wholesale rate being charged is higher than the controlled rate.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: What is the wholesale rate today?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: It is Rs. 5 and Rs. 5/4.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: But the wheat is being sold at the rate of Rs. 9 per maund in Delhi today.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I ask if the price has been settled by the Central Government for all the provinces and all places or whether different Provincial Governments have fixed different prices for their own provinces?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: The retail prices were left to the discretion of the Provincial Governments.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: Does the Honourable Member realise that if it is desired that the benefit of the controlled rate should reach the ordinary consumer, it would be necessary for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to open their own shops in view of the fact that the grain is likely to be withdrawn from the market by the stockists? It is a serious proposition really.

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: That question has been discussed in the recent Price Control Conference and some decisions have been arrived at which are being considered now by the Central Government and their decision will be communicated very shortly.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will the Honourable Member lay on the table the report of this Conference as it will help us very much?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: No. Until the Government of India take a decision, I am afraid I cannot lay it on the table.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask if the Honourable Member is aware of the fact that wheat and other foodgrains have become so difficult to be obtained even in cities like Bombay that a large number of people have to wait for

hours together even to get wheat or other grain worth a rupee? Recently, the queues had become so large and clamorous that the Government had to resort to firing to regulate the queues.

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I do not know about the firing but I know about the difficulties in getting foodgrains. That question is under the active consideration of the Government of India and a decision will be arrived at very shortly.

Sardar Sant Singh: Has the Honourable Member considered the desirability of removing this control in view of the fact that during the last war the economic factors worked very much better than the control factors are working today?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I do not think so.

Sardar Sant Singh: Is the Honourable Member aware that during the last war the benefit of the rise in wheat price went to the agriculturist and today it is going to the middleman?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: To the middleman at the consumer's end and not at the producer's end, which was more effectively controlled.

"BEVIN BOYS" RETURNED TO INDIA AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT.

23. *Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state how many "Bevin boys" have returned to India and if all of them have got employment? If not, what are the reasons for their unemployment? Are any of them taking any part in Trade Unions?

The Honourable Dr. B. E. Ambedkar: 149 Bevin boys have returned to India of whom 26 arrived only on the 5th September and are now being tested by an Examining Board. Of the remaining 123, 105 have been placed in employment with an average increase of salary of 145 per cent. Of the balance of 18, nine boys who arrived at the end of July have been allotted to posts and will be appointed very shortly; two who do not wish to take up factory work are being considered for Emergency Commissions—one in the Indian Army and one in the Indian Air Force; three have refused the posts offered to them and efforts are now being made to find them other appointments; one is being returned to his original employment on increased pay; one is undergoing tests with a view to appointment as Welder Instructor at a training centre; one has been earmarked for a post but cannot at present be traced; and the last man was returned from England for misconduct without completing his training.

It is too early yet to say whether any of the returned trainees are taking part in Trade Union Affairs.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: May I know if their unemployment is not due to the fact that they are taking part in Trade Union movements?

The Honourable Dr. B. E. Ambedkar: I do not think so. I do not see any evidence of unemployment among the trainees.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: My question was "if all 'the Bevin boys' have got employment" and the answer was that all the 'Bevin boys' who

have returned are not employed, that some are being tested, that some are employed that some are sent back to their old jobs. I want to put this question whether their unemployment is in any way due to the fact that they are taking interest in trade union activities.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am sure it is not.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: What sort of misconduct was reported against one of the 'Bevin boys'?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have not got the information at present. I want notice.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Has it got anything to do with his labour activities?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I would not like to spoil the chances of this young man by stating in the open House what his misconduct was.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: When this case of misconduct was reported against this young man, did not the Government think it advisable to make enquiries about what that misconduct was?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have no doubt that Government have got the information about the sort of misconduct he was found guilty of. I have not got the fact with me at present. I want notice.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I know whether the "Bevin boys" come from the labouring classes?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Department is examining that aspect of the case.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: In view of the fact that the "Bevin boys" return to India after obtaining proper training in England, where is the necessity for testing them again?

The Honourable Mr. B. R. Ambedkar: Most of the employers would not accept the word of the Government of India that they were trained, and the employer would like to satisfy himself that the man whom he is employing is properly trained. We cannot prohibit the employer from doing so.

SHORT STAPLE COTTON PURCHASED BY GOVERNMENT.

24. ***Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh:** Will the Honourable Member for Commerce please state:

- (a) if short staple cotton was purchased by Government in the cotton season of 1942 before the 10th of June; if so, through what agencies, what amount and in what markets; and whether the public were informed about the purchasing agencies by Government; if not, why not; and

- (b) if short staple cotton purchased by Government was sold to the Textile Mills in India or any export agencies; if so, whether Government made any profits in these transactions, and how the profits, if any, will be utilised?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: (a) Yes. As regards the other points raised in the question I lay on the table a statement showing such information as Government are prepared to give at this stage. Publicity was not given to the selection of purchasing agents because it was desired that their operations should be secret, the object being to avoid artificial disturbance of the markets upcountry.

Statement showing Purchases of Short Staple Cotton.

Type of cotton.	Quantity purchased to date. Bales.	Centres from which purchased.
Berar .	1770	{ Amraoti. Akola. Khamgaon.
C. P. I.	4542	{ Wardha. Arvi.
C. P. II	1054	{ Dhamangaon. Pandharkawada. Nagpur. Saoner. Wun. Katol. Digras. Yeotmal. Chatanji. Kondali.
Khandesh . . .	942	{ Dondaicha. Dhulia. Amalner.

- (b) No. The latter part of the question does not arise.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Is the Honourable Member aware that the agriculturists could not bring in their crop to the market, because they were under the impression that Government would advertize for their requirements?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: The Government issued a Press Communiqué on 12th March stating they were going to buy cotton.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: How can you expect the agriculturist to know about this that the Government have entered the field for purchase? The Government did not advertize?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I believe the Provincial Governments must have informed the village associations or village panchyats.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: I do not want what the Honourable Member believes or thinks. I ask him for facts.

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: I have no further information.

AMOUNT EARMARKED FOR PURCHASE OF SHORT STAPLE COTTON.

25. *Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the Honourable Member for Commerce please state how the amount earmarked in the budget of 1941-42 for the purchase of short staple cotton to help the growers of such cotton will be utilised to its full extent?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: Government have not earmarked any specific amount for the purchase of short staple cotton. The proceeds of the additional import duty imposed on raw cotton by the Cotton Fund Ordinance, 1942, will be utilized not only in financing the purchases of short staple cotton but also in making grants to the Provincial Governments and Indian States to enable them to remit the whole or part of the land revenue or rent collected from the cultivator in respect of the land diverted from cotton to food crops and on similar other measures for the benefit of the growers of cotton.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Is the Honourable Member aware that this grant was earmarked for maintainning the economic level of price of short staple cotton?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: No. It is not correct.

MATERIALS OF ARTICLES RECEIVED UNDER THE LEASE AND LEND AGREEMENT.

26. *Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the Honourable Member for Commerce please state what materials or articles have been received by India under the Lease and Lend Agreement and of what value? Are the terms of this agreement the same as between the United Kingdom and the United States of America?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Supply Member.

DEPRECIATION IN LABOUR WAGES.

27. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chhattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour be pleased to state if he has ascertained the exact depreciation in wages in proportion to the increase in value of food-stuff and textile commodities and general cost of living? If so, what is the ratio?

(b) Is it not a fact that the dearness allowance and war-time bonuses granted to Railway workers is not sufficient to make up for the proportional fall or depreciation in wages?

(c) If the answer to part (b) be in the affirmative, does the Honourable Member propose to reconsider the matter of wages of labour on the Railways and increase their wages to an amount which would be sufficient?

(d) Do Government propose, during the war period, to set up food and cloth stores for supplying Railway labour with these commodities at prices commensurate with their present income and if it proves satisfactory to continue the arrangement as a permanent measure?

(e) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to make a comparative statement of wages paid to the Railway labour in Government-controlled Railways, in private Railways (i.e., Company-managed and private State-

Railways) and in textile mills, jute mills and the iron and steel factories in India, and also their hours of work in a week?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) The costs of living have not risen at the same rates throughout India; there are reliable cost of living indices only for a few large towns; the rates of wages even at one centre differ considerably for different classes of employees, and the movements in the rates of wages have been uneven at the same place and as between different places. In view of these factors, it is not possible to give a reply to the question as put by the Honourable Member. If he desires information regarding any specific class of employees at a place where there is a reliable cost of living index, I shall attempt to furnish it.

(b) No. I believe that the dearness allowance meets fully the increased cost of living in the lower grades though to a diminishing extent in the higher grades.

(c) Does not arise; but I would add that recently the dearness allowance was enhanced by a considerable extent, in negotiation with the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and there is no justification for a further revision at present.

(d) Grain shops have been and are being opened by a number of railways when the administration considered it necessary to do so. Commodities supplied in these shops are sold at prices not exceeding the control prices fixed by Provincial Governments. It is proposed to run these shops during the war as long as the necessity for them exists. No cloth shops have yet been opened on the Railways.

(e) There is no known basis for making such a wide comparison; each factory employs specialised labour and comparison is difficult.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: May I know from the Honourable Member whether it is the contention of Government that there has been no rise in price since 1939?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That is not the contention of the Government. All that the Government say is that there is no uniformity in rise.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: There is some uniformity taking the minimum. Are the Government not prepared to accept the minimum rise in all commodities, which is above 50 per cent?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am prepared to say that there is rise, but I cannot say that the percentage is as high as the Honourable Member suggests.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Will the Government make enquiries and find out whether the allegation is correct?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I cannot commit myself to making enquiries, which will require additional staff and time which Government may not be able to spare.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: The Government ought to have had this information since three years have elapsed.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is expressing an opinion.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I ask if the dearness allowance mentioned in this question will be extended to other departments of the Government of India, especially post office?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: This question should be addressed to the appropriate department.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: This question refers to railways, but my Honourable friend has taken up this question as one concerning labour. I should like to know whether the labour conditions mentioned with regard to railways will be extended to labour conditions in other departments?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I think there has been an increase in dearness allowance given to all employees in the Government of India.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: With reference to part (d), may I know whether Government have taken any pains to compare the control rates at which they are selling now and the rates at which the commodities were being sold in 1939 and 1940?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is quite unnecessary to make any such comparison of percentage at all.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Otherwise, you do not know what percentage of dearness allowance should be given.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is sufficient for Government purposes to know that there is an increase. In that case they may consider whether or not to increase the allowance.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: What are the places where the rise in prices is the lowest?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I want notice.

SCHEME FOR A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AT THE CENTRE.

28. ***Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state if the Government of India has under contemplation any scheme to implement the Cripps offer to form a Government at the Centre with the parties who are ready to co-operate with the allied powers in defending India and carrying on the anti-Fascist fight to its end?

(b) If there be any effort on the part of Government of India under contemplation to create a National Government at the Centre, will the Honourable Member be pleased to make a statement on the scheme on the floor of the House?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: This is a matter primarily for His Excellency the Governor General and His Majesty's Government, rather than the Government of India. I would remind the Honourable Member of repeated statements on behalf of His Majesty's Government, renewed so late as September the 10th by the Prime Minister, that the broad principles of the Declaration which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps Mission to India must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament, and that these principles stand in their full scope and integrity.

(b) WRITTEN ANSWERS.

EVACUEES FROM BURMA AND THE FAR EAST.

29. **Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Indians Overseas be pleased to state the number of evacuees including wives and children, from (1) Burma, Province by Province, (2) Malaya, (3) Singapore, and (4) Hongkong and their present domicile, and financial condition?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state the number of Indians with their families who were left in Burma, Malaya and Singapore and who could not avail of opportunities to leave those places or who could not come on account of various impediments? Is there any means available now to get information about their whereabouts and condition?

(c) Is it a fact that many evacuees have applied for financial help and employment to the Government of India? What help has been rendered and how many have been employed and out of those employed how many are Indians and how many are Europeans and Anglo-Indians? What arrangements are made for giving employment to the unemployed evacuees who had been rendered absolutely helpless on account of forced evacuation?

(d) Is it a fact that the Indians had been forced to evacuate on account of cruel treatment by the Burmans and their threatening attitude towards the Indians domiciled in Burma?

(e) Is the Honourable Member aware of the allegation of racial discrimination between Indians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians in respect of employment of evacuees? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to make a statement on the matter?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: (a) The number of persons evacuated to India from Burma is estimated at five lakhs and the number from Malaya, including Singapore, at about 8,000. No estimate is available of the arrivals from Honk Kong. It is not yet possible to estimate the numbers according to the various provinces to which the evacuees belong. Government understand that the bulk of the refugees brought no savings with them.

(b) The number of Indians still left behind in Burma is of the order of six lakhs and that in Malaya, including Singapore, about 7½ lakhs. The Japanese Government have not so far agreed to the protection of British interests in these territories through the agency of a protecting power and at present the only channel of communication with those countries is the International Red Cross Committee. It is hoped that

some indication of the general condition of Indians stranded in these countries will become available through this channel after some time. Enquiries about the whereabouts and welfare of individuals are, however, being received in the Department of Indians Overseas and referred to the Red Cross Commissioner for transmission through the International Red Cross Committee, but it may be a considerable time before the enquiries produce any result. Recently the Japanese Government have agreed to the establishment of certain postal facilities for prisoners of war, which will be applicable also to civilian internees in those countries.

(c) The Government of India have put into operation a scheme for the grant of financial assistance to destitute evacuees. The rate of allowances is related to the pre-evacuation incomes of the refugees. The authority to receive and deal with applications for relief, has been delegated to the Provincial Government and by them to the District officers.

The employment of evacuees is a problem to which Government have been paying careful attention. Provincial Governments have been requested to undertake the task of putting applicants in touch with prospective employers. Though persons such as lawyers and teachers may find some difficulty just at present in securing suitable employment, those possessing technical qualifications, such as doctors, electricians, carpenters and others belonging to skilled trades should have no difficulty in finding employment. Those who are still without employment have been invited to register themselves with the National Service Labour Tribunals which are functioning in all Provinces. For clerical workers there is great scope for finding employment with the armed forces. For unskilled labour also there are many openings in new camp, aerodrome and road construction and building works apart from other relief works instituted by certain Provincial Governments. Provincial Governments have been addressed for returns of evacuees who have secured employment but as yet these have not been received. It is not certain whether full particulars will become available in the near future.

(d) There were many reasons impelling Indians to evacuate from Burma and the hostile attitude of a proportion of the Burmese people was one of them.

(e) Government have seen allegations in the press that Europeans have found employment more readily than Indians. No statistics have been produced to substantiate those allegations. Government have issued instructions to all appointing authorities that in the matter of the employment of evacuees, Indians should be given preference over other classes of evacuees as far as possible.

POSITION CONCERNING STOCKS AND PRODUCTION OF WHEAT, RICE, ETC. AND THEIR PRICE CONTROL.

30. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the present position in stock of (1) wheat, (2), rice, (3) coal, (4) quinine, (5) tea, (6) kerosene, (7) salt, and (8) sugar, and the prospect of the same next year?

(b) Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that prices of rice, sugar and salt have gone up abnormally in Bengal and these commodities are becoming unavailable? If so, what arrangements are made to bring down the prices and make the commodities easily available?

(c) Is it not a fact that a large quantity of rice had been exported to Ceylon from Bengal? If so, how could such export be possible when there was a dearth of rice in Bengal? What was the total quantity of rice in stock in Bengal when it was exported to Ceylon?

(d) What arrangements have been made by the Honourable Member to make up the deficits in the supply of staple foods to the inhabitants of the country, province by province?

(e) What financial help has been rendered to the Indian agriculturists to grow more food and what is the area of fallow land which has been already brought under cultivation with a view to growing more food?

(f) Is the Central Government solely responsible for organising the "Grow more food" campaign throughout the country or have Provincial Governments also a combined responsibility? Will the Honourable Member be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the scheme?

(g) What arrangements do Government contemplate for equitable distribution of coal to Provinces at a cheaper rate?

(h) What arrangements do Government contemplate for control of prices and equitable distribution of staple food and daily necessities in all the Provinces?

The Honourable Mr. N. B. Sarker: (a) A statement showing the stocks of quinine salts in India on the 1st April, 1942, and of sugar stocks at factories only on the 5th September, 1942, is laid on the table. Information is not available about the stocks or the prospects of next year's production of other commodities mentioned in paragraph (a).

(b) As regards sugar, the Sugar Controller for India has taken all possible steps in the present difficult transport situation to make reasonable quantities of sugar available to Bengal. The question of controlling the prices and distribution of rice was discussed at the last Price Control Conference and the recommendations made by that Conference are now before the Government of India.

With regard to salt, the Government of India have requisitioned a ship to transport salt from West Coast to Calcutta and have also arranged shipping facilities, through the Ministry of War Transport, for the import of salt from Aden into Bengal.

(c) Exports of rice from Calcutta to Ceylon from the 1st April to the 31st August, 1942, amounted to 5,711 tons. No information is available about the stocks of rice in Bengal, but these exports were permitted after consultation with the Government of Bengal who had no doubt taken into account the supply position in that Province. It is not definitely established that, as the Honourable Member says, there is an actual dearth of rice in Bengal as a whole.

(d) Inter-provincial movements of wheat and sugar have been regulated by the Central Wheat Control and Sugar Control. As regards other foodgrains, the responsibility rests primarily on the Provincial Governments, but the Central Government have given all assistance in their power by organizing the Regional Price and Supply Boards, and otherwise.

(e) It is for the Provincial Governments to render whatever help the cultivators require to grow more food. The Central Government have, however, made grants from the Cotton Fund to those Provinces which applied for such grants in order to give financial help to cotton growers to assist them in diverting their lands from cotton to food crops.

From information so far received, it is estimated that 30,50,000 acres of culturable waste and fallow land will be brought under the cultivation of food crops in the British Indian Provinces in the current year.

(f) The responsibility for organising such a campaign rests also on the Provincial Governments, but in view of the abnormal situation created by the war, the Government of India called a Conference of the representatives of the Provinces and States in April 1942 to devise ways and means of increasing food production to meet the needs of the country as a whole. The recommendations made by the Conference are embodied in a series of resolutions, a copy of which has been laid on the Library table. It was for the Provincial Governments to implement most of those recommendations, and from information received, they appear to have done so, in so far as they are feasible under the local conditions.

To assist the Provincial Governments in co-ordinating their plans and programmes and advising them from the point of view of the country as a whole, the Government of India have, in pursuance of one of the recommendations of the Food Production Conference, set up a Central Food Advisory Council consisting both of officials and non-officials.

(g) I place on the Table a copy of a Press Communique recently issued by the Government of India in the War Transport Department describing certain arrangements designed to ensure an equitable distribution of coal to Provinces at reasonable rates.

(h) The question was discussed at the Sixth Price Control Conference and certain recommendations were made. These are now being examined by the Government of India.

Stocks of Quinine Salts on the 1st April, 1942.

	Lbs.
Central Reserve	153,000
Reserves held by the Government of India on behalf of Provincial Governments and States under the 1939-40 Java Purchase Scheme	70,000
Reserves held by the Government of India on behalf of Provincial Governments and States under the 1941-42 Java Purchase Scheme	19,000
Stocks held by Provincial Governments	82,312
Stocks held by Civil Medical Stores Departments	29,000
	353,312
Or say	350,000 lbs

Sugar.

Total stocks of sugar in factories in British India on 5th September, 1942 were 235,000 tons.

Resolutions adopted by the Food Production Conference held at New Delhi on the 6th April, 1942, under the Chairmanship of the Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member in charge of the Education, Health and Lands Department.

1. This Conference views with grave concern the possible repercussions on the civil population and on administration in India of the shortage of food which is likely to face the country in the forthcoming year as a result of deficiencies of rice and wheat consequent largely on difficulties of transport, cessation of imports and local failure of monsoon. It considers it essential that immediate action should be taken for the initiation of a planned and effective drive for the increased production of food and fodder crops in the forthcoming *kharij* and *rabi* seasons and in the following year. To this end the Conference appeals with confidence for the hearty co-operation of the Provincial and State Governments, of non-official leaders of public opinion in India and of all non-official agencies which are in a position to render useful assistance.

2. The Conference considers that production in each deficit region should be increased so that it may as far as possible become self-sufficient in respect of its primary food and fodder requirements. It recognises, however, that this may not be possible in certain regions in respect of all commodities. It, therefore, recommends that regions favourably situated should grow as much as possible of these commodities for meeting the requirements of deficit regions and specially of contiguous deficit regions. When there is a deficit of a particular commodity in the country as a whole the distribution should as far as transport facilities permit aim at an equality of sacrifice on all consumers of that commodity.

3. In order to ensure the maximum amount of land being brought under cultivation for the growth of food and fodder crops and the maximum yield per acre therefrom, the Conference recommends the initiation of the following further measures by Provincial Governments :

- (i) Detailed programmes of work for the "grow more food campaign" should be drawn up for different areas and propaganda to implement such programmes should be carried out through the press, the radio, by informative and inspiring leaflets and lectures, in association with existing non-official bodies, such as Co-operative Societies, Farmers' Associations, Rural Development Associations, village Panchayats, and so forth;
- (ii) Arrangements should be made to ensure the availability of adequate supplies of seed for suitable varieties of crops;
- (iii) Arrangements should be made for the supply of manures, particularly oil cake and bonemeal; green manuring, where feasible, proper storage of farm-yard manure and the making of compost should also be encouraged;
- (iv) Steps should be taken to improve existing water supplies, and to arrange for the supply of irrigation water at the right times and also to develop new sources of water-supply such as the construction of wells, embankments and water channels;
- (v) Financial provision should be made for the grant of *tacavi* loans and for giving concessional rates for seed, manure and irrigation charges;
- (vi) Land Revenue and rent should not be charged or should be charged at a concession rate for a specified period on lands newly brought under cultivation provided food and fodder crops are grown on them.
- (vii) Steps should be taken to increase the acreage of food and fodder crops by extending the double-cropped area by curtailing as far as feasible the acreages of short-staple cotton and other non-food crops, and in the case of jute, maintaining the existing system of control and by utilising uncultivated lands;
- (viii) Steps should be taken to encourage the use of 'under-milled' or home-pounded rice in place of highly milled rice with the object of making existing supplies of rice go further and to take the opportunity afforded by the present food production drive to instruct the cultivator to secure for himself a more balanced diet.

4. In order to counter any apprehension that the drive towards increased food production might result in such an augmentation of output as seriously to affect the saleability of the crop, this Conference recommends to the Government of India to undertake, should such a contingency threaten, to buy such quantities of foodstuffs in the open market as would prevent any serious deterioration in the level of prices.

5. The Conference recommends that as an insurance against a shortage of staple foods and with a view to improve the nutrition of the people, all available lands adjoining homesteads should be used for the production of vegetables and quick-growing fruits, such as papayas, bananas and melons and green fodder crops for increased production of milk. The Conference suggests that Provincial and State Governments should examine the feasibility of utilising uncultivated lands near irrigation channels for the purpose of food, vegetable and fodder crop cultivation.

6. The Conference recommends that, to meet increasing transport difficulties, steps should be taken to revive, encourage and develop the many forms of indigenous transport, such as country boats, bullock carts, camel carts, pack animals and so forth which have been partially superseded by mechanical transport.

7. The Conference recognises that the carrying out of a food and fodder production drive is largely a matter of detailed organisation for the Provincial and State Governments which, it is hoped, will set up suitable machinery for the purpose. A Central Food Advisory Council should be established by the Government of India as a co-ordinating body whose main functions would be :

- (i) to pool, study and disseminate all available information;
- (ii) to plan on an all-India basis the food and fodder production programme for the different regions and to tender advice in regard to its execution; and
- (iii) to advise the authorities responsible about the equitable distribution of the available food stocks.

Press Communiqué.

1. In view of the difficulties experienced in obtaining transport for the supply of coal, the Government of India appointed a Controller of Coal Distribution some four months ago with headquarters in Calcutta at No. 1, Council House Street, with the object of regulating the distribution of coal in the best interests of the country. His functions, as well as the manner in which he functions and the procedure to be observed when applying for his assistance are briefly stated below for public information.

2. The Controller is responsible for deciding the order of priority in which the coal has to be despatched, and his functions include the granting of priority for all Shipments: Coal, Naval Coal, Loco. Coal for Railways, all Government requirements, requirements of public utility concerns, and of the iron and steel industries. The Controller is also responsible for the allotment and control of wagons normally classified under 'Public'.

3. Programmes of Loco. coal for Railways, and coal purchased for Government requirements through the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, are referred to the Controller of Coal Distribution, by the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board. For priority in connection with shipment coal, bunker coal, and Government requirements, other than coal, purchased through the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, applications should be made direct to the Controller of Coal Distribution. All applications for War Priorities received by the Supply Department should be forwarded to the Controller of Coal Distribution by that Department. Applications for priorities by public utility concerns, by iron and steel industries, for coke ovens, etc., previously addressed to the Coal Wagon Supply Committee should likewise be addressed by those concerns direct to the Controller of Coal Distribution, who will draw up the necessary programmes, and issue instructions to the Railways.

4. In the case of coal and coke required for domestic consumption and for local industries not directly engaged in war work, it has been arranged that the Director of Industries of the Provincial Governments of the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Assam will function as Provincial Coal Controllers. In Bengal the functions will be discharged by the Chief Controller of Prices, in Bihar and Orissa by the Price Controllers, and in the United Provinces by the Provincial Transport Board. They will advise the Controller of Coal Distribution of the requirements of different centres in the order of urgency and will ensure that the coal received is used for the purpose for which it was ordered.

5. The Controller is generally able to draw up a programme of distribution under which a limited number of wagons is set aside daily for the miscellaneous day-to-day requirements of the public not covered by any priority. The number of wagons set apart under this system is expected to cover all demands for general use. Where, however, special assistance is required for any area, the Controller of Coal Distribution will at his discretion endeavour to give that assistance on information supplied by Provincial Coal Controllers.

6. In applying to the Provincial Controllers for assistance, parties concerned should state the names of collieries with whom orders for coal have been placed, the quantity covered by each order, and the period in which delivery has to be made. Normally all applicants will be expected to draw their supplies from the nearest field, and an explanation will be necessary in all cases where an order has not been placed in the nearest field.

STUDENTS IN THE ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING CLASS OF THE DELHI POLYTECHNIC.

31. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands kindly state:

- (a) how many students were admitted to the Electrical Engineering Class of the Delhi Polytechnic last year and how many are on the roll at present;
- (b) whether there has been any fall in the strength of the class, and, if so, why; and
- (c) if it is a fact that no workshop facilities have so far been provided for practical training of the class although the admission was made in November 1941?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) 38 students were admitted to the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Class of the Delhi Polytechnic in October 1941. Students are admitted to this class on a sessional basis. The session came to a close in May 1942. The next session starts in October 1942 and there are no students in this class at present.

(b) Yes. The session closed with 23 students on the rolls. The fall in strength of the class was only to be expected. It is a part-time course and consists of evening classes totalling from 10½ to 13½ hours a week which men attend in their spare time. Attendance at such a course cannot be expected to maintain the level of attendance at day classes which constitute a student's main activity.

(c) It is not customary to provide workshop facilities for part-time evening students in engineering.

STRIKE BY STUDENTS IN THE ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING CLASS OF THE DELHI POLYTECHNIC.

32. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands, please state whether he is aware that on account of the discontent prevailing in the Electrical Engineering Class of the Delhi Polytechnic, students went on strike during the last term and did not return to their studies until they were assured by the Vice-Principal that staff will be recruited and facilities provided for practical training when the Budget Demand for the Institution was sanctioned by the Legislative Assembly?

(b) Is it a fact that this promise was not kept up and in April the question was shelved till after the summer vacation?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) and (b). The students of the part-time evening course in Engineering absented themselves from evening classes on one occasion in March last. The Vice-Principal immediately met a number of the students and after hearing their complaints explained to them the necessary limitations of part-time evening classes. The students next day resumed their studies. No promise was made that extra staff would be recruited for the evening classes or that facilities for practical training would be provided: these were part-time evening classes and the Principal had already warned the students at the beginning of the course that practical training was not included in the syllabus. Laboratory facilities were envisaged and a promise was given by the Vice-Principal that laboratory facilities would be provided when the Budget allotment was received.

This is being done and the opening of the next evening class in Engineering has been deferred till the 20th October by when, it is hoped, improved laboratory arrangements will be ready. The delay is not the fault of the authorities at the Polytechnic.

LONG SUMMER VACATION IN THE DELHI POLYTECHNIC.

33. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands, please state if it is a fact that the Delhi Polytechnic observed a summer vacation of five months instead of the usual period of 12 weeks prescribed in the Delhi Colleges; and if so, why?

(b) Do Government propose to make any special arrangements to compensate the loss the students have sustained through the long vacation and shorter hours of working?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) The reply is in the negative. The summer vacation this year was from the 15th May to the 14th July and the Institute reopened for its full-time day students on the 15th July. It was not, however, considered possible to start the next term for the part-time evening classes in Engineering before the 20th October, 1942, owing to an unavoidable delay in the provision of necessary buildings and equipment for laboratory instruction.

(b) No. The students have sustained no financial loss.

AVAILABLE AMOUNTS OF POWER ALCOHOL AND RECTIFIED SPIRIT.

34. *Mr. J. Ramsay Scott: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce please state what is the amount of power alcohol available in India and where? Are any plans under consideration to increase the output and if so, what means are proposed?

(b) What is the amount of rectified spirit available in each Province or State and what plans are under consideration to increase the output?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: (a) The estimated annual amount of power alcohol available in India at present is about 1.75 million gallons a year. This amount is almost entirely produced by the three power alcohol plants working respectively at Meerut (U. P.), Mandya (Mysore) and Bodhan (Hyderabad). The Government of India are actively considering, in consultation with the Provincial Governments, particularly of United Provinces and Bihar, various measures that could be taken under the present circumstances to increase the output. The plans under consideration include: (a) import of essential plants; (b) assisting the industrialists selected to import these plants, to obtain essential raw materials and chemicals; and (c) making arrangements to facilitate the distribution of power alcohol.

(b) It is presumed that the Honourable Member desires to assess the amount of rectified spirit which could be used as motor fuel which is available in each Province or State. The necessary information is being collected and will be placed on the table of the House in due course. On the recommendations of the Power Alcohol Conference held at New

Delhi with the representatives of certain Provincial Governments and the Industry, the Provincial Governments have been advised to take every step that is practicable to increase the output of rectified spirit that could be used as motor fuel in their respective areas. Among the plans under consideration to increase this output may be mentioned alterations and improvements to existing distilleries for producing the rectified spirit and a suggestion to the Provincial Governments that a certain portion of rectified spirit produced should be earmarked for use as motor fuel.

EVACUEES FROM BURMA AND MALAYA.

35. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Will the Honourable Member for Indians Overseas be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Indians who have been evacuated so far from Burma and Malaya to India;
- (b) the number of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmans and Chinese that have been so evacuated;
- (c) the number of Indians and Europeans evacuated by transport agencies of the Government;
- (d) the number of evacuees who perished on their way to India;
- (e) the number of Indians left behind in those countries;
- (f) the places on the routes to India where relief Centres were opened at the instance of the Government of India, the number of such centres and of the staff employed;
- (g) the number of evacuees receiving relief at such centres;
- (h) the nature of relief given to the evacuees;
- (i) the total expenditure involved in these relief measures; and
- (j) if any portion of this expenditure has been borne by the Burma Government or by any other Provincial Government, and if so, to what extent?

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney: (a) The number of Indians evacuated from Burma is estimated at five lakhs and that from Malaya at 4,500.

(b) The number of British subjects other than Indians evacuated from Malaya to India is just over 3,000; the number of such evacuees from Burma is not readily ascertainable.

(c) It is not understood what transport agencies of the Government are referred to by the Honourable Member. All destitute evacuees were transported at Government cost from the Indian frontier to their destinations.

(d) Government have no accurate information.

(e) The Indian population still remaining in Burma is of the order of six lakhs and that in Malaya about 7,40,000.

(f) When evacuation from Burma was taking place *via* Chittagong, five camps were maintained between the Burma border and Chittagong and at Chittagong itself six camps were opened. 12 Special Deputy Collectors and a Special Additional District Magistrate were deputed to be in charge of these arrangements apart from a Special Evacuation Officer at Chittagong itself. Some 18 doctors were on duty in Chittagong to render medical aid and to inoculate all refugees without evidence of recent inoculation against cholera. A medical unit provided by the Government of Madras and a posse of doctors sent by the Government of Bengal were also operating in Burma itself between Akyab and Taungup.

An elaborate refugee organisation under the direction of Major General Wood was set up on the Assam-Burma border, from Tamu and Wet Yu to Imphal and Dimapur on the one side and to Bishenpur and Silchar on the other. There were over 30 camps on these routes and nearly 1½ lakhs of refugees were passed through. When towards the close of the dry season, the rapid Japanese advance in Upper Burma diverted the refugee stream into new and much more difficult channels, new camps adequately equipped and stocked were set up at extremely short notice along the new routes and several thousand more refugees rescued. Apart from the military officers who throughout unstintingly assisted the refugee operations, about 50 Camp Commandants and Assistant Commandants, 50 doctors with sanitary and medical staffs, and a strong team of special police, transport, dispersal and supply officers were employed. The number of coolies, porters, carriers, drivers and so on employed ran into thousands.

(g) The capacity of the relief centres and the period for which refugees could be kept at any one camp depended on the location of the camp and the rate of refugee flow. The camp at Dimapur provided accommodation for as many as 5,000 persons for a number of days.

(h) Free portage and transport facilities, food and accommodation at camps, and free railway tickets to destinations and out of pocket expenses for journeys lasting over six hours have all been provided at Government expense, to destitute evacuees.

(i) The information has not yet become available.

(j) The Government of Burma have borne the entire cost of evacuation arrangements in Burma. They have also accepted liability for financial assistance granted to Burman and Anglo-Burman evacuees in India.

"GROW MORE FOOD" CAMPAIGN.

36. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maltra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to make a detailed statement about the plan and programme of the "Grow more food" Campaign inaugurated by Government?

(b) Will he be pleased to state the likely increase in the acreage of cultivation, Province by Province, including the Centrally Administered Areas?

(c) What is the anticipation of the Government of the likely increase in the yield of crops, as a result of this campaign?

(d) D. Government propose to help the cultivators with money or implements or manure or technical advice for the purpose? If not, what are the practical measures adopted by the Government to make the campaign bear fruit?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) and (d). As 'Agriculture' is a Provincial subject, the question of giving effect to the "Grow more Food" campaign is primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Governments: but in view of the present abnormal conditions and the need for ensuring co-ordinated action in the execution of their plan, the Government of India convened a Food Production Conference of the representatives of the Provinces and States in April 1942. A copy of the resolutions adopted by them is available in the library of the House. The recommendations made therein were communicated to the Provincial Governments who were asked to implement them as far as possible in drawing up detailed plans and programmes to suit local conditions and needs. From information received, the Government of India are satisfied that these recommendations have been, generally speaking, implemented. The specific measures undertaken naturally vary from province to province. Broadly, they comprise vigorous propaganda in the country-side, distribution of improved quality seed provision of irrigation water at reduced rates or reservation of canal water for food crops wherever feasible the grant of new cultivable waste land for cultivation, revenue or rent free for a period of three to five years, liberal grants for takavi and so on. These measures have been supplemented by the action taken by the Government of India on the recommendations of the Food Production Conference. In pursuance of one of their recommendations the Government of India have set out up a Central Food Advisory Council, consisting of officials and non-officials, the functions of which are—

- (i) to pool, study and disseminate all available information regarding food and fodder production;
- (ii) to plan on an all-India basis the food and fodder production programme for the different regions and tender advice in regard to its execution, and
- (iii) to advise the authorities responsible about the equitable distribution of the available food stocks.

In pursuance of another recommendation, the Government of India have conveyed an assurance to the cultivators, through a Press Note issued on the 25th May, 1942, that, should any developments take place affecting the saleability of the food crops, they will buy such quantities of food-stuffs in the open market as are calculated to prevent a serious fall in their prices.

It is for the Provincial Governments to help the cultivators with money implements, manure, and technical advice, if necessary. The services of the technical experts of the Government of India are always available to the Provincial Governments.

From the Cotton Fund, created by the levy of an additional duty on imports of raw cotton, the Government of India have sanctioned grants to some provincial and State governments, on certain conditions, to enable them to offer to cultivators a direct financial inducement in the form of a small subsidy or a reduction in land revenue, for every acre of land diverted from short staple cotton to food crops.

(b) and (c). Information, as far as available, is given in the statement laid on the table of the House.

Statement showing the anticipated increase in acreage and yield of food crops as a result of the "Grow More Food" campaign.

Major Provinces.	Total additional area expected to be brought under food crops (in 000 acres).					Yield in thousand tons.				
	Rice.	Wheat.	Gram.	Millets.	Total.	Rice.	Wheat.	Gram.	Millets.	Total.
Assam	250	...	100	...	350	70	...	20	...	90
Bengal	550	...	50	...	600	18	...	10	...	190
Bihar	150	300	...	...	450	45	80	...	...	125
Bombay	200	100	...	500	800	70	15	...	75	160
Central Provinces	100	200	100	1,000	1,400	30	50	20	170	270
Madras	500	...	...	500	1,000	200	...	...	80	280
North Frontier Province	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Frontier Province	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa	100	...	...	...	100	30	...	...	...	30
Punjab	...	600	...	400	1,000	...	170	...	45	215
Sind	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
United Provinces	400	300	...	200	900	115	80	...	35	230
Total for Major Provinces	2,250	1,500	250	2,000	6,600	740	395	50	405	1,590
<i>Centrally Administered Areas.</i>										
Ajmer-Merwara	*	*	*	*	11.5	†	†	†	†	†
Baluchistan	*	*	*	*	7.5	†	†	†	†	†
Delhi	*	*	*	*	14.7	†	†	†	†	†
Total	*	*	*	*	33.7	†	†	†	†	†

* Separate figures not available.

† Figures not available.

FOOD POSITION.

37. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to make a comprehensive statement about the food position of India at the present moment?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state, Province by Province, the present stocks of rice, wheat and other important cereals which constitute the staple food of the country?

(c) Will he please state the average normal yearly production and consumption, Province by Province, of such food crops?

(d) What quantity of the yearly produce of these food stuffs was available for consumption by the civil population in the year 1941-42 and what quantity is likely to be available for the year 1942-43?

(e) Will he please state what quantity of food stuff had to be spared in the year 1941-42 and is likely to be spared in 1942-43 to meet the demands of countries outside India? What are the countries that drew on food supplies from India last year and in what quantities?

(f) In view of the stoppage of supplies of rice from Burma and other countries at present, do Government consider shortage of food in India inevitable? If not, how is this shortage to be made up?

(g) Have Government taken stock of the whole situation and come to any definite finding about the exact food position of the country? If so, does the Honourable Member propose to consider the advisability of issuing a 'ull statement on the subject so as to acquaint the public with the real situation?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker's speech at the Food Production Conference and the Honourable Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh's speech at the first meeting of the Central Food Advisory Council, copies of which are available in the Library of the House.

(b) The information asked for is not available.

(c) A statement giving the information, so far as it is available, is laid on the table of the House. The figures are only approximate and are complicated by the fact that the figures in some cases include and in others exclude the figures for the adjoining States. Import and export figures are only available by trade blocks, while figures of production are not available for all States.

(d) Less than two per cent. of India's normal production of food grains estimated at 600 lakh tons was required in 1941-42 for exports and other commitments. The balance was available for the use of civil population (for consumption and seed). The position in 1942-43 will be more or less the same.

(e) A statement showing the quantity of exports of foodstuffs to different countries during 1941-42 is laid on the table of the House. It is not possible to give any estimate of the quantity likely to be exported in 1942-43, since exports have necessarily to be regulated from time to time with reference to changes in the supply position in the course of the year.

(f) An estimated shortage of 25 lakh tons of food grains is apprehended during the current year owing to the cessation of imports from Burma and bad harvests, but it may reasonably be hoped that as a result of the "Grow more Food" campaign, production will balance the entire demand next year, as the deficit in rice will itself be decreased and should be more than offset by the increased production of wheat and millets.

(g) Yes. The public have already been acquainted with the real situation. The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the Honourable Mr. Sarker's broadcast speech of the 22nd June, 1942, and statement at a

Press Conference on the 13th July, 1942, copies of which are available in the Library of the House, and to my reply to part (a).

Statement showing the normal Annual Production and Consumption of Foodgrains in the Provinces.

	(In thousand tons.)							
	Rice.		Wheat.		Juar-Bajra.		Gram.	
	Pro- duc- tion.	Con- sump- tion.	Pro- duc- tion.	Con- sump- tion.	Pro- duc- tion.	Con- sump- tion.	Pro- duc- tion.	Con- sump- tion.
Assam	1,797	1,790	..	16	..	..	..	3
Bengal	8,802	8,866	45	286	3	4	79	117
Bihar	3,052	3,243	418	456	40	40	439	419
Bombay	1,030	1,512	311	548	3,187	3,441	91	157
Central Pro- vinces								
Berar	2,224	2,032	661	639	1,027	1,034	206	186
Madras	4,581	5,359	..	29	1,893	1,907	12	155
N.-W. F. P.	..	6	259	260	30	30	27	31
Orissa	1,527	1,341	1	10	11	11	2	2
Punjab	320	318	3,920	3,247	367	382	656	557
Sind	482	332	378	328	215	195	55	71
U. P.	2,111	2,316	2,676	2,604	771	683	1,680	1,592

NOTE 1.—The figures for rice, wheat and millets in Bombay include the Bombay States and Baroda.

NOTE 2.—The figures for rice and wheat for the Central Provinces include those for the Central Provinces States.

NOTE 3.—The figures for rice and wheat for the Punjab, Sind, the United Provinces include those for the corresponding States.

Statement showing the Quantity of Exports of various Foodgrains to different Countries during the year ending 31st March, 1942.

Exports of	To	Quantity. (Tons)
1. Rice, not in the husk	U. K.	4,820
	Aden and Dependencies	8,610
	Arabia	46,030
	Bahrain Islands	10,141
	Ceylon	144,710
	Straits Settlements	7,364
	Federated Malay States	1,977
	Union of South Africa	41,193
	Portuguese East Africa	1,360
	Mauritius and Dependencies	21,607
	Kenya Colony and Zanzibar	2,597
	Other East African Ports	555
	Canada	1,727
	U. S. A.	4,163
	Cuba	250
West Indies, other than Cuba and Bahamas	2,727	
Other Countries	4,438	
	Total	304,069
2. Wheat	U. K.	200
	Iran	38,408
	Burma	7,942
	Other countries	139,373
		Total	185,923

Exports of	To	Quantity. (Tons)
3. <i>Wheat flour</i>	Aden and Dependencies	7,800
	Arabia	14,248
	Ceylon	9,448
	Burma	25,247
	Straits Settlements	3,281
	Kenya Colony	606
	Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	9,701
	Other countries	16,717
	Total	87,046
4. <i>Jowar and Bajra</i>	Aden and Dependencies	771
	Arabia	1,212
	Other countries	2,622
	Total	4,605
5. <i>Pulse—</i> (a) <i>Dals</i>	Ceylon	16,808
	Burma	2,581
	Straits Settlements	3,075
	Other countries	16,407
		Total	38,871
(b) <i>Gram</i>	Ceylon	3,939
	Straits Settlements	969
	Other countries	1,052
	Total	5,960
(c) <i>Lentils</i>	U. K.	29,514
	Ceylon	283
	Mauritius and Dependencies	1,225
	Other countries	2,318
	Total	33,340
(d) <i>Pulse, other sorts</i>	U. K.	28,345
	Ceylon	5,222
	Burma	356
	Straits Settlements	239
	Federated Malay States	16
	Union of South Africa	320
	Mauritius and Dependencies	75
	Other countries	335
	Total	34,908
	Total of Pulse	113,079

In the case of the following articles the shares of different countries in the total exports from India are not separately recorded in the Sea-borne Trade Accounts—

	Quantity exported (In tons.)	
1. <i>Rice in the husk (Paddy)</i>	27,996	
2. <i>Barley</i>	970	
3. <i>Maize</i>	43	
4. <i>Oats</i>	918	
5. <i>Pulse—Beans</i>	216	
6. <i>Other sorts of Grain, Pulse and Flour</i>	1,378	
	Total	31,521
	GRAND TOTAL	726,597

CANCELLATION OF WHEAT PERMITS OF CERTAIN COLLEGES IN DELHI.

38. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state if it is a fact that the Director of Industries, Delhi, has cancelled the wheat permits of the Hindu College, the Commercial College, and the Indra Prastha Girls' College, Delhi?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will he be pleased to state the reasons for such action?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: (a) The answer is in the negative. The newspaper which published the news has withdrawn it the very next day with apology.

(b) Does not arise.

RICE EXPORTED TO CEYLON.

39. *Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state the total quantity of rice sent to Ceylon in the year 1941-42, and up to August of the present year?

(b) Will he be pleased to state the price per maund at which such rice was purchased and supplied?

(c) Will he be pleased to state the Province or Provinces from which this rice was purchased or supplied?

(d) In making or allowing such purchases was a careful survey made of the food position of the Province or Provinces concerned, with special reference to production and consumption in the year?

The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker: (a) The quantity of rice exported to Ceylon during 1941-42 was 144,710 tons and that exported during the period 1st April to 31st August, 1942, amounted to 116,274 tons.

(b) No information is available.

(c) The figures of exports from the various ports during the period 1st April to 31st August, 1942, are as follows:

	Tons.
Karachi	28,245
Bombay	9,820
Madras	72,498
Calcutta	5,711

Similar information in respect of exports during 1941-42 is not available.

(d) Exports of rice to Ceylon were brought under control from the 7th February, 1942, and the issue of export licences has been regulated with due regard to the food position of the provinces concerned.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

ALLEGED INSULT BY THE DELHI POLICE TO LADY VOLUNTEERS PICKETING THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have received notice of a motion for the adjournment of the business of the House from Sardar Sant Singh for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the insult offered to Lady Volunteers by the Delhi Police on 14th September, 1942, by dragging them after they had been put under arrest when they tried to picket the Legislative Assembly Chamber. What does the Honourable Member mean by 'picketing the Legislative Assembly'?

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): Yesterday some . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I want to know what is the meaning of that.

Sardar Sant Singh: Some Lady Volunteers were standing outside the small entrance and were barring the way of the Members to come in. They were arrested

An Honourable Member: Shame, shame!

Sardar Sant Singh: Shame to you! After arresting them

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I simply wanted to know what the picketing was for. They wanted to bar the way of the Members. I suppose no Member of the Assembly would like that.

Sardar Sant Singh: That is not the question.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): No. I have to see to that myself.

Sardar Sant Singh: My complaint is

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

Sardar Sant Singh: May I be permitted, Sir

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I want to get at the facts first. Will the Honourable Member let me proceed? Then they were arrested under some provision of law?

Sardar Sant Singh: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Then what you are complaining of is not their arrest?

Sardar Sant Singh: No, Sir. What happened after arrest—dragging.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Why were they dragged?

Sardar Sant Singh: I do not know why they were dragged but they were insulted after they were put under arrest. The law only contemplates arrest and removal but not the use of force, which means insult offered to the persons arrested.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I understand that, but I take it that they were unwilling to be taken to the police station.

Sardar Sant Singh: The law has got its own remedy; women police should be employed.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I want to know the facts.

Sardar Sant Singh: They were dragged from the entrance to the police van.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Because they would not allow themselves to be taken to the police station.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): May I say one thing?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. I want to know from the Honourable the Home Member what the facts are.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): I have not got detailed information as to exactly what happened, Sir, but picketing is a cognizable offence and in arresting picketers, whether male or female, the police are only acting in the exercise of their ordinary and lawful powers. It is their duty to arrest such persons and the very act of arrest necessarily involves imposing physical restraint on persons arrested unless, as the Chair remarked, they come along of their own accord.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Was any excessive force used?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: It can be assumed that no excessive force was used; the Police have instructions to that effect. But supposing the persons arrested had any grievance as regards the manner in which the arrest was conducted, they have their proper remedy in going to the officer responsible for the conduct of the Police or to the Court, and I submit that it is not a case which this House should debate.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: What I want to point out in this connection is that if it is found absolutely necessary to use force in removing arrested ladies to police stations, that force should be used by women police and not by men police.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Picketing of the Legislative Assembly in order to prevent Honourable Members from entering the House and discharging their duties here cannot be permitted under any circumstances. I understand all the Honourable Member are especially anxious to do their duty to the public in this emergency, including Sardar Sant Singh who was, I believe, extremely solicitous that this special Session should be held now—at any rate I received a representation from him to that effect. The Lady Volunteers were wholly unjustified in trying to prevent the Honourable Members of this House from discharging their duties and thus giving the benefit of their services to the entire country. The police were quite justified in arresting them. So far as I understand, it is not alleged that any excessive force was used in arresting them or in taking them to the police station. In any case, if any unnecessary force has been used, then in that case it is to the Court to which the aggrieved persons should go and seek remedy. I rule that the motion is out of order.

Sardar Sant Singh: I want to raise another point that when we came this morning we found the entrance door blockaded by the police. They did not learn the lesson yesterday; in spite of the picketing done by volunteers no Member remained absent because of that. There was no necessity for the police to blockade the door. We know our business, we know our job, we know our responsibility and not to permit us to enter the Chamber is an insult to the Members of this House.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Where did this take place? Was it within the precincts of the Chamber?

Sardar Sant Singh: It was at the entrance door from where the Members came in.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): On the road?

Sardar Sant Singh: No, Sir. About a yard from the door.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): How did the Honourable Member manage to get in?

Sardar Sant Singh: I managed to get in by telling the Police that they have no business to blockade the door.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I understand the Honourable Member gave a good lecture to the Police.

Sardar Sant Singh: I wrote a letter to the Secretary when I came here. We do not come under duress, or protection of the Police. We want protection from the Chair that no such thing would happen in the precincts of the Assembly Chamber.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I understand that. I tried to get at the facts. I received the letter of the Honourable Member. The Honourable Member rightly protected to the Police and he was allowed to go in. There was no obstruction to other Members so far as I understand. Another Member who saw me said that he was not obstructed. These are the facts.

I quite agree with the Honourable Member that the Police has no right, any more than any Lady Volunteers, to bar the entrance to this Chamber or to obstruct any Honourable Member who wishes to come to this House. I sha'll see to that.

STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The Honourable Mr. M. S. Aney (Leader of the House): Sir, at a meeting with Party Leaders convened yesterday it was agreed, subject to your direction, where such is required,

- (1) that consequentially on the decision to sit for three hours a day only, the number of days allotted to the debate on the situation should be increased from two to four, namely, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday in this week;
- (2) that Government business would be put down for Monday next week;
- (3) that for Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday next week there would be a combined List of Business, including firstly, any Government business that might not be disposed of on Monday; secondly, Motions on private Bills, and, thirdly, Non-official Resolutions of which an agreed list was framed.

I should mention that Wednesday next week is a holiday, but that it was agreed that the House should sit on that day. In view of these arrangements, Sir, I would ask you to direct the House to sit on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday next week.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I expect the Members will agree. More days are being allowed to Honourable Members in view of the curtailment of the hours of sitting owing to *Ramzan*. I direct that the House shall sit on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday next week.

HOME DEPARTMENT DECLARATIONS OF EXEMPTION UNDER THE REGISTRATION OF FOREIGNERS ACT.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): Sir, I lay on the table copies of the late Home Department Exemption Orders specified in the list of business, namely:

- (i) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/43/42-Poll. (E), dated the 12th August, 1942;
- (ii) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/39/42-Poll. (E), date the 27th June, 1942;
- (iii) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/18/42-Poll. (E), dated the 21st May, 1942;
- (iv) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/36/42-Poll. (E), dated the 11th June, 1942;
- (v) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/16/42-Poll. (E), dated the 14th April, 1942;
- (vi) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/38/42-Poll. (E), dated the 20th June, 1942;
- (vii) Home Department Declaration of Exemption, No. 1/38/42-Poll. (E), dated the 4th June, 1942; and
- (viii) Home Department Order of Exemption, No. 1/11/42-Political (E), dated the 26th March, 1942;

issued under the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939.

No. 1/43/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 18th August 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to Mr. Albert Evans, Acting Director, American National Red Cross, China Relief Unit, so long as he holds this post.

V. SHANKAR,

Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/39/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 27th June 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Mrs. Frances Ridgway Warden, an official attached to the Consulate for the United States of America at Bombay, so long as she holds a post in that Consulate.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/18/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Simla, the 21st May 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Mrs. Lucile Graham Keating an official attached to the Consulate for the United States of America at Bombay so long as she is so attached.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/36/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 11th June, 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to Mr. Alois Stefan, an official attached to the Czechoslovak Consulate in Bombay, and his family so long as he holds a post in that Consulate.

V. SHANKAR,
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/16/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 14th April 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except Rule 8, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Dr. M. C. Balfour, Regional Director in the Far East of the Rockefeller Foundation and Adviser to the United States Medical Commission to China.

V. SHANKAR,
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/38/42-POLL. (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 20th June, 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to Mr. C. C. Chuang, an official attached to the office of the Commissioner of China to India, so long as he is so attached.

V. SHANKAR,
Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/38/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 4th June 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except rule 8 and such of the provisions of rules 4, 14, 15 and 16 as apply to, or in relation to, passengers and visitors who are not foreigners, shall not apply to, or in relation to Messrs. S. H. Sih, D. Z. Lao, P. Chang, C. M. Sung and S. K. Shen, officials attached to the office of the Commissioner of China to India, so long as they are so attached.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

No. 1/11/42-POLITICAL (E).

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

New Delhi, the 26th March, 1942.

DECLARATION OF EXEMPTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 of the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 (XVI of 1939), the Central Government is pleased to declare that the provisions of the Registration of Foreigners Rules, 1939, except Rule 8, shall not apply to, or in relation to, Mrs. Doris W. Jepson, an official attached to the Headquarters, United States of America, Tenth Air Force, Delhi.

V. SHANKAR,

Deputy Secy. to the Govt. of India.

MOTION RE THE SITUATION IN INDIA.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): At the meeting of the Leaders of the Parties which I had called the day before yesterday, it was agreed, subject to the confirmation of the House, that there should be a time limit for the speeches in connection with motion that is going to be moved by the Honourable the Home Member. It was proposed and agreed upon by all the Leaders of the Parties that the Mover of the motion, Sir Reginald Maxwell, should have 45 to 60 minutes, that is to say one hour, to make his opening speech, and the Leaders of the Parties or the Deputy Leaders

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): Or any other spokesman chosen by the Party.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Only one man out of a Party, chosen by the Party to act as spokesman.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the House is agreeable to that

(The House unanimously agreed.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Or any other Member speaking on behalf of the Party. For the rest of the Members—20 minutes. The Chair takes it that the House is agreeable to this arrangement.

(The House agreed to this arrangement.)

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): Sir, I move: "That the situation in India be taken into consideration."

Sir, by this motion the House is invited to consider the very grave situation that has arisen in the country since the passing of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution of August 8th. No specific proposition is put forward by Government for the acceptance of the House, but in accordance with parliamentary practice, Government have felt it incumbent on them to give Honourable Members as early an opportunity as possible of discussing the situation in the light of such information as can now be given to them. I must explain that our knowledge is not yet complete. The disturbances are very recent. They are not yet at an end, and, at any rate, in the areas most affected, the Provincial Governments and their officers are still closely engaged in restoring or preserving order and taking precautions against fresh acts of violence. It will not be until some time after the situation has cleared up that full information of what has happened in each province can be collected together. And while we are in the midst of these events, it is not possible to review them, or their causes and consequences, as a thing of the past. But I shall try to give the House an outline of what has already occurred and to draw attention to certain aspects that are already becoming evident.

The Congress leaders were arrested on the morning of August 9th. On the same day there was mob violence in Bombay and a few other places; but, although the news was no doubt flashed all over India, it was not until two or three days later—i.e., August 11th, and particularly August 12th—that concerted acts of violence and sabotage began in widely separated areas. These were directed principally against all kinds of communications, and particularly against railways, telegraphs and telephones: but police stations, post offices and other government buildings were also attacked. These troubles occurred simultaneously in parts of Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and Bengal, but the areas most seriously affected were the east of the United Provinces and, above all, Bihar. There has been comparatively little trouble in the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab and Sind, or, to begin with, in Orissa and Assam.

What is not so generally known or appreciated is the extent of the damage caused and the extreme seriousness at one time of the position in the whole of Bihar, (except its most southern districts), and in the eastern part of the United Provinces. In these areas, the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of communications and other Government property; whole districts with their small defending forces of Government officials and police were isolated for days on end; there were brutal atrocities perpetrated by the mob and many deeds of heroism where small parties of police did their best to defend outlying stations. A very large part of the railway systems in this area was put out of action, and it is no exaggeration to say that for a considerable period Bengal

[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

was almost completely cut off from Northern India; while communications with Madras were interrupted by the damage done to the railways in that Presidency.

The damage done was not, of course, confined to the area I have just described, and our information from that area is still far from complete. But the following figures, which are based on the reports hitherto received from the whole of India, will give the House some idea of the destruction caused. About 250 railway stations were damaged or destroyed, of which 180 were in Bihar and the east of the United Provinces. Outside these areas, we have accounts of 24 derailments. Inside them damage was done to a few railway engines. Both inside and outside there was extensive damage to the permanent way and to rolling stock, the results of which are probably more serious than the actual destruction of buildings. In the Posts and Telegraphs Department, up to a week ago, about 550 post offices throughout India had been attacked, of which over 50 were completely burnt down and over 200 seriously damaged. Over 8,500 instances of wire cutting have been reported, and this figure is probably not complete. About one lakh's worth of cash and stamps were stolen and numbers of letter boxes were removed or destroyed by acids or other burning material. The total loss resulting from damage to buildings, apparatus, posts and wires has not yet been estimated nor that resulting from reduction of traffic. Thirty officials of the Posts and Telegraphs Department received physical injuries and many were subjected to intimidation. In spite of all this, telephonic or telegraphic communication of some kind was maintained with all the main towns of India, except Patna, throughout most of the disturbances.

Outside the Railway and Posts and Telegraphs Departments, the violence of the mob was largely directed against Government buildings. Seventy police stations and outposts and 85 other Government buildings were attacked, the majority of which were burnt or demolished. Roads and motor vehicles also suffered. Nor did municipal or private property escape. We have reports of the entirely wicked and wanton destruction of a tuberculosis clinic with its irreplaceable equipment, of the house of a private medical practitioner with all his valuable stock of medicines, of a Roman Catholic Church, of electric light installations and of attacks on A. R. P. buildings and even on schools. There have been other private persons also who have lost all they possessed. Taking into account the loss of earnings on the Railways affected and in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which must be very serious, I should say that the total damage must be well over a crore of rupees which loss, of course, falls on the general public.

As to the present position, while it should not be assumed that trouble is completely at an end in the areas where it has already been brought under control, I think I can say that the position has been largely restored; and if our enemies are hoping that our communications and other conditions in India have been so upset as to make an attack on this country an easier matter than it was, they will be grievously disappointed. Sporadic acts of sabotage and mob violence are still reported from day to day. In fact trouble has spread in a minor form to certain areas not previously affected, such as parts of Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Special efforts were made to revive disorders on or about the 9th September, the day of the month on which the original arrests were made, but these were not generally

successful, and there have been welcome signs, especially in the areas worst affected by disorder, of a desire on the part of the law-abiding population to co-operate with the authorities in preventing further disorders. Taking the situation as a whole, it can be said that, except in one or two small areas in Bihar, the authority of the Government is now fully re-established where it was threatened. Train services, except to the extent that it is still necessary to restrict them in order to conserve coal, are practically normal on all railways except in certain sections in Bihar. North of the Ganges in Bihar there is still interruption, and on certain sections south of the Ganges and on one small section in the Madras Presidency, night running has not been resumed. Goods traffic, and particularly coal-traffic, is obviously of the first importance; and it is satisfactory that the East Indian Railway is now delivering practically its normal loading of 2,000 coal wagons a day. Passenger traffic will have to be subject to severe restrictions for some time to come.

In the Posts and Telegraphs Department, with the exception of parts of Bihar, the position is generally satisfactory. Attacks on Post Offices on any appreciable scale have ceased. But isolated instances of such attacks are still occurring, as well as the stealing of letter boxes and attempts at incendiarism on offices and the contents of letter boxes. Scattered wire cutting also continues, especially in eastern Bengal, southern Madras, the southern division of the Bombay Presidency and certain portions of the United Provinces and Bihar. Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier continue to be remarkably free. The main lines of communication between Delhi and Calcutta, and Madras and Calcutta are being tampered with almost every day with the result that continuous perfect working has not yet been possible. Interference with certain other main lines is also continuing; and in spite of every effort it has not yet been possible to establish a satisfactory channel of communication by telegraph or telephone between Delhi and Patna.

There are one or two special aspects of these disturbances to which I wish to draw the attention of the House.

The attacks on railways and other communications started almost simultaneously in widely separated parts of India. That in itself is a significant fact. It becomes more so when one reflects that much of the damage caused must have required special implements which could not have been produced at a moment's notice—wire-cutters to cut telegraph wires, spanners to remove fish-plates from railway lines and so on. An even more significant fact of which we have considerable evidence is the technical knowledge displayed by the saboteurs. Here in Delhi the destruction of railway signal boxes was done in a scientific way. Control rooms and block instruments in railway stations have come in for special attention, and the manner of their destruction, which, of course, has a paralysing effect on the safe running of trains, also displayed technical knowledge. Signs of similar knowledge are not lacking in the sabotage of telegraph and telephone lines. Indeed I could multiply instances to bring out this point. Facts of this kind are inconsistent with the theory that these disturbances were spontaneous outbursts arising out of the arrests of the Congress leaders.

Another point equally inconsistent with that theory is the military significance of the areas and objectives selected for special attention. The

[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

disturbances have occurred mainly in areas which have strategic importance and the objects of attacks have largely been the communications which would be essential for the defence of the country in the event of a hostile attack. In the area of worst disorder—that is to say Bihar—any dislocation of railways would seriously affect troop movements and prevent the sending of reinforcements from Northern India to the area most exposed to enemy invasion. Moreover, this is the centre of India's coal industry and inability to despatch coal supplied from this centre would paralyse transport and industry throughout the country as soon as the existing reserves had been consumed.

Both these points supply evidence of previous organisation having the most sinister possible motives. We have been fortunate on this occasion in being free to give attention to this movement at a time when there was little fear of the development of an enemy attack, with which the movement had possibly been planned to synchronise. But we might not be equally fortunate another time and I need hardly point out that such an outbreak would be a direct invitation to the Japanese to attack India if they were in a position to do so.

On the other hand, the ordinary characteristics of spontaneous disturbances have been almost entirely absent. The first object of a riotous mob is generally loot. There have, of course, been cases of looting, but on the whole this form of activity has been far less common than might have been expected. Similarly, hartals have not been observed to the extent that seemed likely and the special machinery which Government had devised to deal with such demonstrations has not had to be largely used. The selective nature of the acts of sabotage is thrown into relief by the significant fact that there has been little or no sabotage of industrial plant or machinery. It is true that cessation of work, where it has occurred under political pressure, has interfered to some extent with war production. But what is the explanation of the absence of industrial sabotage except perhaps that the owners, while ready enough in some cases to close down and accept some temporary diminution of their earnings, are determined not to be deprived of the plant and machinery on which their comfortable war profits depend?

I now turn to the measures taken by Government, first in the hope of preventing the development of a mass movement and, subsequently, in order to control and suppress the disturbances that occurred. The arrests of Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee were accompanied by simultaneous action in the provinces to declare Congress Committees to be unlawful associations and to detain all important individuals who, in the opinion of Provincial Governments, were competent, and likely to attempt, to organise and lead a mass movement. We have not yet received from the provinces statistics of the number of preventive arrests so made, nor of the arrests subsequently effected for participation in the disturbances themselves. There can be no doubt, however, that the initial and concerted action of all Governments in India had a considerable effect in disorganising the Congress plans. We might have had a much more serious situation to meet if an interval had been allowed for the maturing of those plans and if they had been allowed to choose their own moment for the launching of the campaign.

It was clear from the outset that the development of any movement along the lines envisaged by the Congress leaders must directly interfere with the efficient prosecution of the war, and Government thus had no hesitation in using to the full the powers provided by the Defence of India Rules. These rules were supplemented by additional powers to deal with hartals and to control local authorities who might act in furtherance of the movement. In addition, the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance and the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance, which were originally intended to apply to situations arising directly from enemy attack, were made applicable to the present disturbances. The deterrent effect of these special enactments has been useful. They enabled offences to be tried promptly and appropriate sentences to be awarded. A further measure, of which effective use had already been made by most Provincial Governments, is the Collective Fines Ordinance which enable the Provincial Governments to lay joint responsibility on the inhabitants of any area concerned in the commission of certain classes of offences.

It has also been necessary to impose a measure of restriction on the publication of news. I have no time to enter into the details of the orders issued and the changes in those orders which we agreed to recommend to Provincial Governments as a result of a very full discussion with the Editors' Conference which recently met in Delhi. I should, however, like to make it clear that our policy in this respect has been largely governed by two entirely objective considerations. In the first place, disorders of this character are infectious and news of what has occurred in one place may lead to its repetition in a number of other places which might otherwise have remained quiet; and in the second place, much that has occurred would, if it were known to the enemy, be of great value to his plans for an invasion of this country.

Apart from the legal powers which I have just described, the fullest executive use has naturally been made of the police throughout the disturbed areas. They have been through an extremely trying ordeal and have been compelled on many occasions to open fire on riotous mobs and gangs of saboteurs in defence of property or, not infrequently, of their lives. On most occasions when fire had to be opened, the casualties were almost surprisingly small but the totals necessarily add up to a considerable figure. Our records as brought up to date during the last few days show 340 killed and about 850 wounded but the information from some parts of Bihar is not yet quite complete. Even so, the figures fall very far short of the many thousands which the Axis radios invent—less, for instance, than have occurred in many single air raids in England. On the other hand, the police themselves suffered heavily. A very large number of policemen have been injured while 31 are reported so far to have been killed. These include a number of brutal murders in some cases of unarmed policemen. I have no time to give the House a full list of these atrocities, but I may mention the tragedy of Chimur in the Central Provinces. Here the sub-Divisional Magistrate, the Circle Inspector of Police, the Naib-Tahsildar, and a constable were offered their lives if they promised to join the Congress and resign from Government service. They refused and were then murdered in cold blood and their bodies burnt. Similar instances have been reported from a number of other places.

An Honourable Member: Burnt alive?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: In this case they were murdered first and then burnt, but there were other cases in which they had been burnt alive.

In addition to the police, there was a very wide use of troops, British and Indian, in aid of the civil power. In no less than 60 places troops were called out while on a number of occasions they stood by. They were also widely used for guard and protection duties. The military too were forced to open fire on many occasions and the reported figures of casualties thus caused are 318 killed and 153 wounded. Military casualties were 11 killed and 7 wounded, and these figures include two Air Force officers who were taken from a train and killed by the mob, and one British officer and four soldiers who were ambushed and murdered by a mob after putting up a stout resistance. Both of these incidents occurred in Bihar. The Air Force was used and proved invaluable for reconnaissance and patrol. On one or two occasions, after warnings had had no effect, aircraft opened fire on mobs actually engaged in destroying the railway line; but, there was no bombing whatever.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): The Honourable Member said that some aircraft were engaged?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: On reconnaissance and patrol work.

Sir Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): That was in Bihar?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: They were used on various sections—not only in Bihar—but the incidents to which I referred were, I think, the occasions when they opened fire. Those did occur in Bihar.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Were any killed by the opening of that fire?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I have not heard that they were.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): May I know why the aircraft was used?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: To disperse the mob.

In regard to the use of the armed forces of Government to quell these disturbances, there is one point that I wish to make clear to the House. These forces have not been used to open fire on crowds engaged in peaceful or legitimate political demonstrations. Had that been the case, the word 'repression' that we so often hear might have had some application but in disorders of the kind that have occurred the mobs or gangs of persons engaged in sabotage were in every case the aggressors. The police or the troops, where they were employed in aid of the civil government, were carrying out no more than their legal duties and obligations in using force for the defence of person and property and for the prevention of violent rebellion intended to overthrow the Government which is responsible for the safety of all. It is for this purpose that armed forces are maintained

by the State; and those who use force must expect to be met by force. It has already been made clear in the Government communique of the 8th August that the purpose of Government is preventive rather than punitive and this is the principle that has governed and will govern our action. Complaints of the use of excessive force have no real meaning in situations such as those with which the police have had to deal. It cannot be expected of a small band of police confronted by a threatening mob that they should make mathematical calculations of the precise amount of force necessary to disperse it. We have to think of men doing their duty in the face of daily and even hourly danger to their lives, men charged with responsibility for the protection of vital communications. Hesitation at these moments would mean that they were overwhelmed or that the mob would attain its object. Their first concern is to take effective action and it is their duty to do so. Cases will no doubt be quoted in which it is alleged that force was used with no such provocation. I would ask Honourable Members to be sure that such stories are well verified before they give currency to them. If, however, any such act has occurred anywhere, it is a breach of discipline with which the Provincial Governments and the officers in command of their forces are as much concerned as any member of the public. I would, therefore, Sir, deprecate any sweeping allegations as regards the conduct of the police at a time when the whole country owes so much to their courage and steadfastness. The proper course in such cases will be to bring the allegations, if they are well authenticated, to the notice of the authorities immediately responsible for the discipline of their forces and it can be assumed that, if satisfied, they will do what is proper. But it is putting an entirely wrong perspective on the whole matter to lavish sympathy on those who have brought upon themselves the consequences of their own aggression and to attempt to put the police or other Government forces on their defence whenever they have found it necessary in the circumstances of the emergency to use force in the execution of their duty.

One of the high lights of the situation has been the manner in which not only the police, on whom the deadliest attacks usually fell, but all ranks of Government servants—even the humblest—have in the country as a whole stood firm and done their duty in face of attempts to subvert or terrorise them. I have heard of fine work, too, done by the civic guards and A. R. P. services. I do not say that there have been no failures here and there but the country may well congratulate itself on the way in which the machinery of Government has continued to function under the very severe strain imposed upon it. We shall not forget those who have given their lives in the execution of their duty and we may well claim that the loyalty of all classes of Government servants has proved their faith in the administration that they have served so well. Solid and stable public services are a great bulwark against anarchy. We must see that their confidence is not shaken by unworthy attacks upon them.

Another source of encouragement has been the steadiness of the country as a whole notwithstanding the inconvenience and loss caused to the general population by these widespread disturbances. Experience in Bombay, Cawnpore and elsewhere has shown that labour, if left alone, is not anxious to give trouble. Where strikes have occurred—and there are several important areas such as Ahmedabad in which labour is still out—they have been the direct result of political influences backed, we suspect, by ample funds. Nor has the population at large shown any general inclination to take part in the movement. The Moslem community and the

[Sir Reginald Maxwell.]

scheduled castes, I am glad to say, have, as a whole, stood entirely aloof. Large areas of the country, again, have been quite free from any sort of disturbance. Certain areas there have been—and I do not minimise their extent or importance—where for a time hooliganism has become rampant and mob rule prevailed. But speaking generally I think it can be said that the disorders and acts of sabotage have been mainly of a local and sporadic character carried out by organised parties with the assistance, no doubt, of the local hooligan element and such others of the more ignorant population as could be excited by false stories and promises. What I would emphasize is that this movement cannot in any true sense be described as a people's movement. The whole thing is engineered and not spontaneous. There are already encouraging signs of a revulsion of public opinion against the madness of the past weeks and cases have come to notice in which the villagers themselves have intervened to prevent damage to public property. But until the malign influences that have been at work have been fully counteracted the country cannot feel safe from further attempts to disturb the life of the people.

Who then is responsible for these disorders? What lies behind them? Where the whole life of the country has been so greatly disturbed, where its defence in war has been so far prejudiced, it is important that the country should form a clear opinion on this subject. Attempts have been made and will, no doubt, continue to be made to exonerate the Congress leaders or to represent that recent events are not the outcome of the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay. The terms of the Resolution which they then passed are such that they can hardly disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. But apart from that, it is impossible to interpret the utterances of the Congress leaders themselves except on the assumption that they knew and approved of what was likely to occur. Prior to August 8th, Mr. Gandhi himself in his organ *The Harijan* and in a series of published statements and press conferences, which received wide publicity throughout the country was engaged in preparing the ground for a civil disobedience movement the exact nature of which he did not to the very end openly disclose. He did not shrink from speaking in terms of appreciation of anarchy as an alternative to the existing order and he made it known that the contemplated struggle was to be "a conflagration" and that he would "not hesitate to run any risk however great". On the 14th July, after the Wardha Resolution had been passed, he declared in a press interview: "After all, it is an open rebellion. . . . My intention is to make it as short and swift as possible." On the 19th July he again declared: "I do not want rioting as a direct result. If in spite of precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped". His final message, after his arrest—which was foreshadowed in his speech of the previous day to the All-India Congress Committee—was "Do or die", a slogan that has been quoted in many subsequent Congress circulars or bulletins as authority for acts of violence. Other Congress leaders also made no secret of the nature of the contemplated struggle, and the time between the passing of the Wardha Resolution and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was used by many of them in developing the themes that full discretion would be left to the participants (as indicated in the Congress Resolution itself); that the movement would not be called off if it led to violence; and that acts such as the destruction of communications and even derailment of

trains would be regarded as legitimate. The Madras Government has already given publicity to instructions issued by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee which definitely included in the programme the cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, removal of rails and demolition of bridges. One item of this programme is "to impede the war efforts of the Government" and another is "to run parallel Government in competition with the British Government". It is noteworthy that this circular itself quotes as its authority Mr. Gandhi's 'do or die' message. Instructions of a similar character are found in numerous bulletins and leaflets claiming the authority of the Congress which have been found in circulation since the disturbances started. One such bulletin contains "a war programme" which contains such items as these:

"Formation of guerilla bands to give surprise attacks on the 'Tommies'";

"Stopping of all trains carrying troops and war materials";

and, even more serious perhaps,

"Britishers' cooks are to be organised to cook bad food for their masters".

An Honourable Member: Most of them do it.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: It may be said that there is no proof that these bulletins carry the authority of Congress or the Congress leaders, although they profess to do so. I have, however, elsewhere brought out the point that the acts of sabotage that have occurred could not have been planned in a moment and show clear evidence of previous organisation. Whatever part the Congress leaders may have taken in the actual work of this organisation, it is impossible to believe for a moment in the light of their own utterances that they were ignorant of its existence or that their plan did not contemplate that it would be brought into play when they launched their mass movement. I am not at present prepared to say whence this organisation drew its inspiration. It will be our business to find out more of what we do not yet know. But if any doubt remained as to the identity of Congress with these disturbances it could easily be removed by quoting the very numerous instances in which known Congressmen, particularly in Bihar, have been observed openly inciting mobs to violence and sabotage; while many others went underground immediately after the Bombay meetings and have remained there for reasons best known to themselves. On the basis of all the information at present available, therefore, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events and cannot allow the country to remain under any delusion as to the part they have been playing.

Sir, when the Congress threw down their challenge on the 8th August the Government gave an immediate reply. "To a challenge such as the present" they said in their communique, "there can only be one answer." They pointed out that on the Government of India "lies the task of defending India, of maintaining India's capacity to wage war, of safeguarding India's interests, of holding the balance between the different sections of her people without fear or favour. That task the Government of India will discharge in face of the challenge now thrown down by the Congress Party".

Sir Muhammed Yamin Khan: What about the saving of the lives of the people?

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell: I am only quoting part of the communique. Proof has now been given, Sir, that the Government of this country has not only the will but the power to arrest the forces of anarchy. It is little more than five weeks since the word was given to 'do or die'. The existence of a very widespread conspiracy immediately became manifest. Yet, today, although many terrible things have happened, control has been established almost everywhere and the country as a whole is quiet; and although this suicidal movement is not yet finally quelled, we can feel some justifiable confidence in our power to deal with any situation that may yet arise.

There are some who charge Government with overhastiness in taking action when they did. The answer is that had Government given opportunity for three or four weeks more of Congress propaganda of the kind that was then in progress, it is very doubtful if this rebellion could have been quelled without very much more destruction than has now taken place. What has happened is bad enough: but delay might have meant an appalling disaster for the whole people of this country.

There are those, again, who say that repression is not the right remedy and that in order to restore peace steps should be taken to release all those who have been endangering the country's defence and put them in a position to conduct the further war effort of India. That is, I think, the underlying significance of some of the amendments that have been tabled. Well, Sir, the position of this Government has been made clear in the communique to which I have already referred and there is little that I can add to it. One thing quite plain is that with an enemy at our gates and another enemy within them the prime duty of this Government is to undo the harm that has been done as soon as possible and to put this country in a state of defence against both.

Sir, the picture which I have been compelled to place before the House is one that will give no satisfaction to thinking people or to those who are jealous of this country's honour and repute. They will regret the orgy of destruction, the waste of Indian lives and property—things that can only bring loss and hardship to Indians themselves. They will regret that the forces that should have been facing the enemy at our gates should have been diverted to the task of quelling an attempted internal revolution. They will regret that, with Indian soldiers' repute never standing higher in the world: with victory drawing ever nearer and with it the promised fulfilment of India's highest dreams: one political party, for its own ends, should have descended to acts of sabotage as a means of enforcing its demands, regardless of the help thereby given to the enemy.

I have before now given warning in this House of the danger of arousing the passions of the excitable masses through irresponsible agitation. These events afford more than sufficient justification for the preventive action taken by Government in the past, for which we have often been attacked. They show how real is the peril in this country of unleashing the forces of disorder and how quickly, when that is done, the reign of holliganism—always latent and waiting for its opportunity—tends to establish itself, so that no man's life or property is safe. Now that the danger has become apparent to all it is, I am sure this House will agree, not only for Government but for all who wish to save the country from very terrible danger

to dedicate themselves, at whatever personal sacrifice, to the task of mobilising the active help of the people themselves in preventing further acts of violence and disorder. It is not enough to condemn these things in the abstract: it is for every citizen to see that they do not happen. Sir, I move.

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

"That the situation in India be taken into consideration."

I see several notices of amendments have been given. I propose that those who want to move any amendment to this motion should formally move their amendments and then there will be a debate both on the original motion and the amendments.

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): I am not moving my amendment*.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am not moving my amendment†.

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

"That for the original motion the following be substituted:

"That in view of the fact that the present sad state of affairs in India has resulted mostly by the activities of agencies who with the object of bringing Indian National Congress into disrepute with United Nations started propoganda against it by ascribing to it as having included in its programme sabotage and destruction of Government Property and having changed its creed from non-violence to violence, and the subsequent arrest of Congress Leaders before they could contradict that charge and define as to what they meant by mass civil-disobedience, and thus a section of the public having been led to believe that the programme of the Congress was the same as was alleged by its opponents, and who in their despair and anger having resorted to these undesirable activities—which could not be approved by any political party with non-violence as its creed—and which action in its turn has evoked the expected use of force by Government which has far exceeded the requirements in almost every case, and which has now gone to the extent of collective responsibilities and collective fines and all this has torn the peace and tranquillity of the Country to pieces and is likely to result in great embarrassment to the war effort, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps—even if no compromise be considered possible—to ascertain the views of the Congress Leaders in this respect and to give them an opportunity of contradicting this charge and clearing their position and change the violent activities into non-violent expression of their dissent, and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence by taking liberal steps which may inspire confidence in the minds of the people regarding the intentions of the British Government towards India."

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

"That for the original motion the following be substituted:

*"That for the original motion the following be substituted:

"That, with a view to relieving the existing tension in the country and helping more adequately the war efforts of the United Nations, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that all Congressmen detained or imprisoned since the 7th August, 1942, be released and that immediate steps be taken to establish at the Centre a national Government representative of all the Parties in the Central Legislative Assembly and responsible to the Assembly and also to establish in each of the Governors' provinces a similarly constituted responsible Government."

†"That in Dr. P. N. Banerjea's amendment to the motion after the words 'Governor General in Council that', the words 'subject to the civil disobedience movement being withdrawn' be inserted."

[Mr. President.]

"That in view of the fact that the present sad state of affairs in India has resulted mostly by the activities of agencies who with the object of bringing Indian National Congress into disrepute with United Nations started propaganda against it by ascribing to it as having included in its programme sabotage and destruction of Government property and having changed its creed from non-violence to violence, and the subsequent arrest of Congress Leaders before they could contradict that charge and define us to what they meant by mass civil-disobedience, and thus a section of the public having been led to believe that the programme of the Congress was the same as was alleged by its opponents, and who in their despair and anger having resorted to those undesirable activities—which could not be approved by any political party with non-violence as its creed—and which action in its turn has evoked the expected use of force by Government which has far exceeded the requirements in almost every case, and which has now gone to the extent of collective responsibilities and collective fines and all this has torn the peace and tranquillity of the Country to pieces and is likely to result in great embarrassment to the war effort, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps—even if no compromise be considered possible—to ascertain the views of the Congress Leaders in this respect and to give them an opportunity of contradicting this charge and clearing their position and change the violent activities into non-violent expression of their dissent, and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence by taking liberal steps which may inspire confidence in the minds of the people regarding the intentions of the British Government towards India."

Mr. N. M. Dumasia (Nominated Non-official): Sir, I move :

"That for the original Motion the following be substituted :

"That this Assembly condemns the orgy of lawlessness and disorders that have recently taken place in India with serious loss of lives and colossal damage to property which have seriously interfered with public services, approves of the action adopted by the Government to suppress the mob violence and "Civil Disobedience" movement initiated by the Congress and to restore order in the country and recommends that there should be no relaxation of measures for the protection of lives and property until the "Civil Disobedience" movement is withdrawn and peace and quiet restored in India."

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

"That for the original Motion the following be substituted :

"That this Assembly condemns the orgy of lawlessness and disorders that have recently taken place in India with serious loss of lives and colossal damage to property which have seriously interfered with public services, approves of the action adopted by the Government to suppress the mob violence and "Civil Disobedience" movement initiated by the Congress and to restore order in the country and recommends that there should be no relaxation of measures for the protection of lives and property until the "Civil Disobedience" movement is withdrawn and peace and quiet restored in India."

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official) : Nobody else is moving.

Sardar Sant Singh : I am moving. Sir, I move :

"That for the original Motion the following be substituted :

"That this House recommends to the Governor General in Council to immediately take suitable steps to bring about necessary changes in the constitution of India to establish a real National Government in India immediately and with a view to assure the people of India of the sincerity of the British people in this connection, this House recommends to the Governor-General in Council to do the following :

1. To make an immediate declaration of the complete independence for India from 1st of November, 1942.
2. To immediately lift the ban from Indian National Congress and allied institutions which have been declared unlawful on or after 8th of August, 1942.
3. To immediately release Mahatma Gandhi, his co-workers and other Congressmen detained or sentenced for any offence after 8th August, 1942, and to release all persons arrested, detained or sentenced to any term of

imprisonment for offences connected with this movement after 8th of August, 1942.

4. To remit all fines levied from individuals or collectively levied on villages or towns.
5. To dissolve the Central and Provincial Legislatures and hold new elections at the earliest convenient date.
6. To invite the Indian National Congress and Muslim League to form a Provisional National Government at the Centre. And in case these two bodies do not agree to form the Government then Indian National Congress alone should be invited to do so and in case Indian National Congress declines to accept the invitation Muslim League alone should be asked to do so till elections are held."

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

"That for the original Motion the following be substituted:

"That this House recommends to the Governor General in Council to immediately take suitable steps to bring about necessary changes in the constitution of India to establish a real National Government in India immediately and with a view to assure the people of India of the sincerity of the British people in this connection, this House recommends to the Governor-General in Council to do the following:

1. To make an immediate declaration of the complete independence for India from 1st of November, 1942.
2. To immediately lift the ban from Indian National Congress and allied institutions which have been declared unlawful on or after 8th of August, 1942.
3. To immediately release Mahatma Gandhi, his co-workers and other Congressmen detained or sentenced for any offence after 8th August, 1942, and to release all persons arrested, detained or sentenced to any term of imprisonment for offences connected with this movement after 8th of August, 1942.
4. To remit all fines levied from individuals or collectively levied on villages or towns.
5. To dissolve the Central and Provincial Legislatures and hold new elections at the earliest convenient date.
6. To invite the Indian National Congress and Muslim League to form a Provisional National Government at the Centre. And in case these two bodies do not agree to form the Government then Indian National Congress alone should be invited to do so and in case Indian National Congress declines to accept the invitation Muslim League alone should be asked to do so till elections are held."

Sir Henry Richardson (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, one fact emerges clearly from practically all the amendments tabled for this debate and that is that they aim at securing conditions which will enable the maximum war effort to be put forward by this country. However divided we may be in the methods to be followed, this House, like the great majority of India's peoples, is determined to fight the Axis menace at all costs and it therefore applies to every proposal the test as to what its effect will be on India's war effort. This is the test which we in this Group have consistently applied in the past and which we apply now in considering the Resolution before the House. In the light of this test it is clear that every Member of this House must vigorously condemn the course of the present Civil Disobedience Movement.

We have heard from the Honourable the Home Member something of the extent and intensity of the lawlessness engendered in various parts of India by this movement; we have heard of wanton destruction of property,

[Sir Henry Richardson.]

of unwarranted interference with personal liberty and of brutal and unprovoked murder. We have heard too of attacks upon humble Government servants, in no sense responsible themselves for the policy of Government, who were merely carrying out their normal duties—duties which, let me remind my Honourable friends, those servants would still be called upon to discharge whatever might be the policy and constitution of any Government in this country. A spirit of lawlessness, once created, is not readily extinguished and those who are responsible for the evils of the present movement may find their own administration hampered some day by this same spirit of defiance of authority which their own actions have released—actions which lay the country open to the depredations alike of the hooligans within and the goondas without.

Here let me pay a tribute to the devotion and bravery of those many Government servants who have faced unpopularity, insult and danger in their efforts to preserve the whole structure of our peaceful life. I refer not only to the police, whose behaviour throughout India has been magnificent, but also to District Officers, Magistrates of all grades, and all classes of Railway and Postal officials; and indeed all those whose official duties have thrown upon them the burden of coping with this great evil. It is of the utmost importance that in carrying out these most regrettable but necessary duties, these officials should feel that they have behind them the solid backing of this House and of the responsible elements in the country. There have been suggestions that in every case where the Police have had to use force, an enquiry should be held. We are strongly opposed to any such suggestion, for any officer who, faced with a violent and destructive crowd, has to take action to safeguard life and property, must not be made to feel that every thing he does will be made the subject of a searching and legally conducted intricate enquiry carried out in safety long after the turmoil has subsided. I say with the utmost emphasis, that these men deserve better of their country than this. Moreover, the security of the State depends largely on the confidence of officials that they can do their duty in time of crises without becoming subject to harassment thereafter. Once this sense and confidence is destroyed, then whatever constitution India may have in the future, she will not know the meaning of real freedom for the disorderly elements of society will have learnt that they can afford to indulge their instincts for violence and hooliganism with impunity.

I have already referred to hooligans from within and goondas from without. It is I think abundantly clear that if this movement were allowed to go unchecked, it would give the utmost encouragement and help to those goondas from without. We have already heard how India's war effort has been impeded by this movement, and indeed, apart from anything that we have been told, it is surely obvious that even the smallest disruption of communications in time of war must be a cause of rejoicing to the enemy. Can any responsible person believe that actions of this nature, merely because they purport to be carried out in the struggle for freedom, can in fact bring that freedom nearer? If the Axis powers are defeated, freedom for this country is a certainty, but if those powers win, the very word 'freedom' will cease to have any meaning. We in this House know that the only possible effect of the Civil Disobedience Movement is to delay the realization of that freedom and it is for this reason

we insist that Government shall continue to take whatever measures shall be necessary to put down these subversive activities.

I have said that provided we win the war, freedom for this country is assured and in saying this I am merely reiterating what has already been said publicly and solemnly by His Majesty's Government. If there is any doubt in the minds of any of my Indian friends as to the sincerity of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government, may I say here and now that in the minds of my community no such doubt exists; we accept it as a definite settled fact and we, as a community, will continue to exert ourselves to the utmost to assist in every possible way in implementing these promises at the earliest possible moment.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadian Rural) : What happened after the last war!

Sardar Sant Singh: Why not now?

Sir Henry Richardson: In our opinion, His Majesty's Government and the present Government of India would be guilty of a grave dereliction of duty if they allowed the gift of orderly freedom which has been offered to India, to be dashed to the ground in pieces, just because it has been rejected, instead of preserving it carefully until at long last it can safely be placed in willing and worthy hands.

In the time at my disposal it would be impossible for me to deal adequately with the great question of a transfer of power during the period of the war and later on the debate, one of my Colleagues will, I hope, be given an opportunity of speaking on this subject. I will only say this. We are concerned with winning the war within the shortest possible time and we are convinced that any attempt to bring about an immediate transference of power during the war, in the absence of agreement between the major political parties, will lead to chaos and possibly to disaster.

There are some amongst the Members of the House who say why not form a National Government here and now, and transfer power to it immediately. Let us be quite clear in our minds about this. What exactly is a National Government? What is it we want to achieve? A National Government surely is a Government which so completely commands the support of all parties and interests in the State that it is able to set to rest political controversy for the time being and to ignore the demands of purely party or sectional interests. That is the essential characteristic and virtue of a National Government. Can it be seriously suggested that such a Government can be formed in this country in the middle of the War, in the absence of a firm agreement between any of the major political parties?

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab : Muhammadan) : According to you not till Doomsday!

Sir Henry Richardson: Let me take an analogy. Would it be possible at all to have a National Government in war time in England, if say, the entire Conservative Party remained not merely outside, but antagonistic to that Government, and if moreover it declined to assist in the war effort because it was not in that Government?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The analogy is vicious.

Sir Henry Richardson: It would be impossible. It is alright to talk of forming a National Government but when you get down to the practical business of the composition and jurisdiction of that Government, you will find that you are doing exactly the same task that a Constituent Assembly will have to perform after the war. That task is by no means incapable of achievement, but it is a task which demands considerable time, protracted negotiations and much effort. It is not a thing which can be achieved in the twinkling of an eye, and it is, therefore, meaningless to talk of an immediate transfer of power to a National Government. There is however one way in which a National Government can be achieved. I have said that a National Government is a Government which commands the support of the whole country and sets to rest political controversy and party warfare. If my Honourable friends of all Parties will say, we will put aside political controversy for the period of the war and will devote ourselves wholly to the successful prosecution of the war, then a National Government representing the united will and determination of the people is possible.

But I suggest that a careful study of the statements made by the various individual political leaders will show that that stage has not yet been reached. It is a matter of profound regret to us that this should be so and that as a result there is, in certain sections of the Indian public, a sense of frustration leading to bitterness. We can quite understand how the Indian people feel on this matter and we have sincere sympathy for their national feelings and aspirations. But we must not be led by that sympathy to premature action of a kind which might lead to civil war and disaster. The great trouble seems to be inability and failure to face realities, and with all the good intentions in the world, no practical solution in either business or politics is ever possible unless this primary factor is realised.

Sir, we in this Group attach the greatest importance to this debate because we believe that if we and all parties in India can order ourselves aright during the remaining years of the war, a great and glorious future lies ahead of a free India in the post-war world, an India which we believe under the stimulus of growing industrialisation will take its place amongst the greatest and most powerful nations of the modern world. It is with that object that our troops, Indian and British, are today fighting as brothers in arms and proving themselves more than worthy of the great military traditions of our common past. They are fighting in the sure knowledge that, however long and difficult the task may be, at the end lies victory, victory for idealism over the gross materialism of the Axis powers, victory for the belief in the right of mankind to freedom, and victory for all those values upon which depend the future freedom and glory of India.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Mr. President,

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur'Pahim): Do I understand the Honourable Member will speak for thirty minutes.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I will speak not on behalf of the Party but as a Member. Sir, after listening to the speech of the Honourable the Home Member and to the many stories he told us in his speech, one is

inclined to say that every kind of encouragement must be given to the police officials and other officials who have been facing a serious situation in the country. The Honourable Member did not point out what I have been reading in the papers for the last week, the sad stories of certain police officials being burnt alive after being surrounded by mobs of 500, while they were only three or four policemen—about fire being set to thatched buildings and two constables and a sub-inspector being surrounded there. The Muslim League in their resolution very clearly condemned all these acts of sabotage and murder and destruction of property. I am glad that the Honourable the Home Member in his speech clearly said that the Muslim community and the Depressed classes have kept themselves absolutely aloof from this movement, except a very few persons who have joined the Congress.

What has been happening? Certain Honourable Members like my Honourable friend, Mr. Kazmi, want to say that the responsibility does not lie with the Congress for the things taking place today in the country. If that is true and if it is to be taken for granted that most of the destruction has been done by the Hindu community, then may I ask him if he suggests that if it was not the Congress it is the Hindu Mahasabha? If that is his implication, he will have a proper reply from the Hindu Mahasabha Members themselves. I do not want to speak on their behalf. But in whose sympathy has this outbreak come in? If he accepts that it is in sympathy with the people who were arrested on the morning of the 9th August, that is, the Congress leaders, then it is really the Congress following that is responsible for this destruction. I have been reading in the press for some time past that there should be no scorched earth policy adopted by the British Government if they are attacked from outside, that Indian property should not be destroyed by the British retreating armies; but the followers of these very people are destroying the property of India, if industrial factories and concerns are not destroyed, here is the destruction, of railways, post offices, telephones, telegraphs and even municipal buildings which had no connection with the Government of India.

We found in Delhi that the Municipal Town Hall was set on fire and all the records were destroyed. I do not know what connection they had with the movement which the Congress wanted to make. This shows that Mahatma Gandhi's saying that there should be non-violence and that India has become non-violent and the Congress creed is non-violence—all that falls to the ground. It is nothing but a camouflage. There is violence, nobody can stop violence in the country once the mobs are excited. Everybody cannot keep himself under control as Mahatma Gandhi or as some other higher placed people can control themselves. They ought to see that it is the mob whom they are dealing with, that the mob's mentality must always remain the mob's mentality—once it is let loose, it must always cause any amount of destruction. We find there has been destruction not only of Government property but also of private property, and municipal property and I was very sorry to hear that a doctor's clinic was also destroyed. These horrible acts had been committed in the name of non-violence. We cannot endorse these actions, but do we endorse that the Government's action had been quite all right? I do not. I think that the Government is equally at fault because it did not take precautions. The Government did not know—if my Honourable friend, the Home Member's allegations are true—that this was the work of an organisation, that this was work which had been done systematically. What were the

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

Government doing? Were they sleeping when an organisation of this kind was taking hold of this country and they did not know? When did they get their information? What sort of people do they employ,—what kind of people have they got for their information? That means that the Government are really at fault. They employ people who are not trustworthy, who have been keeping them ignorant and have been giving them false information. They do not receive proper information at all as to what is going on in the country and they have been sleeping. Therefore, it is the Government which is at fault. The Government of India Executive Councilors may say, "I am not here at my choice". But whoever has chosen them, whosoever fault it may be to have chosen them, they are the persons who have been chosen, and they have chosen the wrong people. They have not been getting proper information in order to cope with the situation in the country. There ought to have been a proper handling at this time. One set of people may say, the Congress is certainly responsible. But there are other parties who are not in the Government and are ready to help but their co-operation the Government do not want. Government do not care a fig for their co-operation and as long as they do not take into their confidence the proper section of the people, the only thing which they can get is the third rate people in their employ who will give only false reports and they will have to act on those false reports. The result will be that one day they will wake up from their sleep and find that there is a revolution in this country.

What is this revolution and how did it come? Why did not the Government take steps during the last two years to find out what was being hatched in the country? Did this organisation come to do things simultaneously over one night? For the Honourable the Home Member says that on the 11th and 12th there was simultaneously everywhere destruction of communications. Same kind of action had been taken all over India, in all places wherever the communications had been and would have helped the Japanese if they had chosen to attack at that time. It is very surprising that the Government came to know only after the 11th and 12th that there was such an organisation. Why did they not know it beforehand? How can we entrust our lives and our properties into the hands of people who cannot even safeguard and save the property of the Government itself? I cannot say that I can endorse all that had been done. I say that the Government must know that there are three parties in the Congress. There are three wings, one committed to non-violence, one is the Communist Party which is siding with Government, and there is another party which goes by the name of Forward Bloc which nobody can control. They all go as Congressmen. Nobody can say, this is not a Congressman, or that is a Congressman. All are Congressmen. Whatever that may be, I want that Government should keep a proper vigilance and must not be that kind of Government which, after the deeds had been done, come up and tell horrible stories before us.

Some of my friends have tabled amendments and I must speak a few words on them. My Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, says that there should be formed a Government, and first of all the Government must invite the Congress and the Muslim League to form the Government. If they do not accept jointly, the Congress alone, he says, may be invited. If the Congress does not accept, then the Muslim League alone

should be invited. My Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, belongs to a Party—I do not know whether he is speaking on behalf of the Party.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: No. He had no authority to speak on behalf of the Party.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I see that he had no authority behind him of his Party. These are only his personal views. For his information I may tell him that Mahatma Gandhi, just before he was arrested, elucidated the points which were made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that the Congress would welcome if the Muslim League were to form the Government. One gentleman who had his own doubts about this statement approached Mahatma Gandhi who made clear what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad meant. Mahatma Gandhi said in his writing as reproduced in *the 'Tribune'* of the 20th August:

"With reference to your letter giving me the purport of your conversation. . . I wish to say in as clear a language as possible that . . . Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's published offer to the Muslim League was meant to be a serious offer. Let me explain it again for your elucidation. Provided (*this is a big proviso*) the Muslim League co-operates fully with the Congress demand for immediate independence without the slightest reservation, subject, of course, to the proviso that an independent India will permit the operation of the allied armies in order to check the Axis aggression and thus to help both China and Russia the Congress will have no objection (*he does not say, he will agree*) to the British Government transferring all the powers which it today exercises, to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India including the so-called Indian India."

Then he says:

"The Congress will not only not obstruct any Government that the Muslim League will form on behalf of the people but even join the Government in running the machinery of the free State. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity."

One proviso is that the Muslim League must merge itself into the Congress! As he says, the Muslim League must adopt the resolution which had been passed by the Congress Working Committee and supported by the All-India Congress Committee—the Congress demand of immediate independence for India on terms which have already been passed by the Congress! That means that the Muslim League must merge itself into the Congress, and unless that proviso is acted upon Mahatma Gandhi cannot agree. He puts before us a proviso which he knows full well it can never be accepted because the Muslim League had their own resolution, and Mahatma Gandhi wants that the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee without any hand of the Muslim League in it should be accepted by the Muslim League blindly. It means, "You form the Government and I will keep all the votes in my pocket and turn you out whenever I like". Supposing the Muslim League forms the Government and the votes remain as they are, for how many days can the Muslim League carry on the Government unless the Government is an irresponsible Government as the present Government is irresponsible? We cannot carry on the Government with the votes against us, with a dagger and a revolver held at our face, point blank? If we are to carry on the Government we must have the sanction of the House, that is, the vote of the House, if it is going to be a responsible Government. But if it is going to be under the present constitution, we have many times said, and the Muslim League has said, there are only two big communities in the country, that is, Hindus and Muslims.

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

Let us have a joint equality so that none may outvote the other in the day to day administration during the war and if the Congress—a big party—is not willing to take up the responsibility, then the Muslim League must have at least a majority, just to discharge their responsibility. No responsibility can be discharged without a majority. I do not know whether Sardar Sant Singh had seen this or not but for his information I may say that this *Tribune*, which is issued from his province, not only went to the extent of criticising the Muslim League but it began to impute all kinds of motives to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League. Now, the Mussalmans passed a resolution that they are ready to co-operate and meet all the Party Leaders. The paper says :

“The ostensible reason for this change in the attitude of the Committee probably is that the Mahatma and other prominent Congress leaders being in prison could not reasonably be expected to approach Mr. Jinnah.”

When the Muslim League comes to shake hands with other parties and is ready to meet them in discussion, this is the attitude of the Nationalist Press. I do not know which nation this *Tribune* represents but as far as I am concerned it represents an attitude which is not pro-Muslim and it does not give proper thought or proper place to the Muslim League views.

Then, Sir, what was the attitude of Mr. Savarkar and other Hindu Mahasabha leaders? They at once rejected the idea. They said: “No, even if the Congress were to agree, we cannot agree to the Muslim League forming any Government”. Therefore, how on earth can we have a debate on the Resolution in this House? What are the people talking outside about this? The Muslim League never said that they are not willing to co-operate. They are willing to co-operate with those parties who are ready to take the responsibility on their shoulders, provided they are in such a large majority that their voice can be heard in the country. I quite agree with Mr. Churchill when he says that the Congress does not represent the whole of India. There are many parties who do not follow the Congress lead and who will never take their lead from the Congress but there is one thing which nobody can ignore and that is that in the last elections they badly defeated Hindu Mahasabha.

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

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I will conclude in one sentence. Therefore, I cannot support these things. Nor do I agree with Sir Henry Richardson when he says that his community will agree to the demands which may come later on after the war, because his community does not even support the Pakistan demand of the Muslim League.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Mr. President, it is a matter of great regret to me and I am sure it is matter of great regret to others that the Party which is the main subject of criticism of the Honourable the Home Member and some of the other speakers is not present in this House today. However, as it is not either in the hands of myself or in the hands of this House to secure their presence today, we must carry on the debate as best as we can during their absence.

After having listened very carefully to the speech of the Honourable the Home Member, one thing struck me very forcibly and that is the colossal ignorance of the Government of India as to the real situation in

this country. It seemed to me that this Government is completely divorced from the surroundings in which they are working. The Honourable the Home Member began his speech from the passing of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee demanding independence and mentioning that if they did not secure independence they will declare civil disobedience in this country. For the proper understanding of the situation I would go a little backwards and trace why the Congress passed the resolution which it did in Bombay on the 8th August and in tracing the situation one thing which strikes me again is the failure of the Government of India to understand the feelings and sentiments of the people in this country. From the beginning of this war, there have been no people in this country who had the least sympathy with either Fascism or Nazism. People in this country are thoroughly imbued with democratic ideals. Unfortunately, the Government in this country is a foreign Government and most of the sections of the people of this country felt that although they sympathise with the ideals of democracy they could not play an effective and enthusiastic part in this war unless the people were made free and there was a national Government in this country. Our Government played with the problem of the national Government. Taking advantage of the communal divisions in this country they sat quiet for a long time, and then, as a measure of self Government, they introduced a few additional Members of the Executive Council, but nobody thought that it was a national Government. After some time, a new situation arose in the political atmosphere and that is the entry of Japan into the war and the war having approached the borders of this country. The feeling in this country which was already in favour of democracy became stronger but, unfortunately, the same obstacle was felt, namely, that without a national Government the people in this country could not take an enthusiastic and effective part in this war. Unfortunately, the Government of India did not realise this for a long time but the nearness of the Japanese attack made them alive to the issue and then Sir Stafford Cripps was sent here with some proposals.

So far as I am concerned, I feel that the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps, as far as the future Constitution of India is concerned, were satisfactory, but they were very vague as far as the immediate present was concerned.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the 2 p.m. Honourable Member would like to stop now.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: If you like, Sir.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 16th September, 1942.