

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

TUESDAY , 16th MARCH, 1943

Vol. II—No. 1

OFFICIAL REPORT



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 16th March, 1943.

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

MEMBER SWORN:

Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta, M.L.A., (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban).

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN THE DELHI POLYTECHNIC.

309. *Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: (a) Will the Education Secretary please refer to part (b) of the reply to unstarred question No. 77 of the 25th March, 1942, and state who has laid down the all India ratio of 25 per cent. for Muslims in the matter of recruitment to the various Departments of the Delhi Polytechnic? Were the Home Department consulted? If not, why not?

(b) Is it a fact that the Home Department resolution of July, 1934, prescribes that all India ratios should be further subdivided according to the population ratio of the various minorities?

(c) Is it a fact that the recruitment to the personnel of the Delhi Polytechnic is not made through any central agency, such as the Federal Public Service Commission, but it is made locally?

(d) Is it a fact that the scales of pay are very high and the posts are permanent and pensionable and yet the recruitment is not made through the Federal Public Service Commission? If so, why?

(e) What are the reasons for fixing 25 per cent. ratio for the staff as a whole instead of for each department of the Delhi Polytechnic in clear contravention of the Home Department resolution of 1934 which provides that the ratios should be fixed for each grade or division of a service?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) The Delhi Polytechnic is an all-India institution under the direct control of the Government of India and recruitment to the Polytechnic is made on an all-India basis. The communal proportions laid down in paragraph 7 of Home Department Resolution No. F. 14/17-B/33, dated the 4th July 1934, which applies to recruitment on an all-India basis, are applicable and are duly observed. As the matter is covered by existing rules, a specific reference to the Home Department was not necessary.

(b) The Honourable Member is apparently referring to paragraph 8 of the Resolution which applies to services to which recruitment is made by local areas. This does not apply to the Polytechnic to which recruitment is made, as I have already stated, on an all-India basis.

(c) and (d). Class I and Class II posts are filled through the Federal Public Service Commission. Recruitment to the subordinate service is made by the Principal himself as in other Subordinate Offices of the Government of India. Considering the nature and responsibilities of these posts, the Government of India do not think that the scales of pay attached to them can by any means be termed high.

(e) I am afraid the Honourable Member is confusing the various Departments of the Delhi Polytechnic with the grades or divisions of the staff. The prescribed communal proportions are being adhered to for each grade or division, where the numbers employed or the special requirements of an institution like the Polytechnic make this practicable.

REMOVAL OF THE FORMER INSTRUCTOR IN GENERAL ENGINEERING IN THE DELHI
POLYTECHNIC.

310. *Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: (a) Will the Education Secretary please refer to the reply to unstarred question No. 77 on the 25th March, 1942, regarding the recruitment of technical staff for the Delhi Polytechnic High School, and state whether the present incumbents of the posts of Instructors in the Engineering Workshop Practice (Grade II) and Instructor in Wood Work satisfy the minimum qualification mentioned in the reply to part (a) (i) and (iii) of the question referred to above? If not, why have they been appointed in those posts? If so, what are their qualifications?

(b) Is it a fact that the former incumbent of the post of Instructor in Engineering was far more qualified than the present one and was responsible for the establishment of the Engineering Workshop?

(c) Is it a fact that he had to work for about 13 hours daily in setting up the Workshop and in preparing syllabi etc.?

(d) Is it a fact that he had completed successfully about 2/3rd of the period of his probation and had been awarded certificates for good work and conduct?

(e) Under what circumstances was the former incumbent referred to in (b) above removed from the post?

(f) Is it a fact that the former Instructor in General Engineering was duly selected for a permanent post in the Delhi Polytechnic and prior to that was holding a quasi-permanent post in the Railway Locomotive Workshops at Mughalpura?

(g) Is it a fact that the Railway Department filed a suit against the official through the agency of the Punjab National Service Labour Tribunal for leaving the service of Railways without the necessary permission and that the Principal, Delhi Polytechnic, tried his best to retain the services of the official?

(h) Is it a fact that within a month of his endeavours to secure the services of the official for his school as an efficient Instructor, the Principal removed him from his post in the Delhi Polytechnic (T. H. S.)? If so, what was the reason for this sudden change of attitude with the result that the Muslim official was deprived of all chances of permanent employment in Government service?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) Yes. Both hold diplomas from the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore.

(b) No.

(c) No.

(d) and (e). He was appointed on a year's probation and given a trial for about seven months. He was finally discharged because he was found wanting as an Instructor even though he was efficient in his craft and his conduct was otherwise satisfactory. He was given certificates regarding his craftsmanship and conduct with a view to help him to secure more suitable employment elsewhere.

(f) The answer to the first part is that he was appointed to a permanent post on a year's probation; the answer to the second part is in the affirmative.

(g) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative; the answer to the second is in the negative.

(h) Does not arise in view of the reply to part (g).

DISMISSALS OF INSTRUCTORS, ETC., IN THE TECHNICAL TRAINING CENTRE, DELHI
POLYTECHNIC.

311. *Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please refer to part (e) of the reply to unstarred question No. 75, on the 25th March 1942, and state the reason for frequent dismissals of Instructors and Assistant Instructors in the Technical Training Centre, Delhi Polytechnic, especially when there is an acute shortage of skilled men?

(b) Is it a fact that some Muslims have been discharged without any reason being assigned therefor?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Fourteen Instructors have been discharged since the 1st April, 1942, 13 for inefficiency and one for political activity.

(b) According to my information, no.

GRIEVANCES OF EMPLOYEES IN THE BINDING DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

†312. *Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state whether the entire employees of the Government of India Press, New Delhi, went on strike on the 1st and 2nd December, 1942 and that on the 2nd December, 1942, the Labour Secretary went there and was presented with six demands and that one of the demands was for the annual increment to the Binding Department and that the start of the salary should be from Rs. 30 per mensem and that within the period of 20 years the salary should reach the maximum grade of Rs. 75 per mensem?

(b) Is it or is it not a fact that the Binding Department since 1927 has been submitting questions and memorials to the Works Committee for an annual increment, and has been putting questions in the Assembly, and the Press Union has also submitted a memorial?

(c) Is it or is it not a fact that people are receiving a certain pay since the last 15/20 years and most of them, after having paid from their salaries the usual cuts, i.e., for Fund, Society, Water, Quarters, etc., receive only 10/12 rupees per month, with which it is not possible for them to make ends meet easily?

(d) Is it a fact that the Union of the Binding Department had submitted a memorial to the Secretary, Labour Department, in November, 1942, in which it was laid down that until the annual increment is enforced, the employees of the Binding Department should not be retired before 25 years' service and in this way they be compensated a little?

(e) Are Government prepared to retain the people in the Binding Department until they have put in 25 years' service?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Yes, with the exception of the supervising staff and a few other employees. The question of the introduction of a time-scale of pay in the bindery is receiving attention.

(b) Yes. (c) No.

(d) No. The Press Workers Union submitted a representation in November 1942. But it does not contain the prayer as stated.

(e) No. No employee is ordinarily required to retire before he attains the age of 55 years.

GRIEVANCES OF EMPLOYEES IN THE BINDING DEPARTMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI.

†313. *Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state if it is a fact that there are some persons in the Binding Department of the Government of India Press, New Delhi, who are getting Rs. 30 per mensem?

(b) Is it a fact that the office mistakenly cut down their service and upto now that service has not been restored to them with the result that for years they are getting Rs. 30 per mensem though others who are of less service are getting more, for instance those who used to get Rs. 22 and Rs. 25 per mensem are at present getting Rs. 40 and Rs. 45 per mensem?

(c) Is it a fact that those whose services have been cancelled, have submitted a memorial to the Controller requesting him for the inclusion of their past service in their present service?

(d) Are Government prepared to include the service of those whose service has been cancelled? If so, is it possible to make them senior to those who superseded them?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Yes.

(b) Condonation does not imply that the period previous to the break be counted as service for fixing the pay to be drawn after the break and no mistake has been made.

(c) No. (d) Does not arise.

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

MUSLIM OFFICERS, CONTRACTORS, ETC. IN THE FOOD DEPARTMENT.

314. *Mr. Umar Aly Shah: (a) Will the Honourable Member representing the Food Department please state the total number of persons in higher ranks whose salaries are Rs. 500 or more in the Food Department? How many of them are Muslims?

(b) What is the number of contractors and of Supplying Agents?

(c) Is it a fact that out of a total of 55 only one is a Muslim?

(d) Is it not a fact that Mussalmans are willing to have their names registered and they are in a position to supply wheat and other foodstuff?

Mr. K. G. Ambegaonkar: (a) The number of officers in the Food Department whose salary is Rs. 500 and above is forty-three and the number of Muslims among them is seven.

(b) The number of Contractors and Supply Agents in this Department is 323 and 25 respectively.

(c) Information as to the religion of Contractors and Supply Agents is not recorded and the name is not always a reliable indication. Many Firms are not known by personal names. Of those which are known by personal names 23 Firms are registered under Muslim names in the list of Contractors and one in the list of Supply Agents.

(d) Government have no information.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Is it not a fact that the name of the director or partner is normally written on the letter heads, and is not Government in a position to say which firm belonged to which community?

Mr. K. G. Ambegaonkar: The names of the firms are not necessarily in personal names. For instance, there is a firm by the name of Bharat Laboratory and Chemical Works. It does not give any indication at all, but I understand that it is a Muslim firm.

Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait: Arising out of the reply to part (d) of the question, will my Honourable friend try to find out whether there is any truth in the persistent complaint which is indicated in this question, that the Muslims are not being registered, that they are being victimised?

Mr. K. G. Ambegaonkar: Yes.

POST OF DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

315. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: (a) Will the Education Secretary kindly state when the term of the present incumbent of the post of Deputy Director General of Archæology will expire?

(b) Is it a fact that this officer will complete the term of his tenure post, which is three years, in August next?

(c) Will a Muslim be appointed to the post after the present incumbent reverts to his substantive post of Government Epigraphist?

(d) If the answer to (c) be in the negative, what is the reason for it?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) and (b). On the 2nd September, 1943.

(c) and (d). The question of selecting a successor to the present Deputy Director General of Archæology has not yet been considered. When it is considered the claims of all officers eligible for the post will be taken into account.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know whether this is a reserved post?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I am not quite sure what the Honourable Member means by a reserved post. It is not reserved for any particular community.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: That is what I wanted to know. Is it a fact that one Mr. Srivastava is on the top of the list—No. 1 above the other Muslim gentleman?

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

APPOINTMENT OF MR. PURI AS THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT-IN-CHARGE OF THE DELHI MONUMENTS.

316. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: (a) Will the Education Secretary kindly state if it is a fact that Mr. Waddington, the Assistant Superintendent-in-charge of the Delhi Monuments is on deputation to the Civil Defence Department?

(b) Is it a fact that Dr. K. A. A. Ansari, Assistant Engineer, Agra, was in charge of these monuments during Mr. Waddington's absence and was getting some special pay?

(c) Is it a fact that in place of Dr. Ansari, the Director General has put Mr. Puri in charge of these monuments?

(d) What are the engineering qualifications of Dr. Ansari and that of Mr. Puri?

(e) Is this Mr. Puri the same gentleman who claimed false travelling allowance and was punished by Government?

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

(b) Pending permanent arrangements Dr. K. A. A. Ansari was appointed to hold charge of the current duties of the post of Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, New Delhi, in addition to his own and was given an additional pay of Rs. 50 p. m. for holding the dual charge.

(c) Dr. K. N. Puri, an Assistant Superintendent on probation was subsequently posted to Delhi, thus relieving Dr. Ansari of his additional duties.

(d) Dr. Ansari is qualified as a Civil Engineer. Dr. Puri has no engineering qualifications.

(e) Yes.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know that the engineering qualification is not necessarily required in the Archaeological Department?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: The permanent holder of the post did not have engineering qualifications; he was an architect; that carries with it a certain amount of engineering qualification.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if Mr. Puri is in class I and Mr. Ansari is in class II?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I think that is the case but I am afraid my list does not show it.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: May I know if it is not a fact that merit counts in all these appointments and not class I or II?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: I might perhaps explain that in this particular instance, the officer who was given charge of the current duties of the post is stationed at Agra, and it was from our point of view an unsatisfactory arrangement that an officer who had a full job of work and was stationed at Agra should be in charge of the very important monuments in Delhi, especially when the Director General himself, who was going to supervise the looking after of the Delhi monuments, had his headquarters changed from Delhi. Therefore when another officer became available who could be stationed at Delhi,—the usual arrangement,—we were very glad of the opportunity to fill the post again on a whole-time basis.

ADVANCE INCREMENTS TO CERTAIN STAFF OF ARCHÆOLOGY DEPARTMENT.

317. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: (a) Will the Education Secretary kindly state whether the Director General of Archæology in India has during the last two years recommended the grant of advance increments to certain member or members of staff? If so, how many of them are Hindus, Muslims and Christians?

(b) Did he stop the increments of any members of his office during this period? If so, how many of them are Hindus, Muslims and Christians?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: (a) Yes; to one Hindu.

(b) Yes, of two persons. One of them was a Muslim and the other an Indian Christian.

WAR VACANCIES IN ARCHÆOLOGY DEPARTMENT.

318. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Will the Education Secretary kindly state how many temporary vacancies of long duration for the posts of typists and clerks occurred for the period of war in the office of the Director General of Archæology during the last two years, and how were they filled? How many of these vacancies went to Hindus, Muslims and other minority communities?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: Seven temporary vacancies of more than three months' duration occurred between the 1st January, 1941, and the 31st December, 1942.

They were filled by the appointment from time to time, of 14 candidates of whom three were nominated by the Home Department. Of the candidates nominated by the Home Department two were Hindus and one a Muslim. Of the candidates recruited by the Director General of Archæology in India seven were Hindus, three were Muslims and one was a member of another minority community.

Sardar Sant Singh: Which is that other minority community?

Mr. J. D. Tyson: A Sikh.

PAUCITY OF MUSLIM ENGINEERS ETC. IN THE CENTRAL PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

319. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state, community-wise, the number of Superintending Engineers, Executive Engineers and Sub-Divisional Officers (gazetted and non-gazetted) employed in the Central Public Works Department inclusive of the Aviation and Access Road Works?

(b) Is it a fact that Muslims are under-represented in each of the cadres mentioned above? If so, what action do Government propose to take to make up the under-representation of Muslims?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) A statement is placed on the table.

(b) Yes. The under-representation of Muslims is due to the fact that most of the appointments were made for Aviation works which were urgent and important and required a large number of experienced and qualified officers. Owing to the Japanese threat to India, these officers were required at the shortest notice, and appointments according to the strict communal roster would have led to delay which would have been highly prejudicial to the defence of the country. All the appointments in regard to which communal rules have not been observed, are temporary only, and irregularities will be put right as soon as the present emergency ceases.

Statement.

Designation of Officers.	Euro-peans.	Anglo-Indians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Sikhs.	Indian Christians.	Parsees.	Total.
1. Superintending Engineers	5		3		2			10
2. Executive Engineers	12	4	35	5	1	5		62
3. Sub-Divisional Officers Gazetted. (Assistant Executive Engineers.)	1	5	25	6	2	4		43
4. Sub-Divisional Officers Gazetted. (Temporary Officers)		4	43	4	3		1	55
5. Sub-Divisional Officers (Non-gazetted)		3	124	23	22	1		173

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur: Are we to understand that when urgent appointments are made, it is only the unfortunate Muslim community that has to suffer?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That is not the only unfortunate community; there are other communities which are equally affected.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Do Government propose to recruit Muslim officers from provinces if they are found fit?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Yes.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: When the communal proportion is restored, will those who have already been appointed be dismissed?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: They are all temporary appointments.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: So they will be dismissed.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: They are temporary. There is no question of dismissal.

(Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta continued standing in his seat even after putting the question.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): When the Honourable Member has asked a question, he ought to resume his seat.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I want to ask another question, Sir. That means that those who came to your assistance at the critical moment will be given a short shrift?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The appointments are temporary, and there is no question of dismissal or discharge.

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: What is the duration of these temporary appointments?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is quite impossible to say.

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: Is it not laid down in the rules or in the resolution passed by the Government that any temporary appointment for three months and over should be made in accordance with the Resolution of the Government keeping in view the percentages of various communities?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: All that must be subject to emergency.

NEW ASSISTANT ESTATE OFFICERS AND ASSISTANTS TO THE ESTATE OFFICER.

320. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state the number of the new posts of Assistant Estate Officers and Assistants to the Estate Officer created during the last two years?

(b) Has any of the above posts been given to a Muslim? If not, why not?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Number of Assistant Estate Officers—three; number of Assistants to the Estate Officer—one.

(b) No.

Three of the posts were filled by selection and promotion from among the Superintendents in the Chief Engineer's Office. This is the normal method of recruitment to these posts. No suitable Muslim Superintendent was available. The fourth post was filled by an Officer temporarily on deputation from the Burma P. W. D.

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: May I know if Mr. Karim Baksh was the seniormost Superintendent at the time when these posts were filled up?

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

Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: May I know if Mr. Brown, Mr. Grant, Mr. Ellis, and Mr. Bronkhurst held the posts of Superintendent?

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

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: May I know whether all enquiries were made, whether other people were efficient or not, and when the Honourable Member wants notice for everything, he must have come here with proper replies if no Muslim was found fit?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have no doubt that proper enquiries must have been made.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: But the Honourable Member has no information on that at least.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is not a question. Next question.

CONTRACTS IN AVIATION WORKS.

321. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Labour please state whether it is a fact that in the case of Aviation works it has been the practice of Government to award contracts for emergency works by private negotiations without calling for tenders?

(b) What is the total value of contracts awarded by private negotiations during the calendar year 1942?

(c) What is the total value of such contracts awarded by private negotiations to Muslim contractors?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The information asked for by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Before the House resumes discussion of the Finance Bill, I wish to inform Honourable Members that a number of Members wish to take part in the debate. But it will not be possible to accommodate all of them or even most of them unless the Members who are going to take part in the debate are willing to impose some self-restraint upon themselves and curtail their speeches. So far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, four Members have spoken, occupying four hours and sixteen minutes; from the Muslim League Party two Members have already spoken, occupying three hours and twenty-one minutes; as regards Unattached Members, three have already spoken, occupying three hours and eight minutes. On behalf of the Government three Members have spoken, occupying fifty-six minutes. The European Group have put up two speakers already, and they have spoken for one hour and twenty-three minutes. What I suggest to the House is that if a chance is to be given to most of those who are anxious to take part in the debate, the Members must come to some arrangement among themselves as regards time limit.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): May I be permitted to make a submission in this connection? During the General Discussion and the debate on the out motions, those Honourable Members who are fortunate enough to be located nearer the Chair have been able to catch the eye of the Chair first and the back benchers have not been able to do so.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is not the question now under consideration. Mr. Ghiasuddin will continue his speech.

Mr. M. Ghiasuddin (Punjab: Landholders): As so many Members want to follow me, I do not want to be in their way and so I shall try to be as brief as possible. When the House adjourned yesterday, I was talking about the grievances of Indians in East Africa, particularly mentioning the case of the Kenya Highlands which are still reserved for Europeans. At a moment when we are hearing so much about liberty, equality and fraternity, when we are fighting for democracy and when our young men are laying down their lives for that sacred cause, it seems very odd that certain portions in East Africa and in other Colonies should be reserved for one race only. And may I ask the Government for whose benefit this reservation is made. After all the number of European settlers in East Africa is only ten thousand and for the sake of these ten thousand people—I know this is not the responsibility of the Government of India but they can make a representation to the British Government,—the British Government are antagonising a nation of four hundred millions of people whose help they are seeking even today. It is not only the case that only Englishmen and Scotchmen are allowed to settle in these Highlands but even before the war started, these Highlands were open for settlement to Germans and Italians who are now our enemies. Any German or any Italian, if he so desired, could settle there, whereas Indians were debarred. It is only 20 years ago, may I remind the Government, that you fought the Germans and you complained of the cruelties inflicted by German military men and the unbearable atrocities they committed. You called them Huns and Boches. As soon as the war was over, you opened out your homes and your colonies to these Germans and yet you have deprived the very persons who helped you to win your victory of the fruits of that victory. As citizens of the British Empire, we are asked to make all the sacrifices that are expected of citizens and yet we are deprived of the benefits. There is a very strong feeling of resentment throughout the country and in this House and I would ask my Honourable friend Mr. Pai who is representing the Government to convey our feelings to His Majesty's Government. There are two types of Governments in the Empire, namely, the Colonies and the Dominions. In the case of the Dominions, you have to consult their Governments and you have

got to make representation to them but Kenya is a Colony. It is not a Dominion and in charge of that Colony is the Secretary of State for Colonies who is a colleague of Mr. Amery. So, the British Government can by their own initiative wipe out this disgraceful Order in Council and open up the Highlands of Kenya to Indians. It is not a question of settlement and it should not take any time if the British Government wants to do it. For the sake of these ten thousand people, who wrongly persist in something, the Government should not be afraid and it will be a great thing for their cause if they will remove this ban on the Indians.

Now, Sir, I would like to refer to another matter in connection with East Africa. According to the *Leader* of the 26th December, 1942, a new body is going to be created after the pattern of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation with monopolistic powers to import piecegoods and cloth into East Africa. The East African Government is now actively proceeding with a scheme and according to the information available it is proposed to establish a Corporation based on the recommendations of the East African Civil Supplies Board with monopolistic powers in regard to the import of textiles to East Africa. Now, Sir, this is going to hit very hard the East African Indian settlers. The Indian population of East Africa is something like 150,000 and out of this number—I am speaking subject to correction of course—about 24,000 people are employed in this piecegoods trade. These Indians in East Africa have rendered great service to that country and I would like to quote here what the Right Honourable Mr. Winston Churchill had to say about the Indian settlers in East Africa. Mr. Winston Churchill in his book "My African Journey" says as follows:—

"It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African countries. It is the Indian trader who penetrating himself in all sorts of places to which no white man would or in which no white man could earn a living, has more than any one else developed the early beginning of trade and opened up the first slender means of communication. It was by Indian labour that the one vital railway on which everything else depends was constructed. It is the Indian banker who supplies perhaps the larger part of the capital yet available for business and enterprise and to whom the white settlers have not hesitated for financial aid. The Indian was here long before the first British officer. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and in the land as the white settlers especially the most recently arrived contingents from South Africa, (the loudest against him of all) can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith."

This is the opinion of a man who today is the head of the British Government and I would suggest to the Government of India to appeal to him and tell him what he himself said and I hope that this representation will bear fruit. Why is this Corporation going to be created. They have given four reasons for the creation of this Corporation, firstly that it will save shipping space, secondly, that it will remove the shortage of supplies, thirdly, that it will make equitable distribution and fourthly make the price control to be more effective.

Now, Sir, these arguments will not bear scrutiny, if you examine them closely. We are told that shipping space has been already reduced to a minimum and there is no chance at all of any further reduction. As regards price control, very few prosecutions have so far been launched against Indians, and even where the prosecutions were launched, I am glad to say that very few of them were successful, because Indians are by nature law abiding citizens and they would not infringe the law. In fact, East Africa is better stocked than India itself. The stringent price control exercised by the East African Governments has seen to it that there is no profiteering whatsoever.

When these proposals were put before the Indian Chamber of Commerce as well as the English Chamber of Commerce, the Indians rejected them altogether, because this whole thing is being created for the benefit of the Europeans.

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This Corporation is to have a capital of £100000 and each individual will be allowed to hold £7,500, worth of shares. So, it will only benefit the chosen few and those chosen few are going to be the white favourites of the various Governments in East Africa. It is a thing which we resent and I hope our resentment will be duly carried to the proper quarters.

Now, Sir, I have promised to be brief and I will briefly refer to one or two more matters which have been agitating the public mind. The first thing that I want to know is: What is going to be the fate of Indian officers and men who, on your appeal, have come forward to serve at the risk of their lives, and a good many of whom are unfortunately bound to lose their lives? What is going to be their fate after the war, which, God willing, we win and when peace is restored? What are you going to do for their employment? Now, Sir, we all know and we all hope that immediately after the war the present Government will abdicate in favour of some sort of National Government that is going to be created. I am for the abdication of the present Government; let there be no mistake about it. But the question is whether the Government which is going to succeed the present Government will be favourably inclined towards these young men? If the Congress Party comes into power, then we all know that they have done everything in their power to dissuade these youngmen from doing their duty. So, I suggest that before you abdicate, as abdicate you must, you must do something for these people. Now, so far as the Congress sympathy with these persons is we all know that Punjab Government had some pieces of land reserved for the ex-soldiers. One should have thought that such a measure will meet with the approval of all, but the Congress papers and the so-called nationalist papers were the loudest of all in their protest against this meagre measure which the Punjab Government undertook to provide for those who are defending us today at the supreme sacrifice. The *Tribune* wrote against it and all the other nationalist papers wrote against it. I have one or two concrete suggestions to make in this respect and I hope the Government will act upon them. There is no question of considering them because they are right and just. The first thing is about the expansion of the army. We know that the army has to be extended in peace time. - Naturally, its strength will be reduced; it will not be of the same strength as it is today. But surely it will not be the meagre Indian army of pre-war days. We all know to our cost that India was under-defended at the beginning of the war and so our army will have to be increased. Now, Sir, I suggest that all Indian officers who are coming forward today should be given preference when the time for permanent commissions comes and they should be given preference over the Europeans who are getting emergency commissions in the Indian Army, because so many avenues of employment are open to them which are barred to Indians. A European can go to any of the Colonies or Dominions and settle there. He can get a job in England; he can get a job in any part of the world, but the lot of these Indians is going to be a very hard one when the time for demobilisation comes. So, they should be given preference over everybody else.

The second thing that I wish to mention is that I am glad to note that a great percentage of posts has been reserved under the Government for the civil employment in various All-India Services and I hope these ex-officers will be given preference over everybody else for those posts.

The third proposal which I want to put before the Government is that at the moment a good many firms through the Supply Department are earning a lot of money from the Government. Before you give your contracts to these firms, I think it will be only fair and equitable that you take a promise from them that if you give them your contracts for supply, after the war they will employ a certain number of ex-officers. This should meet the case because

at the present moment there are two types of men, one set of men are profiteering during this war and the other class of people are defending the country at the cost of their lives. I am making this appeal to Mr. Mackeown and I hope he will think over it. Both the Government and the public are very anxious that when the time for demobilisation comes, these youngmen should not be thrown to the wolves because it will be most ungracious thing to do and it will create the greatest discontent in the country.

Now, Sir, I will refer very briefly to one or two other matters and then conclude my speech. First of all, I take the case of the National War Front. I am one of those who believe that the National War Front with all its limitations is doing a very useful work and I am one of those who believe that the 75 lakhs of rupees spent on that movement is well spent. Naturally, there is room for improvement as there is room for improvement everywhere else. We cannot take all the enemy propaganda and everything else which is anti-war lying down. We have to make a reply, at least those of us, who believe in the winning of the war, think so. While on this subject, I must pay my tribute to my Honourable friend Mr. Griffiths who is doing a lot in this direction and I hope he will continue his good work.

I will refer very briefly to what my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James said about the Royal Indian Navy. India, as we all know, has not had a naval tradition for some time past, but the exploits of His Majesty's Indian ship "Bengal" were marvellous. I had the pleasure of listening to Sir Herbert Fitzherbert and he said that the brave deeds of that gallant little ship compare with any illustrious deed of the British navy and it can be favourably compared with any naval feat in the history of the world. And I believe all the sides of the House will join in paying tribute to that gallant little ship which sank one of the two Japanese ships, which were much better armed which encountered this one. I also join Sir Frederick James in paying our tribute to Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert who is to leave our shores very shortly. He did a lot for the Royal Indian Navy and can rightly be termed as its father.

Now, Sir, I will say a few words about the matter which has been agitating the minds of Mussalmans who live round about Delhi. Some of the mosques are in a dilapidated condition, but the Mussalmans are not even allowed to repair them, because the Public Works Department or whosoever is in charge of this work thinks that these mosques will one day tumble down and eventually become their property. It hurts the Muslim sentiments very much to see mosques tumbling down and their being not in a position or rather not being allowed to repair them. Sir, the war is on and this sort of behaviour is sure to alienate the sympathies of Mussalmans. It is a very small matter and I hope the Public Works Department or whoever is in charge of this work will give his serious consideration to it and will remove the ban imposed on Muslims in the matter of repairs.

Sir, I have little to say about the political situation in this country. The Congress Party have embarked on a course which cannot but bring disaster to every one concerned. We know at the beginning of the war the Congress Governments were in power in seven Provinces and at those times their relations seemed to be getting on very well with Governors and every official. But when the Nazi aggression began in Europe the Congress Members and other Congress Leaders were urging Great Britain to fight for the cause of freedom. They were saying why "don't you" fight to defend Austria, Abessynia and Czecho-Slovakia. As each new aggression took place there was a hue and cry that Britain should take upon herself the role of a policeman and fight for the defence of all these smaller nations. But when the war came at once the hand of co-operation was withdrawn and Ministries were withdrawn from all the seven Provinces and every thing was done that could be done to put obstacles in the way of successful prosecution of the war. At times it seems that the

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Congress Party actually want the Nazi power to win and we can say on the authority of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as was revealed in the proceedings of the Working Committee of the Congress that actually Mahatma Gandhi's mind is working that the Axis Powers, God forbid, will win. Sir, it is very regrettable and I would appeal to all the Congressmen and everybody to give up this disastrous attitude. This is the time when our country is still in danger, although danger seems to have receded a lot, still danger might reappear at any moment. This is the time when every good and patriotic man should come forward and do his little bit for the defence of this country.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Labour Member): Sir, I rise to reply to the criticism made by Honourable Members during the course of this debate on certain points or acts of commission and omission with which the Labour Department is concerned. Sir, I will begin with the points raised by Sir Frederick James. As the House is aware so far as the Labour Department is concerned there were two points to which he devoted special attention. The first one is the point which relates to paper. Sir Frederick James paid great attention to the point how Government of India was extravagant in the use of paper and how in every direction Government was responsible for what he called waste. Sir, this question of paper, as the House will recall, was once debated in the course of this Session on an adjournment motion when I gave a reply on behalf of Government. It is quite clear that my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James was not satisfied with the reply that Government then gave and has returned to the subject again. I make no complaint of his returning to the subject again for I am glad that it does give me another opportunity to explain what Government is doing in the matter of conservation of paper. Sir, before I enter into the subject matter it might be desirable to tell the House that as far as I have any information it seems to me that the House is exhibiting, if I may say so, a certain degree of over-anxiety that there is a shortage of paper, but I am not quite convinced that there is what we might call acute suffering in the matter. It might be interesting to the House, if I present to Honourable Members a few figures with regard to the publications that have been issued in Great Britain and in India. Sir, in 1939 in Great Britain, fifteen thousand books were issued and in 1940 eleven thousand were issued, in 1941 the figure fell down to five thousand. As against this if you take the production of books in India you will find that in 1939 there were issued altogether fourteen thousand publications, in 1940 the figure rose to fifteen thousand and in 1941 the figure was fourteen thousand. I am not saying that shortage of paper is not a question with which we are not concerned. As I said, there is shortage, but what I want to emphasise is that there is not a case of what we might call acute suffering.

Sir, proceeding further, as the House will remember, Sir Frederick James depended upon two illustrations in order to substantiate his charge of extravagance against the Government of India. Last time when the subject was debated, Sir Frederick James brought out a rent bill which is issued from the Western Court to the tenants who occupy that building. His case was that the rent bill which was presented to the tenants was a document of great enormity which contained details which were probably unnecessary and at any rate which could have been cut down in the period of the war. This time he brought out an old dilapidated copy of the *Calcutta Gazette* and pointed out that there were published in the Gazette certain information which could have been avoided in the course of the war.

Sir F. E. James (Madras: European): May I just interrupt my Honourable friend for one moment? The issue I demonstrated of the *Calcutta Gazette* was the one which was just received from Calcutta and I think it was dated February of this year.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am obliged to my Honourable friend. Now, Sir, the point I would like to make is this. If Sir Frederick James was a lawyer, I am sure he would not have brought forth these two cases as illustrations of the points he was making. With regard to the rent bill, Sir Frederick James evidently forgot to look up the date on which it was printed. This bill was printed in 1938 and far from condemning the Government of India for using the bill, I think the Government of India ought to be congratulated that rather than destroying the old bills, the stock of which exists in the Government of India, the Government of India had laid aside all requirements of reforming the bill and were bent upon using the old stock which it possessed in order to conserve paper.

Sir F. E. James: Make them into scrap.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, with regard to the question of the Gazette, I think a slip was committed by Sir Frederick James by reason of the fact that he was not able to appreciate the importance of the Gazette. The Gazette is not merely a matter which contains useful information, information useful to Government, but as every lawyer knows, the Gazette is the only document where in some cases proof can be given by nothing else in a court of law except by the production of the Gazette. Even the list of enemy firms, patents, etc. Government Gazette according to the Evidence Act, is the only primary evidence by which certain things can be proved. I would therefore ask Sir Frederick James whether he would not agree with me that whatever else we may do with regard to economies in Government paper, the Gazette is the last thing which we ought to touch.

Sir F. E. James: I would point out that my case was that an enquiry should be made whether it was necessary to publish in all the Provincial Gazettes, undoubtedly unimportant items which are published in the Central Government Gazette.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The reason obviously is that every Provincial Government must publish its own Provincial Gazette as prescribed by the Government of India Act. But, Sir, I do not wish to rely upon what might be called a rhetorical reply to meet the argument of my Honourable friend. I propose to refer to the practical steps which the Government of India have taken in order to economise paper. I would first of all take up the question of the Gazette. Now, I would request my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James and also other Honourable Members of this House who are interested in this question to compare Part II, Section I, of the Gazette of India of 29th August with that of Part II, Section I, of 6th March 1943. If the House and the Honourable Members would take the trouble of comparing these two issues of the Gazette, they will find that practically the matter which used to occupy 1½ pages of the Gazette is now compressed in half a column, so much space has been economised. All margins have been cut out.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What about people with defective eye sight?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I cannot please all. Then, Sir, with regard to the point which Sir Frederick James just now raised, I might also inform him that the Government of India has circularised all Provincial Governments whether it would not be desirable and possible for them to use notifications issued in the *Gazette of India* by the Government of India and not to reproduce or repeat them for their own use in their own Gazette. Of course, all that we can do is to advise and to recommend.

Then, Sir, with regard to Indian Information, the House will be interested to know that we have already issued orders that its size should be reduced to half.

Coming to the question of forms, the House will be interested to know that as a matter of fact 149 forms have been suspended during the war and 190 have been altogether abolished. Secondly the size of the form has also been reduced

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from 1941. In the forms printed after July 1942, no superfluous space is allowed. I would say that if Honourable Members have any suggestions to make to the Government of India, I should certainly feel extremely obliged and give my best attention to them.

Then, Sir, with regard to publications, I might assure the House that nothing is published, unless it is found to be absolutely essential. In order to determine the essentiality of any publication, the Government of India have introduced three different checks on publications. There is first of all the check applied by the Controller of Printing and Stationery. He is no longer the mechanical man who used to execute orders placed before him for printing. We have now invested him with authority to scrutinise and to examine the essentiality of any publication put before him. If he disagrees and objects, the matter is then referred to the Secretary of the Labour Department who considers the question and if the Labour Department and the Controller of Printing agree that the publication is not an essential publication, then the matter is referred to a Committee whose decision is regarded as final. Then, Sir, we have also issued instructions to printers whereby they are directed that they must make the most economical use of paper both in the matter of spacing, margin and other things. I am sure that although this may not be a very impressive list of steps taken by the Government of India, it is undoubtedly a serious attempt to produce economy. Sir, as the saying goes, no one expects Hannibal's elephant to learn the goose steps. The Government of India, and any Government for the matter of that, is a huge beast, slow in moving, slow in guits and yet it cannot be expected to learn goose step and yet, I think the House will agree, the Government of India has learned the goose steps, if it has not learnt, it is ready to learn.

Sir F. E. James: It is still quite young.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Now, Sir, I come to the definite suggestion made by my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James in the matter of bringing about economy of paper in the Government of India. His specific suggestion, if I understood him correctly, was that a body was appointed in England, a committee consisting of a Chartered Accountant, a representative of the Publishing House and a representative of the Printing establishment. Sir, he has given us no details as to the mode and the manner by which this Committee works in England, nor has he referred to any principles adopted by this Committee in order to bring about economy. It is therefore at this stage quite impossible for me to say that I am ready to accept the suggestion that he has made. But I would like to point out to him the steps that we had taken which I am sure he will agree is more or less along the lines that he suggests. The step that we have taken is to appoint an officer called Commercial Master Printer to advise the Controller of Printing. We have very recently secured the sanction of the Finance Department, and the Officer will be appointed before long. I am sure this Officer will be able to do what the Committee in England is said to have done.

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: Is he an Indian or a European?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: We have only got the financial sanction just now.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Will he save more than he will cost?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Let us hope so. There is no harm in guessing and hoping. That is all that I have to say with regard to this question of paper.

The next point dealt with by Sir Frederick James was with regard to the housing of families of officers in Simla. He will appreciate that so far as housing is concerned, this is probably the tightest corner in which the Government of India finds itself. The accommodation which it had

and the accommodation which it has been able to control as a result of the requisition order is nothing as compared to the officers which the Government of India has had to employ as a result of war efforts. He will also agree that if we are to prosecute the war effort fully, we have to have priority fixed for accommodation, and he will agree that so far as the priority is concerned families must take a second place as compared to the officers themselves. At the same time, the Government of India is aware how separation of husband and wife, father and children is likely to affect the mentality, the ease of mind of an officer who is required to do war effort. In order to relieve whatever distress such an arrangement might be causing, the Government of India has undertaken to open three boarding houses in Simla in order to accommodate the wives of officers who cannot leave their stations and I hope that Sir Frederick James will accept this as a token of goodwill of the Government of India towards this very acute problem.

Then, Sir, I come to the third point which was raised by my Honourable friend, Sir Jamnadas Mehta.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I beg your pardon.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I hope you will be on the way to Knighthood. I won't withdraw, nor apologize; I only say that it is in anticipation.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Coming events cast their shadows before.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Mr. Jamnadas Mehta in the course of the debate referred to the Session of the Dominion Labour Trade Union Congress which is being held in England or which is about to be held, and he complained that Indian labour was not represented at that Dominion Conference. Sir, I share the regret and the sorrow which Mr. Jamnadas Mehta feels at the omission of representation of Indian labour at this important labour conference, but I would like to tell Mr. Jamnadas Mehta that the Labour Department is in no sense responsible for this unfortunate result. I would also like to tell him that the Labour Department was not consulted by the conveners of this Conference and I am sure that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta will admit that we really could not do anything in this matter since we were not consulted. Why they omitted to consult us and why they did not directly consult the heads of the labour movement in this country, who are quite well known to the gentlemen who are working for this Conference, I can more than understand. But, I think, Mr. Mehta, will agree that the Labour Department is as watchful as any department can be in the matter of safeguarding the interest and the position of the Labour Department. Sir, I have done.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): The other day when the cut motion moved by Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon on the subject of martial law in Sind was being discussed in this House, my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, in a speech which he made in that debate was good enough to say about me that I was a sober and decent man, and I remember having interjected at that time that I reciprocated the compliment. Later, on Friday last, when the Honourable the Home Member, whom I do not notice in the House at the moment, acting in accordance with orthodox bureaucratic practice gave evasive answers to questions put by Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur regarding the suspension of direct recruitment to the cadre of Assistants in the office of the Government of India and Attached offices and as a last resort of one who feels cornered trotted out, the hackneyed and never-convincing plea that the information was not readily available and its collection would entail an amount of time, labour and expense which would not be justifiable, all those who attach any value to the privilege of interpellation enjoyed by the Honourable Members of this House resented this evasion. In fact, on all occasions when--refuge is taken behind this form of evasion in order to prevent the true

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state of things from coming to light and to cover a multitude of sins, great resentment is naturally felt by all those who attach a value to the right of interpenetration. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, in a fit of sobriety and decency, put what he considered to be a supplementary question asking why Government should not take steps to stop the recruitment to the services of everyone except Muslims. Not only that, he even posed as if he were waiting for an answer to his sober and decent question. Of course no answer was given and none could be given, but the incident raises some important points. The first point is that Mr. Lalchand Navalrai appears to be fed up with questions put, cut motions moved, Resolutions tabled and debates initiated by Muslim Members of this House regarding the proportion of Muslims in the services and not only goes the length to which Mr. Gandhi went more than twenty years ago in offering the Muslims a blank cheque in the matter of the Muslims' position under swaraj and saying, in effect "Take as much as will satisfy you and leave for the Hindus as much as you like," but he out-Gandhis Gandhi and says "Take all". Of course Mr. Gandhi's cheque remained eternally blank in all respects as he never adorned it with his signature, but is history now repeating itself and is Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's offer meant to be as infructuous as Mr. Gandhi's blank cheque? The fact is that the whole dispute is between the Haves and Have-nots, and Mr. Lalchand Navalrai made the altruistic-looking offer in a spirit of bitter sarcasm. Really he meant to say that this incessant cry over injustice to Muslims in the services should now cease. After all, the attitude of Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and those of his way of thinking can be understood. But what about the Honourable the Home Member, who, I am glad to see has now come to the House? That brings me to the second point. No one knows better than the Honourable the Home Member that questions of the kind which he evaded on this occasion are the only means of bringing to light the trickery, the machinations, the high-handedness, the favouritism, the nepotism and worse which are constantly employed by those holding key positions in the services to the detriment of the Muslims. What goes on inside the offices of this clerk-ridden, clerk-controlled, and clerk-guided Government is a sealed book to those interested in seeing their rights enforced and protected, and whenever something untoward happens to them—and that happens often enough—they cannot get even the bare facts, on the basis of which they may make an effort to get a wrong righted. Those responsible for the omissions and commissions will naturally try their best to conceal the facts, and it is only by the compelling force of interpellation in this House that facts and figures can be obtained whereupon to base a demand or to find an argument. If Government itself takes to harbouring the offenders and declining to give information, all is over with those who believe that Government meant its orders to be carried out, and they are forced to the conclusion that even Government was not quite serious when it passed the orders in 1934, laying down the communal proportions in the services.

Let me quote the very question put by Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur which the Honourable the Home Member evaded and which constitutes the occasion for my remarks. It is starred question No. 286. The question runs.

"(a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state the names of offices in the Secretariat proper and attached offices where direct recruitment to the cadre of Assistants has been suspended?

(b) Is it a fact that direct recruitment to the cadre of Assistants has been suspended in the Posts and Telegraphs Directorate? If so, why?

(c) What measures have been taken by the Home Department to protect the interests of minority community officials referred to in (a) and (b) above? If none, Why?"

I will stop there. Evidently, Sir, the offices referred to were not so innumerable that the Honourable the Home Member should have felt that he was faced with a Herculean task which it was impossible for him to undertake. The offices were few enough and he could have easily said whether direct recruitment

to the cadre of Assistants had been suspended or not. In fact, if such recruitment had been suspended it must have been under orders from or with the concurrence of the Home Department, so that the Honourable the Home Member must have been cognizant of such suspension and the reasons which led to it. His refusal to give the information can only mean that either he abetted the act or became an accessory after the fact and therefore must ward off all efforts to extract information. Can we hope that the Honourable the Home Member and other Honourable Members and Secretaries in charge of Government Departments will prove more communicative in future and will not allow their subordinates to prepare such evasive answers for them to read in the House? Of course they have no time to prepare such answers themselves. I have already stated that this is a clerk-guided Government. The office prepares the answers and the Honourable Member reads them out. Care must be taken to see that the office does not lead the Honourable Member into an untenable position. The answer of the Honourable the Home Member to this particular question is by no means the only instance of the evasion complained of. Such instances constantly occur and the position comes to this. The information cannot be collected and given because of war time work. Direct recruitment has to be suspended as a war time measure. Supersession of deserving Muslims cannot be looked into because of war time conditions. All efforts to get communal grievances investigated and redressed must be given up because of war time preoccupations. The result is that all those Muslims who suffer exclusion from recruitment, deprivation of promotion, supersession, and the like, must be regarded as war casualties without being recruited in the army or sent to the fighting front.

Now, Sir, this much about what happened in this House with regard to questions on Friday last. I shall now point out a few facts relating to the Department which is represented in this House by my Honourable friend, Mr. Tyson, *viz.*, the Institute of Agriculture, Veterinary, Forest Research, etc. I have had figures collected which represent the state of things existing in April 1941, and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that things are not very much better now. Those figures are:—

	Muslims.	Europeans.	Hindus.
Imperial Agricultural Research Institute—			
Officers, Class I	..	2	8
Class II.	2	..	20
Imperial Dairy Department	..	1	4
Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Mukhtesar, and its sub-stations.	5	7	24
Forest Research Institute and College	6	6	27
Indian Lac Research Institute	..	1	17
Indian Central Cotton Industry—			
(a) Central Administration (Bombay)	9	..	9
(b) Technical Laboratory	2	..	28
(c) Plant Industry, Baroda	1	..	9

Now, these figures are, I think, fairly instructive by themselves without any comment from me, and I want the special attention of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, of which the Honourable Member also fortunately for me happens to be present here at the moment. I now want to point out some typical cases of appointments.

In 1938 the post of Assistant Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, was given to Dr. Roonwall, a Hindu. This was a Muslim's post; and qualified Muslims were available, but thrown off. Second instance: a post of Class II—Second Entomologist in the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, specially advertised for a Muslim was given to Dr. Narayan Iyer, a Hindu. Two Muslim Doctors were available but rejected. This was in 1941. Instance three. A post of Assistant Entomologist in the Veterinary Department at Mukhtesar was advertised; qualified Muslims were given no opportunity to get that post. That was in 1941. Instance four. A post of Assistant Entomologist in the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, was advertised in 1941; it was reserved for Muslims, a Hindu was appointed in spite of qualified Muslims being available. Instance five. A post of Assistant Entomologist in Las

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Research Institute, Namkum, Bihar, was advertised, in 1942; qualified Muslims, were given no opportunity and a Hindu has been taken. These facts require not only careful but sympathetic looking into. The disease must be diagnosed and a cure found. According to my information one cause of the disease is that whenever a selection takes place before the Public Service Commission, the technical advisers who are present on the occasion according to the rules happen to have certain prejudices against Muslims. Another cause is that the directors or chairmen of the institutes prefer Hindus. The plea is usually put forward that the better qualified candidate was taken; but I am afraid such a plea cannot be very convincing to those who are prejudicially affected by the procedure. I think our Hindu brethren who are supposed to be very highly qualified and are perhaps as a matter of fact highly qualified can always be replaced easily by a better qualified European. You can find one man better qualified than another, and a third better qualified than the second. That is not the thing. Have you got a qualified Muslim for the post which you have advertised for a Muslim? If you have, it is no plea to say that another better qualified man can be had and therefore although we advertise the post for a Muslim, you cannot get it. Whenever objection is taken that the proper percentage required by Government orders of 1934 is not maintained, we find that by engaging lab boys and peons and field men the necessary percentage as far as figures are concerned is made up.

I am glad that the Honourable the Labour Member is still in the House although not in the seat which he occupied a few minutes ago; I want his attention to one particular point and that is the quota of newsprint allotted to that section of the press in India which consists of papers published in the Indian languages. That includes all the Indian languages—Urdu and Hindi and Telugu and Tamil and everything. Now, on this question, the position has become very acute of late; so much so that my Honourable friend Maulana Zafar Ali Khan on one occasion attempted to move an adjournment motion in the House on that subject, which of course for technical reasons could not be admitted by the Chair; but it indicated that proprietors of papers in the Indian languages had been hit very hard indeed. Originally certain quotas were fixed for individual newspapers according to an estimate made of their requirements. In December 1941, that quota was reduced by 25 per cent. for six months. In January, 1942, there was a further reduction of 25 per cent.; that means the original quota was brought down to 50 per cent. Then in January, 1943, there was a further reduction of 75 per cent., reducing the entire quota to 1/8th of what it originally was. Now this really means a matter of life and death for these papers. Most of the papers are such that they had not got enough capital to keep a stock of newsprint in advance of hard times so that they have no stock now, having never had any. Then recently another order has been passed; this was, I believe, on the 18th February, 1943, which legally prohibited these papers from purchasing newsprint elsewhere—they could only purchase from specified paper depots and not from anywhere else; so that if there was any possibility of their making up the deficiency in other ways, that possibility has been ruled out. That has hit them so very hard indeed that I think most of the papers are now faced with death; and unless Government takes up a sympathetic attitude and revises their quotas many papers will be compelled to stop publication. That will not only mean a loss of income to the owners of the papers and a loss of their jobs to those who are employed as editors, managers, printers and all that, but I think Government propaganda is also in danger of suffering because it is a well known fact that these papers have helped enormously in carrying on war propaganda and thereby they have rendered great services to Government, and I think it is only just and fair and reasonable that their quotas should be increased and they should be put in a position to carry on their work as they have been carrying on before. Another thing which appears to have been ordered by Government is that these

papers should raise their subscriptions and also their advertisement rates. That is a remedy worse than the disease. The moment subscriptions are raised, I think the circulation of the paper will go down automatically at once; and the moment advertisement rates are raised people who publish their advertisements in these papers will simply stop giving them these advertisements for publication, and in that way also they will suffer. So I hope that this point will be attended to by Government at the earliest opportunity and in a sympathetic spirit. That is all, Sir.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony (Nominated Non-Official): The Honourable the Finance Member in his speech referred to the fact that rising agricultural prices had obviously diminished the agricultural indebtedness in this country. I am inclined to doubt the obviousness of the allegation made by the Honourable the Finance Member. The only persons who have been benefited by the rise in prices, not only of agricultural but other prices in this country, are the money-lender, the profiteer and the bania. And this benefit has been accentuated in a way by the Government's apparent policy of indifference and leniency towards the money-lender. Any one who has practised as a lawyer and who has come into fairly close contact with the *malguzars* and agricultural classes must realise to-day that it is the creditor who is increasingly impounding the stocks of the agriculturists at pre-war prices and is releasing them in a black market or from time to time when stocks are either difficult to procure, or not procurable at all. It is unfortunate that Government should assume as axiomatic, conditions which do not in fact exist. Do Government seriously believe that the rise in agricultural prices has really benefited the agriculturists? Is it not a fact, on the other hand, that the money-lender, the profiteer and the bania having secured the crops of the agriculturists at rock bottom prices are then releasing them in a manner and at a time so as to secure the widest margin of profit from the poorest people of this country. In another part of his budget speech, the Honourable the Finance Member referred to the question of dearness allowance. I quite agree with him when he says that by increasing the purchasing power of the people by enhancing dearness allowance, we are not finding an answer to the problem of dearness. What other remedy or partial remedy can he suggest? The Honourable the Finance Member said that in the successful organisation of food supply to the people will lie the best safeguard against an increase in the cost of living and consequential demand for dearness allowance. Implicit in this statement of his is the untenable postulate that food constitutes the only need of the poorer people in this country. The experience of Government attempting even partially to supply foodstuffs to the poorer classes of employees in this country has been a sorry and tragic failure. It is not so much an attempt to supply foodstuffs or other necessaries vital to life that will meet even to a limited extent this phenomenal increase in the cost of living. It is rather a tightening up of the whole system of food control, a tightening up of price control, a tightening up of the distribution of commodities, that can solve the problem. To my mind it is the lack of obvious measures of food and price control, it is the lack of a seeming rule on the part of the Government to adopt and implement rigorous methods for controlling these unjustifiable increases in price and for controlling the phenomenal increase in the cost of living—these are the real causes of the present artificial rise in the cost of living in this country. I do not think that I exaggerate when I say that the cost of living index in India has risen perhaps more than that of any other country in the world. What is the reason for this unique and uniquely unhappy position?

Officialdom seeks to shift the burden of responsibility by imputing all kinds of reactionary and anti-social habits to the peoples of this country. But officialdom cannot escape its share, and a very definite share, of the blame for the present situation. Government persisted in pursuing a blandly indifferent policy, a smugly complacent policy of imperviousness to any suggestion from whichever quarter it may come. Leading public men, the most responsible

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newspapers have from time to time suggested measures which Government should adopt to meet present situation. But Government persists in continuing its present, short sighted, unimaginative and disastrous economic policy. We are heading straight for economic disaster. And the only people that do not seem to appreciate this are those who control and direct the economic policy of this country. We will inevitably be overtaken by strikes and by food riots. I wish the picture I have drawn were a figment of my imagination, but unfortunately it is only too true.

Government has not offered any explanation as to why it is shirking its obvious duty of evolving a more rigorous food control and price control policy in this country. We are told that in Turkey the profiteers and boarders are whipped, and that other drastic steps are taken in respect of anti-social activities which have had a very wholesome and salutary effect on the food situation in that particular country. But here, our authorities, when they are faced with the increasing misery of the poor people, seem to encourage the profiteer and the hoarder. It has been suggested by some Honourable Members that there is a kind of unhallowed understanding between the Government and the profiteer in this matter, that is, that profiteers can continue to profiteer on a large scale provided they contribute a certain proportion of their profits and their blood—money to the war effort. If they do that, they seem to be permitted by Government to continue to fatten on and wring their fortunes from the misery of India's poor. We have not heard from Government the whisper of a suggestion that it is prepared to adopt any special measures in this connection. In excise matters the Government has special staffs for investigating and detecting crime. They offer rewards for information, but when the whole economic structure and life of the nation is in jeopardy, you continue and you are prepared to continue to persist in this present policy of misguided leniency. We all realise that in time of war and under present emergent conditions there must necessarily be a certain rise of prices, but the present rise of prices, the present rise of cost of living—these are artificial and they have been artificially induced and encouraged by Government's present policy of leniency.

Government are not aware of the misery, the increasing misery that is being imposed on the lower middle class worker in this country. My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, has pleaded repeatedly and fervently the cause of the lower paid worker in this country. I endorse what he has said, but I also repeat that it is the lower middle class worker, who, if anything, is comparatively worse off than the labourer or the menial as he is designated. A man who is earning Rs. 200 or 300 a month can look forward only to increasing burdens from the Government. Are the railways or the different Government authorities aware that such a man who to-day has three or four children to educate is obliged increasingly to deny to one or two of his children the minimum education that is necessary to equip them for the battle of life? Are Government aware that people getting about Rs. 200 to 300 a month are having to surrender increasingly to small degree of financial security that they have attempted to make for their family? I know that many people earning between Rs. 250 and 300 on the railways have practically been compelled to surrender the small insurance policies which they had taken out? I would make my appeal not only to the railways but to all the Government Departments, particularly, to the key services like the Posts and Telegraphs and Customs. These men in their services are in need of a dearness allowance to the same extent and the same degree as your railway worker. The Honourable Member for Railways and War Transport has been good enough to extend the range of dearness allowance to cover incomes up to Rs. 200. But this is still a niggardly and inadequate level of income. Does Government seriously believe that, by extending this dearness allowance to include this very limited range of incomes, it is really helping to relieve the increasing misery—which is engulfing wider and still wider circles of employees in the key services of

India. I would draw attention to the tragic position which has been imposed by the Government's present policy of drift and leniency on employees in the various key services. The position is becoming increasingly desperate. If Government refuses to listen to and accept the appeals of people like Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and myself who are in close and intimate touch with the needs of the employees working in these key services, if they persist in continuing to treat these appeals with the usual official cynicism, then I can only say that your most loyal workers today—not because they want to but because they will be driven to by sheer economic desperation—will listen increasingly to counsels of extremism and destructive action.

I have heard with regret that certain Railway Unions contemplate going on strike in order to impiement their demands. No one sympathises more than I do with the demands of railwaymen, wherever they may be and to whatever community they may belong but I believe that at this time to hold a pistol to the head of the administration is to indulge in a highly misconceived, dangerous and misguided course of action. And I feel sure that the 20 to 25 thousand Anglo-Indians in the various railways of India, in spite of the fact that you still do not listen to their grievances, can be relied upon completely not to stoop to any methods of coercion, any undesirable methods of sabotage or undermining of the wheels on which the war effort and the war industries of this country are moving. When I appeal to 20 to 25 thousand of my community in the railways to stand fast at this juncture, I am not misguided by any motives of disloyalty to other Indian employees on the Railways. The war effort, whatever our political creed, whatever the degree of our resentment at the action of Government, must be the first and paramount consideration for every community in this country. And any attempt deliberately to induce a paralysis of the key services like the railways would be to deliberately undermine our own national position. That is why I feel sure that leaders of employees in the various key services will deprecate any attempt to sabotage the war effort of these key services. Not only that. They must call upon the people whom they lead not only to desist from strikes and methods of coercion but also to do their utmost to break strikes and any attempts to coerce Government or to paralyse the war effort at this critical juncture.

I think very few communities in India have been treated in a more niggardly and ungrateful manner than the community which I represent. It has been said by Lord Lloyd that the Anglo-Indian community is probably the most vital and the most vitally strategic community from the point of view of the administration in India. And yet we find that the authorities have from time to time imposed the most galling and bitter restrictions against the Anglo-Indian community. Today communal discrimination is being flaunted in a most accentuated form. All kinds of inducements are being offered to Anglo-Indians, as has been done in the past, to look away from India and falsely to identify themselves with the Europeans. On the one hand, this policy involves disabilities and handicaps and on the other it deliberately induces people, by offering them differential economic advantages, to deny their parentage and their community. We have lost many of our famous sons because of this policy, many Anglo-Indian Governors and administrators, many great Anglo-Indian soldiers have been induced by this policy of racial, communal and economic discrimination to look away from India and their community. The military authorities, if anything, are today practising this discrimination in a flagrant way. My Honourable friends do not realise the nature of this discrimination. You are not aware of the nature of the differential scales of pay and allowances that are offered to British commissioned officers on the one hand and Indian commissioned officers on the other. And this is a matter which affects us all in this country, to whichever community we may happen to belong. It is a flagrant case of communal discrimination translated into economic pressure. You are not aware that a married Captain on the European scale gets Rs. 775 as against Rs. 610 drawn by the Indian Commissioned

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Officer. A Major gets 1,105 as against 850 drawn by an Indian Commissioned Officer. A Lieut. Colonel gets 1,450 as against 1,105 drawn by his Indian counterpart. And this discrimination becomes more marked as the seniority increases. Is there any justification for this discrimination? Economically there is no justification and morally it is indefensible. I make this assertion on the floor of this House and I challenge the military authorities to investigate my assertion and they will find that what I say is true. I say that 99 and nine-tenths of your so-called British Emergency Commissioned Officers, who are domiciled in this country, are Anglo-Indians. But because they choose, wittingly or unwittingly, to make the false declaration that they are Europeans, without any investigation whatever, you give them a differential and higher scale of pay. The Government probably is not aware of the definition of an Anglo-Indian. Let me refresh their memory. An Anglo-Indian is a person of European descent who is a native of India. And a native of India is a person born and domiciled in this country of parents habitually resident in India. Thus every European born of parents habitually resident in this country is an Anglo-Indian. And yet as I have said 99 and nine-tenths of your so-called British officers, who are domiciled in this country, come within the purview of this definition and you give them a higher scale of pay because they make a false declaration. The utter travesty of this position is brought out by the fact that we know of not one but several Anglo-Indian families in which the lesser educated sons of these families, because of their lack of education, have made a false declaration and without attempting to investigate the question, you have given them the enhanced European Commissioned Officers' scales of pay. The better educated members in the family get the reduced scale of pay, because they refused to deny their parentage and their community. The whole position is thoroughly immoral. You are today, as you have done in the past, placing a premium on dishonesty and cheating. If a man lies and makes a false declaration, you pay him more but; if a man has the courage of his conviction, you penalise him by giving him a lower wage. I do not ask you to lower the wage of the British Emergency Commissioned Officer. But I do ask you to increase the level of income and allowances of the Indian Commissioned Officer. As I have told you 99 and 9/10th per cent. of your British Emergency Commissioned Officers who are domiciled in India are Anglo-Indians. They are of Asiatic domicile. They are drawn from the same cultural and economic stratum as the Indian Commissioned Officer. What possible justification, economic or moral, can there be to differentiate in this matter of pay unless it be on obviously communal and racial grounds? I do not blame them for making these false declarations. I blame your foul Government policy which places a premium on communal discrimination and which offers a mess of pottage to the man who is prepared to deny his community. Most men have their price. Whatever position a man may happen to occupy, if you offer him an extra mess of pottage he is often prepared to stoop to dishonesty. That has been your policy which has affected adversely and which has emasculated the Anglo-Indian community. It has enabled the British historian to filch the names of great Anglo-Indians and to include them in the pages of British achievement. In spite of the fact that in this war, as in the last, 80 per cent. of the available man-power of my community is serving in the different theatres of war, this discrimination is continuing unchecked. 30,000 Anglo-Indians are serving today in the various theatres of war. 20,000 are in the various auxiliary forces. My Honourable friend Sir Edward Benthall should appreciate and acknowledge the invaluable services that are being rendered by these auxiliary force men in preserving the integrity of the railway administration. And yet in spite of all these services, the allowances granted to the Auxiliary Force have been recently decreased. There cannot possibly be any reason or justification for this. Then, you have 3,000 of our lads in the Royal Air Force in England. The Anglo-Indian is not permitted, as he was

permitted for a few months, to offer himself for service in the Royal Air Force. These 3,000 Anglo-Indians by going to England have escaped from this policy of discrimination. The irony of it all is that while they are not permitted to enrol themselves in India, they go to England and are in the vanguard of achievement there. It is a boy from this country who holds the record for the largest number of planes brought down in single aerial combat. Dawson, the grandson of a former Anglo-Indian leader, brought down six Italian aeroplanes in 15 minutes. I wonder what the country would do without the many hundreds of Anglo-Indian girls who are in the Nursing Services. It is with the deepest regret that I have to draw to the notice of the Government the unfortunate conditions prevailing in the women's auxiliary corps. Up till last year there were 1,243 Anglo-Indian girls in this corps. I have spoken to many scores of Anglo-Indian girls on this subject. I have received the same general complaint that ranking and promotion are determined according to communal discrimination. In spite of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Anglo-Indians form the personnel of this corps, it will be interesting to know how many of them hold commissioned ranks. I have been told by every Anglo-Indian girl, I have spoken to that ranking in and promotion to the grade of warrant officer and commissioned ranks are not determined by educational qualifications or specialised knowledge but are determined by other and less worthy considerations. There are many girls in this corps who are most highly qualified but will never be considered for officers' ranks because their only crime is that they are Anglo-Indians. There are many scores of girls with the finest social antecedents who are prepared to join this corps but who refuse to join it because the ranking and promotion are determined on communal lines. The only girls you will get are those who are driven by financial need to seek and to find employment. There are many girls today who are eager to do their bit but who refuse to join this service until the conditions are revised. The same is the story with regard to the I.A.O.C. I referred this matter to the Adjutant General. In spite of the fact that so many Anglo-Indians have already enrolled themselves in the I.A.O.C., they are no longer certain of their position. One technical officer says that they are eligible and then another technical officer who disqualifies them because they declare that they are Anglo-Indians. Some of our lads have even deliberately been asked to make the false declaration that they are Europeans. I have brought these matters to the notice of the Adjutant General but he has maintained a guilty silence. The only conclusion that I can draw from his silence is that he is conniving at the muddle-headedness, confusion and communal discrimination that is being practised by his underlings.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Government to the utterly unsatisfactory nature of their handling of those who have been discharged from service because of disability incurred while on active service. There is an increasing feeling in the country that these men are not only receiving niggardly treatment but they are not being treated in the way which they are entitled to expect in the matter of disability pensions and the gratuities. Two such cases have been brought to my notice. One of them resigned a good job in order to join the R.A.O.C. He was a fine healthy individual when he joined but as a result of rigorous conditions of active service he was discharged as a hopeless invalid. This was over a year ago. All his attempts to secure from the army authorities even an answer as to whether he is entitled to a disability pension or gratuity have failed. He has a wife and two children. The man is a destitute and his family is starving. What possible reaction can a treatment of this sort have on the minds not only of those who have served you but on the minds of those who are still anxious to serve you? There is another case of a boy who was serving on one of His Majesty's ship. He lost his leg as a result of a bombing attack by the Japanese. This was over a year ago. He has applied through the usual channels asking whether he is entitled to a disability pension or gratuity but he has waited a whole year

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and has heard nothing. These people cannot get even an answer because of the red-tapeism and lack of imagination of the military authorities. All I can ask for is that the military authorities should deal with these questions with more imagination and greater liberality and should waste less time and energy on maintaining a false sense of dignity and a babuified and an unnecessarily complicated machinery of administration. The need for considering the case of these men, who have served you and who have given what is perhaps more than their lives—their health—in the service of the country is vital. These are the men whose case I have just cited and who can only look forward to a living death.

I would also draw the attention of the Government to the need for formulating from now schemes for post-war re-employment and re-habilitation. There are hundreds of men who have resigned their civil and Government jobs in order to answer the call. They felt that they ought to do their bit. Are they going to face after this war, as they did after the last war, the same attitude of Government? Are they going to be told by the Government after this war as they were told after the last war that we have had all the use we could possibly get out of you and having had that use we do not want you any more? Are the hundreds and thousands of my community who have no liens on their appointments and who have resigned good appointments in order to rally to the colours, going to face the same disillusionment and unemployment with which they were faced by an unsympathetic and cynical Government after the last war? To all these people who volunteer for active service you owe as a first duty, not only lip sympathy, but it is your first obligation to re-employ them after the war. Therefore, evolve from now a definite

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policy of rehabilitation and declare that it is an avowed principle more than that it is a statutory obligation to give preference to men who have served and who return after the war as ex-service men. I believe it is my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James who made a plea that today when the sons of India and sons of England are fighting the same fight we should forget communal differences. I endorse that plea of his most fervently. Today as I think of the many thousand of our Anglo-Indian girls who are also serving in the various theatres of war, I say today when not only the sons of India and England but the daughters of India and England are serving the same cause and fighting the same fight, is it too much to expect that Government will give up this policy of communal discrimination? Is it too much to expect that not only will Government pay lip sympathy to the principle of equality but there will be a re-orientation of spirit on the part of administration, a re-orientation of spirit which will crush any attempt on the part of any person who tries to practise communal discrimination. Is it too much to expect that from the present crucible of suffering and blood, equal sacrifice and equal heroism, equality of treatment in India irrespective of caste or creed or community, equality of treatment will emerge triumphant.

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): Sir, at the very outset I want to assure the Honourable Members that I have no communal grievances to ventilate before this House. I have come here to speak on the provisions of the Finance Bill and on some important issues arising out of the proposals made by the Honourable the Finance Member. But before I actually come to the Finance Bill I would, if you will permit me Sir, like to clear some impressions that seem to exist in the mind of Honourable Members with regard to the cotton textile industry and the high prices of cloth which are now prevailing. Sir, I do not like to boast, but my Honourable friend Mr. Pillay, Joint Secretary of the Commerce Department, will bear me out when I say that there is only one industry and one association, which right from the outbreak of the war, had the vision to foresee what was likely to happen. It had the wisdom to press upon the Government from time to time to take steps to arrange for voluntary control of cotton industry and to take over its production

for war purposes and for civil requirements. I make bold to say that it was the Millowners of Bombay who soon after the war broke out pressed upon the Government the desirability of doing away with the tender system for securing Textiles for the Supply Department and to adopt the system which they are following now, of placing running orders and of fixing prices at intervals of three or six months in consultation with and on the advice of persons engaged in textile industry. Sir, it was only in September, 1941, that this system, which we had suggested to Government in August, 1940, was accepted at a Conference held in Bombay. I hope, the Supply Department will give us credit for the successful working of the present system as far as supply of cotton textile is concerned. I make bold to say as far as purchase side is concerned there is practically no scope for corruption and everything is above board. We have been working the present system without being obliged to do so by the rules made under the Defence of India Act. As regards the present position, one Honourable Member talked about the steep rise in the price of cotton. People who have been in cotton trade will find that there are certain factors which are responsible for the present rise in the price of cotton. Question of transport has been one cause which has led to this. The Government of Bombay were of the opinion that cotton which could not be used by mills should not be brought for marketing to the market in Bombay City. This was suggested by the Railway authorities on account of shortage of wagon supply. There was a great shortage of food in Bombay and the Railway authorities and the Government of Bombay wanted to reserve the available wagon supply for transportation of food. The East India Cotton Association and various others interested in the trade also were anxious to have a new hedge contract which had a more practicable connection with the actual variety of cotton used in the manufacture of yarn and piecegoods and the result was that the present new hedge contract was introduced. There are people who think that this contract has not been a successful contract, but on the other hand there is a large volume of opinion in favour of the new contract. The transport difficulties have also compelled the mills to stock large quantities of cotton and they are very willing buyers as they cannot think of any better investments for locking of their surplus fund. Therefore, I submit it is wrong to say that the rise in price followed the introduction of the Budget. Actually on the 9th or 10th February the rise in prices began. That rise has continued till last week. There is a great demand for cotton. People are anxious to buy it. It is not so much on account of speculation but simply because people have got plenty of money, and the only investment they can think of is cotton. Now, Sir, that is the position, as far as cotton is concerned. We are not responsible for the rise in prices. As regards cloth we have definitely agreed with Government to place at their disposal 60 per cent. of our production for war purposes and civil requirements for the poor people. The percentage fixed for the Supply Department was 35 per cent. but owing to certain causes which could not be foreseen, that percentage, I am told, is likely to be reduced to 25 per cent. Anyhow, we have promised the Commerce Department that we shall manufacture 1,500 million yards of "standard cloth" for the civil population in one year. We have also pressed upon the Commerce Department the necessity of restricting the export of cloth to foreign markets. As far as Bombay is concerned, Government policy in regard to restriction of export has been a failure. Middlemen from the Middle East have come to Bombay and simply scrambled for cloth from the bazaar, not from the mills, and taken the cloth and exported it to their own countries. Both Mr. N. R. Pillai and Mr. T. S. Pillay when they were in Bombay and even the Honourable the Commerce Member were apprised of this by persons who were in the know; even the names of persons who came from the Middle East by aeroplane and within a short time were able to export a large quantity of cloth were mentioned at the conference we had in Bombay.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Was it under a licence?

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: Yes, they got licenses, somehow or other. We have asked that this matter should be investigated and we have been promised that enquiries would be made. It was said that cotton piecegoods were taken in country crafts to certain harbours and then exported. The attention of the Commerce Department has been drawn to this incident. We are not at all responsible for this rise in price. I maintain that as an industry which owes a duty to the State, we have from the very beginning of the war, done our level best to secure and offer our co-operation to Government for the proper control and adequate supply of cloth for public purposes. We have tried to increase production. By maintaining grain shops, we have tried to minimise the chances of strikes. We have given bonuses, we have given labour fat dearness allowances, we have done our best to maintain production at its highest level, we have done all that we can and I hope the House will accept this explanation and will think twice before making any assertion which might likely cast any doubt as to the. . . .

An Honourable Member: Honesty.

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: I won't say honesty, because I do not want any certificate from anybody, but as to the earnestness of the textile industry to rise to the occasion.

Now, Sir, I come to the food situation. My Honourable friend, Mr. Ambegaonkar, was rather surprised that my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, believed all that he was told by a certain member of the Sugar Syndicate. Who is responsible for the willingness and the readiness of the people to believe any story or to believe any rumour or to believe and accept any expression of opinion as to the incompetence of the Government to deal with the problem of food supply? It is the policy which Government have been pursuing during the last three years that is responsible for the present atmosphere. We have now a Food Department, and I learn today that regional Food Commissioners are going to be appointed, but I hope this will not mean an increase in red-tapeism. In the last two or three years, there has been gross negligence on the part of the Government. I will give you one instance of this. In April, 1941, I was the Chairman of the Millowners' Association and I anticipated the present situation as regards rice supply. I wrote two letters, one letter to the Honourable the Adviser to the Governor of Bombay. The other letter, through a mistake, because I was ignorant of the various Departmental arrangements in the Government of India, I addressed to the Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell who happened to be the Member of the Government of India whom I knew best. I wrote a long letter pointing out that a great deal of rice was being exported from Burma to Japan which was then our potential enemy. Because Bombay was a deficit Province, we suggested to the Government of Bombay that rice should be brought over by Government and supply assured for at least a year in Bombay Province. Out of the 2,20,000 people we employ in the textile industry, the bulk of the people come from the coast and are rice eaters. I received no reply from the Adviser to the Governor of Bombay. I received a very courteous acknowledgment from the Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell who informed me that he had forwarded my letter to the Commerce Department who deal with this matter. So far, I have received no acknowledgment from the Commerce Department although it is now March, 1943.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech after lunch. The House will now adjourn for lunch.

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

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

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: Mr. Deputy President. Sir, when we adjourned, I was referring to the food situation in the country and told the House how we in Bombay were very much concerned over the food situation. We are, in every respect, a deficit province, and owing to various difficulties the Bombay city is now finding itself in a very precarious condition, and in spite of the various measures taken by the Government of Bombay we are anxious about the future. Because the city of Bombay is engaged on war work on a very extensive scale and to keep textile mills, engineering concerns and the harbour working, it is necessary that the Government of India should take special interest in the problem of the food supply in Bombay. My object in referring to this question is to draw the attention of the Government to the serious situation and to tell the Government not to be complacent over this matter and not to delay taking decisions. It is a well known fact and many a cynic says that the disease from which the Government departments are suffering, and especially in the Central Government, is, what is commonly known as, "Filearia". A suggestion was made by a speaker while speaking about a certain department that more officers should be appointed. More officers means more rotation of files, more noting and inability to take quick decisions. We, in commercial enterprises, are in the habit of taking quick decisions over questions which affect even lakhs and lakhs of rupees. And I do not say that we are not wrong. All of us who are in charge of responsible positions have to run the risk of being in the wrong, but in these days of war a quick decision is the very essence, I submit, of our existence. And what has happened as regards the food supply, I am afraid, is entirely due to the hesitation on the part of the Government to take immediate action. I will give only one instance: At the meeting of the Export Advisory Council held in Delhi in January, 1942, when we were discussing the question of transport of food supplies to Bombay from Madras and other places, it was pointed out to us that transport problem was very difficult and shipping space was not available. I made a suggestion then that the use of the country craft might be employed more extensively and the Government might explore the possibilities of using the country craft. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who was the Chairman, promised to make a note of my suggestion, and it was in November or December, 1942, that the Sorley Committee was appointed. It was only after ten months had passed that the Government took a decision to appoint a committee to enquire into the problem. It is a well known fact that at least on the West Coast the country craft traffic is fairly heavy. The only trouble was about securing the co-operation of the Insurance Companies. If the co-operation of the Insurance Companies could be secured in November, 1942, I do not see why Government could not have called the insurance people and asked them to provide some sort of insurance cover on goods which were transported in country craft. Sir, I have dealt with this question. Now, I go to the Finance Bill.

I was present at the Assembly when the Honourable the Finance Member made his Budget speech. I came here with a considerable amount of hope that with his capacity and ability he would be able to place before us constructive proposals to secure, what I may call, the financial safety of this country; but as I was listening to the speech, I do not mind confessing, I felt a little happy over his not increasing the Excess Profits Duty. But I must also confess that I was not at all satisfied with his Budget which, I may call, is a hand-to-mouth budget. There were no proposals to safeguard the financial security of the country, there were no proposals to check the rise in prices through financial checks and safeguards to which I will refer later. On the other hand, I submit, his reference to amateur and professional economists was uncalled for, because economists are very much respected

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in England and very often men like Lord Keynes are called upon to help the Treasury in guiding the financial policy of the country. I submit—and I speak from my personal experience on account of my six years close connection with University education—that we have in this country a band of young economists who have made a special study of problems affecting this country, and I submit that these problems can be only considered by people who live in this country, who have a stake in this country and who have had the advantage of foreign training and have devoted all their time to the study of economic problems. I do not despise foreign experts, but I submit that after 86 years of University education we have got a large number of experts in almost every subject in this country to whom the Indian Treasury might very well refer for advice and consultation. The Commerce Department has already appointed a Consultative Committee of Economists to advise the department on the problems of reconstruction, but the Finance Member evidently has not much respect for the wisdom and the knowledge of our economists.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): Sir, I was only referring to economists who were putting forward a certain view. I did not cast aspersions on the whole body of Indian economists, nor was it my intention to do so.

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: The use of the words "amateur and professional economists" amounted to a bit of sneer at the status of the economists. We are all professional people . . .

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Again I must repeat that nothing was farther from my intention. I was merely controverting the views held by a certain section of professional economists.

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: I accept the assurance given by the Honourable the Finance Member and I only say that he might have given more serious attention to the views put forward by various economists in this country. But I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Honourable the Finance Member on his new ally. I find that as far as inflation is concerned, one of the richest capitalists in this country—Mr. Birla—is evidently in agreement with the Honourable the Finance Member. And I wish him the joy of his new ally.

I now come to the Finance Bill and will deal with the Excess Profits Duty. My submission to the House is, and here I agree with my friend from Bombay, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, that the estimated yield of Rs. 40 crores is an underestimate. I know a group of ten mills with which I am connected whose standard profits have been ascertained, expect to pay about two crores and 40 lakhs during the Budget year for the profits made in 1942. Another mill which had made a profit of 98 lakhs will, I believe, pay about 53 to 56 lakhs. Another group of mills will pay about 75 lakhs. I think that the mills in Bombay will contribute a substantial portion of these 40 crores. The existing situation in Bombay is such that with the exception of a few well financed mills most of the mills were having very bad times during the standard years, and the standard profits, will be on the low side, and I expect, Sir, that the yield from this Excess Profits Duty will, if promptly and properly collected, be more than 40 crores. If the Finance Member is going to recover only 20 crores from taxation I feel that it may not be necessary and I certainly think it is not necessary for him to raise the level of income-tax as he proposes to do. I have two suggestions to make in this respect. I am not going to oppose the Finance Bill nor the proposed increase in income-tax, but I think it is very hard on fixed wage-earners to have the limit fixed at Rs. 5,000 a year for the purpose of the proposed increase. The limit ought to be raised to Rs. 15,000. It is not necessary for me to tell the Government servants adorning the Government Benches how hard is the lot of the fixed wage-earners. The people employed in industrial concerns are getting fat bonuses which are really paid out of excess profits duty. As much as two, three or

six months bonuses are allowed by Income-tax officers as an item of expenditure for income-tax purposes. When we proposed to pay two months' wages as bonus to the textile workers, we were told by the Income-tax authorities through the Government of Bombay that the proposed payment would be considered as reasonable and would be allowed as an item of expenditure for taxation purposes. But for clerical staff from various offices, if my information is correct, there is no such restriction. I have heard of cases where bonuses to the extent of six months salary are allowed and I am told that the law is such that discretion is vested in the individual income-tax officer. Now, I know three words which we lawyers try to use to get over difficulties: "Reasonable", "as far as possible" and "ordinarily". With these three words we can do anything we can within the ambit or the scope of any rules and regulations. The other day I wanted to recruit a technical man for one of the mills under my control and I told him that I was going to give him two months' wages as bonus as allowed by the authorities. He gave me examples of other mills paying larger bonuses. I said that I considered a two months' bonus reasonable and I was going to give him that. He said that he had already received two bonuses this year and that he was expecting another bonus within the next two months. The common phrase used is: "Why object. The senior partner, Sir Jeremy Raisman, will pay 80 per cent. out of this bonus". A common phrase used for the Finance Member is "our senior partner". The result is that the whole vicious circle goes on. To get good employees we have to pay fat bonuses otherwise they leave us and join other people. So we have to follow the evil practice. More money means that these employees have no hesitation in buying things at any price or in the black-market. The result is that there is a disparity between fixed wage-earners in the employ of Government, railways, municipalities and the Port Trusts. Employees in commercial concerns are in a position to buy more things and this starts discontent among the fixed wage-earners.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Did the representatives of the Honourable Member's association put forward these views at the conference held by the Labour Department recently to consider the question of bonus?

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: I am coming to that question. As far as labour is concerned, a conference was held at the Bombay Secretariat when war started in 1939. We were then told by the Government (and the most curious thing was that Congress Government's Labour Adviser was still functioning as the Honorary Labour Adviser to the new Government, and although he is now in custody, I think he is still the Honorary Labour Adviser to the Government of Bombay) that they intended to resist any demand for cash payments, and we were asked, therefore, to open grain shops at pre-war rates prevailing in August, 1939. I knew, Sir, myself that the Government if pressed would not have the courage to stand up to this position. But the majority of the committee agreed with the Government and it was decided to open pre-war price grain shops. Then in 1940 we were told that it was never the intention of Government to ask us only to supply foodstuffs at pre-war prices, but that there should be a combination of cost price grain shops and a cash dearness allowance. Since then we started paying cash dearness allowance. As regards the war bonus itself, it was the Government of Bombay who wrote to us and asked for an assurance even before the war profits accrued that we would share the profits with the workmen in the shape of bonuses. That letter was written in March, 1940. Our reply was that we disapproved of this cash war bonus and that it was a question to be solved on an all-India basis, but we were entirely prepared to consider any proposal put forward by Government. In August, 1941, again, the question was raised, and in November, 1941,—I will not use the word "coerced"—we were influenced, induced and persuaded by the Government of Bombay to announce a bonus of six weeks. This year, we have given a bonus equivalent to two months wages and now I do not know what is going to happen the next year. So the Government of Bombay is

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equally responsible, and I will say substantially responsible, for the system of payment of cash bonuses. I want to assure my friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, that we are not against the payment of bonuses to the workmen, but we do feel that two things must be done to avoid the mischief caused by cash bonuses. As far as dearness allowance is concerned, we feel that there must be a ceiling limit to cash payments which must be linked up with supply of staple food grain at prices prevailing on a certain date.

I think in Calcutta they are paying a cash bonus and supplying staple food grains at prices prevailing in August, 1942, or September, 1942. I believe the Calcutta Jute Mills Association sent us their proposals, but unfortunately we cannot adopt them in Bombay. Having started this cash payment, it is impossible for us to resile from it without provoking unnecessary labour trouble and stopping war work. Once the ball is set rolling it is impossible for the employers to stop this cash payment principle. We are not against the payment of dearness allowance or bonus; we would like to pay a little more; but the Government should have an all-India policy enforced by legislation. But there should be a limit to the cash payment and the rest of it should be in the shape of food stuffs or in the case of the clerical staff in the shape of war savings certificates or any kind of war loan. But to allow us to pay cash bonuses will lead to such a situation that the inflationary tendencies now seen will be accentuated and the situation will become worse. I think I have made myself clear. I am blaming the Government; I am not blaming myself, I am not blaming labour. Labour is entitled, when we are making huge profits, naturally to feel that they should come in; and we would like to share our prosperity with labour. But it is for Government to decide on a policy which would be in the national interest and to enforce it throughout the country. This is the suggestion that I would like to make to the Finance Member: he should think about the possibility of solving this question on an all-India basis and not leave it to the voluntary efforts of the employers; it cannot be done—at least in Bombay the textile industry considers it impossible to do it. As a result of the lead taken by us, the engineering and other firms have had to follow our lead; and with Rs. 23 that we pay the textile millhands, I doubt whether it will be possible for Government to resist any demand on the part of the Government employees for higher dearness allowance.

The expected yield from the Excess Profits Tax in my opinion will cover the amount which we expect to get from the proposed increase in the income-tax and super-tax. At least you must raise the limit to Rs. 15,000. The middle classes are the backbone of any Government. They are the people who do not want any trouble in the country; they are the people who resist any urge from extreme politicians to bring about anarchy and trouble in the country, but you are alienating the middle classes from the Government by having recourse to taxation and making their life more burdensome and more miserable than at present. If this concession is given and the limit is raised to Rs. 15,000 I submit a large number of middle class people will get relief and will thank Government for this relief.

The second suggestion I wish to make is this. The House knows my views as regards the lowering of the exemption limit from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,500, I expected that this year at any rate the Government would restore the limit of Rs. 2,000; but having regard to the present rise in prices, personally I would raise the limit even to Rs. 3,000, because that is the only way you can give relief to the low paid clerical and fixed wage earning staff. There is no other way of giving relief. I would ask Government, faced as they are with the present situation everywhere,—not merely on account of political disturbances but on account of the economic dislocation also—to get the sympathy of these low paid people on their side and give them some relief, especially as I expect that the proceeds from the E. P. T. will be on a much larger scale. There has been delay in the collection of E. P. T. Take one instance—a firm which

I am controlling in Bombay—I have not been assessed even for the year 1940-41. I do not know when my standard profit will be known; we were exempt from income-tax on account of heavy arrears of depreciation but I am told that we are liable to E. P. T. But the E. P. T. case has not yet been taken up. I have kept the money separately—the amount which I think is likely to be levied. If Government were to follow the example of the English treasury and issue taxation reserve certificates, I would certainly buy those certificates—issued at one per cent I am told—and I am told that the amount there has gone up to nearly £470 millions—I would buy those certificates and keep them with me and tender them when my case is decided. I do not know when my second year is going to be assessed; but if the Excess Profits Reserve Certificates are issued by the Government, instead of keeping the money idle, I will be inclined to put it in these certificates; Government will get advance payments and the Honourable the Finance Member will be able to give a more realistic picture of the position. When we in commercial houses prepare our balance sheets and accounts we are bound to give a very definite and clear picture of our outstandings. The Government system of keeping accounts is different and they never give the public a correct picture of the outstandings. Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, I believe, said that 75 crores of E. P. T. was outstanding. I am not in a position to say if that is correct, because that information is confidential and I do not know any income-tax officer intimately and even if I knew him I would not ask him for such information; but if Sir Cowasjee Jehangir makes that statement here you must remember he is a responsible person who has held high Government office, I think the Treasury Benches ought to take note of it and take that amount into account when deciding their financial policy.

Now, I come to this tax on Vanaspati. I know there was a great deal of objection and prejudice against vegetable ghee in the old days; but now the position has changed and this vegetable ghee has become more and more of a food product as far as the poor people are concerned. The very people who objected to vegetable ghee in the old days, when I was a member of the Bombay Corporation, and asked us to levy heavy terminal duties on it, are now asking us to see that the tax is not levied, because it has become an important food product for the poor people. I hope the Finance Member will consider the desirability of not proceeding with this form of taxation.

I have nothing to say about the proposed tobacco duty. As regards the postal charges I have nothing to say. It will, I hope, be an incentive to us to save paper and write as little as possible in order to make the letters light and see that they are within the 1½ anna limit. I support these proposals.

Now, I come to the borrowing policy of the Government. The Honourable the Finance Member said that more and more borrowing was the sheet anchor of his policy. What is the position as regards borrowings? What does it show? One thing has to be confessed, that the people are not inclined to put money in Government loans. Even industrial concerns which formerly used to invest their money in Government loans are buying industrial shares even at the present prices; and the reduction in the post office accounts—what does it show? It shows first that the people have no confidence in the Government and are not behind the war effort. There is no doubt it is a very unfortunate situation; as far as I am concerned, I regret very much indeed that a large number of people are not supporting Government loans. They are deliberately not investing in Government securities and are persuading people not to buy defence loans. The smaller people who have withdrawn from post office savings banks may have done it for two reasons: first, because they have lost confidence in Government and secondly because of the rise in the cost of living they had to withdraw their savings in order to make both ends meet. Perhaps this explanation is also right --I think it was put forward by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. I am not here referring to the question of the solution of the political deadlock — I am referring now to the question of the Government policy. What is

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happening now? A large amount of savings is not going into Government loans. Has not the time come for Government to think of a compulsory savings scheme? The Honourable the Finance Member said that he had thought of the proposal but on further consideration he dropped it. Cannot the appropriation or distribution of profits be linked in some manner or other to the investment of a part or portion of the profits in the defence loans? Cannot the Government

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think of some way by which all the industrial concerns will be compelled to invest a portion of their profits in the Government loans? I am not speaking of limitation of dividends. But indirectly this policy might also result in the limitation of dividends. A direct limitation of dividends may be resented and may not be in the interests of industries, but reservation of a portion of the profits in defence loans and linking such reservation with the declaration of dividends might achieve both the objects, that is, Government getting the loans as well as companies being made to limit their dividends. You might also say that these Government loans ought to form part of reserve funds which after a certain number of years after the war may be distributed to the shareholders as dividends. So, the shareholders will not feel that the Government is compelling the mills to put in their money in the reserve fund without making it a condition that these funds will come back to them in future years after the war is over in the shape of dividends. Many companies have dividend equalisation funds, so that in bad times they can maintain standard dividends. This proposal, I submit, should be explored by Government.

There is another suggestion which I made last year and I wish to repeat it now. That is again in the interests of the lower middle classes and fixed wage earners. Now, you allow Rs. 6,000 for payments made as insurance premia for exemption purposes. Having regard to the rise in the cost of living and having regard to the fact that the taxation level has been increased, is it not time that Government should consider raising the level of this figure? Or they might have a double barrelled arrangement; Rs. 6,000 for insurance premia and Rs. 3,000 or 4,000 for war certificates. That will be another inducement for lower middle class people to put their money in war saving certificates. I believe Government servants have got some facilities of this nature.

Sir John Sheehy (Government of India: Nominated Official): The same limit of Rs. 6,000.

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: That limit may be raised. That is the suggestion that I make.

I come to the very vexed question of inflation. I am not an economist and economics is one of the subjects which I could not make up my mind to study when I was at the University. The Honourable the Finance Member does not mean to say that there has been no inflation. That there is inflation is admitted by everybody. Currency notes are being freely printed. As one ignorant man said the other day, the only thing you can get very freely without any restriction and very cheaply is the Government currency note. I am not prepared to say that the situation is beyond control, but I do maintain that steps should be taken to check the tendencies which are now seen. Here too I submit that Government cannot act without the advice of the economists of the country and some of the industrialists who have applied their minds to this problem. It is impossible for Government to be advised by their Economic Adviser, who, in the first place, has been imported from England, and for whom it is very difficult to get into the skin of the people and understand what is happening. It is time now for Government to have, as Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi recommended, a small body of economists, an economic advisory council for the Treasury whom the Treasury should consult in all such matters. Some of the remedies which I have suggested—limitation of cash bonuses, limitation of cash dearness allowances, limitation of cash payments, will, I think, have some effect in checking the prices of commodities. We here in India think that price control is a very easy thing and all that the Government have to do is to issue

an Ordinance, say, that the ceiling price of wheat will be so much, the ceiling price of rice will be so much. But the essentials of price control are rationing and control of commodities. Control of commodities and rationing must precede price control; otherwise price control means black markets. My Honourable friend, Mr. Gwilt, was speaking about the rise in the price of cloth. I ask him what about the rise in the price of medicines? We at least are under the observation of the Supply, Finance and Commerce Departments. If you want to buy medicines, the Chemists tell you they have got them, but they will sell them at black market prices without giving you a receipt for the amount—a situation for which the wholesale dealers, perhaps, are not responsible. Government are taking steps but they are finding it difficult to check this black market in drugs and medicines. Government should control stocks, institute strict rationing and then control prices. I am waiting to see what effect the rationing of foodstuffs in Bombay will have on checking prices. We hope and believe that once rationing is introduced their will be some check on the prices of foodstuffs.

As regards sterling balances, the whole question depends upon this—whether the Government trust you and you trust the Government. The proposal of Government to buy the pension annuities may be explained by two reasons; first, that they want to make use of the opportunity and ensure their future commitments; the second is that Government are afraid and I do not say there is no justification for that fear, because some of our politicians have given expression to such sentiments, that when they come into power they will see that these liabilities are not honoured. That fear may be at the bottom of this proposal to invest our surplus funds in England to buy pension annuities for future pensioners. I hope, Government will not proceed with this proposal, because I am sure, whatever the politicians may say, any future National Government which may come into office will not have the courage and will not have public opinion behind it to contract themselves out of liabilities and to repudiate them. I am sure we shall all honour our liabilities. When the Congress Governments were in office, it is the general experience that so far as their liabilities were concerned towards the members of the civil service and other statutory bodies they acted quite fairly and squarely. At least I am not aware of any instance where they ill-treated any member of the I. C. S. or tried to get out of their contractual liabilities towards the Imperial services, I think I may safely say that no future Government of India will think of repudiating their liabilities. What we say is that no decision should be taken as regards the disposal of the sterling balances now. As regards the reconstruction fund to which the Honourable the Finance Member referred it is creating a suspicion in the minds of several of us whether it is not an indirect attempt to compel the Indian industries to buy their requirements in England. I confess freely that other things being equal, generally I give preference to articles of British manufacture and they have given me entire satisfaction. But even I feel, why should I be compelled by this indirect method to buy only in the British market? Government, therefore, should think twice before arriving at a decision in this matter, and the sterling balances should either be utilised at least to purchase more railways, or be kept in reserve till a decision is taken by a National Government. I know the Honourable the Finance Member will say, why are you afraid, because in post-war reconstruction India will be represented at the Peace Conference? Everybody knows my politics. But if anybody is going to attend the Peace Conference, I want my country to be represented by a member of a Government which owes its power and authority to the electorate and to the Legislature. It is no use ignoring facts. I remember at one of the Industrial Conferences Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar said, "We are your servants." I said, "Yes. Technically you are our servants." But till we get the right to sack you by a vote in the Legislature you are not really our servant." That is the test of the control which we in this country can exercise over our representatives in the Peace Conference. We may

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send the best of representatives but even in regard to the best men, picked from the country the people will be suspicious unless the people have got the feeling that the men have attained their present position as a result of popular choice exercised through the electorate and through the Legislature of the country. The members of the present Government should realise that they are only an interim Government and that they can be called upon to resign at any time, without any fixed time limit and I am sure the members of the present Government will be most willing to give place to the members of a national Government which may be formed at any time, without any resentment or feeling of disappointment. Therefore, if they realise that their status is that of an interim Government, they should not commit the country to any line of policy which might make it difficult for a future national Government in this country to carry out a policy which they do not consider to be a truly national policy in the interests of the country.

I will now just refer to the political situation. I am not going to give any sermon or any advice to anybody to do this or that to bring about political conciliation. As far as the Government is concerned, I know and I tell them plainly that the situation in the country is not at all happy. I am glad that they have brought the situation under control but if they think that mere repression will solve the problem, they are entirely wrong. The bitterness against the Government and the British is increasing. When a man like me says that, the Government ought to accept it. I belong to the middle class section of the population and I mix among all classes of the people, whether they are Congressmen, loyalists, Muslims, depressed classes, Christians or Europeans, and I want to assure the Government that the bitterness in the country is on the increase. If they think that because of the cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims they can sit tight and carry on without any concern, they are entirely mistaken. I give them a warning. The food situation might change the whole outlook and picture within a very short time. When a large section of low class and middle class Hindus and Muslims find that they cannot get food to eat and that life has become a burden, then within a very short time the hunger urge will make them combine. All the political leaders on both sides will be swept aside and the people may join hands in bringing about an upheaval in the country. Do not think of the political cleavages. Think of the masses of the people. There is a great deal of unity among the masses of the people and when the hunger urge is there, it will not take very long for them to bring about a general disorder in the country. That is the warning I would like to give my friends, my European friends, on the Treasury Benches.

Now, Sir, what is the position? We are all of us anxious for freedom. The present situation is such that we have got to fight on two fronts, the Home front and the War front. Does any Indian friend of mine think that if the Allies lose this war, we have any future in this world? Does any Indian friend of mine think that the salvation of this country lies with the victory of the Axis powers? In their heart of hearts, people feel and know that their salvation lies entirely with the victory of the two Anglo-Saxon democracies of Great Britain and America. If that is conceded, then so far as the war front is concerned, we should all support the war effort. If that is conceded, let alone a national Government, there is nothing to prevent the formation of a national opposition. You cannot run the Government of the country without going through the school of opposition.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): May I remind the Honourable Member that the President has expressed a desire that Members should be as brief as possible?

Sir Vithal N. Chandavarkar: I shall be very brief and finish in less than two minutes. Let us go through the school of opposition. Let all communities

join hands with the one desire to wrest power from the bureaucracy and to have it transferred to our hands. In some of the Provincial Assemblies, it is easy because it will be possible for the people to have their own Governments. Let all the parties come out with a declaration that they are behind the Government in the war effort and that they will do nothing directly or indirectly to obstruct the war effort. We reserve to ourselves the freedom to fight on the home front and wrest power from the present Government. No one likes to part with power. I do not like to part with the power I have over some of my people. That is a human weakness and failing. So, let that be a common factor. There are only two methods of getting rid of a foreign Government. One is constitutional agitation and the other is revolution. If constitutional agitation fails, then the other thing will follow and if it does, then God save this country and God save the British Empire.

Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars: Landholders): Sir, I propose to confine myself entirely to matters pertaining to the Finance of the country. I shall not attempt on all matters that exist under the Sun. I strictly promise that; and I am sure, my Honourable friends here will give a sigh of relief. I regret very much that in spite of all that has been said both in this House and elsewhere in the country, the Finance Member, like the brave boy on the burning deck, has stuck to his position and would not budge from his standpoint. He will not agree that there is inflation. He will not recede from his proposals in regard to the sterling accumulations. He will bravely defend his reconstruction and pension funds. I am afraid, these are not the qualifications which would endear him to the people of the country.

Coming down to brass tacks, I am in agreement, however, with the Finance Member in regard to the allocation between the taxation and borrowing, so far as the deficit is to be made good. There are undoubtedly some very good points in his tax proposals. Yet I must confess that the taxing of the poor man's *biri* and the vegetable ghee are not some of the proposals which I like much. I would like to suggest that the Finance Member should strengthen and make more attractive the sheet anchor of borrowing. Hitherto, Sir, this anchor has not effectively held the ship of prices from being carried away by the tide of inflation. It may be a practicable virtue in the western countries to finance the war on a three per cent. basis. But the virtue of a three per cent. war is not sufficiently its own reward in the psychology of the Indian people. It was an initial error to insist on cheaper loans than the psychology of the people would warrant. I know that the error cannot be rectified at this stage. I fully understand that to offer a higher rate would be to create other problems. I am, therefore, in favour of making the loans more attractive such as income-tax free loans, offer to pay back the loans in silver or gold after the war on a specific date. In any case, the Government must withdraw a considerable part of currency from the circulation and bottle them up. In this connection I must say that no loan or any far-reaching scheme of the Government has any real chance of success unless broad-based on the support of the people. Let me close this subject by impressing upon the Government the urgent necessity of rousing the nation psychologically in support of the war effort. But unfortunately by their political policy Government have deprived themselves of the services of national leaders. In such leaders alone, the Government can find India's Churchill and India's Roosevelt. Put them to the task of collecting and intensifying national savings. The effect will be almost magical. I am sure they could raise within a month subscriptions to the Defence Loans exceeding the total of such subscriptions for the last three years.

The other important question of the day on which the country was expecting a pronouncement of policy in keeping with the interests of India, has also not been faced squarely by the Honourable the Finance Member. I mean our sterling balances. The country was watching with a feeling of satisfaction the

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course of the repatriation of sterling debt. But the question that has been uppermost in everybody's mind is, what next? . . .

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Order, order. The position is this. Under the arrangement we have got to finish the general debate tomorrow. The Honourable Member who is in possession of the House and other Honourable Members who will follow him cannot be resisted without some injustice. But may I suggest to the Honourable Member to be very brief and this remark applies also to those who will speak after him? There are only two alternatives,—either you must cut short your speeches or ask for the extension of time, which I do not think it is possible to do under the arrangement. So far as I am concerned, I must ask the Honourable Member to be very brief and I hope the other Honourable Members will also follow the same practice.

Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban: I will take about 15 minutes more, Sir. The steady accumulation of sterling has been watched with feelings of uneasiness and, may I say, distrust? The public has also been watching enviously the manner in which certain other countries confronted by the same problem of sterling accumulation were solving it. We expected that the Government of India too must be planning to acquire British commercial assets after completing the process of repatriation. But instead we have been presented with two entirely unsuspected proposals for the absorption of sterling. Sir, it is a recognised principle of economic policy that resources must always be used in the best of possible alternatives. The war effort is a common effort, but there is a business side to this common effort. The present generation has made supreme sacrifices in bearing its own share of the cost of war as well as discharging the indebtedness of the past. In the realm of our public debt we have ceased to be a debtor country. But in the field of commerce and industry, we are still a debtor nation. I have no desire to take the risk of appearing to inform the learned minds of this House of the manner in which the dominions of the British Empire have dealt with their sterling resources. Is India any less deserving of equitable treatment than other dominions? Why talk of autonomy and self-Government for India after the war? Let actions and words prove the sincerity of Britain's concern for the welfare of Indian masses. Sir, the value of British investments in India would be a drop in the ocean of British investments liquidated elsewhere during the past three years. But to India they mean a lot. Why not liquidate the British investments in the semi-public bodies and commercial and industrial ventures of India by transferring them to Indians and thus earn their everlasting gratitude?

The capitalisation of pensions and other funds is not a happy idea. It is a well known axiom in public finance that current liabilities must be paid out of current income. The annual liability on this account, we are told, is about five or six million pounds. This, Sir, is not such a big liability as to cause concern. The Honourable Member has, it seems to me, selected the least attractive method of utilising our sterling balances. His proposal for the re-construction fund has evoked deepest suspicion from every one in the country. The explanations of the Finance Member have not carried any conviction whatsoever. It has been looked upon, and very probably rightly too, as a method of guaranteeing a definite and preferential market in India for British goods. In other words, we are having Imperial preference under a different guise and form but having the same object and method in view.

Would the Honourable the Finance Member say that what is sauce for the Canadian, South African or Australian goose is not sauce for the Indian gander? Let the Dominions be a guide to our policy. I regard the proposal to devote our sterling resources to the constitution of a post-war Reconstruction Fund highly objectionable on economic, political and moral grounds. I had greater faith in the Honourable the Finance Member. I thought the war

was being fought for the attainment of high moral principles in international life, principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter, principles enunciated by President Roosevelt time and again—principles which inspire the war effort of the United Nations and give to the cause for which we are fighting a sublime moral status.

But my faith has been shaken. I hear such adverse comments as describe the constitution of a Reconstruction Fund as giving to India a very unfair financial deal, as going against Indian public opinion on the subject of denying to Indians the rights and privileges exercised in similar matters by both the Empire and non-Empire countries. Sir, we are cheerfully bearing the burden of war expenditure but I would strongly advise the Government not to add to that burden the injustice of ill-conceived financial policy. The end of this terrible conflict is as yet out of sight. It may impose further burdens, not imaginable. Breeding distrust is hardly the way to prepare the nation for further sacrifices. Big Empires and narrow financial policies go ill together. Similarly, Sir, high war aims and shortsighted monetary policies go ill together. The latter undermine the foundations of peace and security for which we are now striving. The exigencies of the war force upon our attention the events of the immediate past, and these events, in their turn, enable us to see the future with a clearness, that is normally impossible. As the Sun looms through the mist before it rises, so the future is seen in the events of the present day. In the pursuit of our immediate task, therefore, we have an obligation to the future. And to disown that obligation is not only like cutting the branch on which we are sitting but also to weaken the foundations of stable life for posterity. This responsibility towards posterity lies at the basis of all discussion on post-war reconstruction. This responsibility towards posterity gives to the monetary policy in war time a place of such high significance. And yet we in India have seen the spectacle of a monetary policy ruling our destinies for the worse instead of serving the country as a good servant.

During all these years of war, Sir, the sterling exchange standard has been adhered to in spite of the fact that it has been instrumental in depriving the country of all its dollar resources, and expanding the currency and money incomes in India, in the face of a growing scarcity. I have nothing against the sterling exchange standard as such. But I do resent the unlimited autocracy of sterling in determining our misfortunes. No country except an absolutely dependent and helpless colony of an Imperialistic Empire would have continued to follow a monetary policy based on a currency mechanism, generating inflationary and deflationary currents, irrespective of internal conditions. Sir, there is a proverb in Sindhi which says "Bigger the camel greater the jolting". Applying this to the inflationary situation that is developing in India today, I should say the farther it goes the greater will be its re-action after the War. As we sow, so shall we reap. Few people seem to realise that inflation in war time is an evil, but deflation after the war is an indefinitely greater evil. Inflation in war time develops slowly, often imperceptibly, and always creating an illusion of prosperity. But a deflation with a terrible slump will come suddenly, mercilessly and in an avalanche which will be impossible to halt. A Government that has tolerated a currency mechanism which has been the principal vehicle of today's dreadful inflation and shuts its eyes to the inroads that this inflation has made on the welfare of the people, without promoting even the war effort and which is even striking back as a boomerang on both His Majesty's Government and the Indian Government, cannot be relied upon to steer the country through the rocky waters of the post-war slump. We have honoured the laws of war finance more in the breach than in the observance. Can we expect greater respect for the principles of post-war finance? And yet I find very little reference in the speeches made in

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the two Houses of the Legislature to the post-war implications of the present inflation. The prospects of the future hold greater terrors for me than even our experience of the present. I have criticised the present inflationary policy of the Government and, at the same time, I am terrified of post-war deflation. But I do not plead guilty to a charge of inconsistency. When I warn the Government against inflation I do not advocate a reversal of the present position. Accept the evil that has happened but do not make it worse, for if we permit it to grow worse, we shall suffer not only its own sting, but also the sting of its progeny. It is time, therefore, that we limit the unlimited sovereignty enjoyed by sterling in our reserves by fixing the maximum amount of sterling which the Reserve Bank can hold. Such a limitation would stimulate the purchasers of our goods and services to find their own rupee finance in India. Logic and justice demand that the obligation to find the means of payment be placed on the purchasers and not on the suppliers. I wish Government had displayed as much logic and sense of justice in this matter as they have in their financial settlement with His Majesty's Government.

India's poverty and the national demoralisation which such poverty causes have made this country known all the world over. It is gratifying, therefore, to learn that the Government have borne this fact in mind in maintaining the financial settlement with His Majesty's Government practically unaltered. I am not implying thereby that India has escaped the penalties of war. It is generally admitted that the taxation of the people could not be made heavier. We are in reality under a greater burden of taxation than appears on the surface. To the burden of new and enhanced taxes, both direct and indirect, imposed since 1939, must be added the concealed and highly regressive taxation in the form of a high inflation of prices which Government have been unable to check. To this admittedly terrific burden must be added the burden borne by the nation in discharging the heavy burden of past indebtedness.

I congratulate the Honourable the Finance Member on his resisting a revision of the financial settlement and for keeping in view the country's capacity to pay. This should not be taken to mean that India's share in the cost of joint war efforts has remained unaltered, as the Honourable the Finance Member has informed the House. India pays for all the forces raised so long as they remain within the Indian frontiers. But it is obvious that such forces are raised in accordance with the requirements not only for Indian defence, but also in accordance with their possible use overseas. To the extent that our forces are raised and trained in anticipation of service overseas they constitute a burden on the Indian Exchequer—a burden which would not have been placed on the Indian Exchequer in the absence of the liability of our forces to serve abroad. In this sense, Sir, there has been a real revision in the financial settlement and a real increase in the cost of Imperial defence borne by India. This aspect of the matter the Honourable the Finance Member has not emphasised in introducing the Budget. In all fairness, the Honourable the Finance Member ought to place this implication of the financial settlement before His Majesty's Government. Let me also point out in this connection that India's War expenditure is by no means inconsiderable. Nor has India purchased her security in any way cheaply as it has been made out in some quarters. Our War Emergency Measures, let it not be forgotten, are nearly four times the "Basic Normal Budget".

There is one very important point arising out of the financial settlement. It is with reference to India's liability after the war on account of capital assets created in India as a result of the financial settlement. For these capital assets, we are told His Majesty's Government is paying now. But we are told that India may have to buy these over, after the war. Now, Sir, I would point out that these capital assets are assets, during war time only. It is doubtful whether

most of them will have any military or commercial value after the war. To the extent that they possess commercial value after the war, I shall be the last person to oppose a proposal for purchasing them. But I see a danger in the Honourable the Finance Member's statement, namely, that all such present assets may have to be taken over. I maintain, Sir, that Government should not commit themselves to take up any unproductive assets. I fear that if any such proposals are entertained they will be instrumental in absorbing a great slice of our sterling balances. This would mean that India would have exchanged valuable goods and services during the war for unproductive assets after the War. This would in reality amount to giving a free gift of considerable value to His Majesty's Government.

I now turn to express some more doubts on the nature and purpose of the activities of a peculiar war product of British genius. The maintenance of secrecy on matters of high military importance and the censorship of news are two intelligible requirements of State policy in war time. But it is difficult to understand the military or political necessity behind the mystery which shrouds the activities of a commercial corporation which has been conducting its activities in this country for some time. The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation has behind it the financial support of the British Government and apparently also the blessing of the Government of India. It is said that the work of this Corporation apart from its present importance will build up British goodwill in many countries, goodwill which in peace time will result in a considerable volume of export trade for Britain. I, Sir, do not grudge prosperity to the British export trade, after the War, but I think, it would be pertinent to ask, why the building of such goodwill should take place entirely at India's expense. Rightly or wrongly the operations of the U. K. C. C. make British policy appear in a lurid light. In addition to this incubus of U. K. C. C., we are informed that another is in store for us, that is, the spectre of a monopolistic organisation in the South Africa modelled and moulded after the U. K. C. C. for controlling the trade, internal and external, of East African Dominions. We are informed that this organisation would for ever cripple the Indian trading interests in East Africa which have been built up with the greatest trials and tribulations and have reached their present stage on account of the indomitable perseverance and dogged quality of Indian merchants. The Corporation and its proposed counterpart in East Africa may be a product of the War. But they are not serving the ends of war only. They are profit-earning organisations taking full advantage of the inability of Indian exporters in India and elsewhere to obtain export licences and shipping space.

In conclusion, I would like to urge on the Government that before any schemes for the post-war reconstruction of this country are drawn up and crystallised into shape, they should consult and be guided by the informed public opinion of the country—I mean the economists and businessmen. With the co-operation and full consent of those having a vested interest and the permanent goodwill of the country at heart, nothing tangible or substantial can be achieved. I would also utter one more warning. The days of Europeanization have gone. We have certainly scope for experts in highly technical matters. We are willing to take them from any country in the world and even give preference to Britishers. Whatever key posts that may be created in the reconstruction schemes, however, must be in the hands of Indians. Sir, I have done.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, with the slogan of economy in speeches that seems to be prevailing in the Assembly Department, I think we should respond with a generous gesture. Sir, I shall try to be as brief in my observations on some topics as I possibly can. Reviewing the Government's attitude for the past few years towards the political aspirations of India, one cannot help feeling that Government has been consistently failing to carry out any of its major policies to fruition. The much advertised federation of

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units of Provinces and the Indian States as visualised in the Government of India Act, 1935, had to be given a hasty burial and its tombstone was laid by the outbreak of the war. The attempt to improve the position of the agriculturists in India and pedigree bullocks has failed as well, and the Provincial Autonomy and the Gentleman's Agreement following the Congress assumption of office in the Provinces broke down on the first shock of the war. Then followed serious attempts to solve the political deadlock in the country and efforts at reconciliation of political India, the declaration of August, 1940, preceded by a full pack of playing cards leaders interviewing the Viceroy—the results of all these fell flat on the country. The two principal political parties, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, and other parties summarily rejected the offer. The world was again startled by the loud humming of an aeroplane chartered to bring complete independence to India, independence was to be given to India within a fortnight. It came with the beating of drums. Delhi saw the collection of the best brains both of India as well as of Europe come together to stage a grand reception for Sir Stafford Cripps. The new bride came, but the bridal procession was soon changed into a funeral procession. The British bureaucracy had proved too much for him. Sir Stafford Cripps left the shores of India more in a crying mood, leaving a trail of bitterness behind. The feeling of frustration grew in intensification till it found expression in open revolt against the present system in the shape of "Quit India" slogan. The failure of Indian policy was writ large in bold letters at every step. Last but not the least came the fast of Mahatma Gandhi. The bureaucracy declined to take note of the writings on the wall and declined curtly to respond to the united will of India to release Mahatma Gandhi. But as God willed it, the present Government of India even here failed in their wishful desire of seeing Gandhiji die in detention. May I ask, at this stage, Sir, how it came about that when the request to release Mahatma Gandhi was turned down summarily, the President of America, Mr. Roosevelt, the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Churchill, His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, his Private Secretary, Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, our Home Member, the Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell, all fell ill and daily bulletins had to be issued about their health. Was it a mere coincidence? Let the astrologers try to find out a common planet governing the lives of all these men and Mahatma Gandhi. I leave the superstitious amongst us to draw their own conclusions from this incident.

An Honourable Member: Are there any amongst us, superstitious?

Sardar Sant Singh: I do not know. I leave it to you to judge.

Sir, the Government of India is not an elastic body. It is obsessed with the dangers inherent in war. It had hoped that Indian volunteers would respond for war effort but this has not come true. The demand for complete independence by India here and now in the midst of the war has upset the balance of mind of the Government of India in which His Majesty's Government in England is included. The Government of India proceeds on the assumption that it is an act of high treason on India's part to make such a demand at all and then in the midst of the war. Such a mentality forgets that treason is not treason if it succeeds as a treason, because after all if treason has succeeded, it no longer remains a treason and nobody dares to call it a treason. Here again, when the Government of India takes credit in suppressing what is called a revolt in the country, they forget that revolutions fail several times, but succeed only once and when these succeed these uproot those who try to suppress them. However, let us face facts as they are. India is not offering that co-operation in war that it can offer if and when the political aspirations of India are satisfied. His Majesty's Government declines to satisfy these political aspirations and India at present remains a drag on the Allied Nations on their war efforts. May I suggest, Sir, that the only solution

which can bring about enthusiasm in the peoples of India towards war effort is to establish a National Government at the Centre. It is clear, Sir, that there is probably a difference of opinion among the Party seated to my right on this question of the establishment of a National Government at the Centre. The Government insists upon the condition precedent being fulfilled—an agreement between the various minorities in the country. Government knows, and thinks rightly, that such an agreement under the present political situation in the country is almost impossible of achievement. But does the Government mean to say that no proper atmosphere to bring about that compromise between the parties should be created by those who are in power today? If the Government has created the present atmosphere, they are responsible for that, and it is up to the Government to lift that atmosphere of suspicion which prevails in the country today. The question that faces us is this: Is the British Government prepared to part with real power today? If they are prepared to part with the real power, it is not difficult to solve the deadlock. In view of the past few years administration in this country, my feeling is that the Government is trying to be profuse in their promises for the future—by painting the future in rosy colours—refuses to do anything immediately, here and now. Sir Stafford Cripps failed because he came with proposals for the future Government of India, not with regard to the present. Therefore, Sir, I will not be far wrong if I were to draw the conclusion or if the people of this country are forced to this inference that the Government wants to get over the present crisis by promises and not by any deeds. I will suggest to them that this mentality will not help the war effort. Let us sit together, meet together and deliberate together and make an effort to discover some way of compromise by which the National Government should be formed at the Centre. The efforts of the Non-Party Leaders Conference, under the Chairmanship of the Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, were directed to this end. Time after time suggestions have been made by which the Government, if they choose, can compromise with the people of India, but so far nothing has been done. I will today again make an effort to persuade the Government to give up this lethargy and try to find out some method for the establishment of National Government at the Centre. I have suggested a formula in my Resolution that I have tabled in this House. With your permission, I will take a few minutes to explain the implications of that formula. I suggest that all parties should be invited to a conference by His Excellency the Viceroy and they should be asked to select their own leader who will form his own Cabinet with collective responsibility, leaving the power of veto with the Viceroy.—I am not afraid of that. In that Resolution I have suggested that all the communities—Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Depressed Classes, all of them—should be invited. (Interruption.) The question which generally arises and which is now troubling some Honourable Members is—what about the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. There is no doubt that the Indian National Congress commands a mass of public opinion in the country. Some people may doubt this. If they doubt it, I leave them there because for my purpose this fact is not very material. What I suggest is that either the Indian National Congress commands the solid backing of the masses or it does not. Both propositions cannot be true. If they do not, ignore them. The Honourable the Home Member said the other day that the Congress are outside the pale of society and citizenship today after having declared “rebellion”. If it is so, why do you worry about the Indian National Congress. Leave them alone. Then comes the second political organization of my friends—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan—the Muslim League. I ask them come, let us sit together and come to some decisions. Some basis will be found for negotiations and if the Muslim League wishes to come and join us in this effort, they are most welcome.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: On whose behalf you invite them?

Sardar Sant Singh: I am asking His Excellency the Viceroy to invite the leaders. I am nobody; nobody will respond to my request. I am asking His Excellency the Viceroy, who is representing His Majesty's Government, to invite them.

If they are so invited, it will be left to those who are in power in the Muslim League to respond to it, or not. Let them choose what they like. We cannot coerce them to join, nor can we ignore them. Our policy should be to issue the invitations and if they come they are most welcome. If they do not, then what prevents the Government of India to work in alliance with the rest of the parties and form a National Government at the Centre.

Mr. M. Ghiasuddin: Who is left?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Quite a large number—you and I!

Sardar Sant Singh: Why are you here? Congress is absent, but you are still here on your Benches. Here are my friends in the Muslim League, here are some friends in the European Group, and here is the official class occupying those Benches. There are so many more here. Why do you ignore them? If you are really serious in parting with power in this country

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): But they are not.

Sardar Sant Singh: there are ways to overcome this deadlock. I have seen comments in the press made on this formula and most of those comments are directed to the fact that by ignoring the two important parties—the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League—what is left, and that is what my friend, Mr. Ghiasuddin, has said just now. You cannot blow both hot and cold in the same breath: Either the Government regards the Congress as the most influential party, or they regard the Congress as outside the pale of society and citizenship—as their attitude is at present. If it is the latter, why bother about the Congress? You cannot have both ways: You refuse to hand over power to the rest of the country because you think the Congress alone can deliver the goods, and yet you consider them to be outside the pale of society and citizenship. Therefore, I submit that this National Government, as it is visualised by me, can be formed. In order to escape the trouble which has been facing the country for a long time—I mean the bureaucracy in India and His Majesty's Government in England trying to manipulate the personnel in such a manner as not to permit the real men to come and take charge of the real power in the Government—I have suggested that work of forming Government on a leader elected by all communities. I will refuse to be a party to any National Government, the personnel of which has been selected by the Viceroy—I will entrust to the leader, selected by the

4 P M. various parties who come together at the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, to form a National Government of men who command the confidence of that leader and of their own community. In that case that Government will represent the real National Government. I have tried to meet one other objection in my resolution, and it is this, that there is a good deal of suspicion between the Britishers and the Indians that if a National Government is allowed to be formed at the Centre and the direction of State affairs is handed over to Indians, Indians may not negotiate peace with Japan and the Axis powers and thus try to defeat the allied cause. For that I have provided in my formula that the first act of this National Government at the time of taking office would be to come to a definite understanding with the allied Governments that they will pursue the war effort to the best of their ability and that they will place all their material, men and money at the disposal of the allied forces to fight the Axis powers. This direct expression of opinion in a public manner will bind any Government, and thus will avoid a conflict which is at the background of both the people, Indian and British. Britishers today cannot bring themselves to believe that India will help and go the whole hog with them in their war

effort I suggest to them the above method. I do not claim perfection for my scheme. I only wanted this to be a basis for discussion. Of course, we are not so bankrupt of statesmanship or ingenuity as not to be able to fit in the details in such a manner as to be acceptable to Britishers and Indians. Therefore, Sir, if you think, as I think, that the present bitterness in the country is so great that the fear is that it might burst out any moment, in that case it is the duty of the Britishers as well as the duty of the Indians to come together to some settlement in order to save the people from unnecessary bloodshed that may follow from this outburst. I hope, Sir, that the Government will consider this question and will not shelve it, as it seems that the Government has shelved it. Government's promise in many speeches and in many utterances has been that they are going to have a complete Indianization of the Executive Council. I do not call the complete Indianization of the Executive Council a National Government at the Centre, but it goes a bit further, a step further from what it is today. But today what do we find: that the first expansion followed by a second expansion was manipulated in such a manner as to stultify the first expansion. And what has happened today? After the resignation of three important Members from the Executive Council of the Government of India, the Government of India sit still and do not nominate anyone else. Not only that, this policy of expansion seems to be replaced by a policy of contraction. Not only this, but more. The extension granted to the Home Member for another year is a proof positive that the Government is going back further on the promise of complete Indianization of the Executive Council.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan: When did they make that promise?

Sardar Sant Singh: Mr. Amery's speeches are quite ample proof of that. They have been raising this hope in the country, that short of a National Government there is in contemplation the complete Indianization of the Executive Council. But that Indianization has receded further. The Government seems to have adopted a policy of contraction today. May I ask the Government, Sir, (I am not a student of economics, nor can I talk finance as glibly as my friend, Mr. Jammadas Mehta: I give only the layman's version and the layman's opinion) that when these millions of pounds of money of the Government of India are to be taken into consideration and account at the end of this war, do you think it is profitable (as I do not think it is profitable) to leave the matter entirely in the hands of two cousins to decide our fate—the British cousin living in India and the British cousin living in England? Human inclinations are there and they cannot give place to a sense of justice to that degree where the sense of justice prevails over racial feelings. Racial partiality may be unconscious, but it is there. Not only that, it has been amply proved to be there in the evacuation of Burma last summer. Therefore, Sir, I will ask the Government of India that instead of intensifying to a greater degree the feelings of frustration that has got hold of the country today, they must take steps to end this deadlock. The sooner they do it the greater service they will be rendering to the Allied cause as well as to India.

Next, Sir, I come to this booklet. The Government chose in their wisdom to publish this booklet, "Congress Responsibility for Disturbances" at a time when Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his fast was passing through a crisis. If we make a complaint that the publication was inopportune and ill-timed, we are fully justified in making it. However, that matter is gone. God in his wisdom has saved us all from a great catastrophe that might have befallen the country if Mahatma Gandhi had not survived the fast. However, leaving this question aside, I have tried to understand what the Government gains in the publication of this booklet. At page 7 of the booklet, after a great deal of discussion the Government comes to the conclusion that from the foregoing somewhat lengthy survey, two basic motives emerge as the foundation of Mr. Gandhi's proposal. The first is a desire to free India finally from British domination; the second is the desire to avoid at all costs India becoming a theatre

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of active warfare. May I ask what is wrong with these two motives? Does not England—let me take an analogy—desire freedom of England from German invasion? Has not England undertaken this grim war in order to save England from Axis domination? Nothing wrong in that. Has not England during the last three years made gigantic efforts to prevent Great Britain becoming a theatre of active operations? What is wrong with that? There is nothing wrong in those two motives. Simply because it is published by Government and has been broadcast by Government at two annas a copy, therefore Government thinks that as soon as the people read it, they will receive the shock of their lives, and probably faint on seeing “Here are these two motives”. What is wrong with these two motives, I ask. They are the motives of any patriot and well-wisher of the country. Who wants foreign domination in this country? Who does not want that India should not become the seat of active operations? There is nothing wrong in that. So far as I can see, England is doing the same thing and I am doing the same thing.

May I ask then what is it they wanted to justify by the publication of this booklet? Another thing which they tried to justify is to attribute another motive to the Congress—at page 10:

“It has been suggested that far from seeking to allay the bitterness left by the failure of the Cripps Mission, it was the aim of the Congress to seize upon the opportunity thus offered to regain her lost hold over the masses.”

Here I join issue with the Government on this question of fact. The Congress never lost hold on the masses. I suggested, in the last Session which was convened for the discussion of this problem, that if the Government has the courage or if they are sincere in thinking that the Congress has lost hold over the masses, they should have a Gallup poll. I went so far as to suggest that let them take a secret Gallup poll of their own employees, and they will find that they are not only not in the majority but they will find themselves in a hopeless minority even there. You can say one thing, that the agitation following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers could not be tolerated by any Government that wants to function. One can understand that. One can understand the workers being shut up in the palace of the Aga Khan at Poona and in Ahmednagar Fort; but one cannot understand this denial that the Congress do command influence in the country. If you are still minded to doubt this proposition, I will tell the House that as soon as Mahatma Gandhi undertook this fast, all over the country children ranging from the age of 6 to the age of 16 or 17 took one or two and sometimes six days' sympathetic fast in their own homes, in spite of their parents' protest to the contrary. I know of those who shine in the bureaucratic favour and whom my friends called the loyalists in this country—their sons at the delicate age of 7 and 8 fasted in sympathy with Mahatma Gandhi. Still you think in the terms of this book that Mahatma Gandhi has lost hold upon the masses. It is not correct. Do not try to delude yourself. Face the facts as they are. Some years back, we the Members on the Opposition Benches were always reminded by the Members on the Treasury Benches “You are not realistic; you do not face facts”. Now, it is our turn to tell them that the Government never faces the facts as they are and that Gentlemen of Treasury Benches try to delude themselves in order to justify some of their excesses that they committed in putting down the disturbances. In this booklet it is said that the people have been guilty of many excesses. May I ask, if Government is convinced of the correctness of their position, why do they deny an impartial inquiry into the matter, an impartial inquiry by the tribunal which is to be appointed by them and, not by us? Why does the Government feel shy of it? On the contrary I can tell them this: when we referred to the case of the pensioned police officer the other day, who sent a letter to the Home Department, how his property had been looted and plundered he has been called and

his pension has been forfeited for writing that letter. How does Government justify that action? Government gives us a pledge on the floor of the House that definite instances of excesses will be inquired into. Relying upon that pledge, when we give definite instances, the attitude of the Government is to send for that man and forfeit his pension and send him into the wilderness because he had the courage to write to the Government that his house had been plundered. How can you, Sir, justify this? Here is a book written by Government—and we are promised another book by an independent writer, which we are anxiously waiting to see when it comes out, to find out who that independent writer is. Let us have both these books; but will you give me permission to go over the country and write a reply to this book? Will you permit me to publish a reply to this book? . . .

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan: There is scarcity of paper!

Sardar Sant Singh: I can wait till after the war. Have courage. Either do not issue it; or if you issue it and thus waste paper, as my friend the Honourable the Labour Member is laughing at this big waste of paper, then have the courage to see the other side of the picture too.

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

And let the people write a reply to it to show that there is the other side of the picture as well. I have done with this book.

I now come to the working of the Defence of India Rules and here I will give one or two instances how the Defence of India Rules are worked in this country. The best illustration of the unreasonableness of the working of the Defence of India Rules is furnished by an order passed upon a sitting Member of this House itself—I refer to Sardar Mangal Singh. Sardar Mangal Singh was interned in his village; he wrote to the Deputy Commissioner that he wanted to attend the Assembly. He was given permission to attend the Assembly. The order said he could not speak in an assembly or collection of five or more persons: so he wrote back asking whether he could speak in the Assembly; and the District Magistrate says "The Assembly is a collection of 5 or more persons and, therefore, under the strict wording of the rule you cannot speak in the Assembly". Today he is outside and he is not permitted to come here and speak.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: It is a question of privilege.

Sardar Sant Singh: That is exactly the correspondence that has passed between the District Magistrate and Sardar Mangal Singh. . .

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: He can ignore the order and come here.

Sardar Sant Singh: But the Assembly will not come to his assistance when he is put behind the bars. . .

Mr. M. Ghasuddin: Did he say "Central Legislative Assembly"?

Sardar Sant Singh: Yes. Now, Sir, I come to another aspect of the case. In the name of the Defence of India Act people have been arrested on account of some *malafides*—not that they did anything to hamper the war effort, or to create any breach of the peace or of tranquillity. They were arrested because they happened to be the opponents of those who were in a position and authority to arrest them. The case of Mahashe Krishna and his son, the Proprietor and Editor of 'Pratap' is a case in point. Not only that, but the Defence of India Act has gone further in some cases. The cases were referred to the Lahore High Court where the arrests were not *bona fide*? The High Court has given a ruling that even if the arrest was *malafide* there is no power given under the Defence of India Act to the High Court to review those cases where the arrest is proved to be *malafide*. The Honourable the Law Member is not here; I hope Sir George Spence will convey this to him. We want an amendment of the Defence of India Act to this extent—and it is a reasonable extent—that where the arrest is *malafide* and the High Court comes to the conclusion that the arrest has been ordered not by a proper use of the power

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but by an abuse of the power, the High Court should have jurisdiction to interfere and release the person concerned. This is not asking too much; this is not hampering the cause of the defence of India by making this request. I do not want to proceed further in this matter.

I want to state that I do not contemplate with peace of mind the presence of so many foreign troops in India, Americans, Australians, Chinamen, not to speak of Britishers as well. To me it appears that the manpower of India has not been fully tapped. If the manpower of India had been fully tapped, India could supply sufficient number of troops for the defence of India. I am not against defence of India, but if the motive power behind the importation of these troops into this country is something different, from the defence of India, then I take serious objection; every man in this country will take serious exception to this. If history repeats itself—and God forbid it should repeat itself again—the presence of so many troops of different nationalities in this country may lead to a clash among themselves resulting in crushing the civil population of the country. In history these things have happened before, and I warn the Government to be very vigilant in seeing that this does not happen again in the country. The lesser the number of foreign troops in the country the better it is for the best interests of the country.

Then I want to say something about the representation of my community in the higher services of the country. I have already drawn the attention of the Honourable the Home Member to the fact that there is no Sikh higher officer in the higher appointments of the Government of India. Among the I.C.S. officers there are several Sikh I.C.S. officers, in various parts of the country, but not a single one has been taken into the central services. Among the other superior gazetted posts there is a very small number, if at all. I do not want to go into details by giving statistics, that in this department there is none, in that department there is none, and so on. Most of the Sikhs we find among the non-gazetted ranks. I hope the Government of India will see that this deficiency is not allowed to remain. Percentages are quoted, in this department Sikhs are one per cent., in that department 1.2 per cent., and so on. But at what stage of the salary, at what rung of the ladder is not said. You count all the chaprasis, you count all the motor drivers, and say Sikhs are there. But when you look at the higher services. . . (Interruption.)

An Honourable Member: There is a Sikh Executive Council Member.

Sardar Sant Singh: I am not treading on the corns of the Muslim League Party and, therefore, you need not interrupt me. Therefore, I will say this. I drew the pointed attention of the Government of India last year to the lack of Sikh officers in the higher services of the Government of India. Our misfortune is, referring to one department—I am sorry no representative of that Department is here, I refer to the Education, Health and Lands Department, over which Sir Jogendra Singh presides to-day. There the Sikhs have got numerous complaints. On account of a particular Director of that Department the legitimate claims of the Sikhs to promotion have been ignored and if the Department wants instances, I am prepared to supply about half a dozen, to show how things have been manipulated. There I am in agreement with Mr. Abdul Ghani and some of the Muslim League Party Members, that in the matter of promotion and the matter of granting rights to minority communities there is some *gar-bar* in the whole affair, and I complain of that.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member has already spoken for 45 minutes.

Sardar Sant Singh: I am trying to hurry on. I am avoiding all the instances and illustrations. I am trying to hurry on and I have got very few points left.

I again want to draw the pointed attention of the Honourable the Home Member and of the Government of India to the subject of communal award and

communal services award. The communal services award has been in operation now for the last nine years. Has not the time come to review its application and to review its working? Nine years is a long period. I drew the attention of Government last year to this, that the Sikhs have got a serious grievance in being included among the other minorities, and the word minority has come to mean Muslims and no other minority at all. I think the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar, the Labour Member, will agree with me; he feels as keenly on that subject as I do. (Interruption.) He is in a position to get his grievances redressed while I am not. I say that it will be but fair to other minorities to review this circular once more in the light of the experience that has been gained during the last nine years and come to some definite decision. In this connection I would like to point out that, instead of striking a percentage by numbers in each section and in each department,—will it not be more equitable for all communities, to strike percentages in the terms of emoluments drawn by each community?

Mr. Muhammad Nauman (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Division of money receipts.

Sardar Sant Singh: Not receipts, but expenditure. Receipts will be much better. You have reminded me of receipts. If the Honourable the Finance Member can undertake this task in the midst of the war to find out how much each community pays to the coffers of the State and distribute the emoluments accordingly, I think it would be most equitable. (Interruption.) It suits me; it will suit you too. Injustice is not good. Justice you want to be done, and this is the best way of doing justice.

I will just add my support to the comments made by the various Honourable Members against the levying of this high duty upon vanaspati ghee. The reasons have been given and I do not wish to repeat them. To-day, vanaspati ghee is the principal item of food in the case of the poor and middle classes. I will make my detailed speech when I come to discuss the Bill in its turn. At this stage I will only say that it is the unanimous desire of all the elected Members that this duty is too heavy and it should either be abolished or if it cannot be abolished, the duty should be merely a nominal one.

Last of all, I want to refer to my Honourable friend, Dr. Ambedkar. Today, while defending the use of the paper, he said that he was convinced that there was no acute complaint in the matter of paper. I take the Government at their word and say, if there is none, then why are you trying to stifle the vernacular press in this matter. The vernacular press is not in a position to keep a large stock of newsprint and they are living from hand to mouth. We know the vernacular newspaper proprietors and those who manage them. They are poor men. Unlike the financial backing which English newspapers have got, the vernacular press is not rich enough to keep a huge stock of newsprint. Government does not take this fact into consideration in fixing the quota. The quota fixed for the vernacular newspapers is so low that they cannot run the newspapers at all.

The second point is that they used to buy their quota from the market. Government has forbidden this. They are not getting their proper quota. They are not permitted to buy in the open market, or even in the black market sometimes. The vernacular newspaper people suspect and they have told me so that it is the policy of the Government to put an end to all the vernacular newspapers.

Then the third thing they object to is that recently the Government of India have made rules for raising by 50 per cent. the advertisement charges and the cost of the paper. In the case of the English press, they can act up to this rule but not the vernacular press. Therefore, I would draw the pointed attention of the Government to the fact that something should be done to relieve the distress of the vernacular press and this feeling that the Government wants to suppress the vernacular press entirely should not be allowed to grow.

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Finally, I expect the Government not to sit tight because they have got great physical force behind them. There is such a thing as a moral force as well. Government must look to the moral forces and do something to solve the present deadlock in the country.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Before I call upon any other Honourable Member to speak, I must remind Honourable Members again that as there is not much time left they should not make long speeches. Mr. Nauman.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Sir, one must be gifted with a happy mingling of two characteristics, one of self confidence in taking no refusals and other of shamelessness, to play his part year after year in the ceremony that is carried out in this Chamber towards the end of every March. It is more or less a meaningless ceremony when we find that we are left at the same place where we started a number of years ago. We have seen the flood gates of oration let loose for a number of days. Representatives in this House have tried to ventilate the grievances of their constituents at the bar of this House and at the end we will find that we are to remain in the same position where we began. This has been more or less a tragedy and I only want to impress on the Members of the Treasury Benches that they should at least have some more regard to the constitution than they have now and at least there should be some moral backing behind the proposals that they bring before us and at the same time they should try to see the viewpoint of the representatives of this House and meet them so far as they can. It has been the Parliamentary practice in all Houses of Legislatures, including the House of Commons, to treat all views with consideration. For instance, we had recently the case of Mr. Chamberlain who laid down the reins of Government, although he had the confidence of the House and had a majority. He learnt that there was an opinion inside and outside the House which did not agree with his war policy. That showed the real greatness of the man. Mr. Chamberlain at once gave opportunity to other people to manage the affairs in the manner which suited most. That should be the rule. Certainly I do feel the absence of the Congress Members on these Benches. It is really a criminal negligence of duty on their part. They are not even willing to resign and give opportunity to others to come in, and give Opposition group a chance to defeat the proposals of the Government, although I do not have much hope in that way also, that is even if we defeat the Government with our votes, there is going to be any change in the attitude of the Government; we have seen from 1935 to 1939, when the Congress Members were present in the House how the Opposition Victory was treated. However, I have not much time and I cannot narrate all the grievances that we have and I would like to be as brief as possible.

The grievances, qualitatively and quantitatively, are far more than I have time to deal with. There has been accumulations of new grievances in the last few years as well. There is not one single department of the Government, about which we have not got some grievance or other, particularly from the viewpoint of the unfortunate community which I have the misfortune or good fortune to represent in this House, namely, the Mussalmans. We have always had grievances and we have been ventilating them year after year on the question of the paucity of Mussalmans in the services on the question of their promotions, on the question of extensions and so on and so forth. But what we find to our own tragedy is that in the new departments which have been organised within the last three or four years—I mean the Broadcasting and the Supply Departments—our position is rather worse than what it has been under the older Departments like the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs and others. What I have to say is this. How can I console myself to believe that the Government of India and the responsible Members have ever been really honest and sincere in trying to give us the rights that we claim are ours? I

have never tried to encroach upon the rights and privileges of others. I have never been one of those who claim a bigger share than what you thought Muslims rightfully deserved. All that I want is what you have apportioned under your Home Department Resolution of 1934, namely, a share of 25 per cent. And what do we find? It is being treated as a waste-paper; it is treated with no respect. All those promises which you had made have no meaning in practice. I was very glad that Mr. Mackeown the other day was trying to quote some figures about the Supply Department. We know how figures can be distorted. We know how figures are prepared which you give to the House. The misfortune is that I have got no access to your figures for verifications. We have to depend more on agitating rumours or whatever little information we can get from here and there, whereas your Departments are a secret society from where we can have no up-to-date information. These remarks are particularly applicable to the Supply Department where we do not know what you are doing. The only thing we know is that in the category of high officers the number of Muslims is certainly very small. You know sometimes there are facts which cannot be explained away and Mr. Mackeown with his best efforts and eloquency could not explain away that fact. He had to confess that out of five Chairmen of the Selection Boards none happens to be a Muslim. Sir, I have no quarrel with the members of the other community, I mean the Hindus, but my quarrel is with the power who forms the Government or who is responsible for the distribution of these booties and for the distribution of loaves and fishes. Government as such is responsible for doing what it has done. Then, Sir, Government representatives say that qualified Mussalmans are not available. Well, Sir, that is the old story. You can call anybody qualified and everybody unqualified as it suits you. It only reminds me of a line in Urdu.

*"Tum Jise chaho charhao sar par
Varna Kab dosh per kaku thaire."*

"You can make anybody to come to any eminence although it may be difficult to do so on actual merits."

If we were to make a real scrutiny about the qualifications and capacities of those who are already in responsible Government service, then I do not know how many of them who are holding responsible posts in the Government of India will be able to stand that test. That is the hopeless position in which we stand.

Now, Sir, I come to another grievance which is more or less on the general lines and it is the question of extensions. We have always tried to say that we do not approve the policy of extensions being granted to retiring persons. Somehow or other the Government of India has developed a taste for older class of people and wants to entrust responsible duties only to those who were good enough for retirement. Is not that an indictment of those officials who would have succeeded in due course and who are as capable and sometimes even more capable than these elderly persons in not allowing them to take up those positions? When I say that I particularly refer to the Honourable Sir Edward Benthall who is responsible for giving more extensions in his own department than any other department that I know of. Of course, as I have said, we have very limited scope of knowing the ways and methods of the Government of India, yet whatever little we know of we are referring to it. Now, in the matter of extensions, supposing it was a right policy from the point view of Government what do we find? We find that in the Posts and Telegraphs Department extensions are always given to non-Muslims. Col. Naidu, who is considered fit, has been given an extension. Then H. Sur is another person who has been given an extension. Mr. Augier is another person who has been granted an extension. But Khan Bahadur Sabihuddin and other Muslims were not considered fit for being given an extension. Khan Bahadur Aley Hasan retired P. M. G. was considered to be a fit person to be sent as a representa-

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tive of the Government of India to a foreign country for representing the Postal Department but when the question of his extension came before the Government of India, he was not considered fit for it. Sir, I hold no brief for Khan Bahadur Aley Hasan or anybody else but what I am trying to explain to the House is that that is the treatment which is being meted out to my nationals. Even when you initiate the policy of loving elders and giving them extensions you refuse to accept that policy for Muslims. That is the policy of prejudicial treatments to Muslims which you have been carrying on. I do not suppose you are yourselves honestly convinced that you are doing the right thing. You probably feel in your heart of hearts that you are doing something which is not correct. But for reasons better known to yourselves, you are following that policy. It is really so difficult for us to go on narrating grievances after grievances every year when it is to produce no results. As I said, I have got neither the time nor a robust heart of shamelessness to quote examples and repeat the old story again and again. Even if I go on talking for months I do not think I will be able to ventilate one-tenth of the grievances the Mussalmans have against the administration. That is what I want to point out.

Now, Sir, I wish to make a few short remarks about the financial position. I have already made my comments on the question of the financial settlement and Sterling Balances and I need not elucidate my arguments on those. The Finance Member expected us to congratulate him for having come back with the same settlement, that is to say, with no change in the actual terms of the financial settlement. But he forgets that although he came back with the settlement unchanged in terms he had nevertheless agreed to add enormously to our burdens. Now, the crux of the problem was not in the terms of the settlement or the fine words in which they were expressed but in the burden they imposed. These I say have multiplied enormously. The British Government got what they wanted: a transference of some of their financial burden to the Government of India. The dummy partner has to take the consequences of high stakes in which he had no bid to offer. That is the whole position. The Finance Member should have deserved our congratulations if he had seen to it that our burdens did not multiply; that, at any rate, they remained where they were before his trip to England. It is no consolation to us to know that the settlement has remained intact when by the very reason of its remaining intact further financial burdens are imposed on the Government of India. This is all that would have happened if the settlement had been revised. This is precisely what has happened without a revision. Where is the difference in effect?

Now, it is certainly true that it was open to the British Government to so revise the settlement that a still greater liability were assumed by the Government of India. This they desisted from doing but that is not to say that our share of the war expenses has not in effect been revised. On the political and technical side too the settlement is thoroughly unsatisfactory. It is undoubtedly clear that if the Indian Army were intended solely for Indian purposes it would be differently constituted from that whose purposes were other than Indian in numbers, training and equipment. Why should we accept to bear the cost of raising, training, equipping and maintaining at least for a time that part of it which was above the requirements of India. It was enough that India should have allowed the use of its men and materials to the Empire. Why should she also be saddled with the cost? While speaking on the general discussion of the Budget I quoted from the statement of Mr. Bonar Law, the Prime Minister in 1923 and dealt with that at length and I do not propose to repeat the same here. The whole question is of the machinery which actually deals with the cost. What constitutes joint war expenditure? Do we have a say in the determination thereof? Once this decision has been taken who sees to it that it is carried actually into effect correctly and properly. That is

the position. We will have no say in the joint war effort. We have nothing to do with it, but we will have to pay and they may spend the money in the good faith and with the best of intentions but certainly without our consent or participation.

Now, Sir, the War Secretary gave us proportions of the British Commissioned Officers and the Indian Commissioned Officers, as he thought that this information might be sufficient for the Members. We do not know the number of either the British or the Indian Commissioned Officers who are here. However, it is to his credit that he tried to give out at least the proportion. Even these proportions revealed show that within the last one year the number of British officers has increased to a large proportion as compared with that of the Indian officers. Whether it is due to the lack of confidence in the Indians or that they are not fit to safeguard or to carry on the defence of this country, is a matter which His Majesty's Government or the Government of India can alone know. What we feel is that even in matters like this and at a time when His Majesty's Government feel that they are in extreme difficulty they are not prepared to repose that confidence which we, Indians deserve. That is the only point which I wanted to make in this connection and do not want to say anything more and leave the Government Members to ponder over this situation.

Now, Sir, I wish to say a few words—I am sorry the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar is not in his seat—about paper scarcity. I do not want to take up more time of the House and, therefore, I will say only so much that I am glad to hear from the Honourable Member Dr. Ambedkar that he did not feel that scarcity of paper has reached such a stage where it should have caused anxiety. In spite of this ascertain what we find is that the note books which used to be supplied to Honourable Members of this House have been discontinued and in their place we have been supplied with a kind of scrap of rough paper on which we can not jot down our notes. Now, may I ask if the position with regard to paper is what the Honourable Member for Government stated, then why the Government have stopped to supply us note books. If the position is not serious at all I do not see any reason why the Government should have behaved in the manner in which they are behaving. There was some sense if Government had told us that Members will get ten or five copies in the whole Session instead of one every day, but there is no sense in supplying us with a scrap of rough paper on which it is really difficult to scribble. In spite of this the Government of India representative comes here in this House with a statement that he does not feel any scarcity of paper, there is no anxiety about that. Probably he wanted to defend the extravagant use of paper by departmental people of the Government of India, but he simply forgot how he was behaving with Members of the Indian Legislature in the use of paper.

Now, Sir, I only want to say one or two words about the position of Urdu newspapers. As my friend, Sardar Sant Singh, has already dealt with the subject I do not want to elucidate it further. I only want to say that the Government of India should find out ways and means to supply sufficient paper to vernacular papers as propaganda about their National War Front, also depends on this more than on anything else. It cannot prove useful unless this propaganda is made through vernacular newspapers, because as we know the percentage of English knowing persons is very limited hardly about 2 per cent. whereas the percentage of the persons who can read and write in one of the vernaculars is about 10 or 12 per cent. Looking at it from that point of view, I think, it is necessary that the Government should extend to these Urdu papers as much facilities as they can afford.

Now, Sir, I only want to touch upon one more subject and finish my speech. I will put only one question to the Honourable the Home Member in regard to the Congressmen's activities. The Home Member has taken a definite stand that this movement—political disturbance—which started in August amounted to a rebellion and similarly he has

[Mr. Muhammaad Nauman.]

taken a definite stand that the Pir of Pagaru's affairs and the Hurs movement in Sind amounted to a rebellion. I have dealt with that aspect of the matter in my speech on Mr. Yusuf Haroon's resolution, so I do not want to reiterate my arguments. I only want to know from the Honourable the Home Member whether he can conscientiously say that the Hur organisation has created the same amount of havōc which the other organisation has created. If the Congressmen are really criminals and if you can make a good case why not try them in open court of law and condemn them. The other day, Sir, I found the resolution to make arrangement for Pir Pagaru's property was refused. I do not want to say anything more except to ask the Honourable the Home Member why this discriminatory treatment. If he treats both these organisations as rebels then he should apply the same law for leaders and members of both these parties. Sir, these are the only remarks which I wish to make and nothing more. I end my speech with this question. I do not want to take up any more time of the House.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 17th March, 1943.