

Thursday, 27th March, 1941

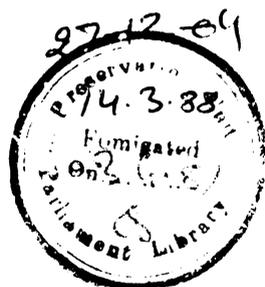
THE  
**COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES**

**VOLUME I, 1941**

*(19th February to 4th April, 1941)*

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**NINTH SESSION**  
OF THE  
**FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1941**



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# CONTENTS.

	Pages.
<b>Wednesday, 19th February, 1941—</b>	
Members Sworn . . . . .	1
Questions and Answers . . . . .	1—4
Statements, etc., laid on the table . . . . .	4—5, 6—7
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table . . . . .	5—6, 7—10
Messages from His Excellency the Governor General . . . . .	10—11
Committee on Petitions . . . . .	11
Welcome to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief . . . . .	11—13
Congratulations to recipients of honours . . . . .	13
Governor General's assent to Bills . . . . .	13—14
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	14
Presentation of the Railway Budget for 1941-42 . . . . .	14—19
Statement of Business . . . . .	20
<b>Tuesday, 25th February, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	21—47
General Discussion of the Railway Budget for 1941-42 . . . . .	48—89
<b>Wednesday, 26th February, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	91—117
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	117
Insurance Deposits (Temporary Reduction) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	117—119
Indian Merchandise Marks (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed, as amended . . . . .	119—120
<b>Thursday, 27th February, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	121—127
Resolution <i>re</i> Prevention of persons suffering from contagious diseases travelling in trains, etc.—Withdrawn . . . . .	127—133
Resolution <i>re</i> Indian Civil Service—Withdrawn . . . . .	133—164
<b>Friday, 28th February, 1941—</b>	
Presentation of the General Budget for 1941-42 . . . . .	165—178
<b>Wednesday, 5th March, 1941—</b>	
Member Sworn . . . . .	179
Questions and Answers . . . . .	179—193
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table . . . . .	194—196
Statements, etc., laid on the table . . . . .	196
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	196
Message from the Legislative Assembly . . . . .	196
General Discussion of the General Budget for 1941-42 . . . . .	197—243
<b>Thursday, 6th March, 1941—</b>	
Member Sworn . . . . .	245
Questions and Answers . . . . .	245—251
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	251
Resolution <i>re</i> Recruitment of all classes for the Indian Army—Adopted . . . . .	251—276
Statement of Business . . . . .	276

**Monday, 10th March, 1941—**

Questions and Answers	277—285
Resolution <i>re</i> Indian Civil Service Examination— <del>Withdrawn</del>	<del>286—308</del>
Resolution <i>re</i> University Training Corps— <del>Withdrawn</del>	<del>308—315</del>

**Tuesday, 11th March, 1941—**

Statements, etc., laid on the table	317
Central Advisory Council for Railways	317
Standing Committee for Roads, 1941-42	317
Standing Committee for the Department of Communications	318
Petroleum (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	318—319
Berar Laws Bill—Considered and passed	319—320
Assam Rifles Bill—Considered and passed	320
Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed	321—341
Resolution <i>re</i> Payment of Compensation in respect of war injuries, etc., sustained by Indian seamen—Adopted	341—342

**Monday, 17th March, 1941—**

Questions and Answers	343—352
Resolution <i>re</i> Allocation of Defence expenditure between His Majesty's Government and India—Negatived	352—365
Standing Committee for Roads, 1941-42	365
Central Advisory Council for Railways	365—366
Standing Committee for the Department of Communications	366
Resolution <i>re</i> Federal Court— <del>Withdrawn</del>	<del>366—377</del>

**Monday, 24th March, 1941—**

Questions and Answers	379—389
Death of Sir Muhammad Hayat Khan Noon	389—390
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	390
Resolution <i>re</i> Review of Industrial development—Discussion postponed	390—391
Resolution <i>re</i> Indian Civil Service	391—402
Delhi Masajid Bill—Recommendation to the Legislative Assembly that the — be referred to a Joint Committee	402—403
Indian Limitation (Amendment) Bill—Motion to refer to Select Com- mittee, adopted	403
Statement of Business	403

**Thursday, 27th March, 1941—**

Member Sworn	405
Questions and Answers	405—413
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table	413—422
Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table	422
Standing Committee on Emigration	422
Standing Committee for the Labour Department	422
Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce	422
Standing Committee for the Department of Supply	422—424
Central Advisory Council for Railways	424—425 and 465
Standing Committee for Roads, 1941-42	425
Indian Finance Bill, 1941—Motion to consider— <i>not concluded</i>	425—465
Statement of Business	466

	PAGES.
<b>Friday, 23th March, 1941—</b>	
Member Sworn . . . . .	467
Message from the Legislative Assembly . . . . .	467
Indian Finance Bill, 1941—Considered and passed . . . . .	467—518
Standing Committees . . . . .	518
Statement of Business . . . . .	518
Appendix . . . . .	519
<b>Saturday, 29th March, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	521—553
Protective Duties Continuation Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	553—556
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	557
Tyres (Exoisc Duty) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	557—559
Excess Profits Tax (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	560—562
<b>Wednesday, 2nd April, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	563—582
Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly laid on the table . . . . .	582
Standing Committee on Emigration . . . . .	583
Standing Committee for the Department of Commerce . . . . .	583
Standing Committee for the Labour Department . . . . .	583
Standing Committee for the Department of Supply . . . . .	583—584 and 617—618
Information promised in reply to questions laid on the table . . . . .	584
Resolution <i>re</i> Industrial development—Adopted, as amended . . . . .	584—617
Statement of Business . . . . .	618
<b>Friday, 4th April, 1941—</b>	
Questions and Answers . . . . .	619—620
Statements, etc., laid on the table . . . . .	621
Death of Sir Sundar Singh Majithia . . . . .	621—622
Delhi Restriction of Uses of Land Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	622—628
Insurance (Amendment) Bill—Considered and passed . . . . .	628—643

# COUNCIL OF STATE

Thursday, 27th March, 1941

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

## MEMBER SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. Evan Meredith Jenkins (Nominated Official).

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### HINDUS AND MUSLIMS DISCHARGED AFTER SELECTION BY THE GINWALA COMMITTEE.

128. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state the number of Hindus and Muslims discharged after selection by the Ginwala Committee up to 28th February, 1941 ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : The numbers are :—

Hindus including Sikhs	. . . . .	27
Muslims	. . . . .	6

and include both those who withdrew voluntarily and were discharged.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, the number of those who withdrew voluntarily and those who were discharged ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I have not got those numbers with me separately, Sir. I shall have to ask for notice of the question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Were these people discharged by the highest authority or by the local trainers ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : They were discharged as a result of inspection by officers of the Air Force, whose business it is to go round the Flying Clubs to ascertain how these people are getting on.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, what was the reason for their discharge ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : I am sorry I am not aware of the reasons in each case.

## STERLING LOANS.

129. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state the latest information about the conversion of Sterling Loans both in India and England ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : Presumably the Honourable Member is referring to the repatriation scheme published on the 8th February. The amount of India sterling stock surrendered in the United Kingdom by the 10th March was approximately £54½ million equivalent to Rs. 72½ crores. In India sterling securities to the value of about Rs. 11 crores have been surrendered in exchange for rupee counterparts and securities to the value of about Rs. 1½ crores against payment in rupees.

CARRIAGE OF AIR MAILS FROM DURBAN TO SYDNEY *via* KARACHI.

130. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state whether the Durban-Khartoum-Cairo Air Service carries mails for India ? If so, from what date ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. S. N. ROY : The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the through service from Durban to Sydney *via* Khartoum, Cairo, and Karachi. If so, the reply is yes, from the 19th June, 1940.

## ASSISTANT INCOME-TAX OFFICERS.

131. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state the dates from which they have changed the system in the Income-tax Department of taking Assistant Income-tax Officers in place of Income-tax Inspectors ? What is the method for appointing Assistant Income-tax Officer ? Will the selection be made in each province or for the whole of India at the centre ? Who will be the appointing authority ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : No change in the existing system has yet been made but the desirability of replacing Examiners and Inspector-Accountants (but not Inspectors) by Assistant Income-tax Officers is under the consideration of the Government.

Appointments of Assistant Income-tax Officers are not made by a Central authority on an all-India basis but are made by Commissioners of Income-tax either by direct recruitment or by promotion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, if there is any communal proportion fixed for these appointments ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : Speaking without my book, I think that communal considerations do not enter into recruitment by promotion, but that in respect of direct recruitment communal proportions are considered.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is communal proportion considered as regards the question of Income-tax Officers ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : I do not think that arises out of this question, Sir.

INCOME-TAX OFFICES.

132. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government lay on the table a statement showing Income-tax Offices in private hired buildings :—

- (a) the name of place ;
- (b) the annual or monthly rental ;
- (c) the date of commencement and termination of present leases ; and
- (d) the possibility of transferring the offices to Government buildings ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : The information is not readily available and, in the opinion of the Government, its collection would involve an expenditure of time and labour disproportionate to its value.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : With reference to part (d) of this question, has the Government considered this possibility ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : It may be presumed, Sir, that the possibility of transferring offices in rented buildings to Government buildings is continually under review by the Commissioners of Income-tax themselves.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Have the Government ever inquired if this matter is receiving their attention ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES : Occasion has not arisen for Government to inquire into this matter because we assume that officers are doing what is expected of them, Sir.

APPOINTMENTS MADE TO THE SUPERIOR RAILWAY SERVICES.

133. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government lay on the table the following information about superior gazetted staff appointed separately by direct recruitment and by promotion in the State-managed Railways for the last five years :—

- (a) total appointments to each category ;
- (b) the numbers of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Hindus, Muslims and other minorities ; and
- (c) the requisition sent to the Federal Public Service Commission for the recruitment of Muslims each year ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON : (a) and (b). I lay a statement on the table of the House giving the required information.

(c) The information is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

Statement showing the number of appointments made to the Superior Railway Services by direct recruitment and promotion during the years 1935-36, 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39 and 1939-40.

Departments.	Total number recruited.	ANGLO-INDIANS AND DOMICILED EUROPEANS.						
		Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans.	Sikhs.	Indian Christians.	Parsis.
<b>DIRECT RECRUITMENT.</b>								
Engineering . . . . .	17	1	9	3	1	1	1	1
Accounts . . . . .	11	..	7	2	1	1	..	..
Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial . . . . .	30	6	15	6	..	2	1	..
Transportation (Power) and Mechanical Engineering . . . . .	27	3	14	4	4	..	1	1
Others . . . . .	6	..	4	..	..	1	..	..
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>91</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>PROMOTION.</b>								
Engineering . . . . .	5	1	1	..	2	1	..	..
Accounts . . . . .	4	..	2	1	..	..	1	..
Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial . . . . .	7	3	1	..	3	..	..	..
Transportation (Power) and Mechanical Engineering . . . . .	6	3	..	..	2	1	..	..
Others . . . . .	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Total</b> . . . . .	<b>25</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>..</b>

**GAZETTED OFFICERS IN THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS.**

134. **THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** Will Government lay on the table a statement about each of the State-managed Railways Medical Department giving the following information:—

- (a) the present strength and communal proportion in each branch like District Medical Officers, Assistant Surgeons and Sub-Assistant Surgeons;
- (b) the number of vacancies in each branch during the last five years;
- (c) the number of Muslims appointed to each branch; and
- (d) the Muslim quota fixed by the Railway Board for each railway?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON:** (a) I lay a statement on the table giving the required information regarding gazetted officers. The information regarding non-gazetted staff is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

(b) and (c). I am securing information which will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

(d) The information is included in the statement.

*Statement giving the number of gazetted officers in the Medical Department of State-managed Railways.*

Railways.	Total.	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Sikhs.	Indian Xians and Anglo- Indians.
E. B.	7	1	4	..		1	1
E. I.	12	2	7	1	..	1	1
G. I. P.	13	2	4	..	2	..	5
N. W.	12	1	5	2	..	1	3

*Statement showing the percentages fixed for the recruitment of Muslims on the State-managed Railways in the subordinate cadres as a whole.*

	Per cent.
E. B.	45
E. I.	19
G. I. P.	10
N. W.	60

The reservation for Muslims in superior appointments is 25 per cent.

NAMES OF MUSLIM NEWSPAPERS IN WHICH APPOINTMENTS FOR STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS ARE ADVERTIZED.

135. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state (a) the names of Muslim papers in which posts are usually advertised by each State-managed Railway ; (b) whether it is a fact that most of the Railways do not send any advertisement to Muslim Press ; and (c) the names of non-Muslim papers to which advertisements are usually sent by each State-managed Railway ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON : (a) and (c). I have called for information and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

(b) No.

CONTRACTS FOR THE SUPPLY OF COAL TO STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

136. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Will Government state whether it is a fact that no Muslim is nor was recently given contract in the State and Railway collieries and lay on the table a statement showing the names and rates of contractors and the date when contracts terminate ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON : The information is being obtained and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May I ask whether the information—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** He has not given any reply to your question.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I am making a submission, Sir, that as the session will be concluded, would he consider sending me the information before it is laid on the table of the House ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** That is not a question.

**NUMBER OF HINDUS, MUSLIMS AND ANGLO-INDIANS APPOINTED ON STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS.**

**137. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will Government state the number of permanent appointments of Hindus, Muslims and Anglo-Indians made on each State-managed Railway during the last five years to the senior subordinate grades ? Is it a fact that in the B. N., B. & N. W., M. & S. M. and E. B. Railways the number of Muslims in these grades has fallen from 51 to 44 out of 1,650 posts ? Will Government state the reason for this reduction ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON :** As regards the first part, Government do not get information in respect of such appointments which are almost invariably filled by promotion and I regret it is impracticable to undertake the collection of the information. The answer to the second part is in the affirmative ; as regards the third part, as these posts are filled by promotion, fluctuations are inevitable.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** May we ask if the Government have examined if the position has ever improved during the last 10 years ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** What is your question ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** The last part of my question was, " Will Government state the reason for this reduction ? " I want them to find out what the reasons are. The result is as it was on paper—a reduction in the proportion of Muslims.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON :** The reason is included in the last part of my answer.

**NUMBER OF HINDUS, MUSLIMS, ANGLO-INDIANS, ETC., APPOINTED TO THE LOWER GAZETTED SERVICES OF STATE-MANAGED RAILWAYS.**

**138. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will Government give the total number of appointments to the lower gazetted staff made during the last five years giving figures of Hindus, Muslims, Anglo-Indians and others separately ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON :** Out of a total number of 161 appointments made to the lower gazetted services during the five years ending 1939-40, 54 were Europeans, 51 Hindus, 7 Muslims, 40 Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, 2 Sikhs, 5 Indian Christians, 1 Parsi and 1 of other communities.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** What is the reason for the large number of Anglo-Indians and Europeans ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON :** The lower gazetted service is filled by promotion from the subordinate ranks and the communities which have the majority of the posts in the subordinate ranks from which the promotions are made naturally are promoted in larger numbers than other communities.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Have the Government considered the possibility of having direct recruitment ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. L. WILSON :** It does not arise out of this question, Sir.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION.

**139. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will Government state :—

(a) The total number of candidates who applied for admission and the number of those who actually appeared at the I. C. S. examination held in India during the years 1936—1941 ?

(b) How many candidates who applied for admission possessed M.A. and M.Sc. degrees and of what class or division ?

(c) Excluding M.A. and M.Sc. mentioned in (b) how many possessed only an Honours degree and of what class ?

(d) Out of the rest how many possessed only a Pass degree with the class or division in which they were placed ?

(e) How many candidates possessed a Pass degree without any class or whose class could not be determined or was in doubt and any diploma-holders whose diplomas did not show any class ?

(f) How many candidates were actually successful during these years from each of the categories (b), (c), (d) and (e) separately ?

(g) What is the minimum educational qualification required of candidates for the I.C.S. in England at present ?

(h) What is the total number of candidates that the Federal Public Service Commission can examine satisfactorily in the written and *visa voce* examination ?

(i) Whether the candidates who do not attain the required standard in the written examination in 1942 will be called for interview ? If not, why ?

(j) What are the expenses likely to be incurred by the new method of interview in provinces and who will pay for them ? and

(k) Whether the new method of selection will be economical from the point of view of Government ? If not, why extra expenses are allowed ?

(If Government are unable to give figures for six years, will they give the details for the last two years ?)

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** (a) I lay a statement on the table which contains the desired information.

(b) to (e). The information asked for is not readily available even for two years and its collection would involve an expenditure of time and labour which would not, in the opinion of Government be justified by the results to be obtained.

(f) I lay a statement on the table giving the information for the last two years.

(g) Indian candidates must have qualified by examination for a good Honours degree in a Final Honours School of an approved University in the British Isles, or have passed an examination which in the opinion of the Secretary of State is of equivalent standard, at an approved University, or approved Institution of University rank (other than a University) in the British Isles, after residence as full time members for at least two academic years at such University or Institution, or at one of the approved University Colleges.

(h) 300 in the written test and 200 in the *viva voce* examination.

(i) The question is at present under consideration.

(j) and (k). As this will be the first year of the new system, Government are not in a position to say whether it will be economical from the point of view of Government. In introducing this system Government have been guided by the idea of achieving a better conduct of the examination and not by any idea of economy. The Central Government will pay for the expenses of the interview boards in the provinces, and a provision of Rs. 6,500 has been made in the budget of the Federal Public Service Commission for this purpose. This extra expense will, however, be offset to some extent by the reduction of expenses for the examination at Delhi.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Is there any qualification prescribed ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : With reference to what clause of the question are you asking ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Clause (g). What is the minimum educational qualification required of candidates for the I.C.S. in England at present ? Is there any qualification laid down for British candidates desirous of appearing at the I. C. S. examination in England ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : There is no qualification laid down for candidates for the open examination. There is, of course, a qualification laid down for those appearing for selection.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : What is the qualification laid down for selection ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : A good Honours degree at an approved University.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : May we know, Sir, if it is a fact that candidates who have secured a third division or pass in the Graduate's examination have never succeeded so far in this examination ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : You are asking for opinion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking for information, Sir. This was implied in part (f) of the question to which he has not replied.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Will you modify your question ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am asking if it is a fact that no student with a pure Pass degree has ever succeeded in this examination.





Director General,  
Munitions Production.

1	Mr. A. B. Elliot-Loockhart.	14-1-41	European	...	Mr. Loockhart was a partner in Messrs. Gladstone Willis and Messrs. Lyall Marshall & Co., and his income was considerably more than the pay he is receiving as D. C. F. (Commercial).	2,250	General business knowledge. As a partner in the two firms stated, responsible for running, among other things, a shipping company, two sugar mills and three distilleries. He was also responsible for dealing with roofing materials, paints, timbers, canvas, etc. both on the practical as well as the financial side.	Do.
2	Mr. J. Robertson	5-2-41	European	...	Rs. 900 plus his holdings in firm of Lawrence and Mayo (1) Ltd. since disposed of.	1,000 (from 5th February, 1941).	Possesses a specialist knowledge of scientific and optical instruments. Previously employed with Lawrence and Mayo.	Do.
3	Mr. T. D. Welby	3-7-40	European	...	Ra. 1,361-4-0	850 + Ra. 100 duty Allowance + Ra. 50 Local Allowance + £ 30 S. O. P.	*1 Has 17 years experience in establishing mass production methods and of works management in Bengal 1923-1940. Possesses a knowledge of the manufacturing capacity of Calcutta and surrounding Districts. Associate Member and Corresponding Member, Institute of Automobile Engineers. Member Institute of Metals.	Do.
4	Mr. J. M. Smith	30-9-40	European	...	£. 500 per annum paid in London, plus £500 per annum paid in Turkish Lira plus house and other allowances.	1,000	Messrs. Vickers Ltd., (1912-1920) Employed as a production Engineer and gained experience on production of small arms, shells, depth charges and mines, aeroplanes and engines. <i>Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Tatanagar (1921-1932). Assistant to Chief Engineer on construction and maintenance of new steel works and rolling mills at Tatanagar. English Steel Corporation (Vickers Ltd.) (1932-1936) specialist in use of High Speed Steels and Small Tools for machine shop equipment. H. A. Brassett &amp; Co., Ltd., Consulting Engineers, London, (1936-1939) Planning and arranging manufacturing programmes for New Steel works in Turkey (50,000 tons equipment involved) also layout (design) of Shell Shop for Turkish Government.</i>	Do.

\* 1. Received his engineering training with Austin Motor Co., where he was employed on production of munitions, aeroplanes, motors, tractors and lighting sets. Has special experience with tools, jigs, dies, etc.

## SUPPLY DEPARTMENT—contd.

Serial No.	Name.	Date of appointment.	Nationality.	Province of origin.	Actual pay before appointment in the Supply Department.	Pay on 1st February 1941.	Special qualifications for the post to which appointed.	Method of recruitment.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Director General, Munitions Production—contd.</i>								
5	Mr. A. Paxton	13-1-41	European		Rs. 1,245 per mensem including house rent and other emoluments. In addition I Class passage and rail fares in India for self and wife.	1,500	Engineer and Ship-Draftsman with 14 years experience in this line in India. Was with Messrs. Garden Reach Workshops, Ltd. the largest workshope of its kind in Calcutta.	Direct.
6	Mr. S. W. White	2-11-40	European		Rs. 1,875 per mensem excluding usual allowances.	1,000	Retired Bridge Engineer with 28 years experience on State Railways.	Do.
7	Mr. J. Oswald	12-8-40	European		Rs. 1,700 per mensem	1,000	Retired Structural Engineer with 25 years experience in structural with Bengal Iron Co., and Balmer Lawrie Co., Ltd.	Do.
8	Mr. C. W. Budd	1-2-41	European	...	Rs. 1,800 approximately. (Salary and Commission). In addition motor car free of all expenses, I Class return passage to England.	2,000	Expert knowledge and wide experience of Machine Tools and Small Tools and their application to all branches of the Engineering Industry.	Do.
9	Mr. J. A. Hodgkinson	1-2-41	European		Rs. 1,100. In addition salary Bonus (Tax free) according to amount of business. Motor car and driver for office and personal use free of all expenses. 2 First Class return passages for self and wife to England, including expenses. Free Insurance (Accident and Health).	1,500	Expert knowledge and wide experience of Machine Tools and Small Tools and their application to all branches of the Engineering Industry.	Do.
10	Mr. H. M. Mathews	14-1-41	European	...	£ 1,800 per annum	3,000 + £ 19-6-8 S.O.P.	Development Engineer, Messrs and McLellan. 14 years experience on planning power projects in Canada, South Africa, West Africa, India and U. K. Spent some time in all above countries. Particularly	Do.

11	Captain J. F. Bagnall	21-12-40	European	...	<p>concerned with electric power station projects. Later Technical Adviser to Ministry of Supply Mission to India. Chartered Electrical Engineer. Associate Member, Institution of Electrical Engineers (London). Associate Member, Engineering Institute of Canada.</p> <p>1,045 (provisional) terms of appointment under consideration.</p> <p>Outside Calcutta Rs. 1,200 per mensem + free house and other perquisites. Last Calcutta pay, over Rs. 2,000 per month (Consulting Engineer).</p>	<p>Chartered Civil Engineer, Special experience in Factory Construction and in various structural and civil engineering works in steel, concrete and brickware, including site selection, designs, survey and setting out general organization and administration.</p>	Direct.	
12	Mr. J. R. Walton	18-7-40	European	...	<p>Not stated—Employed part time.</p> <p>500 (Honorarium).</p>	<p>Special experience in Water supply and drainage. Also experienced in power plant layouts, electrical plant and distribution, and in various specialised lines. A. M. Inst. C. E., A. M. I. Mech. E., A. M. I. E. E., A. M. I. Struct. E.</p>	Do.	
<i>Contracts Directorate.</i>								
1	Capt. H. H. B. Gill, I.A.O.C.	4-1-40	European	...	<p>Was in agency business. Income from that source is not known. Was drawing Rs. 1,800 per mensem from Standard Telephone and Cables Ltd. with whom he was employed until May 1938.</p>	<p>Business experience particularly in respect of telephone stores.</p>		
2	Capt. E. V. Hammond, I.A.O.C.	8-2-40	European	...	<p>1,000 per mensem + allowances</p>	<p>Was manager of a Tea Estate.</p>		
3	Capt. G. N. P. Hodder, I.A.O.C.	1-3-40	European	...	<p>1,280 including allowances</p>	<p>Was grower, manufacturer of and dealer in foodstuffs.</p>		
4	Capt. P. C. Tutton, I.A.O.C.	15-4-40	European	...	<p>1,560 per mensem</p>	<p>Was manager in India of Quaker Oats Co. of America.</p>	Not advertised. Direct recruitment made	

## Supply Department—contd.

Serial No.	Name.	Date of appointment.	Nationality.	Province of origin.	Actual pay before appointment in the Supply Department.	Pay on 1st February, 1941.	Special qualifications for the post to which appointed.	Method of recruitment.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>Contracts Directorate—contd.</i>								
5	Capt. R. B. Otter, I.A.O.C.	20-7-40	European	...	Ra. 600 per mensem plus free car and provisions at cost price.	1,080	Was Manager of Paint Department, of Messrs. Spencer & Co. Ltd., Bombay.	through the Defence Department under the regulations applicable to the recruitment of Emergency Commissioned Officers.
6	Capt. E. W. Hart, I.A.O.C.	5-8-40	European	...	Ra. 1,500 per mensem including allowances.	1,080	Was general manager, Swadashi Cotton and Flour Mills, Indore; Standard Flour Mills, Gani Baroda, Gwalior State; Indore Oil Mills, Indore.	
7	2nd Lieut. C. V. Thomas, I.A.O.C.	20-7-40	European	...	900 per mensem	680	Was Printer and Publisher.	
8	2nd Lieut. D. V. David, I.A.O.C.	5-12-40	Indian (Jew)	...	Ra. 10,000 per annum	405	Business experience.	
9	2nd Lieut. J. R. Murray, I.A.O.C.	13-12-40	British European.	...	£ 750 per annum plus free quarters.	680	Was Secretary, Phoenix Oil and Transport Co., Rumsana.	Not advertised. Direct recruitment made through the Defence Department under the regulations applicable to the recruitment of Emergency Commissioned Officers.
10	2nd Lieut. P. S. Colvin, I.A.O.C.	20-1-41	Do.	...	Income is not known. Source of income was commission on sale.	680	Was paints salesman with Messrs. P. C. Chanda & Co., Calcutta.	
11	2nd Lieut. D. King	31-1-41	Do.	...	Was in private business, income is not known.	680	Business experience	
<i>Indian Stores Department.</i>								
1	Mr. Z. A. Khan	1-5-40	Indian Muslim.	Punjab	Ra. 1,250 including commission	550	Practical training in Germany	Through F. P. S. C.
2	Mr. K. B. Rao	15-5-40	Indian Hindu.	Madras	Ra. 850 + Commission	360	B. Sc. (Eng.) (Hons.) (Lond.), A. M. I. E. E., G. I. M. E.	Do.
3	Mr. G. B. Jambuesar-wala.	2-9-40	Indian Parsi.	Bombay	Ra. 375	450	B. Sc. (Bom.), M. Sc., (Tech.) (Mumbai).	Do.

4	Mr. M. M. Farooqui	1-5-40	Indian Muslim	Madras	Not known. (Pay on 1st July 1939 was Rs. 450).	350	B. Sc. (Eng.), A. B. T. C., Dipl. F. P. S. C. unsuccessful candidates.	From among the F. P. S. C. unsuccessful candidates.
5	Mr. P. S. Gupta	1-8-40	Indian Hindu.	U. P.	Rs. 400 exclusive of allowances	350	B. Sc. (Agrs.), B. Sc. (Hons.) (Eng.) (Ban.), M. E. San. I. (Lond.), A. M. I. E. (Ind.).	From F. P. S. C. list.
6	Mr. G. C. Nagrath	2-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Punjab	Not known. (Pay in September 1939 was Rs. 500).	350	B. Sc. (Punjab), B. Sc. E. E. (Illinois), A. M. I. E. E.	Do.
7	Mr. S. T. Thebbani	2-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Sind	Rs. 375	350	B. Sc. (Bombay), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.), G. I. E. E. (Lond.).	Do.
8	Mr. K. T. Pillai	9-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Madras	Rs. 650 + allowances	750	B. A. (Madras), A. M. I. E. E. (Lond.)	By advertisement.
9	Mr. M. B. Kacim	21-11-40	Indian Muslim.	Bihar	Rs. 500	600	Two years course in the Dundee Technical Institute, followed by four years as factory and finishing overseer in a large jute mill near Calcutta.	Do.
10	Mr. D. N. Kowshik	14-12-40	Indian Hindu.	Bombay	Rs. 275	350	B. Sc. (Bom.), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.)	Do.
11	Mr. Subomal Dutit	13-12-40	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Not known partner in the firm. Pay in August 1939 was Rs. 275.	350	B. Sc. (Benares). Carried out post-graduate research work in Brunswick Technical High School in Germany for about two years.	Do.
12	Mr. B. C. Rai Choudhuri	17-1-41	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Rs. 250	350	B. Sc. (Eng.) (Benares). Worked in various engineering firms of repute.	Do.
13	Mr. S. D. Bhatia	1-2-41	Indian Hindu.	Sind	Rs. 600 (Approx.)	600	B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.), A. M. C. T. (Grad. I. E. E. (Lond.))	Do.
14	Mr. L. G. Makhijani	6-12-40	Indian Hindu.	Sind	Rs. 200 + furnished quarter + 1 month's salary as yearly bonus.	350	B. Sc. (Bom.), B. Sc. (Tech.), A. M. C. T. (Manch.), M. I. C. E. (Ind.), A. M. I. E. A. (Ind.).	Do.
15	Mr. J. B. Chagtal	1-2-41	Indian Muslim.	U. P.	Rs. 325 + Rs. 75 car allowance	350	B. Sc. (Algarh), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.)	Do.
16	Mr. K. K. Mitra	1-5-40	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Rs. 425 + Car allowance and Provident Fund.	450	B. Sc. (Hons.) (Cal.), B. Sc. (Hons.) (CIVIL) (London)	Do.
17	Syed Nisamuddin	17-6-40	Indian Muslim.	U. P.	Rs. 150 + furnished residential and other such amenities.	350	B. Sc. (Luck.), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.)	Do.
18	Mr. C. P. Haltratti	18-6-40	Indian Hindu.	Bombay	Rs. 250	350	L. T. M. (Bombay), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.) A. M. C. T. (Manch.)	Do.

## SUPPLY DEPARTMENT—contd.

Serial No.	Name.	Date of appointment.	Nationality.	Province of origin.	Actual pay before appointment in the Supply Department.	Pay on 1st February 1941.	Special qualifications for the post to which appointed.	Method of recruitment.
					6	7	8	9
<i>Indian Stores Department—contd.</i>								
						Rs.		
						Per mensem.		
19	Mr. A. H. Siddiqui.	24-6-40	Indian Muslim.	C. P. and Bihar.	Not known. (Pay in September 1939 was Rs. 400).	360	B. Sc. (Alld.). Over 16 years practical experience in various textile mills.	By advertisement.
20	Mr. S. N. Das Gupta	24-6-40	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Ra. 460	360	B. Sc. (Cal.), A. M. C. T. (Manch.), M. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.), A. T. I. (Manch.).	Do.
21	Mr. P. V. Thadani.	5-8-40	Indian Hindu.	Sind	Not known. (Pay in August 1939 was Rs. 360 + commission).	360	B. Sc. (Bom.), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.), A. M. C. T. (Manch.).	Do.
22	Mr. R. N. Bankapur	6-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Bombay	Not known. (Pay in September 1939 was Rs. 400).	360	L. T. M. (Hons.) (Bombay), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Manch.).	Do.
23	Mr. A. N. Ghose	9-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Ra. 300	360	L. T. M. (Hons.) (Bom.), Practical training in Germany.	Do.
24	Mr. S. K. Gupta	13-9-40	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Not known. (Pay in December 1939 was Rs. 300 + allowances).	360	Practical training in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia.	Do.
25	Mr. U. M. Dharwadji	11-11-40	Indian Muslim.	Bombay	Not known. (Pay in January 1940 was Rs. 310).	360	Experience in Textiles in various mills.	Do.
26	Mr. Robert Webber	3-12-40	Indian Christian.	C. P.	Not known. (Pay in 1939 was Ra. 400).	360	Overseer's course, Bengal Apprentices in E. I. B. Workshope, Jamalpur.	Do.
27	Dr. C. N. K. Murthy	2-1-41	Indian Hindu.	Myore State.	Ra. 300	360	B. Sc. (Hons.) (Mysore), B. Sc. (Tech.) (Leeds), Ph. D. (Leeds).	Do.
28	Mr. P. K. Bose	1-2-41	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Ra. 325	360	B. Sc. (Calcutta), B. E. (Cal.). Over 6 years experience of Structural work.	Do.
29	Mr. A. K. Ghosh	1-2-41	Indian Hindu.	Bengal	Ra. 300	360	B. Sc. (Dacca), B. Sc. (Eng.) (Lond.), A. M. I. E. (India).	Do.

80	Mr. J. M. Marathe .	18-2-41 A. N.	Indian Hindu.	Bombay .	Rs. 250	350	B.Sc. (Bombay), B.Sc. (Met.) (Benares). About four years experience in Foundry work.		
<i>Mica Organisation.</i>									
1	Mr. John Podger .	18-1-40	European		Not known .	1,500	Expert knowledge of Mica	Direct. Not advertised.	
2	Mr. W. J. U. Turnbull	18-5-40	European		Not known .	(Part-time pay).	Expert knowledge of Mica	Do.	
<i>Controllers.</i>									
1	Mr. E. M. Bouter, C.I.E.	19-6-40	European	...	Rs. 2,500 .	2,500	Business experience .	Selected without advertisement.	
2	Mr. M. A. Sreenivasan.	24-6-40	Indian	Madras (Mysoore State).	Rs. 1,300	1,600	Administrative experience as a civil servant of the Mysore State.	Do.	
3	Mr. G. E. Bennett .	10-6-40	European	...	Rs. 3,000 .	1,950	Administrative experience as C. E. Bombay Port Trust.	Do.	
4	Mr. P. A. Davies .	19-6-40	European		Rs. 1,350	750	Long experience of business and office routine.	Do.	
5	Mr. E. C. Forbes, D.S.O.	7-1-40	European	...	Income not less than his present salary under Government.	2,000	Administrative and technical experience in the wooden industry.	Do.	
6	Mr. J. A. Stuart-Williams.	1-2-40	European		Rs. 1,000 per mensem .	1,200	Experience in Engineering supplies matters and in office routine procedure.	Do.	

**THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES :** Sir, I lay on the table the information promised in reply to question No. 54 asked by the Honourable Mr. N. K. Das on the 5th March, 1941.

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**RECEIPTS FROM INCOME-TAX FROM ANGUL (ORISSA) IN 1940-41.**

About Rs. 700.

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**BILLS PASSED BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY LAID ON THE TABLE.**

**SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL :** Sir, in pursuance of rule 25 of the Indian Legislative Rules, I lay on the table copies of the following Bills which were passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on Monday, the 24th March, 1941, namely :—

A Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect.

A Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934.

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**STANDING COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.**

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI** (Education, Health and Lands Member) : Sir, I move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, four non-official Members to serve on the Standing Committee on Emigration.”

The Motion was adopted.

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**STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE LABOUR DEPARTMENT.**

**THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR** (Labour Secretary) : Sir, I move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, two non-official Members to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Labour Department is concerned.”

The Motion was adopted.

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**STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,**

**THE HONOURABLE SIR ALAN LLOYD** (Commerce Secretary) : Sir, I move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Honourable the President may direct, two non-official Members to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce.”

The Motion was adopted.

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**STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPPLY**

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DE C. WILLIAMS** (Nominated Official) : Sir, I move :—

“ That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as may be approved by the Honourable the President, two Members to serve for the financial year 1941-42 on the Standing Committee attached to the Department of Supply.”

I would like to say, Sir, that although owing to the course of events in another place it will be impossible until the next session of the Legislature to constitute this Committee in the manner originally contemplated Government will be glad of the assistance of the two Members of the Committee which I hope this Council will now elect.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : If the Committee is going to be reconstituted only in October or November next then what is the good of bringing forward this Motion ? May it not be postponed till then ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** : If Honourable Members of this Council do not wish to assist Government on this Committee then they can reject the Motion. I said the Government would be grateful for their help.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : Mr. Kunzru says it will be considered later whether the fresh Committee should be appointed or not.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS** : Sir, it is not open to Government during the present session in the other place to bring forward the same Motion again, but it would be open to Government at a later session.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : I meant that when both Houses of the Legislature meet again the Honourable Member can bring forward this Motion. What is the advantage of asking us to consider it now ? It is not that we do not want to assist Government. The Government do not need assistance at the present stage.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. H. R. PARKER** (Bombay Chamber of Commerce) : Government are asking for assistance of the two Members of this Council. Because the other House is not assisting there is no reason why this House should not.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : I cannot compel the Honourable Member to postpone the matter, but it lies in your power to oppose the Motion when I put it. I understand you do not want to move your amendment ?

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU** : I do not want to propose it at this stage at all.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU** (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, I have not been able to understand the position. What is the exact position ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : Mr. Williams has explained that it will be of assistance to Government if these Members are elected now to render advice. But if you do not wish to render advice it is your lookout.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM** (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : May I ask the Honourable the Leader of the House to clear up the position.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI** (Leader of the House) : I think, Sir, Mr. Williams will be able to explain the position quite well.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT** : But he has explained it already.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** May I add something. I do not quite follow why Honourable Members opposite should say there is no advantage in electing two Members now, because Government have every intention of availing themselves of their services pending the possible reconstitution of the Committee in the original form contemplated, every intention of using the services of these Honourable Members if the House will be good enough to elect them.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** May we ask whether the Government propose to hold any meeting of the Committee before the next Assembly session ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** Certainly, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Then I think the amendment should be moved and the amended Motion accepted.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** If it is the desire of the House that I should move the amendment, I will move it.

I move, Sir, that for the word " two " the word " three " be substituted, in the Motion of which the Honourable Mr. Williams has given notice.

The general feeling in this House is that the number of representatives from this Council on the Supply Department should be increased. Apart from this, the debate that took place in connection with the matter in another place also showed that the strength of the representatives of the Legislature on the Supply Committee ought to be increased. From this point of view too it is necessary that the Council of State should be adequately represented on the Committee. I hope therefore that my amendment will be accepted.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Do you accept the amendment, Mr. Williams ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS :** Yes, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Then the Motion, as amended, reads :—

" That this Council do proceed to elect, in such manner as may be approved by the Honourable the President, three Members to serve for the financial year 1941-42 on the Standing Committee attached to the Department of Supply."

Question put and Motion adopted.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** With reference to the four Motions which have just been adopted by the Council, I have to announce that nominations will be received by the Secretary up to 11 A.M. on Saturday, the 29th March, 1941 and the dates of election, if necessary, will be announced later.

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#### CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Council will now proceed to elect Members from the Council who shall be required to serve on the Central Advisory Council for Railways and the Standing Committee for Roads. The elections will be according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote and the ballot papers will now be placed

in Members' hands and I ask the Honourable Members to vote in accordance with the instructions noted thereon. I have also to inform the House that the Honourable Lt.-Col. Sir Hissamuddin Bahadur has since withdrawn his candidature for election from the Central Advisory Council for Railways.

(Ballot papers were then distributed to Members and the election proceeded.)

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The results of the election will be announced later.

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#### STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS, 1941-42.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** As regards the next item of business, *viz.*, the election of three Members for the Standing Committee on Roads, I understand that the following gentlemen have since withdrawn their candidature :—

1. The Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das.
2. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Govindachari.
3. The Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.

As there are three candidates for three seats I declare the following three candidates duly elected :—

1. The Honourable Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.
2. The Honourable Mr. R. H. Parker.
3. The Honourable Mr. N. K. Das.

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#### INDIAN FINANCE BILL, 1941.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES (Finance Secretary) :** Sir, I move :—

“ That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary the rate of the excise duty on matches leviable under the Matches (Excise Duty) Act, 1934, to vary the rate of the excise duty on mechanical lighters leviable under the Mechanical Lighters (Excise Duty) Act, 1934, to vary the rate of the duty on artificial silk yarn and thread leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to fix rates of income-tax and super-tax and to continue the charges and levy of excess profits tax and fix the rate at which excess profits tax shall be charged, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration.”

The Bill to which this rather lengthy title attaches is, as Honourable Members are aware, the annual Finance Bill to give legislative sanction to the Budget proposals except in the case of the 10 per cent. excise duty on pneumatic tyres and tubes, which, being a new duty, and in the absence of a general Excise Act, requires a separate enactment. As has been explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and the Notes on Clauses embodied in that Statement, the Bill provides for continuance unchanged during the coming year of existing rates in respect of salt duty, inland postage and income-tax and super-tax, but provides for the increase of existing rates of duty on matches, mechanical lighters, artificial silk yarn and thread, increases in the central surcharges on income-tax and super-tax and an increase in the rate of excess profits tax. These proposals, Sir, have all been mentioned and explained in my Budget speech which has formed the subject of a general debate in this

[Mr. C. E. Jones.]

House, and I think that at this stage no further elaboration on my part is necessary. I commend the Bill to the favourable consideration of the House,

Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE SIE DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated Non-Official) : Sir, we are thankful to the Honourable the Finance Member for not taxing us more than he has done. We must win this war and if we do not, our fate will be worse than that of Poland, Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands. No sacrifice is too great for achieving that end and I therefore heartily support the proposals for additional taxation.

For years I have been pressing upon the Government the necessity for taxing pensions and other payments out of Indian revenues which are subject to the British Income-tax law. Sir James Grigg gave some relief to India in this connection and we should be grateful to him and I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will follow in his footsteps and make the interest payable on the loans he will raise in order to pay off our external debt subject to the Indian Income-tax law. I think he has indicated his intention to do so in his Budget speech in the other place, for he said in paragraph 38 :—

“ The gain may be reduced but against reduction will of course be set off the increased receipts from Income-tax ”.

We are going to pay off Rs. 120 crores and when this amount is raised in India, say, at 3 per cent. the interest will amount to Rs. 3·20 crores and calculating income-tax and super-tax, etc., say at 3 annas in the rupee, the yield will be Rs. 60 lakhs. This item should not be overlooked when he is trying to raise a few lakhs here and a few lakhs there. I must draw the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member to the way in which income-tax authorities treat the assesses. The Act is not a popular one and the authorities make matters worse by inconsiderate acts. To quote an instance, a notice dated 2nd March, 1941 is posted on 10th March, 1941 to an assessee who happens to be 1,500 miles away for paying a small sum on 10th March, 1941. The alteration of the date may be read as 20th March 1941. The income-tax pandits alone can make out what the correct date is. The notice threatens the assessee with all sorts of pains and penalties on failure to pay the amount on the due date. The official year is drawing to a close no doubt, but that is no reason for not being more prompt and for not treating the assessee with more consideration. He may not be in his place. He may not receive the notice in time. What if the year is out? Under the present law you can always recover the tax after the year is over. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will insist upon the Income-tax Officers being more businesslike and being more considerate in dealing with the assesses.

Sir, we are submitting to the additional taxation without demur on account of the needs of the war, and we want the military authorities to be responsive to our legitimate demands. We from Madras are very grateful to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for having given orders for reviving the old Madras regiments. Our complaint is that our young men are not given commissions in the army or taken as pilots or as engineers or as technicians in the munition manufacturing departments in appreciable numbers. There are many young men who are qualified as engineers, mechanics and skilled workers. Applicants from Madras are sent for, interviewed and sent away and they do not hear any more from the military authorities. There is a bias in favour of the northern men and the men from Madras though in some respects

better qualified are overlooked and men from the north are chosen. Without offence I may say that the Madras young men are as a class more intelligent, better equipped and culturally better fitted than some of the men selected. I only ask for justice for my presidency. Give us a chance and we will prove our worth. I would earnestly request His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to fix a quota for Madras in selecting men for commissions in the Army, for Air Service and engineering and skilled work, that is in all grades and modes of war work including the manufacture of munitions.

Another point that I wish to press upon the attention of the military authorities is the need for establishing training centres in Southern India in places like Madras, Bezwada and Trichinopoly. Why should all the training centres be in the north, especially for the Air Force? Ambala is getting overcrowded. The old order of things must change giving place to the new. By establishing training centres in the south you will not only relieve congestion in the north, but will also attract very desirable young men to the Air Force and the Army.

Let me emphasize the excellence of the South Indian officer by citing one instance. Many are the deeds of individual bravery, but the bravest of them all perhaps was the part played by a young Hindu officer recently commissioned from Dehra Dun in command of Sappers and Miners. Common belief imagines Sappers and Miners digging the ground, but to them fall some of the most dangerous tasks. One of their tasks is to go in advance and look for land mines which the Italians specialize in laying on the military routes. This officer tackled this job and time after time his men were killed and vehicles blown up and he miraculously escaped. When he had done the job for 24 hours, the Brigadier suggested that he might rest but the officer replied, "I have got the technique of it, and it would be much better if I finish this job and spent another 12 hours in removing mines". This is the stuff of which the South Indians are made. I quote this instance not only to show what a deal of courage and endurance our men are capable of, but also to prove what an important part Sappers and Miners play in this war. Some years ago when I pressed for recruitment to the Army from the Madras Presidency, an Honourable Member of this House who is not a Member now sarcastically interjected, "Ah, sappers and miners". Of course he was from the north and not a Hindu. I am proud, Sir, that the officer I spoke of is a Hindu—not one of the pampered class which is supposed to furnish the best material for the Army. I earnestly request His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to do justice to the Madras young men in all branches of the Army.

With these few words, Sir, I have much pleasure in supporting the Motion.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan)**  
 Mr. President, Sir, in offering my observations on the Budget for the coming year, I must commence, even at the risk of being somewhat trite and conventional, with compliments to the Honourable the Finance Member for having achieved his task under such trying circumstances with so little that could be objected to and so much that may well be praised. The present, Sir, is a most trying period, with events of world-shaking importance following in the wake of one another with lightning rapidity; and upsetting the calculations and estimates of the most consummate matters of finance to a bewildering degree. We have seen it happen with sickening regularity in that land of sound finance and high budgeting acumen—England. Estimates presented in April are out of date by the following September, and those presented in September have no bearing upon the actuals at the end of March following. We have seen it nearer home in the attempt of our own financiers to keep

[Mr. M. N. Dalal.]

abreast of world-wide developments. Sir Jeremy presented a Budget—his first—last March, which was utterly obsolete in November: and the reconsidered figures of November are already out of date at the end of February this year. I do not mention this as evidence of the Finance Member's lack of skill or foresight. I simply mention it to show that, while there are so many factors to disturb and upset his calculations, the Finance Member is nevertheless able to maintain a fairly even keel; and sail his barque through all these stormy waves to an yet unobliterated heaven. And that, Sir, is, in my opinion no small cause for gratification, and compliments.

Coming, however, to the actual substance of the Budget, and the Ways and Means proposals placed before us, I must invite the attention of this Honourable House to *five distinct questions* which arise directly out of these proposals, and which have, in my judgment, a bearing more far-reaching than that intended by those responsible for this Budget.

I. *Political and constitutional aspect.*—On the last occasion, Sir, when this Honourable House had similar proposals before it, the one cry that echoed and re-echoed from all corners of the country concerned the very foundation stone of parliamentary democracy. The ages-old axiom of responsible government, insisting upon "No Taxation Without Representation" still continues to be in effect violated in this country, even though tax-burdens have multiplied to an unprecedented degree; and a revolution is being effected in the economic organization of the country. I am aware, indeed, of some basic inconsistencies in the attitude of the leading political parties during the present fight for democracy. But that is no excuse for perpetuating the stalemate, and so crippling the potential war effort of this country. The magnitude of the results achieved so far, even while a large number of representatives of the people stand aloof, ought to persuade the powers that be of the potentialities of India in men and materials for effective aid in the war; and so they must, while there is yet time, bestir themselves to conciliate the leaders of the country, and secure the hearty co-operation of the whole people, to obtain a speedy and decisive victory for the forces of freedom and justice. I do not desire to emphasize the political aspect too much. But I would like this Honourable House to consider this contrast. To invoke friendship and confidence, Britain today is ready to barter and mortgage to peoples in the Western Hemisphere essential parts of her Imperial heritage. On the day the French resistance to the forces of Nazidom was crumbling to pieces, the British Prime Minister offered a complete merger of the two States into one, if only France would continue to fight. And this after an alliance of only 30 odd years, preceded by an enmity of centuries. India has been an associate of Britain for nearly a century,—during which Indian blood and treasure have been poured out in British wars without limit. And that besides the incessant economic advantage of the drain from India running into millions every year. In return for this, what has Britain done for India? Some slight, hesitating, grudging advance towards a popular constitution, which even now does not amount to the status and powers of a Dominion? Has this contrast no significance?

II. *Increasing burden of Defence.*—Let me now turn to some specific features of the present Budget. I find an unceasing increase in our outlay on the engines of warfare and destruction. Within two years it has risen from Rs. 45 crores to Rs. 84 crores or more. It is difficult to say how much, if any, portion of this is likely to leave a permanent benefit to this country in the shape of new industries founded, or old ones developed. But its mere

size is sufficient to stagger and give food for the most uneasy reflection. Against a total estimated revenue for 1941-42 of Rs. 106 crores, we are to spend, in the same period, Rs. 84 crores net on Defence, or about 80 per cent.—a ruinous proportion for an unproductive outlay. The needs of Defence, of national security and integrity are, no doubt, paramount; and nothing we can afford can be deemed too much, if spent on that objective. But we cannot but insist that, at the very least, reasonable precautions be taken to ensure stringent economy, so that the fullest possible value is obtained for every rupee we spent on such unproductive objects.

It is considerations like this which lead to the suggestion, put forward even in the most moderate sections of the Indian political world, that the Department of Defence should immediately be placed in charge of an Indian Member of the Executive Council. An Indian is not likely to be more of an expert in military matters. But the mere presence of an Indian in charge of the Defence portfolio will engender public confidence, which the present system cannot command, in spite of the very sympathetic attitude of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. It is, therefore, as much in the interests of prosecuting effectively the war effort of India, as of the Indian national sentiment for controlling our own affairs, that I endorse and I repeat the demand for Indian control of the Defence Department, and all that comes under that vast spending organization.

III. *War expenditure sharing agreement.*—I have no desire to weary this Honourable House by excursions into fields of military policy, but, keeping myself strictly to the financial side of this matter, I must refer to the agreement, explained last year by the Honourable the Finance Member, regarding the sharing of the total war expenditure of India between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. This arrangement leaves much to be desired from the Indian standpoint. Even if one does not question the fundamental justice or propriety of the basic principles and objectives, in the light of which that arrangement was made, one cannot but wonder what actual burden is being cast upon India today, and what portion of the aggregate outlay by India due to the war is to be eventually shouldered by Britain. I have searched carefully through the figures presented in the Financial Statement, and the Explanatory Memorandum; but have failed to find the actual amount which eventually will be borne by Britain, though paid for the moment out of Indian resources. India is budgeted to bear 84 odd crores of war burden in 1941-42. But that is not the whole amount which will be spent in connection with the war out of Indian resources. The arrangement I have just referred to provides, that India should bear on this basis, for the Budget for 1941-42 :—

	Rs.
1. For the normal net effective costs of Defence Services . . . . .	36·77 crores.
2. For rise in prices . . . . .	3·55 „
3. For war measures undertaken by India in her own interests . . . . .	35·40 „
4. For Non-effective charges of Defence . . . . .	8·41 „
Total . . . . .	84·13 „

This makes a total Rs. 84·13 crores, including the lump sum contribution of one crore in item No. 1. Even if we do not dispute that all those items, which are scheduled under item 3, costing over Rs. 35 crores in the next year, and have cost, or are estimated to cost, before the end of the current financial

[Mr. M. N. Dalal.]

year, Rs. 24·31 crores, are war measures undertaken by India in her own interest, we would like to know fuller details of these items to create more public confidence ; and we would like to know the real service or benefit each of these is expected to render to India. To what extent is this going to be a permanent burden ? How far will this leave any substantial benefit to Indian trade and industry ? What steps have been taken to see that this enormous outlay will be made so as primarily and substantially to benefit Indian capital and labour ? These are grave questions of national importance, and I trust Government will give India a fair deal in these matters.

IV. *Borrowing and repatriation of Sterling debt.*—Turning next to Ways and Means position of the Budget, the Honourable the Finance Member has frankly told us that his proposals for additional taxation will not cover more than one-third of the estimated deficit in the coming year. The balance he proposes to meet by borrowing. This borrowing programme, Sir, has not been announced and explained with the fullness that this House is entitled to expect, when it is a question of such vast amounts. I do not question the need for borrowing during this struggle ; but I think such borrowing should not be unmindful of the country's capital needs of industrial expansion and development. While the Government remains the only large scale borrower in the market, and consequentially restrictions are imposed upon the public raising capital for more productive ends in industry or agriculture, we are entitled to demand—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Have you any alternative suggestion to make as to how the balance is to be met if you do not borrow ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL : I am not asking for any suggestions, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I ask you, if you have any suggestions ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL : I do not think I have any particular suggestion to offer. But all that I want is to know something about the borrowing programme and as to what the Government scheme is. We are entitled to demand the most detailed information, and the most stringent possible control on those operations of Government which cannot be exercised if full information is not supplied.

Attention may also be invited, in this connection, to the large transaction for the repatriation of our Sterling loans, to which the Honourable the Finance Member has referred at some length. It is open to question whether there would be any substantial reduction in the burden of India's indebtedness in consequence of this transaction. The purpose, moreover, of this transaction, as far as one can ascertain it, was more to aid the British Government in International Exchanges and Britain's own defence loans, than to help India's trade or credit. I am, however, not disputing that aspect of the matter, as I do not think there is any inherent disadvantage to India in such a repatriation of loans. But I would like this Honourable House to note that, while carrying out such vast transactions, which may have repercussions far beyond the immediate periphery of the deal, Government should consider the advisability of consulting Indian opinion, especially as voiced in the Legislature. In this case even the Reserve Bank directors have not been consulted, if my information is correct, I realize, indeed, that such matters cannot be

thrown open to all the winds of publicity blowing in a democratic Legislature. But even so, I see no reason why a Standing Committee of the Legislature should not be set up to be associated with the doings of the Finance Department in such matters, as and when the occasion arise. There is, I know, a Standing Finance Committee of the other House. But that is mainly concerned with the Budget, as such; and has little contact with transactions like this connected with the Budget, and affecting materially the general economic position of the country. I trust this suggestion will meet with favourable consideration from Government.

V. *New tax proposals.*—Sir, referring to the several proposals for new taxation, taken collectively, they are not badly framed; and the burden, if it has to be borne, will, as a result thereof, be more fairly distributed. The surcharges on income-tax, and additions to the excess profits tax are, I trust, no more than war measures; and shall be dispensed with as soon as the war is over, or as soon thereafter as possible. These imposts are bound to affect prejudicially the country's means for capital accumulation and should be dropped the moment the need is over. The duty on artificial silk yarn and thread may be said to have a protective value to our own corresponding industry, which must bear its own recommendation; but I wish yarn was not taxed so high without a corresponding import duty on artificial piecegoods. Doubling the excise duty on matches seems to be rather harsh, because that seems to be the only burden likely to fall in a relatively greater measure on the poorer classes of the community. It must, however, be agreed that, in this war, all classes must join and contribute their quota to the final victory; and so such proposals cannot evoke that bitter criticism, which would otherwise be their fate.

*Conclusion.*—Taking all the proposals and observations of the Finance Member together, I feel there is not much room for optimism. He has, as I have already admitted, tried to make the best of a bad bargain, and sought to spread over the burden he found inevitable as lightly and extensively as possible. But the feeling of uncertainty as to the future, and the fears of a very considerable expansion which may quite possibly occur in our already heavy expenditure on war, must effectually restrain and modify what little gratification the people at large might feel in this Budget. And, Sir, above all will be felt and noticed the absence in this Budget of any note of conciliation towards the people of India, and desire to secure their willing co-operation in the gigantic task before us. I trust the Honourable the Finance Member, and the Government he represents, will see the need to conciliate the leaders of the Indian people, harmonize the interests of this country with his own, and endeavour to pursue, promote, and achieve them in co-operation with the people of this country.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, Sir, there are three very important differences in the situation as it was when the Finance Bill was discussed last November and when it is being discussed this year. The first is that the Congress Party was present last year and successfully opposed the Bill; but it is absent this year. The second is that the Muslim League Party remained neutral last year, but is actively opposing the Bill this year. The third difference is that the Finance Bill was thrown out by the Assembly last year and came to us only as a certified measure. The fate of this Bill in my opinion would have been the same had the Congress Party been present this year. To my mind therefore the position remains unaltered, namely, that the Finance Bill has failed to secure for itself the support of elected non-official Members.

[Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha.]

When the Finance Member at the end of a six-day debate in the other House rose to make a reply he felt like a guest who had strayed into a wrong party. He was quite right. The correct position is that our objections to the Finance Bill are mainly political and not financial. India is vastly dissatisfied with the present position in this country, and feels that its domestic differences are being designedly used by the British Government to its disadvantage. Instead of cementing our differences the British Government has accentuated them. Every Party in this country feels so. When it has suited the Government to ingratiate into its favours a particular Party or community, it has done so without in the least caring how deeply its policy was going to poison the life and integrity of India as a whole.

Sir, the only political offer before the country is the offer made in August, 1940. It cannot be denied that the offer of the British Government of August, 1940 gave recognition to the fact that the present Executive Council of the Viceroy, to say nothing else, was neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct the war efforts of over 400 million people. At the conference that was recently held at Bombay there were several ex-Executive Councillors. It cannot be said that it is only so long as one is actually in office that he can tender sane advice to Government and as soon as he leaves office his sanity and wisdom lapse. The Bombay resolution has limited its immediate objective to a reconstruction of the Governor General's Executive Council consisting only of non-official Indians who will for the duration of the war remain responsible to the Crown. It has further been emphasized that the Government must work as a Cabinet with joint responsibility and not as a collection of departmental heads and should deal jointly with all important matters of policy. Simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Executive Council is a declaration necessary that within a specified time limit India will attain a constitutional status such as that of Australia and Canada after the war. Last year, I along with several other Members urged for an Indian Defence Minister as a forerunner to further constitutional advance, because, we felt that only a national leadership can rouse the country to make sacrifices, and we further felt that self-rule alone can generate that energy and enthusiasm which we require for fighting for the cause of democracy and freedom. Here I wish to point out that several things are possible even within the terms of the Viceroy's declaration. There is nothing to prevent an Indian holding the Defence portfolio. The Government of India Act does not compel the Commander-in-Chief to be the Defence Member. The convention can be broken without amending the Act. Equally, there is nothing to prevent the Central Executive Council from functioning as a Cabinet on the basis of joint responsibility to the Viceroy. Political India insists that it should be Indianized and that it should function as a Cabinet and that there should be a formal assurance that it would. In the Executive Council as at present constituted some measure of joint responsibility may have been in evidence from time to time, but what is now desired is a formal arrangement formally conceded. That would be a landmark in India's political development. In demanding this I or political India wish to pass no censure on the existing practice which, whatever it may be, is a secret practice and is in the secret keeping of the Executive Council. All the changes that I am urging, Sir, are thoroughly possible and fully well deserved changes and are within the ambit of the constitution under which we are working today.

The mentality of the Indian is rapidly changing. The only angle of vision from which an Indian now likes to look at a question is—in what manner a

particular measure or step is going to affect his position of servitude, his position of slavery in his own land. I heard, Sir, with great admiration the speech the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga the other day. He pleaded for more trust towards Indians and for associating them in a larger measure in the control and management of war expenditure. The Maharaja of Burdwan speaking at the recent Bombay Conference stressed on two points :—(1) that whatever the number of the members of the Executive Council, it should be completely Indianized, and (2) that the post-war position of India should be one of equality with that of Britain. I have made a reference to these two speeches particularly because they are both from big landed magnates who are amongst those who are contributing very heavily towards the war. I want the Government of India to realize that the political barometer of India indicates grave dissatisfaction with their policy and that if they do not respond to the very moderate demands made in the Bombay resolution they will lose even the very few friends they have in this country and that they will have to establish military rule in this country in order to hold it as a part of the British Empire.

Sir, one question that is being asked regarding the reorganization of the Executive Council is : What would be gained by doing so, if the most powerful organizations in the country will keep out of it? This apprehension is in the first instance miscalculated and in the second instance is wrong ; because, if the Executive Council is completely Indianized and if this Executive Council is to work as a Cabinet, the psychological effect on the country of this change will be so great that it should outbalance all other considerations. People will clearly understand that Government really mean business and are willing to part with power. Besides, Sir, what is the position of the Parties in this country ? The Hindu Mahasabha, we all know, is willing to come into the Executive Council and the Muslim League, I find, is not opposed to joining the Executive Council. Mr. Jinnah in an interjection during the speech of Mr. Aney in the Assembly the other day said :

“ Our position is this. We divide the problem of India into two parts—the present and the future. As far as the future is concerned, we say that when the time comes to change the whole constitution we shall then discuss the various schemes. We believe in Pakistan. As far as the present is concerned, our position is that we are willing, only for the prosecution of the war successfully, to co-operate in forming a Government within the framework of the constitution ”.

I have quoted the exact words used by Mr. Jinnah.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Perfectly correct.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : This is, Sir, the position of the Muslim League as most recently stated by Mr. Jinnah. I say, therefore, to Government : You have the co-operation of the Hindu Mahasabha available to you, the Muslim League is ready to join : besides, you have the blessings of a great bulk of unattached non-party men in this country. Why don't you reconstruct the Government at the centre with this material available to you ? For the time being you may perhaps have to leave the Congress out to take care of itself. If, however, it is the intention of Government not to do anything or not to do anything unless the Congress is willing to come in, then I wish to tell the Government that it is driving the other Parties into desperation and that too at a time when so much discontent is already smouldering in this country. Besides, I venture to think that the repercussion on the country of a step like the one I have suggested above would be such that the way to a settlement with the Congress itself will be paved and there will be a settlement at no distant date. The arguments of

[ Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. ]

Government in this matter are very paradoxical. One thing which is very curious is this that when the Government is asked about the volume of Indian support it has in the war, the Government says that India is fully supporting the war and the whole of India is with it in the endeavour to win the war, but when the question of Indianizing the Executive Council comes the Government says that it will not do so because representative men, who can influence public opinion, cannot be found. This is a remarkably strange paradox.

Last November, Sir, I spoke at considerable length about Pakistan. I still think that it is a chimerical and an unpractical scheme. Mr. Jinnah has recently said that the scheme does not involve a transfer of population, *i.e.*, there will have to be no expatriation and repatriation. But no one has so far said what rights will be enjoyed by the Hindu minority in Pakistan.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : The same as enjoyed by Mussalmans in Hindustan.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : Will you in that case hold the Hindus in Pakistan as hostages against the Muslims in Hindustan ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Not if you don't.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : We have not been told what safeguards the Hindus will enjoy against what the Muslim League calls " Danger to religion and culture ?" I am thankful to the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam—I have just read his speech which he delivered on the last occasion—and I am thankful to him particularly because he claims to know me so well indeed and says that he thinks he can always be confident of the fact that I am never motivated by any communal urge when I enter into a discussion of this kind. I am thankful to him for the very complimentary tone in which he spoke about me. Replying to me the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam thought that my inquiry was in the nature of genuine search for information and he, therefore, advised me to address my questions to the Muslim League for a reply. I, therefore, think that it will interest my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam and the other Members of this House to hear a line or two from a letter that I have received from Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji who, I need not remind the House, was not very long ago the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court and a distinguished Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The important portions of the letter read as follows :—

" You know perhaps that there have been no less than seven or eight different schemes which go by the name of Pakistan scheme. I was trying in the meantime to get a copy of the latest Pakistan scheme, I mean the one as most recently revised. But I am sorry I have failed. \* \* \* Hardly a week passes when you do not find a new edition of the scheme. It is wonderful. \* \* \* I doubt whether Mr. Jinnah will care to send you a copy of the latest scheme if you ask him for it. I think it would be better for you to wait because I think we may find it published in a complete form quite soon."

But, Sir, I am not surprised that no authorized and comprehensive scheme has come out so far, bearing the hallmark of the Muslim League or the stamp of Mr. Jinnah. Pakistan is being used as a meaningless political slogan good enough only as a slogan.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Is this the time to discuss the Pakistan scheme ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I shall reply at some length, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** I know you will reply.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA :** Sir, I am putting these questions because I feel that the British Government is exploiting the situation, and on the other hand the Congress is following a policy of appeasement to Muslims without being able to appease them—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Is it ?

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA :** Surely, and a policy of non-co-operation towards the Government in regard to the war, although the actual effect of their having walked out from office in the provinces and from the Central Legislature has been the diminution of the pressure of public opinion on Government and the weakening of the national life of this country at a most critical hour of history.

From the constitutional question and the question of Pakistan, before I pass on to some of the items of the Finance Bill, I should like to quote the very correct and telling criticism made of the much boomed offer made by the British Government in August, 1940 and the circumstances attached with it by Mr. H. N. Brailsford. He said, "How many realize that India is on strike against our rule and our war ?" Analysing the reasons for the failure of the Viceroy's offer he says : "Enlarging the Executive Council was not a small thing because it meant placing several departments in the Central Government under Indian heads, but neither was it what many thought it was".

Mr. Brailsford asserts that what was in effect offered was the status of distinguished civil servants. The Government could have said : "We intend to make the enlarged Executive Council virtually a Cabinet responsible to the Legislative Assembly." "If we said this or anything like this, I do not think the Congress would have refused the offer. We did not say it. Neither did we mean it. There was no intention of transferring real power."

The offer of self-determination or whatever it was, was so vitiated by assurances towards minorities that in effect veto powers were placed in the hands of Mr. Jinnah. That being so, why should this man, determined to break up India in order to create a Muslim Ulster, consent to any compromise ? Bent on dividing India, Mr. Jinnah armed with the veto makes unity impossible by advancing fantastic claims. Any British Government which gives Mr. Jinnah the veto is deliberately using him to end self-government. You are too scrupulous to coerce the minority, so, without any qualm of conscience, you crush the majority.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Or crush the minority.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA :** Sir, my attitude towards the Finance Bill is the same as it was last November. As I said last time, I am against Hitler and I want the defeat of the totalitarian States, but simultaneously I am not prepared to lose sight of the fact that my own country is also under imperialistic domination. I am a slave in my own land, and I cannot rid myself of the idea that if you want to preserve your independence, if you want freedom for yourself, why must you deny it to others ? I cannot, Sir, at this stage, help referring to a portion of the speech made by the Honourable Mr. Jones on behalf of the Government on the last occasion. He said—I am quoting his exact words—"My friend the Honourable

[ Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha. ]

Sri Narain Mahtha said ' I am going to vote against the Bill, it is not a vote for Hitlerism ' ? " I ask again ", he went on to say, " Can you vote with a caveat ? Can you vote with a rider or an explanatory condition attached ? " I say, yes, certainly. Every speech is an explanation to the vote. If not why are the speeches made ? I support the war, but I do not support the attitude of the Government towards the constitutional question in India, and I must register my protest against that. What is the most effective constitutional method open to me to do so, but to vote down the Finance Bill ? We are working under a constitution in which we have an irremovable executive. A vote of censure has no effect on them. We must, therefore, signify by some means that we cannot tolerate your attitude towards India. I am sorry that the Honourable Mr. Jones went further than was necessary. He said, " A Member who votes against this Bill is doing all that he can as a Member of this House in support of Hitlerism ". That is a very queer interpretation of our vote and the Honourable Mr. Jones deserves the thanks of the German broadcasting station. Mr. Jones cannot distinguish between friends and enemies, and thus helps the enemy on account of his myopic judgment. He makes enemies of friends. It is the short-sighted policy of the British Government in India that is gradually alienating this country, and to say the least is making it apathetic towards the fate of England and the British Empire. We of this Party support your war efforts. We encourage recruitment, we help in raising funds for the war, but these do not and must not in the least deter us from asking for our own rights in our own land.

Sir, I am not very much interested in the actual provisions of the Finance Bill and have not much criticism to offer with regard to them. I shall, however, just say a word or two with regard to two things. I am thankful to the Finance Member, Sir, for the assurance he has given regarding regulating and stabilizing the price of matches, excluding of course the effect of local taxes on them. I am also thankful to him for the promise to negotiate with the industry to raise the number of sticks in the match box from 40 to 50.

Regarding the enhancement of the import duty on artificial silk yarn, it has been urged from various quarters that without a corresponding duty on the imports of artificial silk piecegoods it will adversely affect both the mill industry and a large section of handloom weavers who are dependent on this particular cottage industry. The plea taken by Government that it is not a protected industry and therefore no taxes on imports of the finished material could be levied is merely technical and highly unconvincing.

Sir, I oppose the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER (Bombay Chamber of Commerce) : Sir, the Honourable Rai Bahadur Mahtha has stated at considerable length his reasons for opposing this Bill. I would like to ask him one question, a very simple one. Suppose it depended on him as to whether the money required for the war would be supplied or not, would he vote for or against ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I cannot hear the Honourable Member's question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER : Supposing it depended on him whether the money required for this war were to be supplied or not, would he vote for it or against it ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** The question does not arise.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** You have not left it to us.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER :** I put it as a supposition.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :** Give us the power to decide.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** When there is offer of co-operation on our side surely we are prepared to shoulder the responsibility for carrying on this war if it is left to us to carry. That is the answer.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER :** Sir, I will make my observations as brief as possible because I think in these days we should avoid verbosity and do as much useful work as we can. Some of us can do comparatively little to help in the war effort but that seems to be all the more reason why we should take up as little as possible of the time of others who are actively engaged in it.

I have on occasions in the past expressed some doubt as to the adequacy of the Defence Budget, and I am confident that every friend of India must welcome the change of policy which has taken place on this point, greatly as all of us must deplore the circumstances which make this increased expenditure so essential.

I am confident that every Indian in his heart of hearts and every European in this country is anxious to do everything he can to ensure that the gallant Indian Defence Forces who, as we know have given such a grand demonstration of their capacity in Africa, should be supported with the best available equipment in thoroughly adequate quantities. We recognize that this must be a costly affair for not only have we to equip a very much larger army, but also the Navy and the Air Force.

Once more we in India can congratulate ourselves not only on the immense help to us that the British Navy gives, but also to the benefits we gain from the protection direct and indirect afforded us by the United Kingdom. The Honourable Mr. Dalal just now asked, ' What has Britain done for India ' ? Well, she has a Navy.

The provisions now being made would indeed go a very short way to meet the requirements of the case were India in a similar position to say China.

Had it not been for the foresight of the Honourable Member for Communications and the Honourable Finance Member a year ago when steps were taken to increase railway revenues, we should have been in a very much more difficult position today than we are. The increases in charges then introduced have, I think, been fully justified by the results and my only regret is that a substantial part of the increased revenue must be coming from the unfortunate taxpayer in the United Kingdom who is already suffering so much and so bravely.

Heavy traffic, while it brings increased revenue, is apt to bring troubles both for the railway administration and the public. The latter complaint of a serious shortage of means of transport due no doubt partially to the immense quantities of goods being carried to provide the requirements of His Majesty's Government in connection with the war, and also to the necessity of carrying coal by rail which would in times of peace have been carried by water.

[ Mr. R. H. Parker.]

We thus find the railways fully engaged, and indeed so much so that they cannot carry the goods traffic with the promptitude which we would all desire. Moreover, we find the railways producing a financially satisfactory result.

At any rate for the time being there is no ground for the view which I think has been over-stressed in the past that the railways require protection from competition on financial grounds. Recently on that particular point, a memorandum was issued by an official of the Government of India for the guidance of Local Governments as to the question of protection of the railways. That memorandum was primarily supposed to be the personal views of the individual in question. In another place, the point was put to the Honourable Member for Communications as to whether that was also meant to be the view of the Government of India. He did not exactly say that it was and he did not say that it was not. What he said was that it originally represented the individual's views and I think he said that it now indicates his views also. That means, at any rate, that the Honourable Member for Communications supports it. That statement was a somewhat curious one because it practically stated that the main duty of the Local Governments was to see that the Railways were not damaged. I happen to represent an Association that is interested in transport as a whole as opposed to any particular section of it and we thought that perhaps Local Governments might misunderstand their position as the result of this, and for that reason it was suggested that the memorandum should be withdrawn or amended. The Government of India have taken the view that they are right or, at any rate, they are not prepared to change their view. I put the matter to a very eminent Counsel at Bombay and I have received his opinion this morning. I will only read one or two short extracts. He says :—

“ My opinion is sought as to whether Mr. Mitchell's Memorandum and particularly the following passage contained therein is a correct statement of the effect of the Indian Motor Vehicles Act, 1939. The passage is in the following terms : ‘ But in this one respect the control of long distance road transport of goods the Act relies on the direct action by Provincial Governments to prevent damage to the railways and to the roads by exploitation for private gain of the inescapable facts of the railway rate structure ’.

“ The Memorandum as a whole constitutes what may be fairly termed strong advocacy for the protection of railways against road transport ”.

He then goes on to quote from the provisions of the Act, which are fairly well known to most of us, and makes one or two other comments.—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** On a point of order, Sir. Is it proper for my Honourable friend to read out a Counsel's opinion given in a professional capacity ? Counsel is entitled to give his opinion in a professional capacity but that opinion is not binding on the House and it ought not to be used as concluding any particular matter.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** That is quite right, but he has interposed with words of his own. So, it becomes relevant.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER :**

“ If Mr. Mitchell's Memorandum is intended to be as it were an authoritative guide to be considered by Provincial Governments or their advisers in deciding questions which may arise under the sub-section it is in my opinion definitely misleading ”.

Then he goes on to say :—

“ The passage of the Act relies on direct action by Provincial Governments to prevent damage to the railways and to the roads by exploitation for private gain of the inescapable facts of the railway rate structure ’ is certainly not a fair representation of the provisions of the Act which as I have already stated imposes upon the Provincial Government the obligation of considering all the topics mentioned in the sub-section and of exercising their powers fairly and impartially for the benefit of the public .”

How far that may be the right or wrong view of the case, I only want to say this, that it has been suggested that the point of view put forward to Government was in itself misleading and unjustified and I would like it to be understood that there was as much justification as the opinion of eminent Counsel shows. The Honourable Mr. Sapru thinks it is improper to quote the opinion of Counsel, however eminent ; I cannot think that he can be right. He knows more about the law than I do, but if you cannot quote the opinion of Counsel, there is not much use in consulting him.

Whether the case for the reduction of competition was good or bad in the past, it seems clear that now what is wanted is relief to the Railways in the form of transportation by other means of as much as possible.

It is of course a difficult subject to analyse satisfactorily and one can only come to very general conclusions.

I do not propose to ask the House to listen to any details on the point but some calculations which have been made and placed before a number of knowledgeable persons for examination have so far elicited no corrections. It is of course true that they only lead to an estimate of what the Railways may have lost in the past which is not necessarily any criterion as to what they might lose in the future. It is, however, of some interest to know that they show that after taking into account the revenues which the Central Government obtains from the carriage of goods by motor transport and the loss of revenue by the Railways, the net loss to Government and the Railways combined seems to be only about Rs. 18 lakhs per annum.

When we remember that the gross revenue from goods traffic on Railways amounts to Rs. 75 crores a year, it seems plain that this difference could very easily be made up by some comparatively minor adjustments in railway freight rates.

Railways would thus seem to have suffered little from competition by road transport and industry would seem to have little to fear if such competition leads to such a slight increase in normal railway charges.

A careful diversion of traffic which can as well, if not better, be carried by road to the roads should be for the benefit of all.

Already complaints are being made that permits to carry perishable goods from one region to another region are not being granted by the Regional Transport Authorities in question and I am told that large quantities of melons in these circumstances have had to be transported by rail to Bombay instead of by road as in the past, with the result that with the extra handling and the delay incurred they have arrived in a state unfit for human consumption.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Is the road transport quicker than the railway ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER :** Certainly.

This is only one instance but it does seem a pity that good food be wasted, that the growers should lose the proceeds of their crops, that those who

[ Mr. R. H. Parker.]

want to eat the fruit should have to go short or should have to pay more for it than they ought to pay, thus creating another ground of claim for additional wages, dear food allowance or something of that kind.

In these circumstances I do hope that my Honourable friend the Member for Communications, will follow the example of the Minister for Transport in England by making a public announcement that there should be a reversal of policy and a diversion of traffic from Railways to other means of transport : that he will do everything he can and everybody else concerned should do everything they can to ensure that all forms of transport in India will be used to their maximum capacity.

I appreciate that his position is not quite the same as that of the Minister for Transport in England who has powers over both road and rail. I nevertheless think that such a pronouncement by him would not only guide the Railways, over which he is in control, in this matter, but would also be a guide to the Provincial Governments, Provincial Transport Authorities and Regional Transport Authorities in dealing with road transport.

Let the Honourable Member for Communications make it quite clear that what he wants is the maximum use of all the forms of transport available.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. President, the Budget normally is an epitome of the economic situation in the country, but at the present time it is much more and the consideration of the Budget will open up much larger questions than it does in ordinary times. These questions are so varied and so profound that I think it is necessary for us to deal with them on an occasion like this even though in doing so we may have to refrain from considering financial questions of an important character. Before however I deal with the issues involved in the Budget that is before us I cannot help referring to one or two matters which are small in comparison with these issues but which require consideration at the hands of Government.

These are days when strict economy ought to be enforced. I do not wish to accuse Government of being extravagant. Nevertheless one hears from time to time stories in connection with the administration of certain departments which create a great deal of uneasiness in the public mind. If I were however to deal with the departments against which criticism is generally brought forward I should have very little time left for considering those questions to which I wish to confine myself this afternoon. There are two questions however which I want to address to the Finance Member in this connection. When, Sir, the post of Financial Adviser to the Crown Representative was created we thought that the post would be of a temporary character. It seems however that it is going to become permanent.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI (Leader of the House) : My Honourable friend means the Political Adviser ? He said Financial Adviser.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I meant the Political Adviser to the Crown Representative. It seems now that the post is going to be of a permanent nature. If so, what is the justification for it ? The expenditure on the post may be a bagatelle as compared with the total expenditure that we have to incur. But as I said before, instances like that create the impression that the Government are not exercising that control

over expenditure that they ought to where the appointment of Europeans to important post is concerned. The second question that I wish to ask is about the posts of Reforms Commissioner. The previous Reforms Commissioner has become the Governor of Orissa. What is going to happen to his post? Is that post too, even in the present circumstances to be treated as permanent? Is a new person to be appointed to that post although nothing whatever is being done in connection with the development of the Indian constitution?

(At this stage the Honourable the President vacated the Chair, which was taken by the Honourable Sir David Devadoss.)

There is another question also which I wish to address to Government though it is not of a financial character. It was said the other day in another place that the Chief Justice of the Punjab had issued instructions that cases under the Defence of India Rules should not be placed before any Indian Judge of the Punjab High Court. The statement was not denied in the other House. If it is wrong it ought to be immediately contradicted. If it is right then we ought to be told what action Government propose to take to stop this unwarranted, I may say scandalous, discrimination between the Judges.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Order, order. The Legislature is not entitled to remark about the conduct of the High Court.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I am referring to a rule made debarring Indian Judges from the consideration of certain cases. The matter was discussed in the other House.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): The rule is that reference should not be made to a High Court and its procedure here. That is a recognized principle of all Legislatures. The Honourable Member will accept my ruling. If I am wrong that is another matter. That is my ruling. Therefore no remark should be made about any Judge.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR LALA RAM SARAN DAS: Sir, my information is, that that particular order has been withdrawn.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Never mind that. That is beside the point. We cannot discuss the conduct of any High Court Judge here.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Sir, I was not discussing any judgment of the High Court.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): The Honourable Member will please go on with another matter.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: As the Leader of the Opposition has informed us that that order has been withdrawn, I will not dwell on the matter any more. Otherwise I would have ventured to submit for your consideration that the matter which was of an executive kind did require consideration at our hands.

[ Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

And now, Sir, I shall devote all my time to the consideration of those issues to which I referred earlier in my speech. During the last 12 months, Government have come before us thrice with proposals for additional taxation. There is the excess profits tax which was imposed last year ; then there is the surcharge on income-tax, including super-tax and corporation tax and so on. Taking the yield from all these taxes it seems that the additional taxation will amount to about Rs. 24 crores and this without taking into account the increased revenue owing to the enhancement of rates and fares in the Railway Budget. The heavy taxation that has been imposed has not sufficed to enable the Government to present a balanced budget. As time goes on I have no doubt that greater expenditure will have to be incurred and that more taxation will be imposed. Is this taxation going to be imposed without giving the people any voice in the determination of their own affairs ? The Government ought to try at a time like this to do their best to have the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the people on their side and to ask their leaders to invite their countrymen to shoulder the burdens that should be borne in order to preserve freedom not merely in other countries but in their own. What is it, however, that they have done in this connection ? Whenever we have asked that bold and far-reaching steps should be taken in order to rouse the moral enthusiasm of the nation we have been met with the reply that the offer made by His Excellency the Viceroy in August last is the last word of the Government on the subject of constitutional advance. Sir, it does not seem to me that notwithstanding the speeches that have been made since August last both by the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy, that Government mean to expand the Executive Council at all. Even for that expansion we are told that communal concord is absolutely necessary. Sir, I have made no secret of my opinion with regard to the attitude both of the Congress and the Muslim League on this point. It is not necessary for me therefore to dwell on the subject now. I do not wish today to criticize any political party for having committed itself to a certain policy. My object at present is to consider whether in spite of the difficulties before us we can find a way out of the present deadlock. My object is not destructive, but purely constructive. Now is it or is it not possible for us to take even now steps that would bring the unhappy deadlock with which we are faced to an end. It has been frequently said that the intention of the Government, when the Viceroy made his announcement of August 8th, 1940, was to proceed with the enforcement of the scheme outlined by him even though it might not receive the support of all political parties. I should, however, like to read out a few words of Mr. Amery on this subject. Speaking in Parliament on the 14th August, 1940, that is, within a week of the Viceroy's announcement, he said :—

“ I still hope that they will all be willing to take their part in spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters. If that should unfortunately not prove to be the case, Lord Linlithgow will of course still go ahead prepared to work with those who will work with him and each other ”.

The position has, however, changed and we are now told that the political situation makes it impossible for Government to take any steps in the direction indicated by those who represent nationalist political thought in this country. What is the reason for this change in the attitude of the Government, which knew soon after the Viceroy had made his announcement that his offer had not met with the whole-hearted support of any political party and had been condemned already by the biggest political party in the country ? I shall again quote Mr. Amery to show what the reason for the sudden change in the

opinion of Government is. Speaking in the House of Commons on the 20th November he said :—

“ At any rate these proposals, apart from the intransigent attitude of the Congress, have made a real substantial difference to the general outlook in India ”.

I should like the House to note these words. It seems to me that Mr. Amery wished to say that whatever the attitude of any political party might be he was confident that the result of liberalism on the part of Government would be to create a responsive feeling among the people. Where has this belief in the fruitfulness, in the eventual fruitfulness, of a liberal policy on the part of Government gone? Why are Government more diffident than they were before? This is what Mr. Amery says to justify his changed attitude :—

1 P. M.

“ At the same time, in view not only of the Congress objection but of the hesitant attitude of other parties, the Viceroy was put into a position of no small difficulty. It was of course always possible for him to fill up an enlarged executive somehow with individuals of high character and ability. But that would not have carried out our clear desire to associate the political leaders of India more directly with the Government during the war. It would have closed the door for a considerable time to come, and the Viceroy's desire is to leave the door open. Consequently he came very reluctantly to the decision to suspend the expansion of the executive and the formation of a War Advisory Council for the time being.”

It is extraordinary that Mr. Amery, who in his speech on the 14th August had said that whatever the attitude of the political parties might be Lord Linlithgow would proceed with his plans, should say three months later that it was impossible to expand the Executive Council and to allow any constitutional advance because the political leaders of India were unwilling to join the enlarged executive and any enlargement of the Executive Council would close the door upon a constituted settlement for a considerable time to come. I cannot see, Sir, that there is the slightest justification for a conclusion of that kind.

Let us consider for a moment whether this is the first occasion on which Government have been faced with the opposition of political parties in this country. We all know, Sir, that when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme came into operation, it was bitterly opposed by the Congress. Did His Majesty's Government stop the inauguration of the reforms because of the opposition of the largest and most influential political party in India? No. On the contrary they proceeded to put the reforms into effect. And what was the result? Even those who boycotted the legislatures in the beginning saw the wisdom of entering them three years later. Suppose that the Government, using the argument which it is doing now, had refrained from putting the Act of 1919 into force, what would have been the result? Would it have brought about a greater political appeasement in the country? Would it have strengthened the position of the Government? I am sure that the reply to these questions must be in the negative. On everyone of these questions Government, judging the future rightly, believing that the reforms would soon create a certain amount of goodwill in the country, did not hesitate because of the opposition of political parties to give effect to the Act of 1919. Why cannot they in the same way taking into account the result, the natural result of the operation of political forces, place more faith in the people of the country and do all in their power to assure them that they are prepared to part with authority at the earliest possible moment?

Sir, I must refer here to the Conference that took place in Bombay with the object of resolving the present impasse. The resolution that it has passed has my entire support. The main demands of the resolution are two. It

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

asks that the present Executive Council of the Viceroy should consist entirely of non-official Indians, that questions of policy should be dealt with by them jointly, and that the British Government should make a declaration that it will take all possible steps to place India on a footing of equality with Great Britain and the Dominions as soon after the war as possible. As in the present situation owing to the sacrifices that the country is being called upon to make the positions of the Defence Member and the Finance Member are of special importance, the Conference emphasized the need for having Indians in charge of the portfolios of Defence and Finance. The resolution cannot I think be regarded either as making excessive demands or as asking for anything which is not necessary in order to assure the country that victory in the war would result in the establishment of freedom for its own children. What the Conference has asked for is I think the minimum that the present situation urgently requires. But we are told that the Conference does not represent the main political parties though the persons who joined the Conference may have been individually of no little worth. They may be men of great weight and experience, but whom do they represent? Sir, His Majesty's Government have in connexion with this question on different occasions adopted different attitudes. When it suited them to say that India was entirely with them in the prosecution of the war they said that the opposition of the Congress made no difference to the enthusiastic support that they were receiving from people of all classes in connection with the war. But when we ask for political rights they tell us that we cannot presume to represent the country. We are representatives of the country, when we go before the people, and ask them to give money and to sacrifice their lives. But we become absolute non-entities when we ask that the constitutional rights of the people should be accorded to them with the least possible delay. Mr. Amery made a speech a few weeks ago dealing with the constitutional position in India and the attitude of His Majesty's Government. In that speech, referring to the general sympathy felt in India for the British cause, he said :—

“ If this campaign (that is, the campaign of civil disobedience) strikes a jarring note, it does not affect the universal detestation in which all shades of Indian opinion including the Congress, hold Nazi and Fascist dictatorship or the general desire of all India to see the victory of our cause. It does not affect the eagerness of the recruits to come forward to serve in that cause. It does not affect the generous enthusiasm with which all classes of Indian society have contributed to every fund connected with the war. Least of all does it affect the settled purpose of His Majesty's Government to help India to overcome those internal differences which are the real obstacles to her progress towards the goal of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth ”.

Sir, if Mr. Amery used these words not merely to adorn the peroration of his speech but in order to express his sincere convictions, there is no justification for the present adamant attitude of the Government. I shall, however, Sir, address myself more closely to the objections that have been urged to the demand for immediate and far-reaching constitutional advance—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Will you be very much longer?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I am afraid I shall take some more time.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Then we shall now adjourn till 2-45 p.m.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** Why not till 2-30 P.M., Sir ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN** (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Has the Honourable the Leader of the House anything to say on that ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI** (Leader of the House): I am entirely in the hands of the House. If the House wishes to meet at 2-30 P.M., we shall do so. But it seems clear that the discussion will not finish today. In the circumstances, I do not see that there is any objection to our meeting at 2-45 P.M.

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

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The Council re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, the Honourable Sir David Devadoss in the Chair.

**THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU:** Mr. Chairman, I was dealing before the House adjourned with the position that we were representative of all that was best in the country when we asked for help in connection with the war effort, but were absolute nobodies when we asked for our constitutional rights. Sir, I shall examine this objection somewhat more closely now than I have been able to do yet. It should first of all be realized that the Bombay Conference has asked only for the minimum of constitutional change during the war. It has asked for the Indianization of the Executive Council, but the Executive Council will still remain responsible to the Crown. Most of the objections that are urged against the Bombay resolution on the ground that the stability of Government may be endangered cannot therefore hold water. Whatever the objections against an Executive Council responsible to the Crown may be there need be no doubt that an Indianized Executive Council will have a more representative character than the present Executive Council. Surely an Indian Member will any day be a more representative person than Sir Reginald Maxwell, and I have no doubt whatsoever that the Indianization of the Executive Council will be regarded by the country as an earnest of the Government's determination to enable India to be free as soon as possible after the war. Another reason, Sir, for the faith that I have given expression to is that the Bombay resolution has, generally speaking, been well received even by those newspapers which reflect Congress opinion. I think I am justified in saying that on the whole even the British papers in the country are in sympathy with the objectives of the Bombay Conference. Apart from this, Government must remember that the representatives of the major political parties have not condemned the Bombay resolution. Those who are entitled to speak on behalf of the Congress have certainly not done so. Why should it therefore be supposed that the moment the resolution is given effect to the major political parties will unite in order to make the new constitution unworkable? But let us suppose that the worst happens. I doubt in the first place whether any political parties, judging from appearances at the present time, would it be so unwise as to make it impossible for the new Executive Council to carry on its duties. Besides, as I have already said, the Executive Council will be responsible not to the Legislature but to the Crown. But even granting that it will owe moral responsibility to the Legislature, I repeat that there is no reason for supposing

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

that the representatives of the major political parties will so far forget their duty to their country as to make the new constitution unworkable. But suppose, as I was saying, that the worst happens. It is the electorate that will then decide whether a purely negative policy should have its approval. Here again, I seriously doubt whether any political party would go before the electorate with a policy of uncompromising opposition to the new constitution. Such things have not happened in the past and there is no reason to suppose that they will happen in the future. Had the major political parties wished that Government should take no steps whatsoever at the present time and wanted to oppose the Bombay resolution, they could have made this clear long ago. I am sure that even they are waiting to know whether Government will make any gesture that will give them hope for the future. It is despair that turns every party against you, but if you change your attitude, if you make the people feel that you do not want merely sacrifices from them but are prepared to concede to them their rights, are prepared to give them the most sincere proof in your power of your genuine desire to place India on a footing of equality with Great Britain, I feel morally certain that the atmosphere of indifference or hostility in the country will be quickly dissipated. But, if the more important political parties make it impossible for the Government even after advancing in accordance with the Bombay resolution to carry on their duties, I doubt whether the electorate will support such a policy. The candidates with a programme of pure opposition will find it very difficult to make headway against those who could point out the solid advantages of arriving at a settlement with His Majesty's Government at the present time on the basis of the Bombay resolution.

Sir, the Bombay Conference has asked not merely that the present constitution be changed by the Indianization of the Executive Council, but also that the Finance and Defence Members should be Indian. Now it may be thought that in asking for an Indian Defence Member it went too far. I will only point out in this connection that had Federation been established there would have been a Civilian Member for Defence. In asking therefore for a Civilian and an Indian Defence Member the Conference has not put forward any proposition which is based on a principle not already accepted by His Majesty's Government.

Sir, the other demand of the Bombay Conference demand is that His Majesty's Government should announce that India would be enabled to achieve her constitutional freedom as early as possible after the war. I may say again that I do not forget our own unfortunate differences. If I have not referred to them, it is not because I think that they are of no account. It is a matter of humiliation, of intense shame, to us that we should be fighting among ourselves at this juncture. But if we had something constructive to do, if we felt that the fate of the country was really in our hands, if we were sure that it was for us to make or mar our future, I feel, as a patriotic Indian, that we would, realizing our duty to our country, settle our differences and present the British Government with a united demand. But differences amongst us need be no bar to constitutional progress. Differences amongst us have been in existence for a long time, but constitutional and administrative reforms have not been held up because we could not agree on some important points among ourselves.

Sir, I have so far spoken of the change that in my opinion should be immediately made in the constitution of the country in order to get the full and whole-hearted support of the country. But I should like to ask the

House to consider now from another angle what the effect of the continuance of the present policy will be. The constitution has been suspended in six provinces. If the British Government continues to stick to its present attitude, can there be any hope that the constitution will begin to function again in these provinces? Anybody can see that if the present policy is not departed from, there is no chance of a settlement between the people and the Government. What do Government propose to do in this connection? Is it their desire to resume permanently even the small powers that they had conceded to the people? Surely such a thought must make them reflect on the serious character of the policy that they are pursuing. The present situation is such as to involve practically a resumption of its old autocratic powers by Government over the major part of the country. If Government show their willingness to move forward, the provincial deadlock, if I may say so, will be resolved in the twinkling of an eye. But if they refuse to tackle the larger question unless certain conditions laid down by them as prerequisites are satisfied, I must say that they will be justly charged with having no sincere desire to part with the power that they enjoy.

What, Sir, if one looks at the present situation in a large way, what would the policy of His Majesty's Government appear to one to be? India is a large country, with a rich military and industrial potential. If its goodwill were gained, if it were fully developed it would be bulwark of strength to the Empire. But instead of courting the goodwill of the people of India Government are relying almost entirely on America to enable them to emerge successfully from the present war. I do not blame them for seeking to get American help. America is a rich and powerful country which holds the same ideals as Great Britain. It is natural therefore for the British authorities to try to seek American support. But taking a large view of the position, I venture to think that in the long run Indian goodwill will be more helpful to them than even American support. There are many complicated political Far Eastern problems in which India and India alone can help—at any rate India can give more valuable help than any country can. To give only one illustration, is there any country with a position comparable to that of India which can act as an interpreter between it and the other races in the Far East? The British people may become strong by getting American support but they will get the required moral strength only when they have India on their side.

Sir, I have so far dealt with the political situation. I shall now venture to deal with another problem which is of no less significance, the military problem. The army of a country, Sir, should, I imagine, embody its will to defend its life against all aggression. It should in other words represent the physical and moral energy of the nation. It should draw its life from the people at large and be looked upon with pride by the country as a whole. Does our army satisfy these conditions? So far from satisfying these conditions it is at the present time in the public estimation an instrument for the maintenance of British domination in this country. If His Majesty's Government are sincere in their professions that they wish India to attain to the same position which Great Britain occupies, the military problem must also be faced in a courageous way. I shall refer first to the question of Indianization. The figures that Mr. Williams gave the other day showed that there had been a substantial advance in the matter of the appointment of Indian officers in connexion with the war. But I would take leave to point out that even now the Government have chosen more officers from the tiny European community than from the vast population of this country. I hear, Sir, complaints with regard to the paucity of suitable Indians. I have no doubt

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

whatsoever that many unsuitable young men present themselves before the selection committees appointed by the Government. But when I look at the manner in which commissioned officers have been chosen from the European community, I doubt whether efficiency is laid due stress on in their case. People have been taken from European tailoring establishments or European restaurants or small European stores and given commissions. In some cases they have obtained rapid promotion. On the one hand people with very poor qualifications have been chosen from the European community, and on the other complaints are made with regard to lack of initiative and character in Indian candidates. I wonder therefore whether the efficiency of Indians and Europeans is being impartially judged. I blame no individual least of all His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. But the present system I fear inclines officers to scrutinize the qualifications of Indians much more strictly than they scrutinize those of European officers. Government take a newspaper correspondent and make him a Lieut.-Colonel in the twinkling of an eye. But if rapid promotion is asked for in the case of an Indian officer who will not be called upon to perform combatant duties, Government think that it will be setting a bad example, and lowering the efficiency of the Army. I have no doubt that this problem is engaging the attention of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. But I thought that I owed a duty to my countrymen in placing before His Excellency what seemed to me to be a true picture of the present state of things. Assuming, however, that Government have really not succeeded in getting an adequate number of capable young men for appointment as commissioned officers, what steps have they taken in order to obtain a larger supply of qualified men? Have they taken any steps to carry on propaganda? Have they placed themselves in touch with the Universities? Have they encouraged the U.T.Cs.? Have they done anything to rouse the patriotism of our young men? I fear they have done nothing of the kind up to the present time. I realize their difficulty. If they want to appeal to the patriotism of our boys they will have to tell them what their future policy with regard to the Indian Army will be—whether Indian officers will after the war be appointed as platoon commanders or whether they will be appointed as company officers like the British officers. They will have to say whether the policy of complete Indianization of the Army will be courageously followed and so on. They shrink probably from giving answers to these questions because their strength in this country is based not on the goodwill of the people but on force. Unless, however, they can address themselves to the desire latent in our young men to serve their country even in the most dangerous positions, I am afraid that the purpose they have in view will not be fully realized. The present political situation, frankly speaking, is having an unsettling effect on the minds of the young men. If anything is done to create a better atmosphere in the country there need be no doubt of an immediate response from the youth of the country.

I have so far spoken, Sir, of combatant officers. I would now like to say a word about technical officers. The other day I asked questions on this subject. One of these questions was answered by Mr. Jenkins. Apprentices for the Ordnance factories are recruited in the same way as special class railway apprentices who are appointed to the superior posts in the State Railways. But the apprentices in the Ordnance Department are appointed to subordinate posts. I asked why they were not appointed to superior posts, and the only reply that Mr. Jenkins could give me was that they were recruited for subordinate posts. Is this any answer at all? I know that it was not in his power to change the policy of the Government of India. But it is

a point that requires consideration, and immediate consideration, I venture to think, by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who can easily arrive at a decision which will give satisfaction to the public.

Another question of mine on the subject was answered by the Commander-in-Chief himself. I asked how many superior Indian technical officers there were and what efforts had been made to train them. All that His Excellency could say was that there was one Indian trained before the war, who was officiating in a superior post! Since the war broke out, 50 technical officers have been recruited, but only 11 of them are Indians. Arrangements have now been made to provide for the training of Indian officers, but only six Indians are to be trained at a time. The Tata Iron and Steel Company is a much bigger concern than any Government Ordnance factory. Yet, as the Tatas were determined to Indianize their concern, they have succeeded in placing the Iron and Steel Company almost completely under Indian management and control. We have every reason to be proud of the patriotism and power of organization that they have shown. For their achievements they ought to receive full credit from the country. But what have Government done? The Steel and Metal Factory at Ishapore is equivalent to just one section of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. But I did not see a single Indian officer when I went there last January. Had Government been in earnest, I have no doubt whatsoever that they would have been able to train an adequate number of Indians for superior posts in the Ordnance factories. But the will has been lacking. It has been their policy to keep out Indians, and it is this policy that must be changed in order to get a full response from the country.

There are only two other points that I shall deal with in connection with this subject, and that is the recruitment for the Army and the institution of a closer connection between the Legislature and the Army authorities. Both these subjects were considered in the Assembly the other day and it is the speeches made there that have made it necessary for me to refer to these subjects again. They were not as satisfactory as the words that fell from the lips of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief here. I do not know what is contemplated in regard to the establishment of a Defence Committee. But the debate that took place in the Assembly makes one afraid that Government may only think of consulting the Party leaders from time to time. This is not what we had asked for. This will not satisfy the Legislature. Again, we were told that there were constitutional difficulties in the way of establishing a committee. I do not know what the constitutional difficulties are. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will not become subordinate to the Defence Committee if one is instituted. I know that the Princes, in their gathering, asked for a War Advisory Council. But let me make it plain that we have got nothing to do with that demand. Our demand is entirely independent of that put forward by the Princes. We ask for a closer connection between the Indian Legislature and the military authorities. Federation not having been established, we can speak only for British India, and we ask for a Committee which is representative of the Assembly and the Council of State. Government may wish to consult the Princes. They can do so in any way they like. But the Committee that we have asked for must be a means of establishing more intimate contact between the Legislature and the Defence Department.

The discussion which took place on the Resolution relating to the recruitment for the army also raises doubts in my mind. I think the Defence Secretary said that while attempts would be made to give a chance to new classes when the Army was expanded, the share of the enlisted classes would not be disturbed. Perhaps the words used by him were that the opportunities that

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

they already enjoyed would continue to be enjoyed by them. I do not know what he meant, but how can new classes be recruited if the old classes are to enjoy their present percentage of recruitment? I hope, Sir, some light will be thrown on this question by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. At any rate I hope he will be able to assure us that the interpretation that I have placed on the Defence Secretary's speech is not in his opinion in correspondence with the intentions of Government.

Sir, His Excellency said the other day that he had already taken steps to restore the Madras regiment to its former position in the Indian Army. He was also good enough to say that he was thinking of giving representation to other provinces also. May I in this connection plead the cause of Bengal? Bengal has been wholly neglected up to the present time. I hope that His Excellency considering the efficiency of the Bengal battalion and the battery of heavy artillery which he inspected the other day will give the Bengalis a permanent place in the Army. I may also plead the cause of my own province, the United Provinces. We had then, before the war, two battalions known as Brahman battalions. But they have been disbanded, partly on account of the trouble which they gave because of their orthodoxy. I understand that the ideas of the classes from which they were recruited have changed considerably during the last quarter of a century. And as the material has been fully tested, I venture to hope that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will restore these battalions also.

Sir, I have spoken for a very long time already. I wished to deal with the Supply Department. Mr. Jenkins is here in order to answer criticisms against that Department. I cannot, however, now deal with that subject fully, but I shall say something in order to give Mr. Jenkins something to reply to. In November last, as the House will remember, a Resolution was passed regarding the Supply Department. The Resolution which was amended at the instance of Government was of course accepted by them. It asked, among other things, for the appointment of Indians in more adequate numbers in the higher posts in the Supply Department and for the exercise of proper administrative control in its various sections. How have Government given effect to this Resolution? The Department has been recently expanded. Perhaps to be more accurate I should say that the Directorate General of Munitions Production has been considerably expanded. I believe about 47 new officers have been appointed. About 20 of them belong to the M. G. O. Branch. Of the remaining 27 officers I think only one is an Indian. Now, is this the manner in which Government propose to give effect to a Resolution which they accepted? Whatever the qualifications required might have been, I refuse to believe that men of the requisite calibre could not be secured. I know some of the reasons that have been put forward for not appointing Indians. Government wanted mechanical engineers and senior mechanical engineers are not available among Indians. Now I do not see why every officer appointed in the Directorate General of Munitions Production should be a mechanical engineer with a long experience. Is everybody in that Department performing duties which none but a senior engineer can perform? There is no other department that has been staffed on the same principle. If that were done we would have none but senior men in every department. The plea therefore that Government could not obtain senior Indian mechanical engineers cannot in my opinion be taken seriously. It seems to me, Sir, that the authorities at the top have exercised no real control over the appointment of officers. They have failed in their duty to the country and they have failed to implement the Resolution to which they were a party.

Again, Sir, take the question of control. We asked for greater control and a few days after my Resolution had been accepted by Government with a small amendment, a communique was issued increasing the powers of the very men over whom we wanted greater control to be exercised. Is this another example of the way in which Government mean to implement their promises? We are told that decentralization is always necessary and particularly at this time. I myself believe in a policy of decentralization, but a line must be drawn between decentralization and the autocracy of comparatively speaking subordinate officers of Government. Take the question of contracts. They are dealt with by the Directors General of Munitions Production and Supply. These officers enjoy the status of Additional Secretaries and are therefore competent to put out contracts of any value. Now I will ask the House to consider for a moment what this means. It means that the two Directors General whom I have already mentioned have unlimited powers with regard to entering into contracts. Is it necessary in the interests of the war that these powers should be given? So far as the bigger orders are concerned, they can not be complied with in the course of a day or two. It will take weeks and months to execute them. What harm will there be if in such a case a reference is made to Government? I have no doubt that the officers concerned are responsible officers. But I think it is wrong on principle that any officer should have the unlimited powers that the Directors General of Munitions and Supply have. I shall be told, Sir, that they enjoy no more powers than any Secretary or Additional Secretary of the Government of India does. That may be a fact, but I for one was not aware of the extent of the Secretaries' powers. We have had no occasion in which these powers have been exercised in practice. Had they been exercised I would have no doubt that the demand for closer control would have arisen much sooner. But in any case this argument is of no significance in connection with the complaints that I have made. Sir, I shall not go into this question any more. I think I have said enough to indicate what our complaints in regard to the Supply Department and the Government are.

I will say only one word with regard to our attitude to the Bill which is before us, before I resume my seat. We had a similar situation to consider last November and Members on this side of the House made it plain that while they had the fullest sympathy with the British cause they could not but register their strong protest against the attitude of Government towards constitutional changes. How could this protest be registered? There was only one way of emphasizing the intensity of our feelings. That was to vote against the Finance Bill. The Financial Secretary who spoke rather uncompromisingly towards the end of the debate on the Finance Bill asked us whether we were not guilty of inconsistency in professing to be sympathetic in theory and being hostile in practice. He asked us whether we could have a rider attached to our vote and whether we were not encouraging Hitlerism by voting against the Bill. Sir, the Financial Secretary does not seem to me to have understood the inwardness of the situation in the slightest degree. If we have to vote against the Bill and Hitler takes advantage of it, what will he say? He cannot say that the people of India are for Nazism and Fascism. He can only say that though Indians may be against Nazism, they are also exposing the hypercritical tactics of His Majesty's Government. If such a position is to be avoided, the responsibility for taking measures for the purpose rested with His Majesty's Government. It is for them to take steps to end the present stalemate and to earn the goodwill of the people. But if they take no such steps, then we cannot be charged with the responsibility of voting against the Finance Bill by any fair-minded person. I will go further, Sir, and point out that His Majesty's Government found it necessary even in their own country to take

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

active measures, both political and otherwise, in order to get the full support of the British people. Complete social unity was achieved after a great change had been made in British policy in England. That the British Government were wise, supremely wise, in what they did is apparent from the example of France, one of the reasons for whose collapse was, I understand, the want of that internal unity which His Majesty's Government brought about in England to some extent even before the war broke out. If the British Government has found it necessary to reassure its own people on certain fundamental points, to take the representatives of the great Labour interests with it in order to secure moral unity, can it not see that it is at least equally necessary for it to take steps to bring about unity between the people and Government in this country which is far more in the stage of aspiration than of realization at the present time. It is not too late yet. His Majesty's Government can still instead of dwelling on debating points show courage and a large heart in dealing with the Indian Constitution. The British Prime Minister has addressed himself to nearly the whole world. He is regarded today as the supreme representative of the courage and statesmanship of the British nation. If he were to deal with the Indian problem with the same courage which he has shown, for instance, in dealing, say, with the Russo-British problem, I have no doubt that more valuable and quicker results will be achieved in India than they have been in the case of Russia. I hope, Sir, both in the interests of India and England that such a policy will still commend itself to the British authorities; but for the present for reasons already mentioned by me we have no option but to protest, and protest most strongly, against the attitude of the Government by voting against the Bill before the House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. Chairman, we have listened with great patience and respect to an address of an hour and a half on a proposal before the House to discuss the Finance Bill proposing to levy certain duties on certain articles for the purpose of raising money in order to meet the deficit in the Budget into consideration. So far as I have been able to follow the discussion in this House, there has not been any criticism, constructive or otherwise on these financial matters, *viz.*, the merits of particular taxation or duty or the evil effects of particular taxation or duty to the detriment of trade or industry. There has not been so far any such comment or criticism relevant to the measure before the House. We have had to listen to much criticism on the political and constitutional position in India at present and also on certain irregularities—or I would put it as certain defects—in the military administration of this country. Therefore it has been resolved by my Honourable friend Dr. Kunzru to vote against this Bill. I do not propose to go to the same length, nor deal with the political and constitutional problems which he has so very ably discussed. I would only summarize all the activities he referred to in a few words and say that I do not agree with the position which he has advocated on the floor of this House. Whatever may be the differences in the matter of parties, there has been before the country the statement made on August 8th by His Excellency the Viceroy; compare its terms and implications and also remember that a number of leading men were invited to interview His Excellency and their opinions were obtained. We have to consider the situation dispassionately. The question is whether the Declaration made on August 8th is in essence different from what has been declared to be the resolution of the Bombay Conference. It is said to be a non-Party Conference. It has had very good support from the newspapers indeed as a novelty; the Press favoured and, as would appear from the newspapers, at the Bombay Conference there were some members of the Liberal

Party, there were some members of the Hindu Sabha Party *cum* Nationalist Party and there were some other nondescripts, and the fourth consisted of those who opposed the Communal award. That is the red rag to some people.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : You were not invited there, were you ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : My friend should regulate himself without interrupting.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN, (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : Never mind the interruption.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : I think my friend should talk more easily and in a more careful way, he should not interfere like that. Therefore I did not wish to associate with persons who did not bear a proper political party and a proper political label but who for reasons best known to themselves want to promote a certain conference. If the major parties in the country, the Congress and the League, are opposed to any such proposal, what is it that a patriotic man should do in the circumstances ? It is not the duty of a patriot to go behind them and call together half a dozen or a dozen people, talk among themselves and pass resolutions, which any association could do. But on the other hand what is to be done if real patriotism guided them ? It is to go to meet the leader of the great Congress Party, to go to meet the leader of another great party, Mr. Jinnah, bring them together, have conversations and arrive at a scheme which could be presented before such a representative assembly. Then if the representative assembly has accepted the proposals, they should be placed before the Government with the statement, "This is our demand, this is the country's demand, and you should accept it." That was the right method. Instead of that you go by the back door, you go by the backyard: and what do you do ? If you disagree with the Congress, if you disagree with the League, you should, as parliamentary men, men of parliamentary experience and men of democratic principles, enlist opinion in the country. You would like to carry propaganda in the country and tell them that all the other parties are wrong, that you have formed a new party and they should enrol themselves in your party if such a new party has been formed.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA : Do you accept the leadership of Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Jinnah ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO : That is not relevant. If these people had moved about in the country, if they came in contact with the real voters and if they had enlisted their sympathy and support and formed a party, defeated the Congress in the elections, defeated the League in the elections, then there would have been a great show. Government would be bound to call the leaders and ask them to form a government. It is open to them to make proposals or the conditions under which they would accept government or run the administration. Instead of doing anything through this democratic method, what you do is to invite some people, people who would be sympathetic to your views and to your method of doing things, and then pass a resolution and say this is what we want at present. Sir, not only this. But this Bombay Conference resolution does not recognize the realities of the situation. What is the situation today ? What is the war condition ?

[Sir A. P. Patro.]

How are the British people situated today? There is danger and destruction of property all round, and living itself is very unsafe in Britain. In such a condition you want Britain at present to concede to you independence, to concede to you that the whole of the Government of India should be reorganized, should be completely Indianized: and not only Indianized but that it should be altogether on the lines of what is known as the Poona resolution of the Congress. I do not see any difference between the Poona resolution of the Congress and the Bombay resolution of the Liberal Party. Therefore I say that there is no use of such resolutions. Such resolutions do not in any way construct a new life or a new condition in the country. We should face the realities. At the present moment we have the offer given to us, that the Government of India will be reconstructed with a majority of Indians and that it will not be merely as it is today with departmental heads, but that there will be what is known as the Cabinet system: and after the assurances given in the course of consultations by the Viceroy, to insist still that there should be a declaration today on the spot, immediately, that Dominion status or Independence should be granted to India soon after the close of the war shows the insincerity of the whole cause, because they know that it is impossible for the British Parliament to make any promise or give any assurance. But the promise has already been made that the whole matter of the constitution will come into the melting pot and will be considered dispassionately by all people—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: *De novo*.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: *De novo* as my friend suggests. All proposals whether relating to independence or to Pakistan will be considered at that time, and not now when Britain is in trouble, when we find danger coming nearer to India, when we find the Far East in a dangerous condition, and when we find also such dreadful conditions in Europe. Now living as they are in these dreadful times, to ask them to sit down quietly and grant us our demands shows that we have not yet been able to develop the political sense that is necessary, and the strength of character which is so essential. Now, Sir, what is it that the Bombay resolution wants? The organizers of the Bombay Conference are gentlemen of eminence, for some of whom I have great respect. Even they have failed to realize the realities of the case. It is this. They should move from place to place, convincing Messrs. Gandhi and Jinnah, bringing the parties together and forming a new scheme. They leave them out. And we have the other unattachable—non-party people. Most of the people are there. Yes, the masses are there. Go, approach them, through their franchise get your men elected and form a party. That would be the best method in which you should demonstrate your patriotism. Instead of that you want the British Government, rather the Government of India, to draw out the chestnuts for you. You do not move a little finger in the direction of your own people in order to bring them together. There are various classes of people who could be brought together. The whole question therefore is reduced to this—whether or not the Government should interfere and bring the mass of unattached opinion in the country together and put themselves at the head of this movement in order to advance our cause. That is the position. The whole question therefore is whether Government should not bring together the mass of unattached opinion in the country. These people should by themselves as men of the country, as friends and relations of the country, go and mobilize the forces. But they want the Government to do it. It is proclaimed on the one hand that India is responding to the war effort splendidly with men and money: but when they are

asked about political matters and asked to give us our demand, then Government is very reticent. The question is this. Already Government have got the sympathy of the masses. Once before I said that during the tours I have had in my own Presidency people have voluntarily contributed both men and money to the war fund as well as to War Bonds. They are doing it even now and will do so as long as they feel that the Government has been doing the right thing. So, while people are voluntarily responding to the call of loyalty and duty, I cannot imagine how you can say now that the educated people would do more. For these people, who have not moved their little finger to go about and be in touch with the villages and the talukas, to say that they will revolutionize the whole of the supply of men and money and that they will do it more effectively, I cannot understand. To advance that as a reason for asking for complete Indianization is a thing with which I cannot agree. The Bombay resolution, on its merits, is such that there is no difference between it and the Poona resolution of the Congress except that the Bombay resolution opines that the responsibility of the Cabinet should continue to be to the Governor General and not to the Crown directly. They want also a declaration of freedom for them, freedom which the Congress wanted for the purpose of carrying on a campaign against the British and the war efforts. That is the freedom which the Congress wanted, and a freedom is also wanted by this resolution. There is, therefore, very little difference between this resolution and the Congress resolution.

It has been asked by an Honourable Member what the British Government have done to India. I would answer in the language of a certain journal which mentions the achievements. First, the achievement of organic and constitutional unity of India as a whole, and secondly, the establishment in this country of representative institutions on a democratic basis. Sir, India must realize the great help which she has recently received from the British. India owes therefore a great debt of gratitude to our present Commander-in-Chief who has so ably and in a statesmanlike manner introduced a new system into the Army. We in India ought to recognize the changes which have been brought about to modernize the Indian Army and improve the Navy and the Air Force. In these few months there has been great life and activity introduced into the Defence Department, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. This is no small achievement for the country at present. This will continue and grow up and the ultimate ideal will be that India will have sufficient forces to defend herself. We want that India should be capable of defending herself with the aid of Great Britain. Even with Dominion status, either of the type of that of Australia or New Zealand or Canada, it is certain that unless we are able to defend ourselves, these paper constitutions will be of no value. This is a very vital point and the changes that are taking place in the Army, Navy and Air Force must be appreciated at their proper value. I have no quarrel with anybody, Sir, but what I do say is that the Bombay Conference began at the wrong end. Instead of taking the consent and approval of the real Leaders who will be able to deliver the goods, they began at the wrong end. Those persons who had no following met together and passed a resolution in the name of the whole of the unattached population of the country. That is the difference I have got with the Bombay Conference and as such this Conference, to me, is not at all real.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. M. JENKINS (Nominated Official): Sir, in the course of his speech the Honourable Mr. Kunzru referred to the administration of the Department of Supply and said that Government had failed to implement a Resolution concerning that Department which was accepted

[Mr. E. M. Jenkins.]

in this House. That is a very serious charge and I think it right to take an early opportunity of meeting it. The Resolution to which the Honourable Member refers advocated two things—first, the Indianization of the Department of Supply in its upper ranks and, secondly, the exercise of greater administrative control over the Department. The Honourable Member said that Government had deliberately refrained from Indianizing any superior posts and so far from improving the administrative control over the various branches of the Department, had actually, immediately after the Resolution was passed, proceeded to issue a Press Communique announcing the creation of two dictatorships manned by Directors General.

I should like to take up first the question of Indianization. As the House is probably aware, the executive portion of the Department of Supply, that is to say, the portion outside the Secretariat, consists of two Directorates General. One of these Directorates General is stationed in New Delhi and deals, broadly speaking, with general stores. On that side, I think I may say that we are now getting Indians into the new appointments that are from time to time created. Recently, speaking from memory, some 11 appointments were created and eight or nine of them were filled by Indians. From the fact that the Honourable Member has not criticized the general stores side of the Department I take it that in his opinion affairs there, in so far as Indianization is concerned, are reasonably satisfactory. The Honourable Member's main criticism related to the other Directorate General which is stationed in Calcutta and deals with munitions production. Now, in order that I may meet the criticism made, it is necessary for me to tell the House something about the work of that branch of the Department. The Director General, Munitions Production controls the Ordnance factories which were taken over from the Defence Department last July. With the factories, the staff belonging to them was taken over, and that staff is being added to from time to time. But, broadly speaking, the Ordnance factories' side of the work is manned and looked after by a block of men many of whom have been in Government service for years. Apart from the Ordnance factories, the Munitions Production branch includes Engineering Stores and deals with the civil production of munitions. Now, it is commonly believed that the civil production of munitions is a very easy task, that you merely have to go to industry in the country and say, "We want to make shells and guns and so on" and before very long these things begin to flow out of the factories. The actual truth is very different from that. There is perhaps no more difficult task than switching over the civil industry of a country to entirely unfamiliar work, and in order to get this difficult task started it is necessary to employ a team of officers who in the main must have had practical workshop experience. The Honourable Member said that if we had tried we could have obtained Indians for these posts which require mechanical engineering skill and knowledge. I should like to assure him that on the last occasion when posts fell vacant we advertized in a number of papers in almost all the provinces in India. We received some 400 replies to the advertizement and out of the 400 applicants only two were found to be qualified in any way for the appointments that we wanted them for. The difficulty is a very real one, and if the Honourable Member can put me on to mechanical engineers whether European or Indian, we shall in the Department be very much obliged to him. Like the provision of machine tools, the provision of technical personnel is one of the real bottlenecks of the war. It is very difficult indeed to get men who have the right kind of training to plan and control production in factories which have hitherto been doing work of a very different kind.

4.5 P.M.

Still I hope this House will accept my assurance that real efforts have been made to obtain Indian personnel on the munitions production side, and that, if the results have not so far been entirely satisfactory, that is not the fault of Government.

I turn now to the second part of the Honourable Member's charge, namely, that although this House had asked for the exercise of better control over the operations of the Department, in fact Government having accepted the Resolution went off and created these two dictatorships which in the Honourable Member's opinion are likely to have such deplorable results. In the first place I should like to make it clear that the Department of Supply is now handling a very considerable volume of work. Last year, I think I am right in saying that the number of contracts executed was between 110,000 and 120,000. In all concerns, whether they are business concerns or departments of Government, decisions have to be taken somewhere, and officers have to be authorized to take those decisions either at their own discretion, or subject to rules. The system which prevails in the Government of India, as this House is doubtless aware, is that, subject to a code of rules which govern a few—a very few—cases, the power to decide any matter vests in officers at their discretion. When the Department was reorganized and the two Directorates General of which I have told the House were created, the question arose whether the Directors General would have to refer everything to the Secretariat for orders. Before the war the Chief Controller, Indian Stores Department and the Director of Contracts themselves exercised very wide powers of contracting, and I may say that they were not required to consult the Finance Department in exercising those powers. The Chief Controller could pass contracts up to Rs. 16 lakhs and the Director of Contracts—I am speaking from memory—could deal with contracts up to Rs. 15 lakhs. So that we were aware that in the past fairly extensive contractual powers had been exercised without apparent detriment to the administration. Now, we had given the two Directors General financial advisers, who are not there merely to advise when they are asked to do so, but are under an actual obligation to advise on certain classes of cases. So that Government thought it was perfectly safe to give the Directors General formal powers to enter into any contract without limit of amount subject to the rules which required them to carry their financial advisers with them. I understand that the Honourable Member objects particularly to the exercise of these powers by the Director General in Calcutta. I may point out that the Director General in Calcutta was for many years a Member of this House. He was Chief Commissioner for Railways and the exercise of large powers is not a new matter to him. I do not think that in the interests of the war effort Government could have done anything else. An absurd position is created if an officer of wide administrative experience who had held high office and can be relied upon to use his discretion wisely is required in every case to come up to the Secretariat.

I think, Sir, that I have said enough to convince the House that the Honourable Member's charge is not justified. (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR** (Madras : Muhammadan): Sir, although there is difference of opinion as to the specific items which have been subjected to new or additional taxation and difference of opinion as to the extent of the tax which has been levied, yet from the criticisms made in the Legislature and in the press the general trend seems to concede that those in charge of the Indian finance have on the whole succeeded in making the best of a bad bargain. Sir, in these abnormal times, when the deadliest of struggles is swelling up expenditure for war and

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

defence purposes everywhere in the world and not only in countries where the struggle is raging but also in neutral countries, no wonder that the demands on the Indian exchequer should be of an extraordinary nature and it is to be admitted that the Honourable the Finance Member and the Honourable the Finance Secretary have acquitted themselves quite creditably in meeting these extraordinary demands as also in the manner in which they have done it. They have been very wise in distributing the burden partly on the present generation and partly on the future.

Now, Sir, as regards the particular items which have been taxed there is bound to be difference of opinion. I for my part would have preferred matches to have been left out. I would have preferred a tax to be levied on luxuries like wine, etc. But this is after all a small matter and, as the Finance Member said in the other House, the additional tax on matches is in essence a tax on smokers and therefore this tax mostly affects those that smoke cigarettes and cigars and not so much the poorer section of the population. For this reason there cannot be any serious objection to this tax.

Now, Sir, I would leave financial questions to be dealt with by our financial pandits who are well versed in the subject of high finance. I would address myself to other subjects. I would take up the census operations which took place recently in the country. In pointing out the irregularities and the inaccuracies which have crept into the census reports I may make it perfectly clear at the outset that I do not in any way disparage the enormous task which the census officers were engaged in. I fully appreciate the great trouble and care which the Census Commissioner had to take in making arrangements for census operations throughout the country of the size of India with its teeming millions and with diverse forces and fluctuating interests which tend to militate against the accuracy of census reports. Sir, the census reports could not be taken as presenting a thoroughly correct picture of things in India and that there are very serious inaccuracies in the reports is patent from the warning which was sounded by a number of responsible people in the country long before the operations began. Long before the census began Mr. Aney represented to the Honourable the Home Member that every possible care should be taken to see that these reports are correctly framed. He suggested that there should be a Hindu supervisor to check the work of the Muslim enumerator and that there should be a Muslim supervisor to check the work of a Hindu enumerator. It could not be said that one of Mr. Aney's sense of responsibility would have made the suggestion if there were really no justification for it. I have with me a letter written by the Secretary of the Madras Presidency Muslim League in which he has brought to notice a number of inaccuracies that have been allowed to go into the records of census officers. In particular he makes a complaint against the way in which the language has been recorded in the Madras Presidency. He says that even though Muslims in Madras stated that their mother tongue was Urdu, the enumerators persisted in recording the language under the heading H. H., as we all know, is meant to indicate Hindi or Hindustani. If only the enumerators had taken care to state Urdu instead of H, or say Hindustani instead of merely saying H, they could have made the record more correct and it would have been more easy to make out the real language spoken by the individuals concerned when compiling the Census Report. Anyone who has any knowledge of Southern India knows that no Mussalman in Madras speaks Hindi, that the majority of the Mussalman speak only Urdu as their mother tongue, even though it might not be Urdu of pristine purity which prevails in these parts but a mutilated form of it; but after all it is Urdu. Those few Mussalman whose mother tongue is not Urdu speak the vernacular of the district

and everybody knows that in no place in Madras, in no city, in no town or village in Southern India, is Hindi the vernacular of any people, either of Hindus or Mussalmans. Therefore when a Mussalman states that his mother tongue is Hindustani, Hindi or Mussalmani, he means that his mother tongue is Urdu. This matter was brought to the notice of the Census Commissioner long before the operations began by a resolution which was passed at a meeting of the Madras Presidency Muslim League which recommended that a new column should be opened so that people who state their mother tongue to be Urdu or Hindustani might have their language recorded under the heading Urdu. Also it was represented that any Mussalman who says that his language is Hindustani or Mussalmani or Hindi should be taken as having Urdu as his mother tongue because by all these appellations Mussalmans in Southern India mean to connote Urdu. I have brought this matter before the House so that in compiling the Census Report this consideration might be kept in view.

Just a word about the services. Nearly seven years have elapsed since the Government issued the communique fixing quotas for different communities in the services. But have the Government tried to find out how far the rules which they have framed have operated to encompass the object which they had in view? Experience has shown that these rules have failed utterly to secure due share to the Mussalmans and we find that the fears which were expressed on the issue of this communique have been confirmed by experience—fears that were expressed then on account of the fact that this new order was issued at a time when it was most inopportune. This new order was introduced at a time when the graded system of service was replaced by time scale service, and the only door left open to the Muslim was thus the door which admitted new entrants at the bottom of service. Even here experience has shown that Mussalmans have not secured their due share even in direct recruitment; somehow or other things had been managed in such a way that several vacancies which were earmarked for Mussalmans have been given away to non-Muslims. Even if this had not happened and if their due share had been secured to the Mussalmans in direct recruitment, Government should have realized that the Muslim community would have continued practically unrepresented in the higher grades of services on account of the paucity of the Mussalmans already in service. It was more because of the inopportune moment when this communique was issued that this new rule has failed to bring about the desired results. My humble submission is that the Government should now make a thorough examination of the whole question and find out whether it would not be advisable to revert to the old system of having graded service. The advantages of graded service are quite patent. It cannot be denied that people who start at some higher rung of the ladder, who are appointed as lower gazetted officers direct, bring to their work an outlook and a mentality which those who rise from the bottom of the service cannot ordinarily command. The mentality, the initiative, the drive that those who start in the higher grades of service bring to the discharge of their duty, is altogether different from the outlook which those who rise from the ranks bring to the discharge of their work. It is therefore not only in the interests of the Mussalmans and those communities who are under represented in Government service, but also in the interests of the administration of the country that this system of graded service should be reintroduced. Just a word about how promotions are more often than not denied to the Mussalmans. A Mussalman who has got to get his promotion is somehow or other damned, on account of some reason or other. Even if there is no defect in the way in which he discharges his duty, something is said about the lack of

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

experience in work of an important nature. If the Mussalman concerned has not had experience of any important work it is not his fault. It is the fault of his office which has deprived him of the opportunity to be put upon important work in the office. The very fact, Sir, that these excuses are resorted to so commonly and invariably in the case of the Mussalmans gives reason to doubt as to the truth of these allegations. Those Mussalmans, Sir, who have occupied the highest positions in the country have acquitted themselves in a way that they have proved themselves second to none in their intellectual calibre and in their ability to discharge any kind of duty however difficult or onerous. It is therefore very surprising, Sir, that we should have this so-called phenomenal inefficiency among those Mussalmans who otherwise should be considered quite eligible for promotion. Therefore, Sir, to obviate all these objections and infuse a sense of satisfaction among those classes and communities in India who are under-represented in Government service, it is highly essential that the graded system should be introduced so that people of extraordinary merit and real intellectual calibre may be started in the higher ranks of the service as gazetted officers and be given a chance to rise higher by proving their mettle in the discharge of their duties. It is high time that the Government should revise the present method and replace the time scale by the graded system. This will go a long way in redressing the grievances of those who are under-represented in the higher grade of service and will also save the heads of the departments from much of the blame which is now laid at their door but which is really due to the present time-scale system.

Now, Sir, just a word about the representation of Mussalmans in the High Court Bench in Madras. Sir, according to the communal proportion in Madras, one out of every six appointments has got to go to a Muslim. Now in the High Court you have got 14 Judges while there is only one Muslim there as a Judge, and even this incumbent happens to be not a Madrasi. On this account we do not discredit him. On the other hand, Sir, we all feel that he is an acquisition to the High Court Bench, and it is very refreshing to find that he commands both the respect and confidence of all the people in Madras, Muslim and non-Muslim. We do want him to be there, but what we wish to impress upon the Government is that if any new appointment is made in the High Court, Government should take into consideration the claims of the Muslims for appointment to the High Court Bench, and in doing so I would request the Government to consider the claims of the local Muslims—Muslims of the Madras Province, among whom there are a number of people who are quite able and efficient to discharge the duties of a Judge of the High Court.

Now, Sir, just a word about the political situation. Everybody will concede that the present state of things is far from satisfactory, that something has got to be done to resolve the existing political deadlock. It is necessary not only to bring about a better state of things in the country, but it is necessary also for an intensification of the war effort. Everyone who realizes that this war is one which is menacing the whole civilization realizes also that the kind of atmosphere that is now in the country requires to be much improved. It cannot be denied, Sir, that India as a whole is behind the war effort. But the enthusiasm and the keenness that should be there to create the proper atmosphere for intensifying this war effort is not there, and it will be created only if the people are made to realize that they have a hand in the administration of the country; that they are given a share in deciding the defence problems of their own country. But in doing so, I would impress upon the Government that there would be no use in merely trying to enlarge

the present Executive Council. Even though I have very great respect for my Honourable friends who participated in the Conference in Bombay, I feel, that an expansion of the Executive Council by adding to it only such persons as have participated in the Bombay Conference will not be of much avail. It may not mean any improvement on the present state of things. It would only mean a larger body than what we have now in the Government. If there is to be a real change, if the people are to be made to realize that they are given a real hand in the governance of their country, an attempt has again to be made to bring in the representatives of the principal political parties in the country. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, Sir, the Muslim League has already declared that it is ready and willing to co-operate with the Government provided it is admitted on honourable terms. It does not insist that Pakistan should be conceded here and now. It does not insist that all the future proposals that it has formulated as regards the new constitution should be implemented just now. All that it has demanded is to be given an honourable share in the governance of the country. Therefore, Sir, I feel that an attempt has got to be made to see whether the demands of the Muslim League could not be satisfied, and whether by conceding the reasonable demands which the League has made it would not be advisable to ensure the whole-hearted co-operation of the great Muslim Party which has such influence throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Muslim League, Sir, has made no secret of the fact that it realizes this war to be a war in which India is involved. Even though it had refused to participate in the Government, it has allowed every latitude and liberty to all individual Muslims to do what they could in helping the war effort. It is on account of this, Sir, that we find that Muslims all over the country are contributing to the best of their ability and are doing their uttermost in helping the war effort. I feel, therefore, that every possible attempt should be made to see that the present deadlock is resolved and those of the principal parties in the country who are willing to come into the Government on reasonable terms should be made to come in.

**THE HONOURABLE KUMAR NRIPENDRA NARAYAN SINHA** (West Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, the debate over the Finance Bill has, as might be expected, ranged over a wide field. But I will restrain the natural impulse of touching upon a variety of subjects, and merely confine myself only to a few observations of a general nature.

The huge deficit which stares us in the face is the most disquieting feature of the Budget. It will generally be agreed that this deficit must be covered up ; but the difference arises as to the way in which this should be done ; and it is here that many of us, representing the public, do not see eye to eye with the Government. The Finance Member has imposed a large number of taxes to make good the deficit, but I should like to submit in the first place that all avenues of due economy in civil expenditure ought to have been rigidly explored, before a proposal of further taxation entertained. The pruning knife ought to have been mercilessly applied to the progressive over-growth of civil expenditure, so as to avoid as far as possible the unpleasant task of new imposition. But I am afraid this has not been done. Honourable Members might remember that some years back, a number of Retrenchment Committees were called into being, at the instance of the Government themselves, to explore all possible avenues of retrenchment over the whole field of expenditure, not excluding the military ; and the result was a somewhat drastic curtailment of expenditure.

[Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.]

It will be an interesting study, if an attempt be made—and I invite the Government to the task—to find out what was the total amount of expenditure which was actually curtailed as a result of the retrenchment examination ; and the amount to which it has grown since then. Had it not been for the stress imposed upon the Government on account of war conditions, I would have seriously recommended a resurvey of our entire financial position. But the abnormal situation of the present times precludes us from making the attempt. Nonetheless, I would strongly urge upon Government the paramount necessity of keeping down civil expenditure to the lowest possible ebb, consistent with the dictates of efficiency. I will mention here two instances at random. In answer to a question in this House on the 25th February last, a statement was laid on the table, showing the names of officers drawing a salary of Rs. 500 per month and more ; and the salaries which they were drawing before their appointment in the Supply Department. This statement affords an interesting revelation inasmuch as it shows that in quite a large number of cases, the officers who have been drafted into the Supply Department, have been given salaries much in excess of what they were drawing before. When the public are being called upon to shoulder the burden of the war ; and to undergo sacrifices, may I ask why these officers have been given more pay ? What is the sacrifice which they have been called upon to make ? Is this an instance of their self-denial, and a sample of their public spirit ? If they could not work in this country in a civil capacity without more pay, they have no business to be where they are. The appeal of the Government for money and sacrifice from the general public for the successful prosecution of the war would be reduced to hollow mockery when officers in the higher grades of the Supply Department and elsewhere are being given fancy salaries for fanciful works. Another point to which I wish to refer in this connection is the forthcoming Simla exodus. What an enormous amount of money this move of Government involves ? Sir, I take it that in the name of economy, the autumn session of the Central Legislature was not held in Simla last year ; and the same is the case for the future as well. But is it realized that the cost of holding a session in Delhi is appreciably much more than in holding a session in Simla by reason of the motor car allowance that a session in Delhi involves ? A question on this subject was asked in the other place some years back, and the official reply is on the record, which proves the correctness of my contention. Sir, in any case, there is no meaning in having a session of the Central Legislature in Delhi, almost at the fag end of the year and at the same time continuing the official and departmental costly exodus to the hilltop. Sir, when our beloved King Emperor and Queen Empress, not to speak of the Prime Minister of England and other dignitaries, could bear the peril and suffering of London life, amidst showers of incendiary bombs and high explosives, could not our high officials here be expected to suffer a little prickly heat in Delhi in the interest of national economy and in the discharge of their abnormal and high responsibilities due to war ? The danger zone is advancing gradually towards the borders of India, and it is of the utmost importance that the Government should not cut themselves adrift from the main currents of public life and public opinion, and take shelter in the cloistered seclusion of Simla. The decision of the Government on the question of exodus will be an acid test of the sincerity of their professions.

Sir, I started my observations by referring to my belief that by due economy in civil expenditure, the huge deficit revealed in the Budget could have at least been partially covered ; and the necessity of imposing all these taxes

would have been avoided to a great extent. Another remark which I should like to make in this connection is that money should have been raised by borrowing rather than by the imposition of fresh taxation to cover up the deficit ; as it is more equitable to have spread the burden over two or more generations than throw the entire burden on the present generation, which a recourse to direct taxation involves. It should also not be forgotten that the limit of direct taxation has been almost reached, and it could go no further. If at all, a little margin might have been left for cases of urgent and unforeseen emergencies, which could not be visualized at the present moment.

Sir, I now refer with a profound feeling of disappointment to the fact that no serious and sustained effort has been made by Government towards the development and expansion of the Indian mercantile marine, or Indian shipping in coastal and overseas trade of India. This has been a long-standing and legitimate complaint ventilated both inside and outside the Legislature. This national industry richly deserves all the encouragement at the hands of the Government ; but its neglect is a sad fact which is recorded in the pages of our Indian history. Sir, if even during the stress of war conditions, our national industries do not spring up and develop, and obtain a permanent footing, Government cannot escape the reproach that they have not the sincere interest of the country at heart.

Sir, it pains me to see that the enormous and limitless man power of India is not being fully and properly mobilized for war efforts. I am afraid our Government are lacking in imaginative and constructive statesmanship. They are incapable of seeing beyond the tip of their nose. They fancy that a fully equipped Indian Army will be a danger to their own authority. And this is only natural, for, as the poet has said it is conscience that makes cowards of us all. Distrust begets distrust, as trust begets trust. Sir, the sight of the common danger that threatens us ought to unite us to a common effort to overcome that danger ; and it is in that view that I advocate the militarization of India ; and here the Government ought to lend us a generous and open hand. They ought to mobilize public opinion, and associate representative Indians more closely with war efforts ; for in the successful prosecution of the war lies the political emancipation of India. Victory of England and the Allies means the victory of democracy over the dark forces of barbarism and naked despotism.

Sir, I now close my speech with a handsome compliment to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief who, on the floor of this House the other day, paid a remarkable tribute of eulogy to the magnificent part played by Indian troops, along with the troops of the British Commonwealth, in North Africa and other theatres of war. These soldiers are today writing history at the point of their sword ; and every Indian is richly proud of them. I appeal to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to take early steps to wipe out the distinction between martial and non-martial classes, and throw open the field of recruitment irrespective of territorial restrictions. " War must be won "—that should be slogan today, and with these words I resume my seat.

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. K. DAS (Orissa : Non-Muhammadan) : Sir, for the third time this House has been asked to pass a Finance Bill based on a war budget, a Budget that provides 80 per cent. of its revenue for war. And how is this going to be utilized ? A few more planes and tanks, bombs and shells, guns and rifles, men and materials—that is all that is sought to be

[ Mr. N. K. Das. ]

provided for the defence of this vast territory. May be these are all that a present-day war demands. But is that all? If that would have been all, France would not have fallen nor China withstood. France with her ten years revenue spent on her Maginot Line lacked something that tiny China with her none too rich resources could commandeer so effectively. Above men and munitions it is the morale that matters. Forty crores of Indians determined to fight to their death are bound to prove invincible to any power on earth. France failed where China won. Alike Germans on the day of Versailles, I would say, a nation of 40 crores may be attacked but cannot be defeated. But what has the Government done to create that mentality, to raise that morale, to engender that enthusiasm? Precious little, I feel prompted to say. A few crores of money for war funds and in war bonds and a few lakhs of men for war services, that is all that the Government can boast of. But pertinently, how insignificant is this all in comparison with the mighty resources of a combined force collected through years of preparation. Money and materials, they have no doubt their value, their importance, but the supreme factor above them all is the morale. It is here that India has lacked so far; it is this that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has failed to commandeer so far. Let His Excellency commandeer this and the victory will be his. But that seemingly is not what the Government thinks. It is here that we urge a change. It is this that makes the Finance Bill a fiasco. We are asked to sanction the raising of a few crores in the year to come. That will scarcely be sufficient to meet the demands of a few days of fighting. But what then? It is, therefore, the enthusiasm of the people that must be roused and people must be made to feel that it is their own war and that it is not an imposed war. You have not attempted anything of that sort as yet, although it is too late in the day; and when you have attempted to do it in a half-hearted manner people have been looking upon you with eyes of suspicion on account of your broken promises and sham pledges. You have a long series of these to your credit, ever since the British first came into India. The other day the Viceroy offered to expand the Executive Council with available material. He offered to implement a War Council and associate British India and Indian India in it; but what came out? Nothing. Because nothing was actually meant to be conceded. The British will not part with power in favour of those over whom they have ruled. Sir, "Do to others as you wish to be done by" is a very well-tryed maxim, and you can expect from the people of India just as much as you have done to them. Trust begets trust, as my friend Mr. Hossain Imam said the other day, and suspicion is bound to beget suspicion. You have never trusted the people of India, and do not want to do so even at this sore hour of your need and is it strange that they look upon this war as a war that is being fought for your ends with their money and materials? Here is a budget placed before us for sanction, a budget which is more a military than a civil budget. Rs. 84 crores are detailed to be spent on war efforts, on a war alleged to be fought for India. This abnormal percentage has landed us in a large deficit and several items have been taxed in order to partially make up this deficit. The several interests affected have been very loud in their protestations and complain that the industries concerned are being pulled down. It is perhaps true that the burden of tax is much too heavy, but the most patent and palpable fact remains that instead of taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the war to improve the existing industries and implement new ones with a view to the future prosperity of the country, the Government have taken out the cream from all by way of the 66½ per cent. excess profits tax—the cream which was so essential for infusing real vitality into these industries.

I would take this opportunity of saying a few words about the war efforts that are being made in the province which I have the honour to represent in this House. There is a Provincial War Committee and several District War Committees. It was at one time thought by some that an Oriya battalion should be raised. This eventually was resolved down to finding ten men of the same caste to go into the 11th Hyderabad Regiment. In a few months even this was abandoned as impossible. I may be told that this is due to lack of enthusiasm among the people. Yes, exactly. And more of this is due to the improper way in which this recruitment is being handled by Government servants in whom people cannot confide. These efforts should be left in popular hands in order to be effective. If, as efforts had been made in my province to form a Coalition Ministry, this had come into being, I dare say the Oriyas would not have been far behind Bengal in raising a battalion or even a regiment of fighting men. Mass enthusiasm would have been properly aroused.

Then, Sir, the publicity bureaux have yet done very little in the matter of propaganda. I wish they would have publicity in all important and principal languages, and I consider that a language spoken by a million men in Orissa is certainly an important language.

Then, Sir, coming to smaller questions, I may be excused for indulging in narrow provincialism, but it perhaps cannot be helped. It is indeed unfortunate, Sir, that in the Publicity Bureau—and for the matter of that, in all the Central Services under the Government of India, in Central Excise, Customs and other various branches and Departments—there is not a single Oriya appointed. My unfortunate province, Sir, has been tagged to the tail end of this province and that ever since the British rule and then when it was formed into a separate unit, the popular Government which was in the way of doing real good to the country disappeared and as a result of that my province was consigned to the age-long neglect that has been its unfortunate lot. Sir, because of this neglect the B. N. R. authorities, who have been approached several times have not cared to take in a single Oriya into their superior grades in spite of persistent agitation and deputations and the cause of my province has not advanced a bit.

This is the sad story of my province, Sir, and similar is the sad story here in the Government of India. People have known the Government of India too well to confide in them. Sir, I do not see any other way but to register my protest for all such omissions and commissions as the Government is guilty of by opposing this Bill.

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#### CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR RAILWAYS.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : I have to inform the Council that as a result of the election held today the following six non-official Members have been elected to serve on the Central Advisory Council for Railway :—

1. The Honourable Sir David Devadoss.
2. The Honourable Haji Syed Muhammad Husain.
3. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Govindachari.
4. The Honourable Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan.
5. The Honourable Sardar Buta Singh.
6. The Honourable Kumar Nripendra Narayan Sinha.

## STATEMENT OF BUSINESS.

**THE HONOURABLE SIE GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI (Leader of the House) :** Mr. Chairman, there is still a long list of speakers on this Bill and I was going to suggest that, with your approval and the concurrence of Leaders of Parties, which I gather has already been ascertained, the House will meet tomorrow at 10-30 A.M. instead of at 11 A.M., if there is no objection.

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The Council then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Friday, the 28th March, 1941.