

Thursday, 28th November, 1940

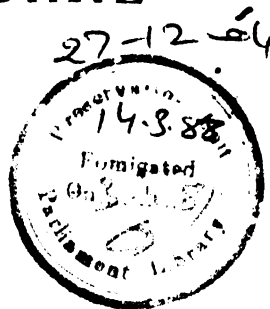
# THE COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

VOLUME II, 1940

*(19th November to 2nd December 1940)*

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## EIGHTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE



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# COUNCIL OF STATE

*Thursday, 28th November, 1940.*

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

## BILL 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 Bill to amend the Excess Profits Tax Act, 1940, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on Wednesday, the 27th November, 1940.

## INDIAN FINANCE (No. 2) BILL—concluded.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces : General) : Sir, after a lapse of about 18 months our Congress friends have returned to the Central Legislature and the result of it is that this House has got to face a certified Bill. My Honourable friend the Leader of the Congress Party in this House instructed us the other day in his speech that the Progressive Party should vote against the Bill. I need not tell him that the Progressive Party in this House knows its responsibility to the country and to its constituencies and they will do whatever they think fit in the circumstances. Sir, the Bill before us is a certified measure, and according to the law we have no power whatsoever to make any changes in the Bill. Either we have to accept the Bill or reject it. The situation that has been brought about is not due only to the action of the Congress Party, but I think the Government is also responsible for the political deadlock in the country. Sir, the British Government want our help for war efforts. Those like me who believe in Dominion status, who wish that our connection with Britain should not be severed do desire to play their part in giving support for the successful prosecution of the war ; but, I must ask the British Government what efforts they have made up till now even during the last 18 months to bring about a change in the political atmosphere of the country so as to give them sufficient help that is needed for the prosecution of the war. I find, they have made promises which they do not intend to fulfil. In this connection, Sir, I refer to the demand of the Congress Party for a national government at the Centre. The Congress Party made this demand for a national government at the Centre after the Right Honourable Mr. Amery made a statement to that effect. Sir, he said, " We want in India a national government like the one we have in England ". As he has expressed his view in unequivocal terms I do not know why that promise was not fulfilled ? They come out with a plea of administrative and legislative difficulties but India knows what administrative and legislative difficulties there are which prevent them from fulfilling this promise and we also know that if the British Government means to do anything they would be able to go ahead and implement their promise. They never intended to fulfil the promise and therefore they are seeking pretext

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

under one excuse or the other. It may be said, Sir, that the discordant element and want of unity amongst the various parties in the country could not help to bring about this desired end. Sir, I am fully convinced of the fact that the presence of the discordant element in the country is not due to any activities on the part of the parties but it is due to the acts of omission and commission of the British Government from 1905 to 1940. Sir, about the difficulties of having a national government at the Centre I think the Leader of the Opposition in the other House has given an effective answer to that question. He said :

" It is not a democratic majority government that we asked. What we mean, all we demand is a national government like the government you have in your own country. It will reflect every single representative of this country, for, after all, if under the constitution of 1935 elections have any meaning, it certainly is this, that there is not a single man or woman who has a right to vote, who is not represented by one or other of my Honourable friends in this House, apart from the nominated officials and nominated non-officials. We wanted no revolutionary change during the course of the war ".

Sir, that shows that the Congress Party was not out for a revolutionary change in the administration and if Mr. Amery gave this promise about three months ago before the Congress made this demand it was the bounden duty of the British Government—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Why are you defending the Congress Party ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : I am not defending the Congress. I am defending the interests of my country. I want a national government at the Centre which will give more impetus to the war effort.

Sir, as I was saying it was the bounden duty of the British Government to give effect to this promise which had been made by no less a man than the Secretary of State for India. Indians know that if Mr. Churchill, three days before the collapse of France, could give a promise of sharing all their possessions and liberty with France, they should have found no difficulty in fulfilling the promise given by Mr. Amery. Now, Sir, the man in the street thinks—and rightly thinks—that it is not the intention of the British Government to part with power. Sir, I cannot subscribe to the attitude adopted by my friends of the Congress Party in withdrawing the Ministries from the provinces. Sir, the Ministries in the provinces, if they had been there, would have brought their influence on the Government in the matter of making India self-sufficient in military matters. Sir, the question—if we are going to make India self-sufficient in this matter—is whether we are to equip ourselves for the defence of our country or not. I believe that mere *charkha* or spinning is not going to give us that courage which is required for the defence of the country. I believe that the *charkha* is not going to equip us for defending ourselves against any aggressor, whether he be Hitler or Stalin or Japan. They have lost a very good opportunity and I hope they will reconsider their position and think over the matter again. The danger is there, the danger is at the throat of India. Our complaint against the British Government is that by their acts of omission and commission during the last so many years they have practically emasculated India. The British Government gave us a pen and the Congress Government want to give us *charkha*. Neither the *charkha* nor the pen will be able to defend us against aggression. So, Sir, my quarrel against the Congress is that they have committed a very grave blunder in withdrawing from the power which fortunately they had got after a fight of so many years.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB (Nominated Non-Official) :  
Not only one : they have committed so many blunders.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : I am speaking of the present.  
I am not speaking of their past actions.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB : Not their old sins !

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Then, Sir, I am very sorry to have to refer to the statements that have been made and are being made by the Congress throughout the country about the motives of the young men who enter the army. Sir, many youths who have entered the army and who are desirous of entering the army do desire to enter the army not for mercenary reasons but for the purpose of defending their hearths and homes. It is a slur on the educated youths of India to call them mercenary. What do they mean by calling them mercenary ? Do they mean to say that they should confine themselves in their homes, use *charkhas*, go on giving lectures about the use of *charkhas* and not get themselves prepared for the danger ? We, who desire to give our utmost help in the successful prosecution of the war, do take it as an insult to our young men and I must request my Honourable friend not to use such phrases as that.

Sir, it may be said that as the offer that was made in the memorable declaration of 8th August was not accepted, no expansion of the Council could take place because the offer was not accepted by the Congress Party. Sir, the very declaration in which we find that offer is so much encouraging to the minorities not to co-operate in the forming of a government at the Centre that Britain should not blame them who have not accepted the offer. What is the declaration ? I will just read one sentence from the declaration to show that in that declaration we find a statement which gives encouragement to the minorities not to bring about unity between the two communities :

" His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of minorities in any revision has been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to coercion of such elements into submission to such Government ".

Sir, the man in the street interprets this decision in the way that the British Government have no desire whatsoever even to part with nominal power. Sir, apart from firebrand political agitators, even the moderates, about whose honesty nobody can say anything, do not desire to take active part in giving support for war efforts. I want to repeat, Sir, the sentence used by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru yesterday. He says, " The attitude of Government makes even the mildest man turn round against the Government ". That is the position in the country. The Congress are out against you. They have started what they called a non-violent fight but to my great dissatisfaction I find in today's papers that violence has already started. In Bihar there was a *lathi* charge. They can judge their position best for themselves and they will, I hope, take into consideration the situation in the country and try to mend their ways. Even the Liberals are not satisfied with your action, especially during war time. The Servants of India

[Mr. V. V. Kalik.]

Society have declared in their memorandum that they are not enthusiastic about your war efforts. They say :

" In consequence of this, while they are not prepared to hamper England in her efforts to bring the war to a successful issue, they are unable to render the enthusiastic co-operation that would be possible only if England co-operated wholeheartedly with them in the establishment of freedom in India. The members of the Servants of India Society adopt the same attitude. They cannot, therefore, join the war committees that have been set up in the provinces to urge the people to put forth their maximum efforts to help England, or ask others to do so. They can neither for themselves nor ask others to forget that India has a claim on their energies even during the war ".

My point is this. You have got the firebrands, the Congress on the one side, and the Moderates, the Liberals, on the other side, who are also not enthusiastic in their war efforts. There is the third party, the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Mahasabha is willing to co-operate with you on just and equitable terms. So far as the expansion of the Executive Council is concerned, I learn from the debates that recently took place in the House of Commons that Mr. Amery told them that the Hindu Mahasabha was not at first willing to co-operate with them in the formation of the Executive Council but ultimately they agreed to the proposal. If that statement is correct, why did you keep your proposal in abeyance? Simply because the Muslim League did not join you. That means that you regard the Muslim League as the only representative of Muhammadans in India. There are other parties like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Ahrars and others who were willing to co-operate with you. Even in a small matter like the expansion of the Executive Council you are ignoring the claims of the majority and giving encouragement to the minority. The man in the street thinks that by keeping the proposal in abeyance you have given encouragement to the minority not to agree to proposals of unity if made by the majority. In this expansion of the Executive Council you were not giving us real power. You were giving us only nominal power. But, even in giving us nominal power, you are so conservative that you do not want us even to exercise nominal power over the administration of the country and that too even during the time of the war when you want the utmost co-operation from us.

Sir, I have not up till now given vent to my feelings on the communal question in this House, but I am very sorry I am constrained to refer to it. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam yesterday—I do not find him here today—attacked the revered leaders of the Mahasabha for a statement alleged to have been made by them. I have the authority of Mr. Savarkar to state to this House that he never made the statement which Mr. Hossain Imam made yesterday that if Hindus were to get into power, they would exterminate the Muhammadans like Jews. I had a talk with him on the 'phone yesterday and he gave me the authority to contradict this statement. Sir, statements like this made by responsible leaders of the Muslim League Party create more troubles in the way of bringing about unity, for which we all desire, between the two communities in India. It is very unfortunate that he should call the Hindu Mahasabha a foolish party and call the Congress a wise party. But if my Honourable friend Mr. Mahtha, who is the President of the District Hindu Mahasabha in his province, were to call the Muslim League Party a wicked party, with what feeling my friend Mr. Hossain Imam would accept that remark? It is very unfortunate that we have to deal with these things in this House. But I am sorry my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam has forced me to speak on these matters.

Sir, one word about the activities of the Defence Department, and I am finished. In the beginning of my speech I made clear my attitude that

we are for the prosecution of the war. We will give our utmost help. We will give whatever help lies in our power for the successful prosecution of the war. But I am very sorry to state that the Defence Department of the Government of India is still following the old policy of maintaining the distinction between martial and non-martial, or enlisted and non-enlisted classes. In my province, Sir, I had something to do with this matter. As a member of the Provincial War Committee, some youths approached me for entering the new expanded army. The recruiting officer there had told them that he had definite orders from the Government of India not to recruit Maharashtra Brahmins. Sir, is that the way we are to help the war effort in India? Do you want to have the army as the close preserve of certain provinces? Do you think that if you create a national army in India, there will be danger? Sir, I am very sorry to make these remarks, but your acts of omission and commission do really come in the way of our giving you substantial help in this matter. We want that our youths should enter the army, should equip themselves for the coming danger, but it is your action that is coming in their way and is damping their enthusiasm.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Your promised half an hour is up.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR : Well, Sir, I want to stick to my promise and I will finish within one minute. So, Sir, though as an individual I know that it is my duty to help in all these war efforts, as the grievances which we have against the Government have not yet been removed, I do not think I shall be in a position to give my vote for the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS (Nominated Official) : Sir, I would like to preface my remarks by stating that if I fail to deal with any of the points, either of principle or of detail, raised in the course of the debate in connection with matters of defence, and I hope that there will not be many which I do not deal with, it will not be for lack of consideration or for want of time, but for reasons connected with public policy.

I come first to the observations of my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro, whom I do not find here. He made the assertion, which I am in a position emphatically to contradict, that, in his own words, "most of the money" (that is, the money being spent on the war effort) "goes on salaries of officers".

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa : Muhammadan) : Not now, Sir. What he said was in the past.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : I did not understand him in that sense. In any case, I am in a position to state that by far the greatest part of the money spent at present is naturally, as would be expected, spent on equipment.

The Honourable Member further made the assertion that for the last 20 years Government has consistently resisted the pressure put upon it to modernize the defence forces. I must say, Sir, that this comes strangely in a Legislature which year in and year out has resisted the amount of expenditure on the defence forces.

The Honourable Member referred in somewhat derisory terms to the efforts going forward at present in this country to enlarge the Royal Indian Navy. I sometimes think that the cost of building and maintaining a navy is imperfectly appreciated by Honourable Members. It would appear so at



[Mr. A. deC. Williams.]

any rate from some observations to which I have listened. It may be of interest to Honourable Members to know that the capital cost of a single modern battleship is equivalent to one-quarter of the whole defence budget of India in normal years, that is to say, about Rs. 16 crores; and other vessels are in proportion, from a heavy cruiser, £2,000,000, down to a submarine, some £350,000.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : What about "E" boats?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Order, order. Please allow the Honourable Member to speak. You have had your say for over an hour and you must not disturb the Honourable Member.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : I am not disturbing him, Sir, I am asking the cost of a single item.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : I cannot allow it. You will have perhaps 50 questions to ask!

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Further, as I said, this is only capital expenditure. There is also the colossal expense of establishment, dockyards, and so forth. As I said before, we have been always told that defence expenditure in India is out of all proportion to the paying capacity of her population. It is therefore lucky for a country which is in that position and which can ill afford to meet the cost of her defence expenditure that she has for years past practically free of cost been defended, so far as the sea is concerned, by the Royal Navy. But as for what is being done out here, and I am sorry to see that my Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro does not think much of it, it is to the limit of the capacity of India. Vessels of a more complicated or expensive nature than those mentioned in the Honourable the Finance Member's speech in another place cannot be manufactured in India. For them we must depend on external sources and it only stands to reason that in war time we must wait our turn and that our turn is likely to be late.

I come now, Sir, to my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam. He wanted an assurance that India will not be denuded of her most seasoned troops. Well, I can tell him that that is not being done. In expanding the armed forces the process of dilution is being employed and the more seasoned troops are being used to form the backbone of the new units, while an adequate number are being retained in the old units; and that will be the case whether the troops remain in India or go overseas.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : On a point of information, Sir. Is the army at present abroad consist only of seasoned troops or of the diluted?

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : I have said quite clearly, Sir, that whether the troops are overseas or in India the proportion of seasoned troops and new troops is being maintained.

Then the Honourable Member complained that what my Honourable friend Mr. Motilal (shall I say, happily?) described as the "India-rubber" defence frontiers of India have been stretched as far as France. Well, Sir,

this Council will freely admit that my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam is an authority, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, is prepared at any time and in any place to discourse at length on any subject ranging from the vagaries of the Congress High Command to bimetallicism! But I think even the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam will not expect those who are responsible for the external defence of India to accept his ruling as to where her external defence frontiers should be located. This must be left to the practical man to judge according to the requirements of the moment.

Mr. Hossain Imam also wished to know why we have not got "thousands" of anti-aircraft guns. An anti-aircraft gun is a mechanism of extreme complexity, even more complicated than an aircraft. The training of some of the technicians employed in its manufacture, for instance on the optical parts, may take as long as seven or eight years. In the present state of the industrial development of this country it would be quite impracticable to produce in India, even more so, as I have stated, Indian manufacture of aircraft or motor vehicles. Here again, we must depend on external resources. It has to be admitted that there is still a considerable shortage of these weapons throughout the Empire, because the demand is enormous wherever fighting is actually going on—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Sir, on a point of personal explanation. In the booklet circulated by the Defence Department it is stated that it is going to be manufactured in India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : I do not understand how this can be regarded as a personal explanation. I was about to say that, in spite of world-wide shortage caused by very heavy requirements in certain parts where fighting is going on, this shortage is rapidly being rectified and before long we hope to get our requirements in full, that is, from outside India.

Then several other Honourable Members including the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam complained of what they described as the completely insignificant expansion of the Air Force in India. I can only say that we are going ahead just as fast as the necessary equipment and machinery will let us. When more arrives we hope to be able to go ahead rapidly. I say that in all seriousness. Our system of training should provide a reservoir of partly trained officers for further training, and as soon as necessary equipment comes we hope to be able to expand at a rate which I think may prove more encouraging to Honourable Members. (Hear, hear.)

I now come to my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru who, as usual, has dealt with many aspects of defence matters in considerable detail. Knowing as I do the seriousness of purpose of the Honourable Mr. Kunzru I would be the last to tax him with any lack of ingenuousness, though I have never found him lacking in ingenuity. (Laughter.) But it does strike me as a curious coincidence that several, if not most, of the points of detail which he dealt with almost certainly would have been discussed by way of answer to supplementary questions on the questions which stood in his name the other day and which he was unfortunately not present to ask. However, I by no means desire to withhold the information and the Honourable Member shall have it.

Now the Honourable Member started by saying, "Defence must be decentralized. Small countries are arming themselves". I am surprised that he made that statement. I should have thought that the progress of this war has shown more plainly than anything else that small countries which have not sheltered themselves behind some great power such as the British Empire or the Axis, have come to a sorry end.

[Mr. A. deC. Williams.]

Then the Honourable Member touched on his long-standing grievance as regards Indianization and he quoted figures, of which I do not dispute the accuracy, which boiled down come to this, that within a certain period some 216 Indian combatant officers have been recruited as against some 550 British officers. These are the figures which the Honourable Member gave and I have verified that they are substantially accurate.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadan) : I believe that 560 was the total of the officers mentioned by the Honourable Member in reply to one of my questions. To this have to be added emergency commissions granted to Europeans in this country. About 300 Europeans have been granted these commissions. Therefore you have employed about 850 European officers while you have granted commissioned rank to only 200 Indians.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : Whatever the figures may be, my reply will be the same. I have already stated that so far not one single Indian applicant to join the army, who appeared to the selection committee to be likely to make a good officer, has not been sent on for training.

I am not clear whether the Honourable Member wished to make any capital out of the fact that out of a figure of 516 officers commissioned some 300 went to the Indian Medical Service ; but I think that some explanation should be given. The reason that the proportion of officers of the Indian Medical Service is so high is that they do not go through the same course of training as the others and so join straightaway. So, if Honourable Members consider these facts, they will see that figures of the Indian officers under training will not include Indian Medical Service officers.

The Honourable Pandit Kunzru made the statement that His Majesty's Government have in the course of the war contributed to the protection of the Dominions and have neglected India. I would say that the more accurate way of putting the proposition was that the Dominions have very substantially, on their own initiative, contributed to the defence of the Empire.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : On their own initiative as self-governing countries.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS : The Honourable Member further made the suggestion that the production of aircraft and mechanical vehicles and so on in Canada and Australia had been fostered and arranged for by His Majesty's Government. Now actually—I do not know if the Honourable Member will derive any satisfaction from the use of the word "spontaneously"—these industries were started in these Dominions spontaneously. They were in a position to start them because they have for some time past been able, as India was not and still unfortunately is not able, to produce the internal combustion engine.

The Honourable Member stated and it would be a true statement if his premises were correct, that it would be a bad lookout for India if she was still in the same position as she was in 1936. But surely, any fair-minded person who listened to or has read the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member on this Bill in the other House must agree that he has described a most remarkable record of progress and development.

The Honourable Mr. Kunzru, in connection with the Air Force—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Would the Honourable Member allow me to interrupt him for a second? The statement that I quoted with regard to the production of munitions in this country was taken from a pamphlet published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. I should like to know whether that statement is correct or not.

THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DEC. WILLIAMS: I was concerned with the remark of the Honourable Member suggesting that there might not have been any progress since 1936 and I have endeavoured to show that there has been.

The Honourable Mr. Kunzru also inquired why it is not possible to send—if we could not expand the Air Force more rapidly in India—why it was not possible to send young Indians to England to be trained there to go into the Royal Air Force. Well, as we know, that has already been done as an experiment; and, as the Honourable Member has indicated, it would appear from what has been said by the Secretary of State for India that it has been a great success. If His Majesty's Government ask us to do so, we shall be very willing to send further instalments of young Indians for this kind of training—consistently always with our growing requirements in this country. I would ask Honourable Members not to take this point too lightly.

There was one case which the Honourable Member mentioned, and I have been wondering why he should have hit upon that particular case because it is from his point of view a singularly weak one—the case of a certain Major Foster who has been employed in the Headquarters office of the Master General of the Ordnance. It is true that he has been made a temporary Major and his salary is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1,400 a month. It is also true that he has not got any University degree. On the other hand, this officer was a workshops officer in the last war and recently he was employed as a ground engineer by a firm that considered that his services were worth Rs. 1,600 a month. I do not think this appointment is a striking example of any public scandal or needless or improper expenditure of public funds.

The Honourable Mr. Motilal asked me whether Dominion troops had been ordered overseas like ours. Well, Sir, I do not know—and if I knew I should not be able to tell the Council—what kind of orders pass between His Majesty's Government and the Dominions in matters such as these. But it is common property that Dominion forces have gone overseas and have gone very far afield—for instance, there are Australian forces in Egypt.

Last, though not least, in chronological sequence—and certainly not last in importance, I come to my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. Now, Mr. Sapru had stated in his speech that he would not deal with the question of Defence but, as he was concluding his remarks, he could not deny himself the pleasure of referring to one occasion at least on which I had rejected on behalf of the Government a most moderate proposal of his for the constitution of an advisory committee of the Legislature on defence matters, and he characterized my rejection of this proposal as being in the best manner of the traditional "diehard". Well, Sir, I am not seriously concerned at this; but I would like just to repeat the actual words uttered by Mr. Sapru on that occasion. He said that he would like to express his appreciation of the very conciliatory terms of the speech of Mr. Williams but he must say that he was disappointed with his "No".

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU** (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadian) : I have, even in my last speech, distinguished between the Honourable Mr. Williams and the Defence Department. He is merely an advocate or spokesman for; not the head of, the Defence Department and the grievance is against the head of the Defence Department.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. A. DE C. WILLIAMS** : I am not stressing the matter, Sir. The point that I do wish to make, Sir, is that it seems to me that on that occasion Mr. Sapru regarded my bite as worse than my bark. I would like to think of Mr. Sapru, as of other Members opposite, that their bark is worse than their bite. But unfortunately it has been made only too clear in the course of this debate that they are going to bite—they are going to vote against the Bill as well as voice their dissatisfaction with the Government.

Now, the Honourable Mr. Sapru impressed on this Council in the weightiest terms—and, I admit, in the most convincing manner—the need for an appreciation of realities. He stated in compelling terms the

12 Noon. seriousness of the situation in which we find ourselves and the magnitude and the iniquity of the forces against which the British Empire is contending. I maintain, Sir, that any Honourable Member of this House who feels as Mr. Sapru feels on these points, who further states that he is anxious that this country should be defended in an efficient manner and that the war should be prosecuted to the full, and then votes against this Bill—I can only compare the action of a Member who does so to that of a householder who, when his house is burning about his ears, refuses to allow the fire brigade to turn on the water-tap and, while the flames are spreading, delays well-meant efforts to save his property by a deliberate discussion as to whether the fire will be better extinguished by use of the metered or unmetered water supply! (Laughter.)

I would only add one thing, Sir, that if any Honourable Member goes further and justifies his action in voting against this Bill and refusing to vote the necessary supply for war by a reference to the fact that the Bill has come here in a recommended form, why, I submit, Sir, that the last vestige of gestural significance will have disappeared from his action.

**THE HONOURABLE SIE GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI** (Leader of the House) : Mr. President, the present Prime Minister, when in Opposition, once described debates on the Finance Bill as one long, dreary drip of disparaging declamation. I do not think that it can be contended that on this occasion either the declamation or the disparagement has been lacking, or, from the point of view of Honourable Members opposite, insufficient. I have no quarrel with that. It is the function and also the duty of the Opposition to criticize, and I should like to pay a tribute, not merely to the sincerity of conviction with which Honourable Members opposite have stated their case, but, if I might indulge in some personal characterization, I should like to pay a tribute to the telling and somewhat sombre cogency of my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru, to the patriotic vehemence of Mr. Sapru, to the dignity and restraint of Mr. Ramadas Pantulu and last, but by no means the least, to the tempestuous eloquence of Mr. Hossain Imam. These, Sir, are qualities which are at once the object of my envy and my admiration. They are not qualities which I expect to emulate or to copy with success. I shall, however, Sir, endeavour, in the time at my disposal, to deal with some of the points that have been raised in the course of this debate and, I hope, Sir, that

while I develop my argument, Honourable Members opposite will extend to me credit for the same sincerity of conviction which I have attributed to them.

Sir, in the course of this debate Honourable Members have covered very wide ground. Constitutional and political questions have been discussed; questions of defence have been discussed; questions of finance,—which ought to have come first, but I believe only one Honourable Member has referred to them,—have also been discussed. My Honourable friend Mr. Williams has discussed, and if I may presume to congratulate him, discussed with very good humour, the criticisms of the Department of Defence that have been levelled by Honourable Members opposite. I have no doubt that Mr. Jones, when his turn comes, will deal with equal good humour with the criticisms of finance that fell from my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam. I, Sir, shall deal briefly with one or two political points that have been raised. But my main argument will be directed to answering two questions: first, why are we at war; and secondly, if we are rightly at war, then, in that case, is it the path either of good sense or of true patriotism to withhold support from those who are engaged in the waging of this war?

But, Sir, before I pass on to develop my argument, I should like to strike one personal note. Today, I speak in my capacity as Leader of the House. But I recognize as well as anybody that the trappings of office are transient. Accident or fortune may clothe you with those trappings today and may strip you of those trappings tomorrow or the day after. I speak, mainly, Sir, as a plain man, but a plain man of honest and, I hope, honourable convictions, for, after all, we are "all, all, honourable men" in this House!

Sir, taking up the first question—why are we at war? There are three considerations: first, the constitutional, second, the ideal, and third and last, again by no means the least, the consideration of self-interest. Let us take the first consideration—the purely constitutional. I do not make much of that. We are at war because Great Britain is at war. I know that some Honourable Members opposite consider that it constitutes both a constitutional and a national affront. Whether that particular point of view reflects the correct perspective in so far as the plea for withholding support from the war effort is concerned is an aspect of the matter with which I propose to deal later. But, let us assume for the sake of argument that we had been a self-governing Dominion. Then what should have been our path? Canada, as everybody in this House knows, has the might of the United States of America and the Monroe Doctrine to protect her. Why is Canada in this war? Australia and New Zealand in the remote recesses of the Pacific are not in imminent danger of attack from Germany. Why are they at war? South Africa, with its chequered history both of war and peace with the United Kingdom—why should she be at war? They are at war, because, as lovers of freedom, they have considered it the nobler path to rally round the banner of those who today are fighting the cause of freedom. Will it be contended, Sir, that we are not lovers of freedom? I am quite confident that no Honourable Member of this House will say that. We are in this war because we share the ideals of those who today are fighting totalitarianism. And what, Sir, is this totalitarianism, against whom is it directed? It is not I submit a mere clash of rival imperialisms. It is something very much worse than that. Totalitarianism today stands for the denial of individual liberty and for the destruction of free institutions. In the words of an impressive English writer of our own time, totalitarianism stands for sealing "the springs of innocent aspirations and goodwill in common men". Now, is it contended that we should refrain from co-operation in the war effort in order that totalitarianism may

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triumph? Will that be consistent with our ideals? Will that be consistent with our desire that we should be free, that free institutions should flourish in this ancient and glorious land of ours? Again, Sir, I say No. So, first, we are at war because of our constitutional position. Secondly, we are at war, and that is more important, because of our ideals. Now let us go on to the question of self-interest. My Honourable friend Kumar Shankar Ray Chaudhury the other day, in a somewhat rhetorical excursion into the domain of diplomacy, proceeded to suggest that, if India were free, then India would remain neutral. I think I understood him correctly; that was the trend of his argument. Well now, I ask: China has been in pursuit of peaceful reconstruction at home. What has that availed her against the aggressor? Surely Belgium, Holland, Denmark, they did not desire to come into conflict with Germany. Did neutrality avail them? Abyssinia, how did she wish to wrest the trident of empire from Mussolini whom Mustapha Kemal described as "the swollen bullfrog of the Pontine Marshes"—I believe it was not an inappropriate description. Was Abyssinia threatening Italy? No. All these independent and neutral countries, though seeking to preserve their independence, were not permitted to do so. Is it contended for a moment that if we had remained neutral, if we were to stand aside today and not to help Great Britain in her war effort, that, on the assumption that the totalitarian powers win, we shall be allowed to ascend at leisure the steps that lead to the temple of freedom? Is that suggested by any one? Is that seriously argued by any one? No, Sir. And that is not enough. We know perfectly well what, if the totalitarian powers have their way, would happen to this country. For instance, Herr Hitler has described us as Oriental mountebanks, an extremely complimentary expression no doubt. He has also described us as an inferior race, with which the destinies of his people, the great, the elect Aryan German people, may not be linked except as masters. He would also reserve for us the "fate of poodles" because "it is a crime against the Eternal Creator to train the dark races for intellectual careers". That is what would become of us as individuals. And now let us think of the form of government that we should have. Well, we have examples before us. Gauleiters and the Gestappo are now rampant in those countries which have had the misfortune of coming under the German sway. Even France, the land of liberty, of equality, of fraternity, the land of Danton and Gambetta, what is she doing today under German pressure? She is being forced to worship at the altar of political as well as economic autarchy, totalitarianism in other words. That, Sir, is what would be our fate if Germany were to win. In the circumstances, Sir, I think I do not claim too much when I claim that self-interest also demands that we should help in the war effort.

That, Sir, disposes of my first question; why are we at war? I now go on to the second. If we are at war, and rightly at war, then I would ask, should assistance be withheld from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or from the rest of the British Commonwealth? Three arguments have been put forward in support of the view that such succour or aid should be withheld. The first is that India's political demands have not been satisfied. The second is that India has not been properly prepared for this war; and the third is that Great Britain does not trust India. Now, Sir, in so far as the political point is concerned, both the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy have descanted only recently upon the constitutional and the political issue. It is not in my judgment either meet or proper that I should attempt the labour, the supererogatory labour of refining "gilded gold". Those two exalted personalities are quite capable of explaining and

expressing the intentions of His Majesty's Government. But, Sir, there are one or two points, debating points if you like, which I should like to make. My Honourable friend Mr. Shivalal Motilal, to whose speech I listened with a great deal of interest yesterday, said that it is a tradition of Hinduism to be tolerant. I take it that he will not dispute my assertion as a Hindu that chivalry is also one of the attributes of Hindus and Hindu civilization. Well, if that be so, then, in that case, may I ask whether it is any part of chivalry to start bargaining with somebody who has been long associated with you at a moment when he is in dire and deadly peril?

Then, Sir, I will not say much about the conception of national government. That, again, has been discussed by persons far more competent to deal with that question than I am. But my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru sought to discharge for the Secretary of State and the Governor General their functions in the manner that he would discharge them if he were Secretary of State and Governor General. He gave us a description of how he would have constituted the Executive Council to deal with this war. I do not know to what extent my Honourable friends of the Congress Party would altogether accept that version of a national government, but, at any rate, so far as my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru's version is concerned and the Viceroy's offer is concerned, the difference, I submit, is one of degree and not of quality. He wants an absolute majority of Indians on the Executive Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Of political elements in the Executive Council.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI : Political elements in the Executive Council. I think my friends will concede that men like Sir Zafulla Khan and my Honourable colleague Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar are not altogether devoid of what we may call political instinct and outlook. If the Executive Council were expanded in the form in which His Excellency the Viceroy suggested that it should be expanded, is it any one's contention that there would not have been a majority of Indians on the Executive Council ; is it even contended that there would not have been a majority of politically-minded Indians on the Executive Council ? If that is so then I turn to my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru. He had some trenchant things to say about the withdrawal of the Congress Party from the ministries of the provinces. And the moral he proceeded to draw from that act of the Congress ministries was that they had, at a critical juncture, withdrawn the pressure which as representatives of the people, they would have brought to bear upon the Government of India and upon His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. May I enlarge that argument and ask whether if we had an Executive Council, with a majority of politically-minded Indians, then, even though it might have worked within the framework of the existing constitution, it would not have been able to exert, by virtue of the representative capacity of its members, that moral and political pressure upon the Government of India and His Majesty's Government which all the Honourable Members opposite desire. Surely that is not an argument that can be considered as convincing.

But there is one other point relating to politics with which I shall deal before I pass on to something else. The Secretary of State is not merely a very distinguished man of public affairs but is also a very experienced parliamentarian. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to defend him against so redoubtable an opponent as my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru. But there is one point that I think I may elucidate. I refer to the distinction which Mr. Kunzru had drawn between status and functions in relation to



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Dominion status. He went on to say that that was a distinction which really detracted from the offer of Dominion status made to his country. Historically speaking—no more than that—I should like to draw his attention to the fact that—I was present in the Imperial Conference concerned and know the facts—the Report of the Imperial Conference which is the basis and foundation of the Statute of Westminster, definitely recommends that distinction itself. I will read from that Report :

“ Equality of status so far as Britain and the Dominions are concerned..... should govern our inter-Imperial relations, but the principle of equality and the similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to functions. Here we require something more than immutable dogmas ”.

If my Honourable friend will reflect I am sure he will realize that the distinction is inherent in the very inequality of resource and power—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : May I interrupt the Honourable Member ? When that Report was presented the Statute of Westminster had not been passed. It was the Balfour Report. The Statute of Westminster removed that inequality. It is within the power of the Dominions themselves whether they exercise equality with the United Kingdom or not. If I may say so it was want of correspondence between status and functions that was at the root of the differences between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and some of the Dominions.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GIRJA SHANKAR BAJPAI : Sir, I welcome my Honourable friend's interruption, because it gives me an opportunity of pointing out to him that, in the first instance, it was the Balfour Report which led to the Statute of Westminster. I think he will agree with me when I say that between 1926, when this Report was presented, and 1929, when the Conference on Dominion Legislation met, there was no other Imperial Conference. Secondly, the differences to which he referred are not differences of formal definition. Neither before the passing of the Statute of Westminster nor since the passing of the Statute of Westminster has there been any failure on the part of the Dominions to recognize the inequality to which I have referred, namely, that unto him that hath the greater resources shall be given the larger measure of responsibility for defence. However that is by the way. Political arguments carry us no further. But as an Indian, I wish to say this much. Yesterday there was some heat in the debate about Pakistan and about united India. I am sure all patriotic Indians must feel distressed at the exhibition of these differences. I only wish to say a word or two borrowed from what might be the exclusive cultural apparrage of Pakistan if there were Pakistan of the variety that some people imagine. This is what the Persian poet says :

“ Kist Hindu ya Mussulman, kuza-i-yak kuzagar,  
Gar che kuza dar shumar ayad walakin gil yakist,  
Dar Tariqat K'aba-o-Butkhana ra rahe yakist,  
Gar che manzil du buwad, maqsud-i-har manzil yakist.”

This is the spirit, Sir, in which I want all Members opposite to live and to adjust their differences.

(Several Honourable Members asked for a translation.)

These lines are mentioned in Jami.

“ What is a Hindu and what is a Muslim : both are pots fashioned by the same potter : though in the matter of enumeration you count one as one and the other as two, yet the clay which they are made of is the same ”.

This is the true spirit of religion ; the paths that lead to Ka'aba and to a temple ultimately leads to one destination. There may be two mansions, but in the words of the Bible "In my Father's house there are many mansions".

Then I go on to the next charge, that India has not been prepared for this war. Now, Sir, it is not my task today to enter into an elaborate defence of the past policy of the Government of India in the matter of defence. And he would be a bold man who would say that, in the past, there have not been defects, there have not been deficiencies. Nobody can claim perfection, with honesty at any rate. But the question which I ask Honourable Members is this : Who was prepared for this war, except Germany ? There you had the dedication, in Kipling's phrase, of the body, will and soul of an entire nation to preparation for war. You had it because they wished to wage war and wage it for the purpose of domination. But for the rest, only recently Sir Neville Henderson revealed that at the time of the Munich crisis, for the protection of London there were only seven anti-aircraft guns,—for a city with a population of roughly eight millions. Then we will leave England alone. Historically, England has long relied upon the Navy as the sure shield of her defence. But look at France, the land which has produced a Condé, a Turenne, and a Napoleon, perhaps the greatest military captain of all time ; a nation which within the memory of many men still living has known the ruthless ravages of Teutonic invasion twice ; was France prepared ?

Then there are the United States of America. They have now come to realize the all-expansive terror,—were they prepared ? If not, in that case, is it really fair to twit us with our unpreparedness and say that we are not ready to meet the challenge of Germany ? No one, Sir, when this war broke out, except Germany itself was prepared to meet a challenge which had been secretly, sedulously, persistently and ruthlessly prepared ever since the advent of the Nazis to political power.

Finally, Sir, one comes to the question of trust. I remember reading many years ago an Essay on Shelley by Francis Thompson, and one phrase stuck in my memory. "Trust begets trust and distrust begets its own cause". When the enemy is knocking at the gate, Honourable Members, shall we dispute about trust and distrust ? Is it not better to trust one another ? That is the question that I ask.

Sir, I have already detained the House for more than half an hour and, though I am a believer in an endeavour at persuasion, I am not a believer in repetition of arguments. There is not very much more on the subject-matter of the debate that I have to say. But I should like to make an appeal. I know that, so far as the voting is concerned, possibly other considerations will prevail and the appeal will have no effect. But that does not matter. After all, we have a personal as distinct from a political existence and it is to that personal existence really that I wish to make the appeal. I appeal to Honourable Members to preserve their sense of historical and political perspective. And I appeal to them to be true to India and to the heritage of ideals which have come down to us. The issue, Sir, today is not between what my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru described as the Victorian Imperialism of Great Britain and the Imperialism of Hitler and Mussolini. The issue, Sir, in the phrase of Mr. J. B. Priestley, is between despair and hope ; for to those who prize individual liberty Nazism can only appear as a creed of despair. Its one belief is that man is a contemptible creature, "incapable of finding any truth anywhere, to be ruled by alternate doses of crude flattery and cruel punishment, a fool, a liar, a coward, and a perpetual cheat". I ask, Sir, shall we out of political resentment or distrust, out of scepticism as regards Great Britain's future intentions or pique at alleged present neglect, help the triumph of those

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who not merely terrorize the greater part of Europe and Africa but who seek to extend their domination to the entire world? I think, Sir, to that question there can be only one answer.

Mr. President, the habit of quotation has become old-fashioned. I am old-fashioned enough to quote language which can express with greater emotion, greater directness and greater power my meaning than any words that I can command. I shall quote to Honourable Members some lines from Shakespeare's well-known play "Julius Caesar". The speech is the speech of Brutus; I think it is Act III, Scene 4 :—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune, omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows".

I cannot venture to say today that the sea in front of us is a sea of victory. On the contrary, I recognize that there are perils and dangers ahead. But surely that is a challenge to our courage? It is not a caution to us to keep away from the fray. And again, Sir, as in the quotation, I would plead with my Honourable friends here to take the tide now. The venture is nothing less than reaching the beacons of victory that shine beyond,—because freedom and victory are one. (Applause.)

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN (United Provinces West : Muhammadan) : Sir, on this Bill we had so many kinds of expressions of opinion in the Lower House as well as here, from various parties that one cannot remain in doubt as to what their case is and why they oppose this Bill? On the larger political question, it is just as well that the House had the advantage of hearing the various points of view which found expression in the debate. So far as the Bill itself is concerned and so far as it goes, I am quite sure that there is only one view of all the parties and there is not a single soul who opposes it on the ground that extra money is not required. We are in the middle of a terrible war about which every individual, every party and all the leaders have unequivocally expressed their opinion that they are with the cause of Great Britain and against Nazism. Why is this Bill being opposed? It is done on various grounds, not because they grudge the little money that is required which is a drop in the ocean of the war expenditure. It is the political considerations that weigh with these people. My Honourable friends on this side, as well as the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam, have said a good deal about the financial considerations. It is not necessary for me to repeat those criticisms. I associate myself with all that has been said. I am sure Honourable Members on the other side will bend their heads when they realize the situation in which India stands today. The enormous amount of money that has been spent year after year on the military, about which we have always been blamed for trying to curtail, has produced not even a mouse worth its name. Today, a country like India is in such a hopeless condition that it cannot even raise its finger to resist outside attack. Is it not a negligence of criminal character that the people of India—millions and millions of them belonging to the martial classes, who have shown their worth in wars outside India—are in such a position that they are impotent to defend themselves from outside aggression? All the military expenditure that has been incurred has not been able to produce an effective result even on the Frontier. It is true that it is the expert who is the judge of military

measures. But we judge them by the results produced. What is the result of all this expenditure? Hopeless impotency of India even to help the British Government, the Paramount Power, which is responsible for all this. We are impotent to help even by our resources which will be useful for the war as none are left. Untrained men and money can be brought from anywhere, but it is the effective help which is required at the present moment, for which we are entirely incapable and the responsibility is with the British Government. A terrible war is staring us in the face today. It is a dreadful war and will have dreadful consequences. It is like a house which is attacked by dacoits, the inmates of the house who cannot see eye to eye with each other in certain matters cannot sit down and say, "Let us settle our differences first and only then we will defend our house from the common danger, that is the dacoits". Criticize the Government as much as you like. They certainly deserve it too. But withholding of help in the war effort is certainly meaningless. Then why is it done by people of eminence? We cannot say that they do not realize the situation. The reason is entirely different. The brunt of the war has fallen on Great Britain. Great Britain is certainly in a very critical position today. We have our grievances against the British Government. Some people have thought it fit to take advantage of the present position to dictate their terms and to coerce the British Government to accept their terms. This is the attitude of the Congress. It is said that the Congress is absolutely against the Nazis and will do anything to crush Nazism. In fact, some of the leaders are prepared to pray for British victory and destruction of the Nazis. They say they do not want to put any obstacle in the prosecution of the war. And yet they ask that they should be allowed to propagate anti-war policy. This is absolutely senseless. It is difficult to understand what these two inconsistent things mean. I am going to place before the House the real reason. We cannot deny that there is very acute communalism in India today and a very grave situation has arisen owing to Hindu-Muslim dissensions. I want to say this fearlessly in this House in the presence of the members of the Congress Party and others that we should not be under any delusion. The Mussalmans know it. They are not under any delusion that the object of our Hindu brethren is to dominate in this country and rule over the Mussalmans in order to establish a real Hindu raj. Now, it is no good trying to camouflage this point of view or to conceal it. Is there any one who can give any other answer but "Yes" to the statement that they want a form of government in this country in which they may be able to dominate the Mussalmans and other minorities?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. RAMADAS PANTULU:** We say "No".

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY** (East Bengal : Non-Muhammadan) : Do they want to go in any way beyond the principle of democracy that the majority must prevail?

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN:** I was just expecting this answer. I do not know what "No" means, but the other answer means "Yes". You say that we want democratic rule in this country and you say that democratic rule means the rule of the majority. But you go a step further and you interpret the expression "rule of the majority" as not the rule of the majority party but the rule of the majority community.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY:** The majority party.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** Well, you say so, but it has been said by your leaders and leaders of the *Mahasabha* that India is for the Hindus and the Mussalmans are nothing more than Jews.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY :** They are not right.

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** They may be right or wrong, but that has been said from the platform. It is no good trying to conceal it. The question of India will never be settled by keeping something in the mind while saying another thing. It is no good saying things with mental reservations. If you want to dominate this country and the minorities in it, say so. But if you do not, I appeal to you to give up the idea of establishing a Hindu raj, and then you will find that the Indian question is solved. Freedom will fall at your feet. It will come running to you. But so long as you have in your mind the establishment of a Hindu raj you can rest assured that it will not come and I can tell you as a Mussalman that so long as one Mussalman is living in this country he will see that that ideal is not realized.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY :** Then you are not for democracy ?

**THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN :** Sometimes it amuses me very much when my friend talks in the garb of democracy. Democracy as understood in India is the rule of the majority. My friend knows that they are in a majority and they can afford to talk about wanting democracy, the rule of the majority. But when they speak of majority rule, when they speak of nationalism, I say it is arch communalism ; and the whole idea and object in their talk of nationalism is that it is through that expression that they wish to convince the people outside that all they want is democracy and nationalism. But really they know that it will produce for them what they want, arch communalism with a Hindu raj in this country. Well, Sir, that is really the crux of the whole thing which is responsible for the position in India today and which is in fact perpetuating our slavery. If it is possible for you to shake off this idea from your mind, then let us sit down and come to an honourable settlement. You will find that the whole problem will be settled. You will not have to beg a foreign Government for freedom. By a stroke of the pen you will be able to get it. But the Hindu leaders ostensibly plead on the line of the democratic ideal in trying to persuade the British Government to accept their demands. The British people are democrats, and such of them as have not been in this country have fallen into this trap of democracy and nationalism stunt. They do not know the conditions in this country, and through this appeal to their democracy and nationalism the British people are being deceived into accepting this demand which must mean a Hindu raj in India. Failing that, now the game of bluff and coercion is being played. Now, is there any sense in their utterance, which is this. Although I want the British Government to win this war, although I want with all my heart to help the British Government, although I am willing to go to the extent of fasting for British victory, yet I am not going to co-operate, I am going to jail shouting anti-war slogans. We have got to seek the motive behind it, and I have told you what the motive behind it is. Now, Sir, I do not say that the British Government has not made mistakes in the past and is not guilty of many political crimes in dealing with Indians. Let us assume:

that the British Government has been very unsympathetic towards Indians, but what is the remedy? I have said it before and say once more, settle this question of Hindu and Mussulman. It rests with you and not with the British Government. Once you and I are united, the British Government is bound to listen to what we say. We will be in a position to dictate to the British Government and it is bound to listen.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Have you many observations still to make?

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: I will take about 15 minutes more, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Then you can continue after Lunch. There is a function and many Members have to attend it and I must adjourn the Council at this stage.

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

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN: Sir, there is a charge against Muslims that they are obstructing the advancement of India and that our obstructionist attitude is standing in the way of the freedom of this country. Let me say to my friends who make this charge against the Muslims that if the attitude of the majority would have been conciliatory they would never have had any opportunity of saying that we were obstructionists. We want the freedom of this country more than they want; but we want freedom: we do not want merely change of masters. The Muslims feel that there will be another type of slavery and a worse type of it. I can assure my friends that Muslims will never obstruct the advancement of this country, but they will resist any kind of Muslim domination and will shed the last drop of their blood even if it came to that. Muslims are going to live and die in this country generation after generation: there is no other country in the world which will give a place to them and invite them to leave India. Muslims are ready to live in this country preferably as your younger brother if you extend your hand and treat them as such. As I have said and I repeat it and if there is any illusion I want to disillusion it that Muslims can never be dominated not only here but anywhere. They will try to free themselves from the yoke of everybody, whether it be the British Government, the Congress or the Hindus. (Hear, hear.) Sir, let us see what are the objections of the Congress in non-co-operating with the war efforts. I am taking up some of the important ones. One is that India was not consulted in the declaration of war. Well, I ask the Congress people had they been consulted what would have been their verdict? The same spirit of bargaining and imposition of conditions and placing of all sorts of obstacles in the declaration of war. Their subsequent actions have proved it. Therefore, it would have been of no use if they had been consulted at that time. The refusal of their demands has been made an excuse for non-co-operation, i.e., the right of making the constitution by a constituent assembly. It is only a lame excuse. I ask them that if we go to the electorate, is it not a fact that the result of elections will again be Gandhi and Jinnah and nothing else? Why should not these gentlemen sit together and decide? Is there any doubt that the Muslim League will not come into power in the elections. If there is any doubt I have nothing to say. They ought to correct

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their point of view. Why all this worry of a constituent assembly. Another demand is for a provisional government responsible to the Legislature during the period of war. Well, if that had been alone one would have accepted this demand and if the Government had refused it then certainly the Government would have been in the wrong and you would have been perfectly justified in your non-co-operation in the war. But that is not the only one thing : there are other things attached to it which it is not possible for the British Government owing to communal dissensions, to accept. I would like my Honourable friends to remember, and the Government that anything which is detrimental to the Muslims interests here will not be accepted by the Muslims, whether it comes from the British or the Congress. I want them to remember that the voice of the Muslim is not confined within the four walls of India. The Muslim has got his voice in world politics, and it is not possible, even if you succeed in coercing the British Government to ignore the Muslims altogether. For the British the friendship of the Muslims is a necessity and if they ignore that then I will believe that the British statesmanship is bankrupt. They are friendly with Turkey, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan and but for that you would not have been sitting here peacefully. What I say is this that the friendship of Britain with the Muslims is a necessity : it is in the interest of both and it is not possible for them to ignore the Muslims. You are going, willingly or unwillingly, to jail and become guests of the Government. Let me tell you that even if you adopt worse tactics and make more so-called sacrifices, not for the right cause, but for the purpose of bluffing and coercing, you will not succeed. Come out fairly and frankly and at this moment and let us both try to co-operate, willingly or unwillingly, for the defence of this country. Isn't it true that Indians are absolutely impotent to defend themselves ? Isn't it true that India requires help of some great Power to help in the defence and that great Power can only be the British at present ? It is a most remarkable mentality. You ask British people to defend your shores, to defend your frontiers, and yet you say : " We are not going to co-operate with you ". I know that to Government your co-operation or non-co-operation does not matter very much except for the purpose of showing to the world that they had the goodwill of India behind them. You cannot supply men nor money for the war. Your creed is non-violence, and you are entirely useless in the war. It is only a little bit of money which may come from the Congressmen, but since you are master of economy, and sometimes of false economy, even that may not be forthcoming. Therefore, that co-operation or non-co-operation does not matter in the least. Go and see recruiting centres and then come and say in this House that you are voicing public opinion. Men of all nationalities and all classes are rushing for recruitment. If you invite applications for the Air or Army service, think how many you get for a few posts. And still you claim here that you are voicing the public opinion that they are not with the Government in this war. In your own self-interest you must come forward and be prepared to defend your country with the last penny in your pocket and with the last drop of blood in your veins. What will happen to you if your country is over-run by the Germans, the Russians or the Japanese ? You will be slaves of a worse kind. It is absolutely correct that the Government of today does not deserve the co-operation of the people. Why ? Because they do not trust the people. We have been told just now, " Let us have mutual trust ". Where is the mutual trust ? Has Government ever trusted the public ? Have they ever trusted the representatives of the people ? It is like this : " What will you give me when you come to my house, and what will you give me when I go to your house ? " That won't do. The war has just started, and I am afraid it looks like going on for some time. I ask the

Government to correct their attitude, at least for the present. After the war, we can settle our differences and, as I said before, I feel and honestly feel in my heart of hearts that Indians are quite competent to wrest power from your hands. It is only our internal dissensions which have made us impotent and you have counted upon them. But you must not count on that. The day will come, and I am sure it will come soon, when we two will combine. I ask the Government that during this war, which is a war of life and death for them, they should trust Indian people and their representatives. It may be that at the present moment the institutions which represent public opinion may not be with them but there are individuals who represent the public and have come here on the votes of the people of their constituencies and the Government must take them into their confidence. Well the only little mouse that has come out of the present situation for which I must say I am grateful to a certain extent is the Committee for the Supply Department which the Government is going to form. Now, that is not all. The treatment of the Indians by various departments should be fair and at the present juncture when they are in trouble they must not excite indignation and opposition by unfair treatment of Indians.

Now, Sir, only a few more words in which I am going to explain the attitude of the Muslims and the Muslim League. It has been said that Mussalmans also have not joined the war effort. I want to make it quite clear that the Mussalmans from the very beginning have decided to co-operate with the war effort. During the course of the conversations which were going on between the Muslim leader and His Excellency the Viceroy no doubt they were advised to wait and not join the war committees but it was only during the progress of the conversations. The Mussalmans have put no conditions precedent to their co-operation in the war. Even when the conversations broke down, the Leaders of the Muslim League have very clearly declared that they advised individual Mussalmans to wholeheartedly co-operate in this war to crush Nazism. In fact, Mr. Jinnah in the course of one of his speeches said that he was prepared to shed his last drop of blood to crush Nazism and defend his country. That was the speech which he gave in the Muslim League and it was reported in the press. Even after the breakdown of the conversations which was due to only one fact, that the Muslims wanted their proper share proportionate to the responsibility which they were going to undertake, Mussalmans as a whole co-operated in the prosecution of the war effort. That share which was demanded was proportionate to the responsibility which they were prepared to take and that share was denied and in spite of this the Mussalmans decided that they were not going to put any obstacle, they are going to co-operate wholeheartedly in the war effort but as an institution they will not participate in the administration and they will not take responsibility which does not bring with it a share in the administration proportionate to it. That was the point of view of the Muslim League. If they abstained from voting in the Lower House and decided to remain neutral here, it was for this very reason that they wanted to show to the Government what difference it would have made, if the Government had taken them into their confidence and had been prepared to give a proper share proportionate to their responsibility. I ask the House to consider and decide for itself whether it is not an honourable and generous attitude on the part of the Muslim League that in spite of the fact that they did not get their share and in spite of the fact that they refused to take responsibility, they have decided that all co-operation should be forthcoming from the Mussalmans in the war effort. As a proof of it, I would ask my Honourable friends to see what the Indian Mussalmans have done and are doing in the war effort in recruitment, etc. See what Hyderabad has done in the prosecution of the war. Go to the Punjab, Bhopal, and other provinces.



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You will find that Mussalmans are not lagging behind in co-operation. His Excellency the Viceroy has said that the door is open. The Muslim League has also said that the door is open on their side. If the Government are prepared to take the Mussalmans into confidence and give them a just and reasonable share proportionate to their responsibility, they are prepared to take it.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : What is the difference ? You accuse the Hindus of bargaining, and you are also now supporting bargaining.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : The only difference, which I want to emphasize, is that the Mussalmans, in spite of the fact that they have not been able to see eye to eye with the offer of His Excellency the Viceroy, have decided that co-operation in war efforts and in everything which is necessary to prosecute the war should come from the side of the Mussalmans. The big difference is that they are not bargaining with the Government with a view to put pressure upon the Government to have something in return for something. We are giving all that can be given. We are not keeping it for the sake of gaining anything. We all the same give whatever we possess and the Government knows that they are getting help from the Mussalmans, and that it has not been withheld. This is the difference—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar : Non-Muhammadian) : The Hindu Mahasabha is doing the same thing.

THE HONOURABLE HAJI SYED MUHAMMAD HUSAIN : The Hindu Mahasabha is prepared to do the same thing but the Hindu Mahasabha, apart from the Congress, has no power, and therefore I do not think anybody bothers about the Hindu Mahasabha unless it is with the Congress. That is the attitude of the Muslim League. The difference, which I have just explained, I hope you will realize, is a very big difference. On the one side is the spirit of bargaining—"What are you going to give me if I give this"—and on this side, the attitude is, "I am going to give all that you require, but I will not accept what you are giving". The difference is obvious.

In the end I appeal to my friends on this side to try and induce their organizations to come, if they have sufficiently tried the mentality of establishing a Hindu raj in this country, and then we can sit down and come to a settlement. If my friends are afraid of a Muslim raj, they will all the more be ready to come to a settlement. And on this side I appeal to the Government at the present juncture not to do anything which is resented by the Indians, to take the Indians and particularly the representatives of the people into confidence and try to establish its own confidence which has been lost by its past deeds in the mind of the people. It does not matter in the least whether one institution as an institution co-operates or not. But the people will.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) : Sir, while discussing the supplementary Finance Bill which is before us, we cannot help examining the position of our country in respect of her defence. Sir, when we examine this position, we cannot help confessing to a feeling of disappointment and dismay. It is a wonder that all the huge military burden which the country has been shouldering from year to year, that the huge sums of Rs. 45 to Rs. 55 crores which the Indian Exchequer has been spending annually on the Defence Department, have proved of no

avail and that the position is that the country is in a helpless condition as regards her defence. We knew and we protested against it in season and out of season, on the occasions of budget discussions and even by way of Resolutions moved in this House and the other, that nothing substantial was being done to build up an efficient defence for our country. There was no response from the Government. Government did not care to heed the warning that has time after time been given to it by the representatives of the people in both the Houses. We had, therefore, very serious apprehensions about the way in which things were being managed in the Defence Department. But, Sir, the Report of the Chatfield Committee has disclosed facts which go to show that the defects are far beyond even the most serious apprehensions that we had. It is clear from that Report that even the one arm on which we had concentrated, the land forces, even that has not been brought up-to-date, that it is ill-equipped, ill-trained and hardly suited to modern warfare. Sir, when such is the condition of the army, can one expect anything better in the other arms of defence on which not much attention was bestowed? Sir, the Air Force, which has been built up, is hardly of the size and quality which is in keeping with the position of the country and the responsibility it has in the matter of the defence of India. Sir, it is a fact that some aerodromes have been built up and recently some young men have been selected for training as pilots to be employed in the Air Force. But what we find from the statement of the Honourable the Finance Member makes us very despondent about the development of this arm of defence. From the statement it is clear that no improvement could be effected in this direction until the aeroplanes are brought from outside. There is no hope held out in the statement that there will be any attempt made to get these aeroplanes in the near future. It may be that all the aeroplanes in Britain are needed there to meet the air raids which are being made on England and for carrying out reprisals on Berlin. But what about getting these planes from America? Why should not some attempt be made to get them from America as soon as possible and begin to give the necessary training to these young men who have been selected for our Air Force?

Sir, the Royal Indian Navy has also had no better attention paid to it. After all the great Royal Indian Navy comprises only seven sloops, and now the Government have got hold of a few merchant vessels and with their help are trying to police the coast of India, but the Navy we have for this purpose is hardly sufficient.

Again, Sir, what is the future programme? We find not much hope held out of effecting improvement in the matter of our defence in any reasonable time. It is said on page 6 of the Finance Member's speech that there is a scheme for preparing tanks and armoured vehicles in this country and that this scheme will be put into effect next year. But there is a discrepancy between this statement and that made by Mr. Amery on the same subject. The other day Mr. Amery said there is a scheme for the making only of armoured cars and not of tanks. So we feel that even now after all the experience that has been gained by Great Britain about the danger of unpreparedness for an emergency the lesson has not been of much profit to the authorities and they are still very slow in building up the defences of the country. I will close my remarks about this aspect by drawing attention to what has been said in the Finance Member's speech about the future. About the end of page 3 he says—

“ Indeed it is not too much to say that apart from having made invaluable contributions to the conduct of the war on many fronts, India has reached the stage when virtual self-sufficiency in matters pertaining to her local defence is no longer a distant dream.”

[Saiyid Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

It looks as though the Government are satisfied with visions and dreams and not thinking of taking up things in right earnest. This is a state of affairs, Sir, on which we cannot afford to look with unconcern. My Honourable friend Mr. Williams tried to defend the Defence Department, but even the advocacy of the Honourable Mr. Williams, who is such a skilled debator and who by his lively humour makes himself persuasive, has not succeeded in carrying conviction to this House. From what he said it is clear that now alone there is some attention paid to see that the greater part of the money which is spent on the Defence Department is utilized for providing equipment. He qualified his statement by saying that this was the state of affairs at present, the inference being that that was not the case in the past, when all those huge sums of money were spent mainly on the salaries of officers. Again, Mr. Williams took shelter behind the fact that the Indian representatives in the Central Legislature have always objected to the amount spent on the Defence Department. If my Honourable friend brushes up his memory he will find that we not only objected to the big amounts spent upon defence but suggested ways and means as to how it could be cut down. We did not want that there should be economy at the expense of safety. Honourable Members who suggested economies pointed out that it could be very easily effected without any loss of efficiency by simply changing the personnel, by replacing the British element with the Indian.

Now, Sir, as regards the question as to what India should do in the present emergency, now that war seems to draw nearer and nearer this country. As Sir Muhammad Yakub observed, the high flames of the conflagration have already begun to cast their lurid glow on the Middle East and also on the Far East. There is a danger of India also being involved in this conflict. I agree with the Honourable the Leader of the House in this part of his very able and eloquent speech, that there are threefold reasons for what India should do, that is to take steps to ensure the success of Great Britain in the present conflict. Constitutionally and also morally for the sake of the principles we hold, for the belief that we have in man's liberty and his freedom of action, and also for our self-preservation we have to see that everything possible is done to help the powers that are now fighting totalitarian aggression. That the country and the Mussalmans have realized this is borne out quite amply by the fact that the young men are coming forward in thousands to join the army and that contributions to war funds are being very liberally made. We realize that the present war is not the concern only of Great Britain but it is one in which India is vitally involved. Not only constitutionally but also for the fact that Britain is fighting for a cause for which we also stand, and the aspirations and the ambitions that we have will fructify only if Britain emerges triumphant out of the struggle. The final issue of the war is a thing of deep concern and of vital importance, which will go to determine the future of our country. In view of this fact, even though the Muslim League had not made up its mind as to whether it would co-operate with His Excellency the Viceroy in the expansion of the Executive Council, the Muslim League had permitted individual Muslims to join the army although the Muslim League wanted that leaders should not join war committees, but individually they are quite at liberty to help find recruits for the army, but they were not to be formal members of the war committees. This ban was only for a short period but it has now been lifted. Muslims are now free to join the war committees.

Now as to the attitude that the Muslim League would take in this House. I do not think there is anything further to be said about it, since my Honourable

friend Mr. Muhammad Husain has explained at length the reasons which make us refrain from voting. The needful is being done. Muslims are supporting the war effort, though it is not possible for the Muslim League to vote for this Bill in this House.

Now I do not want to say anything about the communal matters. All I would say is that it is very unseemly even at this juncture that there should be all these bickerings. There has been a wordy warfare going on for a long time. We know that save for a few individuals, whose task is to create differences among different communities, the majority of the people, either in the Congress or in the Hindu Mahasabha or in the Muslim League, would only like to have unity among the various classes and communities in the country. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, I would appeal to my friends on my right and also to my Muslim brothers, that they should try and see whether we cannot put down these differences. In spite of the present sharp differences we should see whether it would not be possible for us to evolve some sort of scheme by which the interests of all the parties concerned could be reconciled. I do not think it is an impossible task ; but there is one thing that will have to be taken into consideration in this respect. I do not say this because I stand to gain by it, but anyone with a knowledge of the way in which settlements are affected would at once realize that when a settlement is to be made between two parties, one of which is weak and the other is strong, the generous gesture has got to come from the party which is strong, because the weak has always apprehensions, as is quite evident from what is going on even now in the world. Germany armed herself to the teeth and found that other countries were giving effect to disarmament policy. She at once pounced upon them and brought most of them under her heel. Therefore, it is quite natural that the weak should have doubts as to the *bona fides* of the strong. Our Hindu brethren, who are in the majority, could make up their mind to be a little generous and realize the fact that it is not only the majority community, but other communities, like the Muslims, which is a very large community, or even the smallest communities like the Parsis and Indian Christians, have the right to exist in this land and they should all live together in peace and harmony. Therefore, I would close my remarks by making an appeal to my Hindu friends that they should cease to think of their separate demand and concentrate upon this that they have to find a way how they should set at rest the suspicions of the minority and persuade them to join hands with them which will be for the common good.

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES (Finance Secretary) : Sir, we have been reminded once or twice during the course of this discussion that the Bill before the House is essentially a financial measure. The reminders, Sir, in my opinion, were necessary and opportune because from the course of discussion I think that fact might possibly have been in danger of being lost sight of. We have heard much on the subject of defence, to which my Honourable friend Mr. Williams has replied generally on behalf of the Government. We have heard still more on the political and constitutional plane, which has been so ably replied to by the Honourable the Leader of the House, that master of oratory who made half an hour seem less than five minutes. I would like respectfully to congratulate him on that brilliant speech (Hear, hear) which received the tribute that it deserved in the silent and rapt attention with which it was listened to by this House and the chorus of approval which greeted it at its termination. My only regret is that the speech was not available for Members of this House to consider and ponder over at leisure, because I think that the facts, arguments and pleadings embodied in the speech deserve thoughtful attention and well require a lot of answering. Now, my rather

[Mr. C. E. Jones.]

prosaic task is to reply to the financial points which have been raised in the course of the discussion. They were meagre, but I admit that they were moderate. They were few and far between. In the intervals of waiting for something of a financial nature to seize upon, I had plenty of opportunity of listening to the discussions from perhaps a somewhat detached point of view, and at times I let my mind wander away from this House to the realities of the world situation as it is outside. I thought of aeroplanes and bursting bombs. I thought of wrecked houses, wrecked hospitals, wrecked seats of learning. I thought of cities laid low. I thought of whole countries, which not long ago were enjoying freedom and prosperity, ground down under the heel of a brutal Nazism. These things, Sir, are rather close realities to some of us who get first-hand knowledge of what is going on in our periodical letters from home. And as I let my mind wander on these lines, I tried to visualize what these things mean in terms of human suffering,—mangled bodies, wives widowed, husbands made widowers, children orphaned. I thought of concentration camps and people who for no other cause than their race are subjected to barbarous ill-treatment worse than death. Then as my mind came back to the discussions in this House, to talks of slavery and servitude, of exploitation and so on, it seemed to me, Sir, that, instead of coming back from dream-land to a world of reality, I was coming back from a world of grim and stark reality to a world that was unreal. At the close of my speech moving for the consideration of this Bill, I put in a short plea for this question being approached in a realistic spirit. I am afraid my small plea got rather swamped. For the realities today are stark realities. I submit that everything that we hold dear is today in the balance. Yet from the discussions of the last three days the impression gathered by the plain man—I have no authority to speak in this sphere on behalf of the Government; I merely give my own reactions as those of a plain man, and I do so because they seem to be relevant to the consideration of this Bill—is that in this country men's minds seem to be obsessed mainly with party cleavages. We find the representatives of great parties, each party numbering adherents by the million, standing up and saying, "Our terms are so and so; we are determined to work for them, we are prepared to fight for them; we are willing to die for them". That comes not from one community, not from two communities, it comes from at least three; and those claims are apparently irreconcilable, absolutely and completely irreconcilable. So far as I can see, as a plain man, these communities with their mutually irreconcilable claims then join hands and turn to the British Government and say: "We are agreed that you are not granting freedom to India. We are agreed that you should form a national government in India", and so on. As the leader in this House of one party put it, "You can have our help on our terms or you can go without it". Other parties adopt the same attitude, and although the stipulated terms are all mutually irreconcilable, yet these parties join hands and say: "We cannot help you because you won't give us freedom, because you won't give us a national government, because you won't accede to our terms," each party—so it seems to me—being aware of the fact that, if the terms demanded by it were granted, then the terms demanded by the other parties could not be granted. Is it surprising that such a state of affairs gives to a detached observer a feeling of bewilderment and a sense of unreality?

I listened with interest to the Honourable Mr. Sapru's impassioned statement of the line which in his opinion His Majesty's Government should have taken. Unfortunately, perhaps, I am of rather a practical turn of mind, and as that impassioned plea went forth—I believe that it was put forward in all sincerity—

I wondered what would have happened if that line had been taken. I thought of the microscopic examination to which it would have been subjected, the demands for elucidation and clarification and reduction into concrete figures or percentages of representation and so on. I tried to picture how a statement on those general lines would have emerged from such a microscopic examination. The realities at the present time, Sir, are life and death ; destruction ; the very things that we hold dear—national liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and the recognition of the spiritual basis of religion. All these things are now at stake, all these things are now being fought for. And this war, in which these issues are at stake, is approaching nearer to the shores of India. It is coming nearer from the west. It is coming nearer from the east. It may at any time come nearer from the north. It may come from the land. It may come from the sea. It may come from the air. These are the realities of the situation that I had in mind when I asked this House to approach this problem in a realistic spirit. And that is the background which I shall have continually in mind while I deal with these prosaic details of finance, and which I hope that Honourable Members will also bear in mind.

The first financial point to which I would draw attention is the point referred to by the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam at the commencement of his speech. He waxed very wrath upon it. He looked upon me with a piercing eye as he thundered—"We have been given no detailed estimates. What do you mean by asking for money without giving us detailed estimates with all the paraphernalia of an ordinary budget?" I am glad there was no request of that sort from any other quarter. The first thing Mr. Hossain Imam asked was, has there been a reduction in the capital expenditure on your railways by Rs. 22 lakhs? What do you mean by this discrepancy of Rs. 22 lakhs? I ask you, Sir, in view of the issues involved, is that question going to alter the course of this debate? I have the answer. The answer is that the capital of the railways of India has not altered since the budget was framed. There was one mistake of Rs. 22 lakhs in the original budget in the loss on strategic lines which has to be deducted before the amount of the contribution is determined. That error was detected after the budget was framed and it was put right in the statement which my Honourable Member gave in the other House, but we did not deem it necessary to give an elaborate explanation of this thing.

Then the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam drew our attention to the fact that whereas in the statement to which I have referred it was stated that civil expenditure had increased by Rs. 230 lakhs, particulars had been given which only amounted to Rs. 194 lakhs. And the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam lifted his eyebrows, raised his hands and shrugged his shoulders, as much as to say, "Here is something dreadful; Government has something which they wish to conceal. What wickedness is this?" Need I point out, Sir, that the statement made in this connection was that the increase in civil expenditure amounting to Rs. 230 lakhs was comprised mainly of items which were directly attributable to or arising out of the war, such as certain items which were specifically mentioned by way of illustration. When an illustrated list is given totalling Rs. 194 lakhs out of a total of Rs. 230 lakhs, I think the illustration has been pretty fully given. I have gone to the trouble of finding out what the

4 P. M. balance represents. I do not know if the House will want to hear them. But these insinuations, gestures and smiles lead to reports and rumours which get round exaggerated and multiplied, that Government are extravagant, that Government are concealing this or hiding that; that they are not being frank. So perhaps I had better read out the list. The first item is a

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payment to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research on account of cess on agricultural produce—Rs. 7 lakhs—which represents an item covered by a corresponding receipt, and is one of the self-balancing items referred to generally in the Honourable the Finance Member's statement. The next item is expenditure by the Supply Department on the purchase of wattle bark and on flax cultivation, Rs. 10 and Rs. 4 lakhs respectively, total Rs. 14 lakhs. The next is a temporary building for the activities of the Supply Department in Delhi, amounting to Rs. 4 lakhs. The next is the additional cost of a Survey of India building at Murree, Rs. 2 lakhs. The next is additional famine expenditure in Ajmer. The figure given by the Honourable the Finance Member in his statement unfortunately happened to be Rs. 8 lakhs short of what it should have been. That was just an error. The next and last item is housing accommodation in Calcutta for the Director General of Munitions Production, Rs. 1 lakh. These are the items, Sir, and I think their enumeration will lay at rest any apprehensions that we had anything to conceal, and also justify our view that detailed enumeration would have been out of place in a statement of the kind made by the Honourable the Finance Member. We did not think it necessary for the purpose of this Bill to come before the House with full and detailed estimates. For one thing, it is a little early in the year to be at all sure of your revised estimates. So far as we know, income-tax will turn out as in the budget, but it is rather early yet to say. We are no nearer now to knowing what the receipts from the excess profits tax will be than we were before. Even the first assessment has not yet been made. It is a bit premature, therefore, to come with all the paraphernalia of detailed estimates to which Honourable Members could apply their microscopes, when the broad facts of the situation are so clear and the amounts in issue run not in tens or hundreds or thousands, not even in lakhs, but in crores. The plain situation is that we are now running to a deficit of something like Rs. 13 crores, to the best of our knowledge and belief, and we lay the broad facts of the situation before the House and say that it is time we got on with the raising of some additional revenue to meet this. I think the House will endorse the view that it would have been a waste of time and a waste of stationery to have gone to the length of bringing full and complete estimates before the House for this purpose.

The second financial point that I would like to touch upon is the demand that has been expressed for proper control over, and elimination of extravagance from, Government expenditure. This demand, Sir, has been strongly urged by a number of speakers. It is a perfectly fair and proper demand. Of my 25 years in India, I have spent some 12 years in the Finance Department either of the Madras Government or of the Government of India. I have got, I suppose, the instincts of a Finance Officer by now deeply ingrained in my very system. As Secretary of the Finance Department of the Government of India, I am entirely at one with the House in its anxiety to avoid any tendency to extravagance in Government expenditure, whether defence or civil, especially at a time like the present. But I do ask Honourable Members to realize that there is still a Finance Department in existence. What we call the Finance Department, Ordinary Branch, looks after the civil expenditure. That expenditure, as the House knows, was drastically pruned a couple of years ago—in 1938-39. It was cut to the bone in a severe retrenchment drive. It is not very long ago since we met with criticism from the Public Accounts Committee, sitting in Simla this very year, that the retrenchment had been pushed too far in certain directions. These cuts we maintained almost entirely in the budget of the following year, 1939-40, and they have been largely maintained, in so

far as they could without detriment to Government interests, in the Budget for 1940-41, that is, the current year. As regards new commitments, we have issued special instructions that no new commitments whatsoever are to be allowed or accepted unless they are necessary for the progress of the war, or, on a broad view, are calculated to improve the economic condition of the country. The Finance Department, then, still exists. In normal times you trust it. Is there any reason now why you should not trust it? I realize that this is a time of rapidly growing expenditure on the Military side and on the Supply side. The Finance Member is asked to satisfy himself that for every rupee that is spent, a rupee's worth in value is obtained. It is a perfectly legitimate demand. The Honourable the Finance Member accepts his obligations in this matter. But how do you expect him to carry them out? Would you expect him personally to scrutinize this huge and growing expenditure? It is not practicable. The Honourable the Finance Member discharges this obligation, first of all by seeing that an efficient instrument of financial control is brought into being; secondly, that it is staffed by officers who know their job and who can be trusted; and thirdly, by seeing that the system of working is such as to guarantee that the control is effective. That responsibility, I submit, has certainly, in my opinion, been well and truly discharged. We have brought into being a Military Finance Department which has taken over Financial control of the Supply Department as well. This Finance Department was staffed by good and true men,—proved men. We have approached other existing Departments of Government and secured reliable officers from them, frequently at the cost of considerable strain and inconvenience to them. I can give you a few personal examples to show how persistent we have been in seeing that a strong Military Finance Department was brought into being. I myself lost my Joint Secretary, Mr. Coates, shortly after I came up here. He is now in charge of that Department after four and a half years in the Ordinary Branch of the Finance Department of the Government of India in the responsible post of Joint Secretary. I have given up one of my two Deputy Secretaries, Mr. Symons, who is now Financial Adviser with the Director General of Munitions Production in Calcutta. I have given up an extremely able and intelligent Under Secretary in the person of Mr. Mohammad Ali. Another Under Secretary, Mr. Bhattacharji, has also gone from the Ordinary Branch of the Finance Department to that Department. The Finance Department on the Communications side has been equally mulcted. There was a sudden and urgent call for the services of its head, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, for the Supply Department. We had to make rapid arrangements. I can give you the personal side of that question as it is illustrative. I had to give up Mr. Ghulam Mohammad at very short notice. I had to do so consistently with my own responsibilities and so had myself to secure a man who had some acquaintance with the responsible work which Mr. Ghulam Mohammad had been doing as Financial Adviser, Communications. The only man available was Mr. Sen Gupta, who happened then to be Financial Adviser to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. I approached Mr. Jenkins. It was a most inopportune time for him to give him up, but he realized the necessity in the public interest. He gave him up on condition that he got another man on whom he could rely for the responsible financial work that had to be done there. I looked round to give him a good man, and I took a man from the financial side of the Political Department whom the Political Department were particularly loth to give up at the time because it was a time of intense financial activity, working out reappropriations and so on, where they needed a man with knowledge of the past year's work. That is only one appointment, and you can see the chain of inconvenience to secure



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a good man for the job. This particular Branch (Communications) has given up its head, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, its Special Officer Mr. Seshagiri Rao, and an Under Secretary, Mr. Raman, who is now Assistant Financial Adviser in Munitions. The Auditor General has co-operated to the best of his ability and has given up a number of reliable men, and other Departments have also shared in the combing process. These are the things we have done and I mention them to show that we do not treat lightly the responsibility for securing a suitably expanded and efficient Military Finance Department for dealing with this difficult and important question of financial control on the military and supply side. I can give another personal illustration. I went once personally to the Finance Member to query certain expansions in that Department, and the Finance Member said that on Mr. Coates rested a very grave responsibility; that he would be very loth to refuse any additions of staff which Mr. Coates considered essential in the interests of his work, unless it could be fairly clearly shown that the demands were not reasonable. I accepted that decision and I am convinced, and everything that has passed has made me more convinced, that my Member was perfectly right and correct. And the result is that we have a large and efficient and hard-working Military Finance Department which is scrutinizing expenditure on the Military side and on the Supply side, scrutinizing contracts that are given outside the ordinary contract rules, and so on. I am aware that one or two individual cases, which were decided on grounds of policy outside the scope of the ordinary financial control, have seized the attention of the public which, without perhaps being aware of all the relevant circumstances and considerations, regards them as being *prima facie* extravagant. These cases have been given constant and excessive publicity. They have been talked about a lot; this talking has led to rumours, and those rumours have fed on themselves, and multiplied just like the rumours to which I referred earlier in this speech. I think in this way exaggerated notions get about that the Government of India are not particular about questions of financial control, about economy, and so on. I think it was with a view to reassure people who have got these impressions that the Finance Member has agreed to place the whole question of salaries in the Supply Department before the Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Assembly, to obtain their opinion on it and their recommendations as to the principles on which pay should be fixed in such cases for the future. The Honourable Member for Supply has also agreed to associate a Standing Advisory Committee with the Supply Department. These two measures I think, taken against the background of the day-to-day activities of the Finance Department in both Branches, will indicate that endeavours have been and are being made to control expenditure on a just and equitable basis. The system adopted is that for the sake of speed (because in these matters speed is all essential), our financial officers actually sit in the sections of the department with which they are concerned, so that control may be concurrent and there may be no delay on account of paper objections and controversies. But a demand has been made that a Committee of the Legislature should be appointed, practically (I think) to exercise day-to-day financial control over these large and growing departments. The Honourable the Finance Member has already said that in his opinion the appointment of such a committee for such a purpose would be impossible and impracticable. That sounds rather bold and official, and I would like to elaborate a little. I have had some experience of the working of committees. Not long ago I attended the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee in Simla. It sat for only 16 working days. I attended morning and evening. The whole time I was sitting in there my work was

piling up in my office. I had a rush lunch of about 10 minutes, and attended to my blue slips in the remainder of the lunch hour. I went home after the evening session and attended to my day's work in the evening and after dinner, and sometimes in the morning before going off at nine o'clock to office. The Honourable the Finance Member did the same; my budget officer, who was Secretary to the Committee, did the same. You can stand that sort of thing for a week or a fortnight. You give up all idea of relaxation, mental or physical. This happened at a time which is supposed to be the slack season for the Finance Department; I would call it the less busy season. But I submit that you cannot do that sort of thing in the day-to-day business of a concern such as the Military or the Supply Departments, week in and week out, and month in and month out, without respite of any sort. The work involved in preparing papers for the committee's consideration, sitting with them and explaining matters, arranging for the examination of witnesses, preparing minutes of proceedings and writing up reports, is so great, and these officers are already so heavily worked, that we could not possibly contemplate the association of a Committee with the day-to-day working of the Military Finance Department unless we practically duplicated the staff. It is for these reasons I think that the Honourable the Finance Member has said that he regards this proposal as impracticable. I trust the House will regard that view as reasonable and accept the two measures which have been agreed to as indicating the willingness of Government to meet this type of criticism in so far as lies in their power and to reassure them that Government are keen and most particular on the question of economy.

The next point on which I would speak—I am afraid I can only touch briefly upon it—is the question of the working of the agreement with His Majesty's Government on the allocation of defence expenditure. I say that I need touch upon this only briefly because that matter has already been fully explained in broad outline in the Budget speech last February. The agreement still operates; it has not been altered, and I cannot improve upon the way in which it was presented in the Honourable the Finance Member's Budget speech. The general lines on which the agreement works are clear. It is recognized that, because His Majesty's Government has undertaken a considerable burden in implementing the Chatfield proposals for mechanizing and modernizing the army,—and as the Finance Member has said His Majesty's Government are still implementing the Chatfield proposals at considerably enhanced cost to themselves over what was originally anticipated—India should recognize to a certain extent her liability in her external defence. That seems a perfectly logical decision, because this mechanization and modernization mean that the type of warfare is changing, and the changes in warfare from the old style to the modern style mean that it is very much more satisfactory to go out to meet your enemy before he reaches your frontiers than to sit on your frontiers and wait for him, and have the war perhaps fought out on your own soil. So a small percentage of India's standing army is earmarked for purposes of external defence. When these external defence troops are sent abroad India continues to pay their standing charges on a peace time basis, but His Majesty's Government pay everything else. When other troops are sent overseas, His Majesty's Government pay the full cost, pay, transport and everything else, from the time they leave Indian shores. That roughly is the position, but it does not work as simply as that because of complications in such matters as replacement and equipment, and the question of ordnance factories. Our defence expenditure for everything, whether in India or overseas, is met in the first instance by His Majesty's Government, and then we reimburse what is due from us according to the terms of the agreement. The amounts so payable are settled or will be settled at some sort of round table conference between the interests concerned.

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That is how the arrangement will work. It will be done *en bloc* and these accounts settled as was explained by the Honourable the Finance Member in his Budget speech—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** On a point of information, Sir. I want to know who debits : is it the Government of India or is it the British Government who debits ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES :** That point has not yet arisen. We pay month by month at one-twelfth of what we think the charge to us made for the year will be. The final adjustment for the year will be at the end of the year in consultation with the audit and accounting authorities. I cannot say anything more about the specific details at present. As I have already stated, the agreement still operates. We still think that this agreement is favourable to India, and I think it fully justifies the Finance Member's statement that the financial settlement with His Majesty's Government has enabled the mobilization and development of India's resources for war to be expanded with the utmost rapidity at a cost to the Indian taxpayer which represents no more than a fair charge to India for her own requirements.

The fourth point, raised by the Honourable Mr. Motilal, is one to which I feel I ought to make possibly a detailed reply. The point, as I understood it, was, whether the Government of India are responsible for the defence of British India only or of the Indian States in addition, and the justification for taxing only British India for defence measures covering also Indian States. I recognize, Sir, that this is a point which may well arouse the interest of the average man, although I think that it is possibly a little ungracious to raise it at a time when, as we all know, Indian States, large and small, have spontaneously rallied to the defence of India and the Empire, against the common foe, without making any distinction between British India and Indian India, in a magnificent manner, and have offered all their resources for this purpose. But to understand the position, the legal and the constitutional aspects cannot be ignored, and I would commend to the Honourable Member a study of the Report of the Indian States Committee (1929) which was presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Financial) 1932, and the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, 1934. These reports will perhaps suffice adequately to give the legal and constitutional background to the question. Briefly, the position is that although there are two Indias—British India governed by the Crown according to Statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown—geographically Indian States and British India are assuredly one and indivisible for purposes of defence against outside aggression and internal security. The relations between Indian States and the Crown and their mutual rights and obligations are based on long standing treaties, engagements and usage often dating back to the East India Company, and reaffirmed from time to time. Indian States have no relations with any foreign powers, and the Paramount Power in India is under a definite obligation by virtue of its relations with Indian States to defend them against both external aggression and internal disorder, and this function is inseparable, as I have said already, from the defence of India as a whole. The term "Paramount Power" connoted until the 1st of April, 1937, when the Government of India Act of 1935 came into operation, the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor General in Council. From that date, it means the Crown acting through His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, but this has merely changed

the machinery but has not affected the rights and obligations of the Crown itself. This Act contains provisions (section 145) whereby the Governor-General is under an obligation to provide funds from Central Revenues to the Crown Representatives for the discharge of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, and also (section 286) to provide the necessary armed forces to the Crown Representative if he requires such assistance for the discharge of his functions, which include the protection and defence of Indian States. The Honourable Member, I think, suggested that Indian States get the benefit of defence against aggression and of protection by the Crown in India solely at the expense of the British India taxpayer. This suggestion is wholly incorrect and I think I must—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I did not say that British India solely bears the burden. I am aware of the various contributions made by the States, such as customs duties and others.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES :** I will proceed with my speech, Sir. Apart from the fact that the surrender to the Crown of all external relations has involved the counter obligation of defence and protection of States, it should be noted that States make various direct and indirect contributions to Central Revenues as the result of the treaty relations of the Crown. Some States make cash contributions specifically imposed by treaties and engagements, and some have ceded large territories in return for the obligations undertaken by the Crown, while the majority of them also contribute indirectly to the revenues of the Government of India, for instance, in the shape of sea customs, salt and central excise duties, and postal and telegraph rates imposed by the Central Government. States also maintain, at considerable expense, Indian States Forces which are available to the Crown for the defence of India and, as on the occasion of the last war, these forces are playing a very important part in the defence of the whole country. The Governments of Indian States have spontaneously undertaken heavy additional burdens in raising and reorganizing their forces for modern conditions. I may add in this connection that, while the direct and indirect financial contributions of States to Central Revenues are generally as described above, they vary somewhat from State to State depending upon the treaty relations established under varying conditions over a period of 150 years. The burden is therefore uneven and it is hard to generalize. The problem of equalizing this burden not only as between States but as between British India and the States is an extremely difficult one which it was hoped the Federal scheme would solve on a reasonably equitable basis.

Then the last point that the Honourable Member made in this connection was that, if we go piling on income-tax in British India, the effect would be to drive industry and capital from British India to the Indian States. Well, Sir, all I can say about that is to draw attention to the fact that the income-tax laws prevalent in the Indian States and British India have always varied considerably, yet we find in actual fact that industries do establish themselves in British India, and they seem to think that in spite of the burden of heavier income-tax there are countervailing advantages which make it worth their while to locate themselves in British India. There is also ample provision in the British income-tax laws for subjecting to taxation any business done in British India by an industry established in an Indian State. And that, I think, affords automatic protection against any unfair competition from industries established in Indian States.

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The next financial point raised, Sir, was as to the need for introducing a Supplementary Budget at this stage. I dealt with this in my speech moving for consideration. We are satisfied that our deficit this year is going to be of the order of Rs. 13 crores and the question is, would we be justified in sleeping over a deficit of this magnitude? But I specifically stated and stressed the point that it is not merely a question of the deficit for this year but the basic fact that we are now embarking on a scale of expenditure which goes far beyond present revenue and which will inevitably increase above what it is now, and that meanwhile the revenue which we are getting from our main revenue heads is likely to go down. Is it, therefore, unreasonable for the Government to take the first opportunity possible of beginning to meet this new position at least in part now? That is the underlying reason why we brought forward this Bill, which contains two simple measures involving no administrative inconvenience or dislocation and no expansion of staff, to supplement the taxation measures provided for in the Finance Act of last March in view of the change of circumstances. It is possibly a matter of opinion but I think it is strictly in accordance with the principles of sound finance, and I think also that there are many who feel that, in the changed conditions involving heavy outlay on defence and rapid expansion of all defence activities, the taxation burden represented by the original Budget for this year has become totally out of date and inadequate.

The last point that was raised, Sir, was as to the effect of these taxation measures. It was said that they will adversely affect trade and industry. That, I suppose, is inevitable. It is a criticism which could be advanced against any possible type of taxation that could be introduced. The answer to that argument is, whether the sum total of the burden is excessive in circumstances as they are at present, having regard to the jeopardy in which the trade and industry of this country would be placed if no additional defence measures were taken. But then the other argument was: "Yes, but what about the poor man? To what extent are you hitting him?" Admittedly not hardly at all. If he cannot pay the extra postage on his letter, he can switch over to the postcard. Then the further argument is trotted out: "So many millions in this country are so poor that they cannot pay anything. What is your answer to that?" My answer to that, Sir, is that Rs. 56½ crores worth of purchases in this country in 13 months must mean more wages for the industrial workers, more pay for those engaged in war work, more profits for industrial and manufacturing concerns. Incidentally, Mr. Hossain Imam raised the question of 30,000 tents being sent overseas. I did not understand what his point was, whether he thinks that we should not engage in profitable industry in connection with the war. But all these supplies that are being sent out of the country are being paid for, and all this money is coming into the country. It is undoubted, I submit, Sir, that industry is expanding under the pressure of war necessity and that the reactions of these developments, the extent of which was recently explained by the Honourable Mr. Dow in this House, cannot but be favourable to the country.

Then, my questioner turns to me and says: "What about the poor agriculturist? The bottom is being knocked out of his prices. He is in a bad way. What about him?" I agree, Sir, that the prospects of the prices of primary commodities in which this country is particularly interested are somewhat sinister but, I submit, also that we have not reached that stage yet. I have taken the trouble to obtain from the Commerce Department from their Statistical Section the latest prices of the main commodities in which this

country is interested. The latest figures as compared with the immediate pre-war figures are: in the case of rice 38 per cent. up; in the case of wheat 71 per cent. up; in the case of ground-nuts 14 per cent. down; in the case of linseed 3 per cent. up; in the case of cotton 32 per cent. up; in the case of raw jute 14 per cent. down; in the case of wool 47 per cent. up, and in the case of hides and skins  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. down. I submit, Sir, that taking that list of movements of prices, it gives us every reason for encouragement and solid grounds for satisfaction that the situation has developed in the world conditions of today so favourably to this country. The final argument in support of this taxation, having regard to its possible adverse effects on the country which one can't deny, is the argument of imperative necessity. This extra taxation is required by the circumstances in which we find ourselves, for which we are not responsible, and from which we cannot escape. Further taxation and sacrifices will probably be required before we are through. They will have to be shared by all sections of the community. Defence equipment in modern times is expensive. The price has to be paid. Our intention is that the emergency financial measures which we have had to undertake to meet the emergency conditions shall not continue longer than is necessitated by the conditions arising out of the emergency, and I am confident that responsible opinion will recognize and admit that Government had no other alternative.

Those, Sir, I think, are all the points of a financial complexion which were raised during the course of this debate. I appreciate and gratefully acknowledge that the criticism of this Bill on financial grounds has been extremely moderate. In fact, the financial provisions, I think, have obtained more support than criticism. But now, Sir, we come to the crucial question of voting. We have representatives here of the Congress Party. They have come bound by their instructions to oppose. I suppose nothing that could have transpired in this House would have altered their decision. No argument could have been effective. I have known my friend Mr. Ramadas Pantulu longer than I have known the Central Government. I have known him for his moderation in outlook and his reasonable spirit. I do not think he could have been a very happy man when he was discharging the task which was assigned to him. The Muslim League, I believe, have been given their instructions not to support this measure. Mr. Hossain Imam has a Resolution down tomorrow pleading for extraordinary measures for financing our war effort. I shall be interested to know how he can reconcile that with his orders to oppose orthodox methods of financing the war effort. I am not surprised that he found himself in a little bit of a fix. But I would apply my remarks particularly to those Honourable Members who have not come here merely to oppose but who have come here to listen to reason, who agree that war effort is essential, who recognize that it has to be paid for, but who say that their objection is against Government's attitude on the constitutional question—a gesture, a demonstration, a protest. I ask, Sir, in the light of the realities that I tried to stress when I began this speech, if the time is not a little late for protests and demonstrations? I ask if a protest of this kind at this particular juncture is not ill-timed and unfortunate? My friend the Honourable Sri Narain Mahtha said, "I am going to vote against this Bill; it will not be a vote against Hitlerism". I ask again: Can you vote with a caveat? Can you vote with a rider or an explanatory condition attached? A Member who votes against this Bill, Sir, is doing all that he can as a Member of this House in voting against our war effort, and, therefore, necessarily, he is doing all that lies in his power as a Member of this House and within this House in support of Hitlerism. Actions speak louder than words and they

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travel farther. Can you imagine German propaganda, for instance, which is pouring insidious poison into the minds of the dwellers of this land from end to end, pointing out that of the votes cast against this Bill for the purpose of refusing supplies for the war effort of the Government a certain number were specifically stated to be not in support of Hitlerism? We have heard much today of the defects and deficiencies of the past, of the sins of omission and commission of the Government in the years gone by. I would remind Honourable Members of the statement of that practical statesman, Mr. Winston Churchill, that if you seek to provoke a quarrel between the past and present, you stand in danger of losing the future. No man had more right to make an observation of that sort. I ask, Sir, how much nearer to the shores of India must these realities that I have been trying to stress come before we face realities? Was there not the same problem in Palestine? Did not divisions there run deep? Were not races and communities there so divided that they flew at each other's throats? But when the danger came near to the shores of Palestine, these mutually hostile communities sank their differences and they are now uniting in the war effort of their country against those forces which are equally odious to both. Must we wait until the war is actually within the frontiers of India before we can take an example from them? Would not the better course be to line up and lend the weight of our support—and united support—in these critical days to what is admitted on all sides to be a just and righteous cause? (Applause.)

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Motion moved :

"That the Bill to alter the maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, to increase the rates of the taxes on income imposed by the Indian Finance Act, 1940, by a surcharge for the purposes of the Central Government, and to increase the rate of super-tax payable by companies, in the form recommended by the Governor General, be taken into consideration."

Question put and Motion adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** We shall now proceed to the third reading and I have to request my Honourable friends that in the debate that may take place on the third reading they should strictly confine themselves to the provisions of this Bill. I have given them the widest latitude during the last three days. Every Member of this House who was desirous of speaking has expressed his views freely and frankly to the House and I do not think it is necessary that on the third reading of the Bill another debate should take place on the political, economic and administrative aspects of the policy of the Government of India or on questions connected with defence, supply, etc.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES :** Sir, I move :

"That the Bill, in the form recommended by the Governor General, be passed."

Question put : the Council divided :

AYES—27.

Bajpai, Hon. Sir Girja Shankar.	Lal, Hon. Mr. Shavax A.
Charanjit Singh, Hon. Raja.	Lloyd, Hon. Sir Alan.
Chinoy, Hon. Sir Rahimtoola.	Menon, Hon. Sir Ramunni.
Conran-Smith, Hon. Mr. E.	Muhammad Yakub, Hon. Sir.
Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.	Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.
Devadoes, Hon. Sir David.	Nihal Singh, Hon. Sirdar.
Dow, Hon. Mr. H.	Parker, Hon. Mr. R. H.
Ghosal, Hon. Sir Jona.	Patro, Hon. Sir. A. P.
Govindachari, Hon. Rao Bahadur K.	Richardson, Hon. Mr. H. J. S.
Haider, Hon. Khan Bahadur Shams-ud-Din.	Roy, Hon. Mr. S. N.
Hissamuddin Bahadur, Hon. Lt.-Col. Sir.	Sobha Singh, Hon. Sardar Bahadur.
Hydari, Hon. Mr. M. S. A.	Williams, Hon. Mr. A. deC.
Jones, Hon. Mr. C. E.	Wilson, Hon. Mr. L.
Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.	

NOES—11.

Chettiyar, Hon. Mr. Chidambaram.	Motilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.
Dalal, Hon. Mr. M. N.	Pantulu, Hon. Mr. Ramadas.
Das, Hon. Mr. N. K.	Ray Chaudhury, Hon. Mr. Kumarankar.
Kaliker, Hon. Mr. V. V.	Sapru, Hon. Mr. P. N.
Kunru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.	Yuveraj Datta Singh, Hon. Raja.
Mahtha, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.	

The Motion was adopted.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 29th November, 1940.