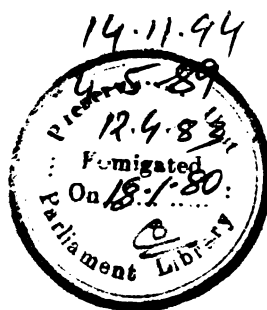


THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

Volume IV, 1940

(5th November to 18th November, 1940)

TWELFTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1940



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Saturday, 16th November, 1940.

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

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS TO THE SUBORDINATE AND SUPERIOR SERVICES OF THE STATE AND COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

80. *Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Will the Honourable the Railway Member please place on the table a statement showing:

- (a) the percentage of Indian Christians in the Subordinate Services in the State and Company-managed Railways to the total strength as it stood on the 31st March, 1938, the 31st March, 1939 and the 31st March, 1940 respectively;
- (b) the total number of direct recruits to the Subordinate Railway Service during the period 1st April, 1938 to 31st March, 1939 and the percentage of Indian Christian recruits to the total number so recruited;
- (c) the percentage of Indian Christians in the Superior Railway Services to the total strength as it stood on the 31st March, 1938, the 31st March, 1939 and the 31st March, 1940 in the State-managed and Company-managed Railways, respectively; and
- (d) the total number of direct recruits to the Superior Railway Services and the percentage of Indian Christians so recruited during the period 1st April, 1938 to 31st March, 1939 in the State and Company-managed Railways, respectively?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) and (c). I lay on the table a statement giving the particulars required.

(b) The numbers are 6,419 on the State-managed Railways and 3,692 on the Company-managed Railways. The percentages of Indian Christians are 2.01 and 5.88 respectively.

(d) The numbers are 14 on the State-managed Railways and 29 on the Company-managed Railways and the percentages of Indian Christians are 7.14 and nil respectively.

Statement showing the percentage of Indian Christians in the service of State and Company-managed Railways on the 31st March, 1938, 1939 and 1940.

Year.	Superior Services.		Subordinate Services.	
	State-managed Railways.	Company-managed Railways.	State-managed Railways.	Company-managed Railways.
1938	1.75	2.00	2.48	4.14
1939	1.93	2.13	2.42	4.38
1940	2.24	2.05*	2.80	4.44*

* Excluding Rohilkund and Kumaon Figures.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know if Anglo-Indians are included in the term "Christians"?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: No, Sir, not in this connection.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know what sort of Christians they are?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Indian Christians.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Are the Anglo-Indians also not Indian Christians?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not discuss that; they are not so included.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS TO THE SUBORDINATE AND SUPERIOR SERVICES OF THE STATE AND COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

81. *Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Will the Honourable the Railway Member be pleased to state whether in fixing the unreserved posts, selection is made by competition or by nomination, and, if the latter, what is the constitution of the Selection Board and whether there is any Indian Christian on the Board?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Unreserved vacancies in subordinate services are filled by Selection Boards which make use of examinations or other methods of selection. This work is not entrusted to a single Board but to a large number. There are no fixed rules for their constitution, but efforts are made to nominate officers belonging to minority communities to all Boards. This, however, is not always possible in practice and it is impossible in any case to include officers of all communities in every Board.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza: Is it not a fact, then, that Indian Christians, if they are not represented on the Selection Board, have very little chance of getting in if there is no examination held?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: No, Sir. I think that would be an aspersion on officers; they are not supposed to be swayed by communal considerations.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Why then in that case do they try to make the Board representative of the various communities?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Because a Board consisting of various communities is on the whole better able to judge than a Board confined to men of one community.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Who constitutes this Selection Board,—whether it is the Railway Board, or if not, then, who?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is not a question of a single Selection Board; as I have said, there is a large number of these Boards.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: How constituted?—by different Departments?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Yes, Sir, by different authorities.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Of the Railway Administration?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Normally.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: By the Railway Board?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Not as a rule.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Then, who constitute them?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: They are constituted within the Administration.

DISTANCES OF INDO-CHINA FROM BENGAL AND ASSAM.

82. *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: (a) Will the Foreign Secretary please state the distance of eastern borders of Bengal and Assam from the western borders of Indo-China?

(b) Is the border of Indo-China contiguous to that of Burma?

Mr. O. K. Garoe: (a) The Honourable Member can obtain the information from any map of India and adjacent countries.

(b) Yes.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know if Burma is within the bombing range of Japanese aeroplanes?

(No answer.)

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know whether Calcutta is within the bombing range of Japanese aeroplanes?

(No answer.)

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha: May I know if there are anti-aircraft guns on the Eastern Frontier?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): All that does not arise.

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha: There are anti-aircraft guns in Peshawar, and

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That question does not arise.

AVERTED ACCIDENT AT SALAP RAILWAY STATION.

83. ***Manvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state whether his attention has been drawn to the report that a railway accident was averted near Salap, as published in the *Amritabasar Patrika* of the 19th September, 1940?

(b) By what time was 27 Up Calcutta-Serajganj passenger train detained at Salap?

(c) Has any enquiry been made as to who removed nuts and bolts from rails, as reported by one intending passenger? Has the culprit been punished and has any reward been given to the informers?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) I have seen a copy of the report.

(b) Ten minutes.

(c) I am informed that preliminary police investigations indicate that this was not a genuine case of attempted derailment and that the police enquiry is being continued.

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF WORKS MISTRIES AS "LABOURERS" ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

84. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that prior to 1934, Works Mistries employed on the North Western Railway were classed as members of 'subordinate staff' and used to sign an agreement with the railway administration, as is done by other members of subordinate staff?

(b) What were the circumstances brought to light in 1935 which necessitated their re-classification as 'Labourers'?

(c) Is it a fact that the works mistries are entitled to Provident Fund benefits and till 1934-35, were entitled to leave privileges admissible to members of the subordinate staff?

(d) Is there any of the conditions besides those mentioned in part (c) above, which determine classification of staff as 'subordinate' or 'labour' service employees?

(e) Is it a fact that several other classes of inferior and labour service employees, such as Block Maintainers, Journeymen, Electricians and Firemen, have lately been classed as members of subordinate staff by the Railway Board?

(f) Is it a fact that the work mistries are not manual workers under the definition laid down in rule 2 (24) of the State Railway Establishment Code? If so, why are they classed as 'labourers'?

(g) Is it a fact that the power to classify staff as members of subordinate inferior or labour services, is vested in the Railway Board? If so, was the case of Works Mistries ever referred to the Railway Board by the North Western Railway administration, either on their relegation as labourers in 1934-35, or when they memorialized the local railway authorities? If not, why not?

(h) Is it proposed to reconsider their case? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Glow: (a) The answer to the first part is in the negative and to the latter part in the affirmative.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative and the latter in the negative.

(d) Yes.

(e) Yes, literate Journeymen, Block Maintainers and Electricians (grades I and II), but not Firemen.

(f) The reply to the first part is in the negative; the latter part does not arise.

(g) As General Managers are also empowered to classify staff on the Railways, the case of Works Mistries was not referred to the Railway Board; the latter part does not arise.

(h) Their re-classification has been considered on more than one occasion, but has been held to be unjustifiable.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if these Works Mistries do manual work?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Glow: They certainly supervise manual work.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if it is the criterion that the inferior services are those the members of which work with their own hands and do manual work, and that clerks and the others are subordinates?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Glow: It is not possible to draw any hard and fast line, but the division does correspond roughly with what the Honourable Member suggests.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member that other inferior services also—those who only supervise—are considered to be only labourers?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Glow: I am not prepared to say that these men only supervise.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Will the Honourable Member inform this House whether or not it is a fact that these Works Mistries were at one time considered as upper subordinates?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Glow: I do not think they were ever considered to be upper subordinates.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Will the Honourable Member please inquire into the records of the Railways concerned, where I believe they will find that they were treated as subordinates as compared with inferior servants?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: The Honourable Member's first question related to "upper" subordinates.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: That was a mistake, and I withdraw it, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: The Honourable Member will have to table a question about that. I have no information with me now about it.

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

SINKING OF THE STEAMER *KEMENDINE*.

85. *Mr. Lalchand Navarai: (a) Will the Secretary for External Affairs be pleased to state if the steamer *Kemendine* was sunk? If so, where and how?

(b) Is it a fact that the Government of India issued a notification by about 30th August, 1940, giving the names of some of the Sindhies who were on board the vessel, having got on from Gibraltar?

(c) Have Government since then got further information about this steamer and the casualties, and will the Honourable Member be pleased to place a statement on the table giving the names of all Indians, including Sindhies, who were on board and who were saved, also giving their present whereabouts?

Mr. O. K. Garoe: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Home Member.

PROMOTION OF TRAFFIC "PUPILS" AS TRAFFIC INSPECTORS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

86. *Mr. Lalchand Navarai: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please refer to the answer to starred question No. 181, asked by Dewan Chaman Lal in this House on the 5th September, 1929, in which it was admitted that the Traffic "Pupils" working in the North Western Railway, "were recruited with a view to eventual advancement to the posts of Traffic Inspectors if qualified", and state how many of them have been promoted as Traffic Inspectors during the last fourteen years?

(b) Is it a fact that these Traffic "Pupils" had received satisfactory reports from the officers under whom they worked?

(c) Is it a fact that these men possess educational and departmental qualifications equivalent to those recruited for the superior service of Transportation and Commercial branches?

(d) Is it a fact that some of them have been recommended by their Divisional Officers for the posts of Assistant Officers?

(e) Is it a fact that only the Muhammadan Traffic "Pupils" have been promoted as Traffic Inspectors, although the work of others was stated to be "Uniformly satisfactory" by the Agent?

(f) If the answer to part (e) above be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for this discrimination which is against their policy that promotions are not to be effected on a communal basis?

(g) Will Government be pleased to state the number of Traffic Inspectors in the North Western Railway, community-wise?

(h) Is it a fact that certain communities are very much under-represented as compared to the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans?

(i) What steps do Government propose to take in the matter in order to redress communal inequalities?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Two—one permanent and one officiating.

(b) and (d). I regret I cannot give any information regarding reports about individual members of the staff but I would refer the Honourable Member to paragraph 118 of Mr. D'Souza's report.

(c) Four of the staff concerned are graduates and the fifth has undergone training in England on the London, Midland and Scottish Railway for two years and a half. The departmental qualifications required of Superior Service Officers and Senior Subordinates are not comparable.

(e) The two Muslims among the candidates have been promoted as Traffic Inspectors, one permanent and the other officiating. Promotions to posts of Traffic Inspectors are made by selection of the most suitable staff and not on communal considerations.

(f) Does not arise.

(g) Europeans 23, Anglo-Indians five, Hindus four, Muslims six, Sikh one, Parsee one.

(h) Yes.

(i) None; promotion is not regulated by communal considerations.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member whether when these two appointments were made, they superseded the others?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: They may have, Sir; promotion is by selection, and not by seniority.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if any of them has risen to assistant officer's place?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: No, I do not know their subsequent career.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: With reference to part (h) of the question, certain communities are mentioned there. What are the communities?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: That surely is a matter for the Honourable Member asking the question, and not for me to explain.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The Honourable Member has replied to this question, and he must have understood what the question is, and what did he understand by "certain communities"?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I assumed that my Honourable friend was disturbed about the small proportion of Muslims!

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I know the mentality of Mr. Lalchand Navalrai very well: I ask, what did you understand by that?

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

PERMISSION TO BOY MESSENGERS ACTING AS PACKERS IN THE SIND AND BALUCHISTAN POSTAL CIRCLE TO APPEAR FOR CLERICAL EXAMINATIONS.

87. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some Boy Messengers, acting as Packers in the Sind and Baluchistan Circle of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, were permitted to sit for a clerical examination? If so, what are the rules regarding admission of such low-paid employees for recruitment or promotion as clerks?

(b) Is it a fact that, in the first result, they were declared to have failed?

(c) Is it a fact that a supplementary result was declared for these men and they were passed? If so, why?

(d) What is the provision in the rules for declaring a supplementary result? If there is no provision in the rules, do Government propose to declare the supplementary results as null and void? If not, is it proposed to take action for wrong declaration of the results in the first instance? If not, why not?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: (a) One Boy-messenger was permitted to sit for the examination held on the 3rd December, 1939. The rules regarding admission to the examination provide that departmental employees with five years' substantive and unblemished service may appear at the examination.

(b) The departmental employee referred to above was in the first instance not declared to have passed.

(c) On a review of the results of the examination held on the 3rd December, 1939, Government came to the conclusion that the question papers were of a somewhat stiffer character and the standard for marking adopted was stricter than usual and they, therefore, decided to lower for this particular examination the percentage of marks required for passing. Consequently, a supplementary result was declared and a number of candidates including the departmental employee mentioned in part (a) of the question, who in the first instance had not been declared to have been successful, were declared to have passed.

(d) The reply to the first three parts of the question is in the negative; as regards the last part I refer the Honourable Member to the reply I have given to part (c) of his question.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know if these supplementary examinations are held as a general rule, or it was only done in this particular case?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: It was not a supplementary examination: it was a supplementary result.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: But the result must have been arrived at by holding another examination, or was the result declared without any further examination?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: The result was declared without any further examination. As I have explained, the percentage of marks required for passing was reduced in this particular case as an exception for the reasons which I have mentioned in the reply.

APPOINTMENT OF UNQUALIFIED PERSONS IN THE SIND AND BALUCHISTAN POSTAL CIRCLE.

88. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state whether it is a fact that some unqualified persons not having passed the requisite departmental examination, have been appointed in the Sind and Baluchistan Circle of the Posts and Telegraphs since 1937? If so, will the Honourable Member please place a complete list of such persons on the table of the House?

(b) Is it a fact that some of them have also been confirmed in their appointments? If so, will the Honourable Member please state the circumstances under which they were confirmed?

(c) Is it a fact that some candidates who passed the Departmental examination for recruitment in 1937 and 1938, are still awaiting appointments? If so, will the Honourable Member please refer to the office memorandum No. B-29, dated the 23rd July, 1940, issued by the Postmaster, Karachi, with the approval of the Director, Sind and Baluchistan Circle, and the Director-General, New Delhi, and state why candidates who qualified themselves before 15th September, 1939, have been ignored in the matter of appointment and new recruits given preference, in spite of definite orders to the contrary in the Post Master, Karachi's memorandum referred to above?

(d) Do Government propose that the orders mentioned in part (c) be carried out? If not, why not?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: (a) Yes. Their names are (1) Fida Hussain, (2) Ali Ashgar, (3) Habib A. Rahman, (4) Ashgar Hussein Sherwani, (5) Jiaud Lalbux and (6) S. C. Alridge.

(b) Yes; three of these officials have been provided permanently. Orders were issued last year that permanent provision should be made for all these six unqualified candidates, as a special case, in vacancies reserved for the communities to which they belong in consideration of the fact that they had been acting in the appointments allotted to them before the examination system was introduced.

(c) All candidates who passed the departmental examinations for recruitment held in 1937 and 1938 are now employed but some are still on a temporary basis. Candidates who qualified prior to the 15th of September, 1939, remain without permanent appointments only in the Karachi General Post Office and in the Circle Office. The reason is that in certain recruiting units candidates of minority communities who qualified in the examination held after the 15th of September, 1939, were appointed prior

to those who had qualified before that date in vacancies reserved for those communities. Orders were, however, issued in July last to ensure that all candidates who qualified in the 1937 and 1938 examinations should receive appointments before those who qualified in the 1939 examination. The letter of the Postmaster, Karachi, dated the 23rd of July, 1940, was issued in pursuance of those orders and since their issue no candidate approved after the 15th of September, 1939, has been given preference over those who qualified earlier, whether for a permanent or a temporary vacancy.

(d) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative and the latter part does not arise.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: When these six unqualified persons were given appointments, may I ask whether at that time there was a rule or not that only qualified candidates will be taken?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: There was such a rule at that time, but this is an exception, and I have given the reasons for it.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Was there any exception made in the case of the Hindus also? Practically, all the names mentioned by the Honourable Member are of Muhammadans.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: As I have mentioned in the reply, these men were provided in the vacancies reserved for these communities.

OFFICERS AND MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT WHO MOVED UP TO SIMLA LAST SUMMER AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN THE MOVE.

89. *Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Secretary for External Affairs please state:

- (i) the number of Superintendents, Assistants and clerks of his Department who moved up to Simla with the Government of India camp offices in April 1940;
- (ii) the number of officers who accompanied the camp office to Simla;
- (iii) the number of Superintendents, Assistants and clerks who were called up in each month during last summer to Simla and the period for which they were called and why;
- (iv) the number of staff and the officers, separately, who were required to attend duties at Simla and New Delhi, and how many times each went to Simla, and what was the period of his stay on each occasion; and
- (v) the total cost on account of the last move from and to New Delhi of his Department under the following heads:
 - (1) travelling allowance, etc.;
 - (2) house-rent allowance;
 - (3) daily allowance; and
 - (4) all other expenditure in this connection?

(b) What efforts do Government propose to make to curtail the expenditure on account of the move of the camp office of this Department?

Superintendents	3
Assistants	20
Clerks	19

Superintendent	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Assistants	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Clerks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3

- (1) Rs. 16,340.
- (2) Rs. 18,100
- (3) Rs. 250.
- (4) Rs. 3,200.

Mr. O. K. Garoe: A substantial saving has certainly been made.

Mr. T. S. Avinashlingam Chettiar: What is the amount of the saving?

Mr. O. K. Caroe: I am afraid I have not got the figures in my head.

CONFERENCES, COMMITTEES OR SUB-COMMITTEES HELD AT SIMLA LAST SUMMER UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT.

90. *Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Secretary for External Affairs please state:

- (a) the names of the different conferences, committees or sub-committees held at Simla during the last summer season under the control of his Department;
- (b) the name of the chairman or presidents of each of such committees, etc.;
- (c) the names of Government Members stationed at Simla and who were required to attend such conferences, etc.;
- (d) the number of members who came to Simla from outside to attend the meetings of such conferences, etc., and the total cost on account of their travelling and other charges paid by Government;
- (e) the number of ministerial staff sent for from New Delhi to attend to the requirements of such conferences, etc., and the expenditure on their travelling, etc., and other charges;
- (f) the savings in each case if the meetings of these conferences, etc., had been held at New Delhi;
- (g) the reasons for holding each of these conferences, etc., at Simla and for incurring expenditure on account of payment of travelling allowance and other charges to the members who came to attend from outside; and
- (h) whether he proposes to curtail the expenditure on account of all of these conferences, etc., by holding their meetings at New Delhi instead of Simla in future; if not, why not?

Mr. O. K. Caroe: (a) No conference, committees, or sub-committees were held at Simla during the last summer season under the control of the External Affairs Department.

(b) to (h). Do not, therefore, arise.

***OFFICERS AND MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT WHO MOVED UP TO SIMLA LAST SUMMER AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN THE MOVE.**

91. *Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (i) the number of Superintendents, Assistants and clerks of his Department who moved up to Simla with the Government of India camp offices in April 1940;

- (b) The expenditure will continue to be restricted to the minimum necessary for the efficient performance of the work of the Board.

Statement.

(i) Railway Board—							
Superintendents . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>Nil.</i>
Assistants . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	8
Clerks . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
Stenographers . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	18
Central Standards Office for Railways—							
Superintendents . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>Nil.</i>
Assistants . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>Nil.</i>
Clerks . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Stenographers . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Drawing Office Staff . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	20
(ii) Railway Board							
Central Standards Office for Railways . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
	.	.	.	.	.	.	5

(iii) Railway Board—

Month.	No.	Designation.	Period.	Reason.
			Day(s).	
May 1940 . . .	1	Assistant . . .	20	To prepare Rolling Stock programme.
June 1940 . . .	1	Ditto . . .	26	Ditto.
	1	Clerk . . .	4	Checking of Office furniture.
July 1940 . . .	1	Superintendent . . .	9	Discussion of cases with the Director of establishment.
	1	Assistant . . .	10	In connection with war work.
	1	Senior Accountant . . .	7	Discussion of cases with Deputy Director of Finance.
	1	Cashier . . .	8	Discussion of case regarding reorganisation in the Railway Board's office with Secretary.
	1	Clerk . . .	4	Payment of bills.
	1	Ditto . . .	2	With urgent papers.
	1	Ditto . . .	2	Ditto.
August 1940 . . .	1	Stenographer . . .	1	With confidential papers.
	1	Superintendent . . .	1	Discussion of cases with Director of Traffic.
	1	Assistant . . .	5	Discussion of recruitment rules with Director of Establishment.
	1	Ditto . . .	3	To obtain urgent information from Army Headquarters.
	1	Ditto . . .	7	Discussion of cases with Deputy Director of Finance.
	1	Clerk . . .	4	Payment of bills.
	1	Ditto . . .	2	With immediate papers.
	1	Ditto . . .	10	Work in connection with the Public Accounts Committee meeting.
September 1940 . . .	1	Superintendent . . .	3	To discuss Revised Establishment Code with Officer on Special Duty.
	1	Assistant . . .	5	Discussion of cases with the Director of Establishment.
	1	Clerk . . .	3	Payment of bills.
	1	Stenographer . . .	2	To attend departmental enquiry.
October 1940 . . .	1	Clerk . . .	4	Arrangements for move of office.
<i>Central Standards Office for Railways.</i>				
June 1940 . . .	1	Inspector . . .	1	Discussion of cases.
September 1940 . . .	1	Assistant . . .	4	In connection with the meeting of Indian Railway Conference Association.

(iv) Railway Board—

Simla . . . 17 officers and 32 members of the staff.

New Delhi . . . 4 officers and 122 members of the staff.

Central standard office for Railways—

Simla . . . 5 officers and 25 members of the staff.

New Delhi . . . 4 officers and 43 members of the staff.

With regard to non-gazetted staff, the Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to part (a) (iii) above. The information regarding gazetted officers is as follows:

Railway Board—

One officer thrice for 5, 2 and 4 days respectively.

One officer once for 2 days.

One officer twice for 2 days and 1 day respectively.

One officer once for 1 day.

Central Standards Office for Railways—

One officer four times for 4, 3, 5 and 8 days respectively.

One officer eight times for 10, 12, 10, 6, 21, 2, 7 and 3 days respectively.

One officer four times for 1, 5, 1 and 7 days respectively.

One officer twice for 7 days and 1 day respectively.

(v)

	Railway Board.	Central Standards Office for Railways.
	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Travelling allowance	13,485	8,057
(2) House Rent allowance	9,486	8,250
(3) Daily allowance	824	650
(4) Carriage of Records	1,966	1,107
*(5) Transit charges of daily dak	5,154	1,400
(6) Rent of telephones	3,292	810
*(7) Telephone Trunk calls	2,958	420
*(8) Rent of office accommodation	12,000	7,000
Total	49,165	27,694

*Amounts shown against these items are approximate, as final bills have not yet been received.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I ask whether there was any saving in the new departure from the old practice of moving the whole staff to Simla?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Yes, Sir.

Sardar Sant Singh: What was the saving as compared to the previous year?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I am afraid the Honourable Member will have to table a question. I cannot give him reliable figures.

CONFERENCES, COMMITTEES OR SUB-COMMITTEES HELD AT SIMLA LAST SUMMER UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

92. *Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) the names of the different conferences, committees or sub-committees held at Simla during the last summer season under the control of his Department;
- (b) the name of the chairman or presidents of each of such committees, etc.;
- (c) the names of Government Members stationed at Simla and who were required to attend such conferences, etc.;
- (d) the number of members who came to Simla from outside to attend the meetings of such conferences, etc., and the total cost on account of their travelling and other charges paid by Government;
- (e) the number of ministerial staff sent for from New Delhi to attend to the requirements of such conferences, etc., and the expenditure on their travelling, etc., and other charges;
- (f) the savings in each case if the meetings of these conferences, etc., had been held at New Delhi;
- (g) the reasons for holding each of these conferences, etc., at Simla and for incurring expenditure on account of payment of travelling allowance and other charges to the members who came to attend from outside; and
- (h) whether he proposes to curtail the expenditure on account of all of these conferences, etc., by holding their meetings at New Delhi instead of Simla in future; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) to (g). I place a statement on the table giving the information required by the Honourable Member.

(h) No. The Government servants concerned with such meetings have other duties also to attend to, and in the absence of special reasons to the contrary in connection with any particular meeting, it is in the public interest that such meeting should ordinarily be held at the headquarters of Government.

Statement.

[illegible]

B

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: May I ask if the answer to clause (a) is very long, and, therefore, it cannot be read?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is rather complicated and has too many columns.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: How many columns are there? How many Conferences were held?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Two Conferences were held. One was the meeting of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways, and the other was a meeting of certain Engineers.

OFFICERS AND MINISTERIAL STAFF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS AND ITS ATTACHED AND SUBORDINATE OFFICES WHO MOVED UP TO SIMLA LAST SUMMER AND EXPENDITURE INCURRED IN THE MOVE.

93. *Sardar Sant Singh: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state:

- (i) the number of Superintendents, Assistants and clerks of his Department and attached or subordinate offices who moved up to Simla with the Government of India camp offices in April 1940;
- (ii) the number of officers who accompanied the camp office to Simla;
- (iii) the number of Superintendents, Assistants and clerks who were called up in each month during last summer to Simla and the period for which they were called and why;
- (iv) the number of staff and the officers, separately, who were required to attend duties at Simla and New Delhi, and how many times each went to Simla, and what was the period of his stay on each occasion; and
- (v) the total cost on account of the last move from and to New Delhi of his Department under the following heads:
 - (1) travelling allowance, etc.;
 - (2) house-rent allowance;
 - (3) daily allowance; and
 - (4) all other expenditure in this connection?

(b) What efforts do Government propose to make to curtail the expenditure on account of the move of the camp office of this Department?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) (i) Two Superintendents, seven Assistants, 16 clerks and 11 stenographers.

(ii) Ten.

(iii), (iv) and (v). Information is being collected and will be laid on the table shortly.

(b) The expenditure will continue to be restricted to the minimum necessary for the efficient performance of the work of the department.

CONFERENCES, COMMITTEES OR SUB-COMMITTEES HELD AT SIMLA LAST SUMMER UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS.

†94. *Sardar Sant Singh: Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state:

- (a) the names of the different conferences, committees or sub-committees held at Simla during the last summer season under the control of his Department;
- (b) the name of the chairman or presidents of each of such committees, etc.;
- (c) the names of Government Members stationed at Simla and who were required to attend such conferences, etc.;
- (d) the number of members who came to Simla from outside to attend the meetings of such conferences, etc., and the total cost on account of their travelling and other charges paid by Government;
- (e) the number of ministerial staff sent for from New Delhi to attend to the requirements of such conferences, etc., and the expenditure on their travelling, etc., and other charges;
- (f) the savings in each case if the meetings of these conferences, etc., had been held at New Delhi;
- (g) the reasons for holding each on these conferences, etc., at Simla and for incurring expenditure on account of payment of travelling allowance and other charges to the members who came to attend from outside; and
- (h) whether he proposes to curtail the expenditure on account of all of these conferences, etc., by holding their meetings at New Delhi instead of Simla in future; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) One, for considering wartime meteorological facilities.

(b) and (c). The Conference was conducted by the Secretary, Department of Communications and was attended by the Financial Adviser and Assistant Financial Adviser, Communications, the Director of Civil Aviation, the Under Secretary, Department of Communications, and four officers from Air Headquarters.

(d) Two officers whose headquarters are at Poona. The expenditure on account of their travelling allowance was approximately Rs. 650.

(e) Nil.

(f) and (g). There would have been no saving but additional expenditure if the Conference had been held at New Delhi at the time it was required.

(h) Does not arise.

PROVISION OF A CHANNEL FOR PROMOTION OF MARKERS TO SUBORDINATE SERVICE POSTS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

†95. *Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a channel for promotion is provided for inferior and labour

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner having exhausted his quota.

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

staff on the North Western Railway in the categories of Shed Cleaners, Works Mistries and other Mistries to subordinate service posts as Firemen, Sub-Inspectors of Works and Journeymen, respectively?

(b) Is it a fact that direct recruitment is also made in subordinate service posts referred to in part (a) above?

(c) Is it a fact that no channel for direct promotion is provided for Markers as Goods Clerks to which posts direct recruitment is made? If so, what is the reason for this differential treatment for categories of staff referred to in part (a) and the Markers?

(d) Is it a fact that in the matter of promotion of Markers as Goods Clerks, etc., 60 per cent. of such promotions would go to Muslims?

(e) What steps do Government propose to take to provide some channel for promotion of Markers to subordinate service posts? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, in most of them.

(c) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative, as regards the latter part, I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to part (b) of Kunwar Hajee Ismaiel Ali Khan's question No. 106 on the 15th February, 1940.

(d) Not necessarily.

(e) None. I would refer the Honourable Member to the latter part of part (c) of the question.

STEPS FOR RELIEVING THE HARDSHIPS DUE TO BLOCK ON GRADE I ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

†96. *Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban: (a) With reference to the Honourable Member's assurance given in his speeches on the 24th and 26th February, 1940, to take steps to relieve hardship due to block on grade I, on the North Western Railway, will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state what steps have since been taken to achieve this?

(b) If some orders were issued by the Railway Board, will the Honourable Member please lay a copy of the same on the table of the House?

(c) If no orders have been issued, what steps are being taken to expedite their issue? If none, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) I assume that the question relates to clerks in Divisional and other offices. If so, the answer is that the matter is still under examination.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

MUSLIMS SELECTED FOR DIRECT RECRUITMENT TO CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF APPOINTMENTS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

†97. *Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the number

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

of Muslims selected on the North Western Railway in 1940, by direct recruitment in the following categories:

- (i) Permanent Way Inspectors,
- (ii) Inspectors of Works,
- (iii) Sub-Inspectors of Works,
- (iv) Assistant Way Inspectors,
- (v) Station Masters' Group Students, and
- (vi) Commercial Group students?

(b) How many of the candidates so selected were Sindhis? If the number was insignificant, what steps do Government propose to take to ensure recruitment of Sindhi Muslims to railway service? If none, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) A statement is laid on the table giving the required information.

(b) Government have no particulars of the province of origin of these men. Recruitment is not made on a territorial basis, and Government do not contemplate the introduction of such a system as they do not believe it would be in the public interest.

Statement showing the number of Muslim employees recruited direct on the North Western Railway in the various categories shown below during 1940.

Serial No.	Category of Staff.	No. of Muslim employees recruited.
1	Permanent Way Inspectors	Nil.
2	Inspectors of Works	2
3	* Assistant Inspectors of Works	Nil.
4	Assistant Way Inspectors	4
5	Station Masters Group Students	130
6	Commercial Group Students	79

* The correct designation is Assistant Inspectors of Works and not Sub-Inspectors of Works.

MUSLIMS IN CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF APPOINTMENTS OFFICIATING AGAINST PERMANENT VACANCIES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

†98. ***Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state how many (i) Assistant Station Masters, grade IV or V, (ii) Assistant Controllers, and (iii) Loco. Inspectors, are officiating against permanent vacancies on the North Western Railway, and how many of them in each category are Muslims?

(b) Why are they not being confirmed?

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

(c) Is it a fact that officiating service, if continuous in the grade, counts towards probationary period of twelve months? If so, will the persons referred to in part (a), who have put in twelve months' continuous officiating service, be confirmed? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) Five men in each of the categories of Assistant Station Master, Grade IV, Assistant Controller and Loco. Inspector are at present officiating against permanent vacancies. One of these, an Assistant Station Master, is a Muslim.

(b) The confirmation of these Assistant Station Masters, Grade IV and Assistant Controller is under consideration. It is not proposed to fill the five vacancies of Loco. Inspectors permanently for the present.

(c) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to part (b). The last part does not arise.

MUSLIM OFFICERS EMPLOYED BY THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

99. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (on behalf of Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait): (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state the number of officers employed by the Calcutta Port Trust? How many of them are Mussalmans?

(b) How many recruitments were made in the officers' grade from 1924? How many of them were Muslims?

(c) Did Government fix any quota for Muslims? If not, why not?

(d) What percentage have Government fixed for Bengal where the Muslim population is about 54 per cent.?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) and (b). The information is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

(c) No. The power to fill appointments under the Calcutta Port Commissioners, except in the case of a small number of high posts, vests by law in the Commissioners themselves, their Chairman or Deputy Chairman.

(d) The percentages fixed for the central services in Bengal which are under the control of the Government of India are not uniform but differ for the different services.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: With reference to part (a), since the appointments are very few, it should not take a long time to collect the information?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I have not yet received the information from the Calcutta Port Trust. I am getting it. I have got to refer to Calcutta for this; the other answers could be collected here.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SPECIAL TRAINING GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA OR THE CALCUTTA PORT TRUST.

100. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (on behalf of Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait): (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state

whether it is a fact that the Government of India or the Calcutta Port Trust help some candidates for a special training by giving them scholarships?

(b) Was any scholarship ever given to a Muslim? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: (a) and (b). The information asked for by the Honourable Member so far as it relates to the Calcutta Port Commissioners has been called for and will be laid on the table when received. As far as the Government of India are concerned, the latter part of the question should have been addressed to the Secretary in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, but I believe that the answer to both parts is in the affirmative.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: With reference to part (b), the Honourable Member says he believes the answer is in the affirmative. But I can assure him, it is in the negative.

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: The Honourable Member had better table a question directly to the Secretary of the Department of Education, Health and Lands.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: He believes that it is in the affirmative, but I am sure it is in the negative.

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: I have given this reply after a reference to the Secretary of the Department of Education, Health and Lands. If the Honourable Member wants a more detailed reply, he must table a question.

ALLEGED RUDE BEHAVIOUR OF THE QUETTA RAILWAY STATION OFFICIALS AT THE WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE BALUCHISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE SESSION.

101. ***Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad** (on behalf of Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait): (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether he received a resolution passed by the annual session of the Baluchistan Muslim League held at Quetta on 26th/28th July, 1940?

(b) Has the Honourable Member made enquiries in regard to the complaint made therein that the Railway officials behaved very rudely towards the gentlemen gathered at the Quetta Railway station to welcome the President-elect, Nawabzada Liyaqat Ali Khan?

(c) Is it a fact that on the previous day, i.e., the 25th July, there was a big gathering at the Quetta Station to welcome Lala Khusalchand, an Arya Samajist leader, when thousands of persons were allowed to enter the platform without platform tickets, and that even volunteers with *rathis* were freely allowed on the platform, while the very next day, i.e., the 26th, not only were no such facilities given to the Muslim Leaguers but they were actually insulted by Railway officials and by Police officials to such an extent that they had to retire from the platform and, when the President-elect arrived at the station, there was none to receive him?

(d) What action did the Honourable Member take in this matter?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) I am informed that no limitation was placed on the sale of platform tickets to a large number of people admitted to the platform on the 25th July. It is not a fact that thousands of persons were allowed to enter without platform tickets.

On the 26th, at the request of the Police, the sale of platform tickets to the Reception Committee was limited to 30 and, when informed of this, the Committee decided that no one should go to the platform.

(d) The General Manager, North Western Railway, has been asked to issue instructions to Divisions to give Reception Committees prior notice of any intention to limit the sale of platform tickets.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Why was this differentiation made as mentioned in parts (b) and (c), that no persons were allowed to receive the President of the Muslim League, whereas nobody was prevented from entering the platform to receive Lala Khusalchand?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: It is not the case that no one was allowed to receive the President of the Muslim League. A limited number of persons was allowed. A change was made at the request of the Police, possibly as a result of the experience gained on the first occasion.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: May I know the number of platform tickets that were sold on the first occasion when Lala Khusalchand was received at the station?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: I have not got the figures here.

DESIRABILITY OF UNIFORMITY AS TO THE INDIAN CATERING SYSTEM ON ALL INDIAN RAILWAYS.

102. *Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if the Indian catering system and the rules in respect of it are uniform on all the Indian Railways, including the Company-managed ones?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the negative, will the Honourable Member please state whether Government are prepared to take steps to make the Indian catering system uniform on all the Indian Railways, including the Assam Bengal Railway?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: (a) No.

(b) No. Apart from the fact that it is very doubtful whether one uniform catering system is desirable throughout India, Government are not in a position to issue instructions to Company-managed Railways regarding their catering systems.

Mr. Kuladhar Chahla: Is it a fact that one has to deposit the price of the bottle with the stall vendor before one can get an aerated water bottle?

The Honourable Sir Andrew GLOW: I am not aware of that, but I am willing to take it from the Honourable Member.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Does the Honourable Member mean that the rules in respect of catering arrangements are not uniform on all the Indian Railways?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Yes, Sir. One railway, for example, does its own catering arrangements.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: In cases in which contracts are given for catering, may I know if the catering rules are uniform for all the railways?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think they are uniform.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Will Government consider the advisability of putting catering and other things on a uniform basis over all the railways?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: If the Honourable Member had listened to the reply I gave to part (b) of the question, he would have found an answer to that.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I know if the Railway Board does not exercise any control over the Company-managed Railways in respect of catering?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: No, Sir.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What, no control?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: That is a matter for the railway administration concerned.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: May I know why uniformity is not advisable?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think in a great country like India, in this and many other matters, uniformity is at all desirable. By having certain varieties, you gain experience and thus meet the differing needs of different parts of the country.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: I want uniformity of rules of catering, that is rules and regulations should be uniform, I do not mean uniformity of food.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think uniformity of any system is desirable. One company manages its own catering.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Is it not a fact that the rules framed by the Central Advisory Committee are binding on the State Railways as also on the Company-managed Railways?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is the other way about. The recommendations made by that Committee were embodied in the instructions issued by the Railway Board, which have to be followed by the State Railways. The Company-managed Railways are not obliged to follow those rules.

RENT RECEIVED FROM INDIAN STALLS BY THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

103. *Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee: Will the Honourable the Railway Member be pleased to lay on the table of this House a statement showing the amounts received by the Assam Bengal Railway Company as rent from the Indian stalls from the year 1930 up to 31st March, 1940?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Contracts for vending at stations on the Assam Bengal Railway do not specify the amount of rent separately. But as I assume that the Honourable Member desires to know the total receipts from the vending contracts for stalls, I shall endeavour to secure this information for the three years ending the 31st March, 1940.

INDIAN CATERING MADE A SOURCE OF INCOME ON THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

104. *Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member be pleased to state the object or objects for which Indian catering is maintained by the Assam Bengal Railway Company?

(b) Is the Indian catering on the Assam Bengal Railway looked upon and treated as a source of income to the Assam Bengal Railway Company?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member please state whether Government are prepared to take necessary steps in the interest of the travelling public to allow the Indian catering system on the Assam Bengal Railway the same privileges and advantages as are enjoyed by the European refreshment rooms?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) The main object of providing Indian catering is to meet needs of Indian passengers.

(b) I understand that some income is derived from it.

(c) This is a matter within the competence of the Company; it is not always possible to secure suitable contractors for the two types of catering on identical terms.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Is the Honourable Member aware that on the Company-managed Railways there is a licence fee and there is also a stall fee?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I am not familiar with the details of the contract for catering on Company-managed Railways.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE INDIAN CATERING SYSTEM OF THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

105. *Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state whether the Assam Bengal Railway Company has effected any change or improvement in the Indian catering system of that Railway according to the advice of the Central Advisory Council for Railways or otherwise after the meeting of this Assembly in April, 1939?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member please state what those changes and improvements are?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I have called for the information and will lay a reply on the table of the House.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

EXCLUSION OF NON-MUSLIMS FROM PROMOTIONS AS JOURNEYMEN LATELY MADE ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

43. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways, be pleased to state whether some promotions were lately made on the North Western Railway to the Journeymen's posts?

(b) Is it a fact that the North Western Railway Headquarters office asked Divisions to recommend only Muslims? If so, why were other communities excluded from promotion to these posts?

(c) What is the total number of promotions made to journeymen from 1st January, 1939, to date and how many belonged to each community?

(d) What steps does the Honourable Member propose to take to ensure that members of communities other than the Muslim community are not debarred from promotion in the manner referred to in part (b) above? If none, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, but this was done in order to make up the Muslim quota; the other communities have not been excluded.

(c) 16; nine Muslims, two Hindus, three Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans, two Indian Christians.

(d) As no community is debarred from recruitment this does not arise.

FILLING UP OF CERTAIN VACANCIES OF CLERKS RECENTLY OCCURRING IN THE KARACHI DIVISIONAL OFFICE OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

44. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a Division on the North Western Railway forms an independent circle or unit for recruitment of clerical staff in the Divisional offices, especially in grade I, for which no second or final Selection Board is held at the North Western Railway Headquarters office, Lahore?

(b) Is it a fact that recently certain vacancies of clerks in the Karachi Divisional office were advertised and applications from suitable candidates of the community for which the vacancies were reserved were not received?

(c) Is it a fact that some persons belonging to the unreserved communities were appointed to these posts, but they were soon discharged and candidates selected by other Divisions and also the North Western Railway Headquarters office, were appointed to these posts? If so, why?

(d) Why were the provisions of the Government of India, Home Department Office Memorandum bearing No. 14/13/38-Ests.(S), dated 15th July, 1938, not applied in this case?

(e) Have the provisions of the order referred to in part (d) ever been applied on the North Western Railway? If so, when and in which cases?

(f) Is it a fact that candidates are taken from anywhere to a circle? If so, why? Is the Honourable Member prepared to take steps to stop importations and to ensure the strict observance of the Office Memorandum referred to in part (d)? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Yes, ordinarily. There is, however, no prohibition against a vacancy being filled up by a Divisional Superintendent by taking a clerk from another division or the Headquarters Office if available.

(b) I understand that this is not the case.

(c) I am informed that the answer to the first part is in the negative; the second part does not arise.

(d) Does not arise.

(e) Yes, in cases such as Journeymen, Station Masters, Commercial Group Students, Guards, Sub-Assistant Surgeons, etc. I have no particulars of the dates.

(f) Yes, if the circumstances so warrant. Recruitment is not conducted on a territorial basis, and there is nothing in the orders to which the Honourable Member has referred which requires that it should be so conducted.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE TO THE CHILDREN OF EMPLOYEES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

45. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) With reference to the Honourable the Railway Member's answer to parts (c) and (e) of starred question No. 54, asked on 9th February, 1940, stating that in the matter of grant of educational assistance to children of railway employees, there was no question of distance but convenience, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether orders have been issued on the subject of interpretation of the relevant rule regarding conditions of distance and convenience? If so, from which date do they come in force?

(b) Is it a fact that some of the railways propose to apply this amplified interpretation to cases of educational assistance, occurring after 16th February, 1940? If so, why?

(c) Is it a fact that several employees were told on the North Western Railway that the matter referred to in part (b) was under correspondence and their bills would be pending till the disposal of the reference? Do Government propose to give relief in regard to their pending claims? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) and (b). Orders on the subject were issued on the 16th February, 1940. These orders did not involve a mere interpretation of the previous orders on the point, but their revision. They, therefore, came into force from the date of issue in accordance with para. 2045 (2) of State Railway General Code, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

(c) Government have no information but the claims of staff will be dealt with in accordance with the answer to parts (a) and (b) of the question.

PUBLICATION OF A CLASSIFIED LIST OF A CERTAIN CLASS OF SUBORDINATE STAFF OF ALL BRANCHES OF RAILWAY SERVICES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

46. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether a classified list of the subordinate staff of all branches of railway service on the North Western Railway in receipt of Rs. 250 and over or in the scale of pay rising to Rs. 250 and over, is published annually?

(b) If the reply to part (a) above be in the affirmative, is the book on sale? If so, what is its price and from where is it obtainable?

(c) If the classified list is not on sale, do Government propose to issue instructions that these books should be put on sale to the employees at least? If not, why not?

(d) Is the seniority of each category of staff whose names and particulars of service are published in the classified list of the subordinate staff given therein? If not, why not?

(e) Do Government propose to issue instructions that the information referred to in part (d) above be given in the classified list? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) Yes.

(b) The answer to the first part is in the negative, the latter part does not arise.

(c) The question of discontinuing the printing of these lists is under examination; if they continue to be printed, the question of permitting the staff to purchase copies will be considered.

(d) and (e). No; because the list is not drawn up for the purpose of exhibiting seniority and seniority lists are separately maintained.

DISCHARGE OF CERTAIN WORKS MISTRIES IN THE RAWALPINDI DIVISION OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY ON COMMUNAL GROUNDS.

47. Mr. Nalchand Navalsrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether Works Mistries are appointed on the North Western Railway in officiating capacity or against temporary vacancies or on special works?

(b) Is it a fact that for the purpose of reckoning seniority for confirmation, the total officiating service is the determining factor?

(c) Is it a fact that some Works Mistries appointed in 1932 and after in the Rawalpindi division, in capacities mentioned in part (a) have now been discharged, on the ground that communal reservation had to be applied to their posts?

(d) Since the Government of India, Home Department Resolution, dated 4th July, 1934, on the reservation of appointments for minority communities was issued after the appointment of the Works Mistries referred to in part (c), can it have retrospective effect? If so, will the Honourable Member please refer to specific provision on the point in the Resolution? If there is no specific provision to give it retrospective effect, why have the Works Mistries with long terms of service been discharged on communal grounds to make room for short-term employees?

(e) Does the Honourable Member propose to review such cases? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) This depends on the nature of the vacancy against which the appointment is made.

(b) No.

(c) No person holding any such permanent appointment was discharged on this ground.

(d) The answer to the first part is in the negative; the latter part does not arise.

(e) Does not arise.

TRANSFERS OF NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY AND THE DELHI DIVISION OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

48. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to Rule 125 of the State Railway Establishment Code and lay on the table of this House a statement showing:

- (a) the number of non-gazetted railway servants transferred since 1st January, 1938, from one post to another otherwise than on account of inefficiency, misbehaviour or on a written request on Moradabad Division of the East Indian Railway and the Delhi Division of the North Western Railway, separately;
- (b) designation of the officer who has exercised the powers of the Railway Board delegated to heads of departments (Appendix XXXIII of the said Code) in respect of those transfers;
- (c) non-gazetted railway servants transferred since 1st January, 1938, from one post to another on account of inefficiency, misbehaviour and on a written request separately on those Divisions; and
- (d) the rule and procedure adopted in respect of transfers made under part (c) of the question and the authority who ordered the said transfers?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a), (b), (c) and (d). I regret that I cannot undertake the research necessary to secure these particulars. Transfers are matters of day to day administration of which statistics are not maintained. It should be pointed out, however, that paragraph 125 of the Code did not correctly represent the position, and was to some extent inconsistent with paragraph 721. This inconsistency is being removed in the revised Code, which will make it clear that the power to transfer officials can be re-delegated.

PRIOR SANCTIONS BY THE RAILWAY BOARD TO REVISIONS OF SCALES OF PAYS AFFECTING A WHOLE CLASS OR GRADE OF EMPLOYEES ON CERTAIN STATE RAILWAYS.

49. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to Rule 168 (2) (a) of the State Railway Establishment Code and lay on the table of this House a statement of the prior sanctions given by the Railway Board on the revisions in the scales of pay which have affected a whole class or grade of employees, since 1st January, 1938, on the Eastern Bengal, East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula and North Western Railways?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: No revisions of scales of pay affecting a whole class or grade of non-gazetted employees on State-managed Railways have been sanctioned by the Railway Board since the 1st January, 1938.

DOCUMENTS FOR VERIFICATION OF LEAVE ACCOUNTS MAINTAINED ON STATE RAILWAYS.

50. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to Rule 422 of the State Railway Establishment Code and state the documents from which the accuracy of the leave account is verified and also the duration for which those documents are maintained?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The accuracy of a leave account maintained under rule 422 of the State Railway Establishment Code can be verified from the records of service prescribed in Chapter XIX of the State Railway General Code, a copy of which is in the Library of the House. Where in any case a record of leave is not maintained in the service record, the leave account itself constitutes an authoritative record of leave as the entries are duly attested by an officer and test checked by Accounts and/or Audit staff with the initial documents.

Service records and leave accounts are preserved as long as a person remains in service, the period for which they may be preserved thereafter has been left to the discretion of General Managers.

RULES IN RESPECT OF PAY AND ALLOWANCES, PROVIDENT FUND, ETC., ON THE OUDH AND ROHILKHAND RAILWAY BEFORE AND AFTER AMALGAMATION.

51. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state the rules (Oudh and Rohilkhand State Railway or East Indian Company Railways) in respect of (i) pay and allowances (scales or grades); (ii) Provident Fund and Gratuity; (iii) Leave; (iv) House rent; (v) Transfer; (vi) Medical attendance; (vii) Clothing; (viii) School fees, applicable to the staff appointed (a) between 1st January, 1925 and 30th June, 1925; and (b) on and after 1st July, 1925 but before 1st April, 1931, on the old Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway and on the amalgamated East Indian Railway?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have called for information and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

CIVIL SUIT BY AN EMPLOYEE DECREED AGAINST THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

52. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to column 6 of page 8 of the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi Edition, dated Saturday, September 28, 1940, under the Caption "Employees suit against North Western Railway—Claim Decreed by Court" and to state;

- (a) whether the North Western Railway Administration preferred an appeal against the Decree; if not, why not; and
- (b) whether Government propose in terms of Rule 29 (iv) of Appendix 1 of State Railway Establishment Code to recover the decretal amount from the pay of the Gazetted Railway servants who neglected in observing the rules and whose order is held by Court as *ultra vires*; if no recovery from the pay is to be made, the reasons therefor?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) I have called for the information and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

(b) Government have no such step in contemplation as the case was not reported to them, but a copy of this question and the answer will be forwarded to the General Manager for such action as he considers necessary.

ALLEGED SALE OF USED RAILWAY TICKETS.

53. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to column 2 of page 4 of the *Hindustan Times*, dated May 3, 1940, under the Caption "Used Tickets—Charge of selling fails" and state:

- (a) the officer of the Railway Administration who inquired into the alleged selling of used Tickets;
- (b) whether the enquiring Railway officer was ignorant of the fact that "The tickets produced in the court were such as were already clipped and checked";
- (c) who conducted the case in the Court on behalf of the Railway Administration; and
- (d) who was in possession of the tickets between the recovery from the accused persons and the production in Court?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have called for information and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

REPORT OF THE RAILWAY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE ON CORRUPTION IN RAILWAYS.

54. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to column 6 of page 4 of the *Hindustan Times*, dated August 21, 1940, under the Caption "Alleged corruption—Railway Inquiry concludes" and lay on the table of this House the report of Railway Inquiry Committee together with the actions taken thereon; if no action has been taken, the reasons therefor?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: A departmental inquiry committee which met at Multan has submitted several reports on serious irregularities in connection with the execution of work in that division. As these reports are confidential ones relating to individual cases, I am unable to comply with the request to lay them on the table of the House. The action taken by Government so far has involved the discharge of three officers. The cases of two more officers are under consideration and I understand that action was taken by the administration against certain subordinates.

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY BAN ON HATS AGAINST CERTAIN EMPLOYEES.

55. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to column 4, page 2 of the *Hindustan Times* of November 21, 1939, under the Caption "North Western Railway Ban—Hat not for those drawing less than 150" and state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that educated Indians are using European Head dress in daily life even with *Dhotis* and *Salwars*; and

- (b) whether Government propose to remove the racial distinction, if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) I am prepared to take the Honourable Member's word that some do, but it is not usual.

- (b) Necessary action has been taken.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SELECTION BOARD HELD AT THE DIVISIONAL OFFICE, HOWRAH, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY FOR FILLING VACANCIES OF LUGGAGE AND PARCEL SUPERVISORS.

56. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to the proceedings of the Selection Board held at Divisional office, Howrah, East Indian Railway in April and May 1940, on the vacancies in the cadre of Luggage and Parcel Supervisors, and state:

- (a) if it is a fact that the Selection Board on the 29th April, 1940, interviewed seven persons out of eleven called for those vacancies;
- (b) if it is a fact that the Selection Board submitted its result on the 3rd May, 1940;
- (c) if it is a fact that that result was subsequently modified on 9th May, 1940; and
- (d) if it is a fact that the remainder four were presented to the Selection Board on the 11th May, 1940?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: These proceedings are not submitted to Government so that I have been unable to refer to them, and cannot furnish particulars of the procedure followed. I have, however, no reason for supposing that the dates and numbers mentioned by the Honourable Member are incorrect.

QUARTERS COMMITTEE, MORADABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

57. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay on the table of this House a copy of the:

- (a) order constituting the Quarters Committee, Moradabad Division, East Indian Railway;
- (b) rule or regulation made by the Governor General for the constitution of that committee; and
- (c) constitution rules, regulations or bye-laws of that committee for allotment of quarters, for vacation of quarters, for shifting from one quarter to another in the same station, for transfer in quarters of the same type or in the same unit and for appeals against the committees' orders, resolutions, findings, rules, etc.?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) and (c). Government do not get information on these matters of detailed administration which are within the competence of local railway authorities.

- (b) The Governor General has not made any rules or regulations for this purpose.

ALLOTMENT OF QUARTERS TO CERTAIN CLASSES OF NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

58. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state the order of priority amongst the Non-Gazetted Railway servants of the following classes, and the criterion required for allotment of quarters with the minimum and maximum distances from the sphere of work required for occupation of a quarter on the Eastern Bengal, East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula and North Western Railways:

- (a) Signallers, Assistant Station Masters, Assistant Yard Masters or Foremen, Station Masters, Yard Masters or Firemen, Ticket Collectors, Gunners, Shunting Porters, Number Takers, Booking and Goods clerks, Station Masters' clerks, Cabin Signalmen and Pointsmen;
- (b) Guards, Cleaners, Shunters, Drivers, Running Shed Foremen, Travelling Ticket Examiners, Electricians, and Train Examiners; and
- (c) Assistant or Section Controllers, Controllers, Transportation Inspectors (Traffic, Commercial, Tickets and power)?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: With your permission, Sir, I shall reply to questions Nos. 58 and 60 together.

The allotment of quarters to non-gazetted railway servants is a matter which is left to individual railway administrations. It may safely be presumed that in making it, the primary consideration is administrative requirements. Government have no detailed information regarding it. The collection of the information the Honourable Member desires would involve much labour and expense which I do not consider would be justified. I regret, therefore, I am unable to undertake it.

DETENTION OF VEHICLES AT STATIONS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

59. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay on the table a comparative statement of the total detentions of vehicles at Moradabad and at stations on the Moradabad Division, East Indian Railway, during the period from 1st October to 31st October, 1939 and 1940?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Particulars of detentions to goods stock are not compiled for each individual station and I regret that I cannot supply these. In the marshalling yard at Moradabad the average detention to through loaded wagons in October, 1939 was 11.7 hours. Figures for October, 1940 are not yet available, but the figures for September, 1940 was 8.6 hours against 11.5 hours in September, 1939. The reduction in delay, which appears in every month of this year up to September, is due partly to improvement in the facilities available and partly to improved operating conditions and methods.

RAILWAY QUARTERS AT MORADABAD AND STAFF OCCUPYING THEM.

60. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay a statement on the table of this House in respect of

† For answer to this question, see answer to question No. 58.

the positions of the quarters at Moradabad in the Moradabad Division on the East Indian Railway on 31st October, 1940, showing:

- (a) number in each type of quarters along with the description of types;
- (b) number of units of each type and how the units are formed;
- (c) number of staff entitled to railway quarters (to be divided according to types and units, respectively);
- (d) number of staff in occupation of railway quarters (to be shown, as free of rent, or on payment of rent against each type and unit respectively, along with the total amount of rent recovered for quarters allotted against payment of rent);
- (e) number of staff occupying quarters of a higher type and unit, respectively, than entitled to;
- (f) number of staff disbursed with amount of rent in lieu of rent-free quarters along with the total amount of such disbursement; and
- (g) the reasons for allotting quarters to staff on payment of rent against the staff entitled to rent free quarters?

PREVALENCE OF TUBERCULOSIS AMONGST THE STAFF OF THE RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE.

61. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) With reference to the reply to starred question No. 475 given on the 20th March, 1940, will the Honourable the Railway Member kindly state whether medical authorities have been consulted regarding the question of the desirability of having a medical examination of the staff of the Railway Clearing Office employed in the Clive Building? If so, what conclusions have been arrived at?

(b) Have Government examined the question of the prevalence of tuberculosis amongst the staff not from the point of view of deaths alone, but from the incidence thereof amongst the staff?

(c) Are Government aware that the disease is carried by tubercular bacilli through the medium of air?

(d) Are Government aware that the patients attending the tuberculosis clinic next door to the Clive Building furnish a cause for the prevalence of the disease amongst the staff?

(e) Is there any legislation to the effect that patients attending the clinic must not spit in the surrounding area outside the Clinic? If not, how such spitting is checked?

(f) Are Government aware that vendors who sell sweets, etc., to the staff, are in close proximity to the clinic?

(g) Are Government aware that such sweets, etc., are susceptible to infection from the spittings in the surroundings?

(h) With reference to the answer to part (c) of the above mentioned question, will Government state what steps are actually taken by the clinic to educate the public, apart from the patients who attended the clinic, in the methods of prevention of tuberculosis, or the steps the clinic has taken to educate the staff of the office or the public so far?

(i) Have Government considered whether the activities of the clinic cannot be carried out by its location in a place just outside the town, say, at a distance of 1,000 yards or more from the nearest habitation?

(j) If not, do Government propose to do so now? If not, are Government prepared to remove the Railway Clearing Accounts Office from the Clive Building?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Yes. I understand that the medical authority has been consulted and considers that the incidence of tuberculosis of all kinds among the staff is not so great as to call for a general medical examination of all the staff employed in the building.

(b) This was considered by the medical officer.

(d) No.

(f) No; but I am willing to take this from the Honourable Member.

(c), (e), (g), (h), (i). These questions and the first part of (j) should have been addressed to the Honourable Member representing the Department of Education, Health and Lands. The latter part of (j) does not at present arise.

RAILWAY PROSECUTION CASE IN THE COURT OF THE RESIDENT MAGISTRATE, DELHI.

62. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to the proceedings at serial No. 166 of Register of Mr. K. L. Kapur, P.C.S., Resident Magistrate, First Class, exercising summary powers in Delhi Province announced on 28th November, 1939, in Criminal Case No. 864-A./3 of 1939, viz.:

“Before I close this judgment I deem it my duty to point out that this case does not appear to have been *properly investigated before a complaint was filed in Court*. It was obviously the duty of the prosecution to *thoroughly satisfy themselves regarding the identity of the offender before prosecuting against a gentleman of the position and respectability of*”

and state if it is a fact that the complainant has styled himself as Ticket Court Inspector in a petition, dated 18th May, 1939?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, what action has been taken against him against the information given on 6th February, 1940 to unstarred question No. 8 asked on the 22nd September, 1939? If no action has been taken, why not?

(c) Who investigated the case, and have rules 1 and 18 of Part II of General Rules for Railways been observed and followed? If not, why not?

(d) Will the Honourable Member please state the steps taken against the Ticket Court Inspector and for safeguarding the position and respectability of travelling public? If no steps have been taken, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The complainant in this case was the Crown and the Crown was represented by the Divisional Inspector of Special Ticket Examiners who used the designation “Ticket Court Inspector”.

(b) None; as it was not considered necessary.

(c) The case was investigated by the Divisional Inspector, Special Ticket Examiners under instructions from a Divisional Commercial Officer, now deceased. The answer to the second part is in the negative; an authority higher than the Station Master directed the investigation.

(d) No action has been taken against the Railway official concerned as it was considered that there were no sufficient grounds for doing so.

CONTRACT FOR BOOK STALLS GIVEN TO MESSRS. WHEELER AND COMPANY BY THE GENERAL MANAGER, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

63. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to the reply given to starred question No. 522, asked on the 19th September, 1935, viz. "Contracts on State-managed Railways have been given for a period of five years and were placed after calling for tenders. The dates on which the existing contracts expire vary, but Agents will no doubt call for fresh tenders in due course"; and state why the General Manager, North Western Railway, has not called for tenders for book stalls and has given contract to Messrs. Wheeler and Company at his own option?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Because the General Manager, who was under no obligation to call for tenders, did not consider it necessary to test the market on this occasion.

RECRUITMENT OF TEMPORARY CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OPERATING SUPERINTENDENT, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

64. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether he has seen the advertisement published in the *Statesman* for the recruitment of temporary clerks in the office of the Chief Operating Superintendent, East Indian Railway?

(b) Is it a fact that candidates are required to be graduates in Mathematics?

(c) Is this restriction newly imposed or was it in existence previously?

(d) If newly imposed, was the sanction of Railway Board necessary? If so, was it obtained?

(e) What are the duties of the clerks for which Higher Mathematics is necessary?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) Yes.

(b) Candidates were required to be graduates with Mathematics as one of the subjects in the Degree Examination.

(c) I have been unable to trace previous occasions on which this qualification was demanded from clerks.

(d) The answer to the first part is in the negative, and the latter part does not arise.

(e) The clerks in question were required for the time-table and goods sections of the Chief Operating Superintendent's Office.

OFFICERS AND CLERKS IN THE RAILWAY BOARD GRADUATED IN MATHEMATICS.

65. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state whether there is any clerk in the Railway Board who is a graduate in Mathematics?

(b) How many officers in the Railway Board have taken degrees in Mathematics?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is presumed that in both parts of this question the Honourable Member is referring to degrees in which mathematics was one of the subjects taken. If so, the replies are:

(a) Yes.

(b) Ten.

COLLECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF WATER RATES ON POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH OFFICIALS OCCUPYING GOVERNMENT QUARTERS IN SIMLA.

66. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state whether the various classes of Postal and Telegraph officials in Simla, quartered separately and independently of each other, have to pay collective assessment for their water rates? If so, is this due to lack of independent metering facilities?

(b) Are the Telegraph officials in the said quarters usually debited with excess water charges that exceed in a single month the assessed water rate for the whole twelve months? If so, how are the charges computed?

(c) What is the assessed value of the Posts and Telegraphs estate and on what actual figure is the free allowance of water made?

(d) What is the composition of the said estate and what classes of officials are housed thereon?

(e) Is it a fact that the Posts and Telegraphs authorities act as agents for the Simla Municipality in the matter of assessing and collecting their water rates? If so, on whose authority?

(f) Is it true that the said estate is assessed collectively, whereas, if separately assessed in independent, block units, the tenants would be eligible to a far greater allowance of free water? If so, why is this privilege denied to the staff?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The facts are not exactly as stated by the Honourable Member. A number of blocks of buildings occupied by offices as well as by various classes of postal and telegraph officials in Simla are assessed to water tax by the Municipality as units. The amount on each such unit is paid by the Department and the due share of each occupant of the quarters is recovered from him. Separate water meters are not provided for each quarter.

(b) The Honourable Member has not indicated which block he has in view and Government have not got particulars of the sums paid as excess water charges; but particulars are being collected for the Central Telegraph Office and these will be laid on the table of the House. The water tax is assessed by the Municipality at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the rental value of the building and against this tax the Municipality allows a certain quantity of water per day. Any water consumed in a month in excess

of the free allowance for that month is charged for and this amount is distributed among the different occupants of the quarters in proportion to the floor area occupied by each of them.

(e) The rental value of the Post and Telegraph Buildings in Simla, as assessed by the Municipality, is Rs. 70,465. The free allowance of water is based on this rental value.

(d) The Post and Telegraph estate in Simla is composed of Post and Telegraph Offices and quarters for the following classes of officials:

Superintendent of the Central Telegraph Office.

Deputy Assistant Engineer, Telephones.

Head Postmaster.

Telegraph Masters.

Engineering Supervisors.

Telegraphists, bachelor and married.

Sub-postmasters.

Linemen.

Postmen.

Delivery Peons.

Mail Peons.

Other inferior servants.

(e) As a large portion of the Post and Telegraph estate is utilised for office purposes for which the Department has to pay water tax and as the Municipality assesses water tax on whole blocks occupied by offices as well as by a number of officials, the tax is paid by the Department in the first instance and thereafter the due shares of officials are recovered from them as provided by departmental rules.

(f) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative; the latter part does not arise.

EXTENSION OF MESSRS. WHEELER AND COMPANY'S CONTRACT FOR BOOK STALLS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

67. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways kindly state whether it is a fact that Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company were given the contract for bookstalls on the North Western Railway for five years from the 30th June, 1930, with the option of renewal for a further five years?

(b) Is it a fact that this contract was given to Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company after tenders had been called for, and though their tender was far less than Rs. 8,000 and the tenders of other were for over Rs. 20,000, their tender was accepted?

(c) Is it a fact that without calling for tenders, the North Western Railway administration have extended Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company's contract for a further period?

(d) If the answers to parts (a), (b) and (c) be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the reasons (i) for the consideration shown to Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company, (ii) for accepting less than Rs. 8,000 instead of over Rs. 20,000, and (iii) for extending the period of contract without calling for tenders?

(e) Is it a fact that the contract with Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company can be terminated by giving three or six months' notice on either side? If so, are Government prepared to serve the required notice on Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company and instruct the North Western Railway administration to call for tenders?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a), (b) and (c). Yes.

(d) The action taken in 1930 had regard to the considerable experience and past good service of Messrs. A. H. Wheeler and Company. It was considered that those who had tendered for over Rs. 20,000 could have little or no realisation of their obligations under the contract, and enquiries showed that other tenderers had had no experience in this particular line.

(e) No. The contract can only be terminated at the end of the first period of three years by either party giving six months' prior notice. The second part of the question does not arise at present but the Railway Board have asked the General Manager to call for tenders in 1942.

WITHHOLDING OF APPLICATIONS OF MUSLIM CLERKS OF THE RAILWAY CLEARING ACCOUNTS OFFICE FOR POSTS OF GUARDS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

68. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that some Muslim clerks of Goods 'B' Section of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office, Delhi, applied for posts of Guards on the North Western Railway last month;
- (b) whether it is a fact that their applications were not forwarded;
- (c) whether it is a fact that sometime back an application of a more experienced Hindu clerk was forwarded to the Divisional Superintendent's Office, Delhi, with recommendations; and
- (d) if so, what are the reasons for this discrimination?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) As this question was originally tabled in March I presume that by "last month" the Honourable Member means February. If so, the answer is that only one Muslim clerk in this section applied for such a post during that month.

(b) His application, along with others received from Hindu clerks about the same time for transfer to other offices, was withheld.

(c) Yes, along with five others (one from a Hindu, two from Muslims, one from an Anglo-Indian and one from a Sikh).

(d) There has been no discrimination.

EXPENDITURE INCURRED BY THE GOVERNMENT ON THE INDIAN LISTENER.

69. Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali: (a) Will the Honourable the Communications Member please state whether it is a fact that the *Indian Listener* is the property of Government?

(b) How much have Government spent on its upkeep annually?

(c) Have Government considered whether it will not be better for Government to utilise the ordinary press to fulfil the object which this paper is supposed to serve?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Yes.

(b) The annual expenditure during the financial years 1936-37, 1937-38, 1938-39 and 1939-40 was Rs. 1,12,517, Rs. 1,39,116, Rs. 2,00,173 and Rs. 1,76,696 respectively, the net loss for these years being Rs. 12,958, Rs. 33,489, Rs. 91,287 and Rs. 6,045.

(c) Yes. The publication of programme journals is part of the normal activities of a broadcasting organisation and cannot be adequately performed by newspapers.

NAMES SUBMITTED BY THE DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENT, MORADABAD DIVISION, FOR PROMOTION OF NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS TO THE LOWER GAZETTED SERVICE.

70. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if it is a fact that a Selection Board was held to select non-gazetted railway servants for vacancies in the lower gazetted services in May and June, 1940, on the East Indian Railway?

(b) Is it a fact that the following classes of the non-gazetted services are eligible for vacancies in the lower gazetted services (i) Office Superintendents (ii) Transportation Inspectors (Traffic, Commercial, Power, Tickets) (iii) Mechanics in supervisory grades; and (iv) Controllers other than Deputy, Section or Assistant Controllers?

(c) Is it a fact that the Divisional Superintendent, Moradabad Division, submitted names of the staff other than belonging to said classes; if so, why; and will Government lay on the table of the House the authority in writing of the General Manager provided in rule 64 of Appendix XXII of the State Railway Establishment Code, modifying or deviating from the principle of normal channel of promotion?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Government do not receive reports of the meetings of these Boards, but I am willing to take it from the Honourable Member.

(b) Yes, among others.

(c) I have not seen the recommendations of the Divisional Superintendent, but there is nothing in the rule cited by the Honourable Member which requires the General Manager to give written authority regarding the character of recommendations that can be made.

HOLDERS OF THE APPOINTMENTS OF TRANSPORTATION INSPECTORS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

71. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if it is a fact that the following classes of the non-gazetted services are eligible for vacancies in the Transportation Inspectors (Traffic and Commercial); (i) Controllers other than Deputy, Section or Assistant Controllers, (ii) Station Masters (Higher Grades); (iii) Yard Masters or Firemen; and (iv) Chief Goods and Coaching Clerks?

(b) Will the Honourable Member please lay on the table of the House a statement of the holders of the appointments of Transportation Inspectors (Traffic and Commercial, separately) in Moradabad Division, East Indian Railway, in any capacity (permanent, substantive, officiating, temporary or otherwise, separately) on the 31st October, 1940, showing the class

(permanent substantive) from which he or they have been appointed to the vacancy in the Transportation Inspector?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) These categories are all eligible.

(b) Government are not in possession of these particulars, but a list of the persons holding appointments of Transportation Inspectors with their distribution by Divisions on 31st March of this year will be found in the Classified List of Senior Subordinates for the East Indian Railway, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

SANCTIONED STRENGTH OF THE TRANSPORTATION INSPECTORS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

72. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) the sanctioned strength of Transportation Inspectors (Traffic and Commercial, separately) for the Moradabad Division, East Indian Railway;
- (b) the actual strength on the 31st October, 1940, of those Transportation Inspectors;
- (c) the duties distributed amongst those Transportation Inspectors; and
- (d) the difference between the sanctioned and the actual strength, of those Transportation Inspectors on 30th April, 1938, and on 31st October, 1940; separately, together with the reasons for that difference, if any?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Information has been called for and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

EXPENDITURE ON THE APPOINTMENTS OF NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

73. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay a comparative statement on the table of the House, showing expenditure on the 31st October, 1940, on the appointments of non-gazetted railway servants in Moradabad Division, East Indian Railway, made through the normal channel of promotion and otherwise?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I am not entirely clear as to the meaning of the question. If the Honourable Member wishes to know how much aggregate pay was drawn on the dates specified by all the non-gazetted staff in the division who have secured their promotion in one way and by all those promoted in another way, I regret that I cannot undertake the extensive research which would be involved.

INTRODUCTION OF SENIOR REFRESHER COURSE FOR ASSISTANT STATION MASTERS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

74. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) the date of introduction of the senior refresher course for Assistant Station Masters, East Indian Railway, in Howrah, Asansol, Dinapore, Allahabad, Lucknow and Moradabad Divisions, separately;

- (b) the date and the place of holding the said senior refresher course since the introduction;
- (c) the books, rules and regulations taught in the said senior refresher course;
- (d) the academic and railway qualifications of the instructors in the said senior refresher course;
- (e) the category of the non-gazetted railway servants required to undergo the said senior refresher course; and
- (f) whether non-gazetted railway servants after the age of 45 are required to undergo the said senior refresher course?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) to (e). Such information as is readily available will be laid on the table in due course.

(f) They can be.

DISQUALIFYING NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS FOR PROMOTION ON FAILURE TO PASS THE SENIOR REFRESHER COURSE.

75. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state the intention of the rules (Appendix XXII of State Railway Establishment Code) to disqualify or to debar a non-gazetted railway servant from promotion in the normal channel on failure to pass this kind of refresher course after the age of 45 though a non-gazetted railway servant was successful in a refresher course just previous to attaining the age of 45?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: There is nothing in the rules to prevent the administration from allowing a man to be promoted despite failure to pass, if they consider that there are circumstances justifying that step.

PREFERENCE GIVEN TO NON-ELIGIBLE MUSLIMS FOR PROMOTION TO THE LOWER GAZETTED SERVICES ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

76. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) if it is a fact that during the preceding two years or so the Railway Board instructed the General Manager, East Indian Railway, to select Muslims amongst those non-eligible for vacancies in the lower gazetted services in preference to those non-Muslims who are eligible and qualified for those vacancies;
- (b) if it is a fact that appointments to lower gazetted services are made by the promotion of specially selected subordinates and there is no reservation on a communal basis; and
- (c) if the reply to part (a) be in the negative, whether Government are prepared to lay on the table of the House a statement of Muslims appointed to the lower gazetted services during the preceding two years?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) No.

(b) Yes.

(c) Such information as is available with Government will be found at page 43 of Mr. D'Souza's Report.

SCALES OF PAY OF CERTAIN NON-GAZETTED RAILWAY SERVANTS IN THE MORADABAD DIVISION OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

77. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to Divisional Superintendent, East Indian Railway, Moradabad, communications, No. E. T.-6/31 Sigr., dated 13th May, 1931, No. El./31-T.T.E., dated 5th December, 1931, and El./32-T.C., dated 12th November, 1934, and state the scales of pay admissible to non-gazetted railway servants appointed under those communications which do not state that revised scales of pay shall be applicable on introduction to those railway servants appointed in 1931 or indicate any term that their pay shall be subject to revision?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: As I have not seen the circulars mentioned, I have been unable to refer to them, but I would observe that the question whether employees come under the old or new scales of pay depends on the orders of Government and not on any circulars issued by any Divisional Superintendent. A warning was issued on 14th July, 1931 that the scales of pay were under revision.

CADRES OF GUARDS ON CERTAIN STATE RAILWAYS.

78. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please lay on the table of the House a comparative statement of the cadre of guards on the Eastern Bengal, the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula and the North Western Railways, showing:

- (a) the number of posts in each grade or scale of pay (sanctioned and actual on 31st October, 1940, may be shown separately, officiating or temporary should not be included);
- (b) scales of pay (old and revised) in each grade, separately;
- (c) conditions or terms of promotion from grade to grade; and
- (d) minimum and maximum hours of work in a week?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I have called for information and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

EXTRA EXPENDITURE INCURRED BY NOT APPOINTING AN ASSISTANT TRAIN EXAMINER TO OFFICIATE AS HEAD TRAIN EXAMINER, BAREILLY.

79. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to the Divisional Superintendent, East Indian Railway, Moradabad, order No. E.R.S./2/40, dated the 28th May, 1940, and state the amount of the extra expenditure incurred in appointing the Transportation Inspector, Stock, to officiate as Head Train Examiner, Bareilly, (a post in lower grade) and in appointing the Head Train Examiner, Moradabad, to officiate as Transportation Inspector, Stock, Moradabad, against the amount permissible through normal channel of promotion in an officiating capacity of an Assistant Train Examiner *vice* Head Train Examiner, Bareilly, and the reasons therefor?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Government have not received a copy of the order in question or particulars of the appointments made. But it may be pointed out that the selection of officials to fill officiating vacancies is not regulated by considerations of cost but by the desirability of securing the best men available for the sanctioned pay, and that the selection of one official rather than another does not normally involve much difference in cost when consequent appointments are taken into consideration in each case.

OPTION TO STATE RAILWAY EMPLOYEES TO ELECT OLD OR REVISED RENT RULES.

80. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if it is a fact that, before the introduction of the revised rent rules for State-managed Railways, the quarters were allotted according to the category of employees and pay was not taken into consideration?

(b) Is it a fact that after the introduction of those rules the quarters are allotted on the consideration of pay and not of position?

(c) Have the staff been asked to give their option to elect the old or the new rules in accordance with Resolution, No. 1483, dated the 4th December, 1891, of the Government of India, which provides a statutory protection to the staff for any disadvantage arising out of the new rules; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) and (b). Except in regard to the scope of the rent-free concession which they substantially curtailed, the revised rent rules did not deal with the basis of allotment of quarters, and I am not aware of any change of practice in consequence of their introduction.

(c) I presume the Honourable Member is referring to the Government of India Resolution No. 4863, dated the 4th December, 1891, reproduced in Article 4 of the Civil Service Regulations. No option was given to the staff but on this point, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to paragraph 1904 of the State Railway Code for the Engineering Department which indicates the measures taken to avoid hardship to persons who had already enjoyed the concession of rent-free quarters or an allowance in lieu thereof.

POLICY OBSERVED BY THE GENERAL MANAGER, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY, IN THE MATTER OF CATERING CONTRACTS.

81. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please refer to the principles laid down by the Central Advisory Council for Railways in March 1940, in the matter of granting catering contracts, viz., "(i) Further contracts for Indian catering should not be given to any firm which holds area contracts extending over two divisions on the same railway of an equivalent area; (ii) where new contractors or vending licences have to be selected, a preference should be shown to those resident within the area to which the contract relates"; and to state:

(a) if it is a fact that the General Manager, East Indian Railway, distributed a note regarding those principles amongst the members of the Local Advisory Committee and in that note said "he feels it difficult to accept a policy against his

judgment largely dictated by outside influence; and proposes to consolidate the contracts at certain stations by combining refreshment rooms, tea stalls, sweet-meat, etc.'';

- (b) if it is a fact that the contract to sell *jhatka* meat at Lucknow Railway Station accordingly was given to Messrs. Ballabdas Ishwardass; if so, what are the reasons for not giving that contract to a Sikh;
- (c) whether Government are prepared to lay on the table a list of contracts given to Messrs. Ballabdas Ishwardass on the East Indian Railway since March 1940, stating the reasons therefor; and
- (d) if it is a fact that the catering of Hindu students at Railway School of Transportation, Chandausi, is performed by a Muslim contractor; if so, why?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I have called for the information and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

FRUIT VENDING CONTRACT AT AMRITSAR RAILWAY STATION.

82. Bhai Parma Nand: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if it is a fact that the fruit vending contract at Amritsar railway station, North Western Railway, is held by Muhammad Salim?

(b) Is it a fact that the contract was divided at this station against the assurances given in reply to questions Nos. 53 and 354 asked in this House on the 27th February, 1940, and 12th March, 1940, respectively?

(c) Do Government propose to stop such division of contracts; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) No. The fruit vending contracts are held by (i) Mehta Bishen Dass and Sons and (ii) Mr. Mohammad Salim.

(b) As the answers to the questions quoted by the Honourable Member did not contain any assurances, the question does not arise.

(c) State-managed Railways have been advised that, as far as practicable, they should refrain from sub-dividing existing contracts of satisfactory contractors on a communal basis.

TELEGRAPH OFFICES IN THE DELHI PROVINCE MAKING DELIVERIES OF MESSAGES.

83. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state:

- (a) the Telegraph offices within Delhi Province from which messages are delivered;
- (b) the minimum and maximum distances from those offices for delivery of messages;
- (c) the working hours of those offices; and
- (d) the reasons for the delay in delivering messages from Shahdara, North Western Railway?

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: (a) The names of Government Telegraph offices within Delhi Province from which telegrams are delivered are:

- (i) New Delhi (Central Telegraph Office).
- (ii) Delhi (General Post Office).
- (iii) Delhi Cantonment.
- (iv) Delhi Agricultural Research Institute.
- (v) Mahrauli.

(b) There is no minimum. The maximum distance for delivery is five miles, except in the case of Delhi Cantonment, which is four miles and Delhi Agricultural Research Institute which is one mile.

(c) The working hours of the offices named in (a) above are as follows:

Name of Office	Working hours.	
	Ordinary days.	Sundays and Holidays.
New Delhi (Central Telegraph Office)	0 to 24	0 to 24.
Delhi (General Post Office)	0 to 24	0 to 11 and 16 to 19.
Delhi Cantonment	7 to 8 and 11 to 18	8-30 to 9-30 and 16-30 to 17-30.
Delhi Agricultural Research Institute	10 to 17	Closed.
Mahrauli	7 to 8 and 12 to 17	8-30 to 9-30.

(d) Messages from Delhi-Shahdara, North Western Railway office, are delivered by hand within station limits only. They are delivered through the post beyond those limits. In this connection, the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to clause 401 of the Post and Telegraph Guide, current edition.

SCALES OF PAY AND SENIORITY OF SENIOR SUBORDINATES IN NON-GAZETTED SERVICES OF THE OLD EAST INDIAN RAILWAY AND THE OLD OUDH AND ROHILKHAND RAILWAY.

84. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) the posts with scales of pay of senior subordinates in Non-Gazetted services on the old East Indian Railway and the old Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway systems separately on the 1st January, 1925, on the 1st July, 1925, and on 31st October, 1940;
- (b) how the seniority of those subordinates on those systems was reckoned on those dates;
- (c) the principles for reckoning a combined seniority of those subordinates after amalgamation of those two systems; and
- (d) whether pay or length of service in a grade or scales of pay was taken into consideration in fixing the seniority?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Government have no information regarding the remuneration and the determination of seniority of subordinate officials 15 years ago and regret that they cannot undertake to institute the investigation necessary to secure it.

As regards scales of pay now the Honourable Member is referred to the classified list for the East Indian Railway, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

RELIEVING GUARDS IN CERTAIN DIVISIONS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

85. Bhai Parma Nand: Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state:

- (a) the number of posts (sanctioned) of Relieving Guards in Howrah, Asansol, Dinapore, Allahabad, Lucknow and Moradabad Divisions on the East Indian Railway;
- (b) the number of posts (actual) of Relieving Guards on those Divisions on 31st October, 1940;
- (c) the nature of posts in which Relieving Guards ordinarily officiate; and
- (d) how the Relieving Guards are utilised when not officiating in any post?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have called for information and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

FALL IN PRICES OF GROUND-NUTS.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have received notice of a motion for adjournment from Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty to this effect, that he wants to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, viz., the failure of the Government to take adequate steps to maintain a proper level of prices of chief agricultural commodities contrary to the assurances given by the Central Government and the consequent catastrophic fall in prices and immeasurable loss sustained with respect to ground-nuts from the commencement of this week.

When was this assurance given?

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty (Madras: Indian Commerce): About the 10th or 12th September last.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): We are now in November. Why could he not have brought this motion before?

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty: The prices came down only at the beginning of this week.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): They gave the assurance in September that it would obtain proper level of price?

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty: We thought that the assurance held good till about the beginning of this week, now we see they have failed in giving effect to their assurance.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If prices began to fall from the beginning of this week, even then the Honourable Member could have brought it up earlier.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty: It is only just now that we have got specific information that the prices have fallen. It is not a temporary weakening of the market.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member for Commerce and Labour): Sir, I submit this is not a specific matter of recent occurrence. The question of falling prices has been before Government for the last six months, and from time to time various statements have been made in connection with that. The Honourable Member referred to an assurance given by me on the 12th September. The assurance was merely to this effect that His Majesty's Government would buy ground-nuts

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty: Sir, is not the Honourable Member going into the merits of the question?

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: I am only saying that there was no assurance given by Government that prices would be kept at any particular level at all. There was no such assurance. The assurance that was given was that His Majesty's Government would purchase, whenever they wanted, ground-nuts at £10 per ton F. O. B. The Honourable Member referred to the fall in prices since the beginning of this week. I have got here the latest Bombay market report of November 13, with regard to ground-nuts. The heading is "Ground-nuts Up". It says:

"It is reported that the Ministry of Food have purchased about 4,000 tons although offers have been submitted by shippers for a very large quantity and shipments are to be made from Marmagao, Calicut, Cochin and Madras coast. The local market opened today at Rs. 27/2 but it declined to Rs. 27/1. The market however improved" etc.

I have no information at all so far that it has fallen.

Mr. Sami Vencatachelum Chetty: I submit, Sir, that as against the information which the Honourable Member has

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Anyway, the matter is not urgent, and no assurance was given of the kind stated by the Honourable Member. The motion is, therefore, disallowed.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to present the Report of the Public Accounts Committee on the accounts of 1938-39—Volume I—Report.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, will the Honourable Member give an opportunity to this House to discuss this report this Session?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Yes, Sir; that is my intention.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: But shall we have time to discuss it this Session?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: That I cannot say.

THE INDIAN FINANCE (No. 2) BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now resume discussion of the following motion moved by the Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:

"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, be taken into consideration."

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi (Dacca cum Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, last Wednesday afternoon I was discussing why the Honourable Members opposite oppose this Supplementary Finance Bill. My Honourable friends represent the Congress, and they say that the Congress wants freedom.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): You want slavery.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: The Congress wants freedom, as if we do not want freedom, as if the Muslim League does not want freedom and the Hindu Mahasabha does not want freedom. It is not their monopoly; we all want freedom.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: What a beautiful idea of freedom you have!

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Let the Honourable Member proceed without interruption.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: We have in a certain measure obtained the largest amount of freedom. And from whom are we to get this freedom for India? Not from Germany, but from Britain and the Britishers.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: From the Supply Department.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, I appeal to you against these unnecessary interruptions.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Really, the Honourable Member must exercise some self-restraint. If he has anything to say, he can rise in his seat afterwards, and if he is called, then he can speak.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: From whom do we want to get this freedom? From Britain and the British. My Congress friends say that they will, by non-co-operation, force them to give this freedom, while we on this side say that we will get this freedom by co-operation. So we all

want this freedom, but the process is different; they, by non-co-operation,—we, by co-operation. It is also agreed that we want it from Great Britain and the Britishers. Now, this war is going on, and my friends there say that they will not co-operate to win this war until they give us freedom. What is the result? Supposing the British go in consequence of this non-co-operation, from whom are you going to get independence?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not repeat all that. This sort of thing has been said very often in this House.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Take the Hindu-Muslim question. They have not yet come to any agreement and have hitherto failed to bring about a settlement. I am giving one specific instance. The Muslims in the minority provinces say that Congress has not given them freedom, and that is a fact. Now, suppose Japan invades Madras or Orissa, and suppose the Muslims say to the Congress or the Hindus: "Give us our freedom first, and then only we will help you against the invader." If anybody says: "I am not going to help you against the Invader till you have given me freedom," he will be a traitor to his country. Equally are those traitors to India who say "We shall not lend any help till Britain gives us our freedom." I will give another illustration, a simple one. Two brothers are quarrelling over their shares in a house: the elder wants a larger share while the younger wants his half share. Some dacoits come near the house and want to set fire to the house when the dispute is going on. Are the brothers going to say—the elder to the younger, or the younger to the elder—"Agree to give me my share and then I shall help you in stopping the dacoits from setting-fire to the house," or should they say "Let us save the house first, and we shall settle our dispute afterwards." I say, save India first; realise the danger which is at the door of India; and settle your disputes amongst yourselves later

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must not go on repeating himself so often.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: He is provoking us, Sir.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Do they not realise it that a great free country like the United States of America has come to the assistance of England? What is the reason? They are one of the biggest powers in the world,—a free country. Why are they resolved to help another free country? They realised the danger of Nazi domination, that if they withheld help, as all the countries, which have fallen, did, by remaining neutral, it would be a menace which it would be impossible afterwards to overcome. The Congress, if I may say so, has become a menace to the peace, prosperity and progress of India, and it has, by its action, convinced many of us that democracy is unsuitable to India. May I request Mahatma Gandhi to read over and over again the great message of that great saint, Shri Aurobindo, and then lead the Congress?

I raised certain points on the last occasion—about the tests that I want to be satisfied before I give my vote for this Supplementary Finance Bill. I specified five tests the other day

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member has mentioned them already, he need not repeat them.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I am not repeating a word of what I said the other day. In the *Hindustan Times* I have seen a criticism of the ex-Finance Minister of Bengal, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar. He says:

"The Finance Member owes it to the public to explain the unusual procedure which he has adopted on the present occasion for the Supplementary Finance Bill. In any case, the Finance Member has yet to make out a case for the imperative urgency of the present taxation proposals."

I am sure, he never read the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member when he presented the Supplementary Finance Bill before this House. With your permission, I will read one extract from *Capital*.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Provided it is not a long one.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: It is a very short one—giving what the Honourable the Finance Member stated in presenting his Finance Bill on the last occasion. These are his words:

"The war has been in progress now for fairly six months, and no man can say what the coming year has in store for us. It has no doubt been possible at this particular juncture of time to base a fairly encouraging view of our actual recent experience, but the plain fact which we have to recognise is that all changes in our position are more likely to be for the worse than for the better."

Mr. Sarkar says that there has been a precedent in bringing Supplementary Finance Bills, and he refers to Sir George Schuster when he brought the Supplementary Finance Bill in September, 1931 and he says:

"Sir George Schuster presented it as a full-fledged Budget. All the data and information necessary before the tax-payers can agree to any taxation can be disclosed only in the shape of a full Budget. In the absence of such a data, the Legislature is placed in an awkward position."

But, Sir, today the situation is different. The Supplementary Budget which was presented then was due to economic depression throughout the world. The Finance Member then knew that things could not be restored to normal condition in the course of a year or two. Could the Honourable the Finance Member, when he presented his Finance Bill in February, 1940, visualise that France would fall in ten days' time?

An Honourable Member: Don't shout.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Because you are deaf.

Mr President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I don't think the Honourable Member need raise his voice to that pitch. I don't think he will be heard any better by shouting so much.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Could he then visualise the treachery of King Leopold of Belgium? That is why he was not in a position to give us a full picture. And, after all, what does he want the money for? That is the test which Honourable Members sitting opposite have been asking for day in and day out. Why does the Finance Member want all this money for? To provide for what? I will give the House a few instances? Money is wanted for the training of Indian pilots and mechanics, the equipment for training centres, purchase of aeroplanes to defend what? To defend India; calling up of volunteers,—by the end of the next year 15,000 Indians

will have been trained or will be under training,—grants-in-aid for air raid precaution amounting to 25 lakhs, maintaining additional police force in the provinces, the cost of training civic guards, purchase of quinine, and so on and so forth. Sir, we agree that the Finance Member will have to spend money for the above purposes. At the same time, as my friend, Mr. Buss, has sounded a word of caution, I will also give him certain facts in that connection. We are supporting you,—I am addressing the Honourable the Finance Member

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not address others. He must address the Chair.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, we support the Finance Member in the Finance Bill he has presented. But we want him to take note of the fact that there shall be no extravagance in the Departments concerned

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): Who is to judge that?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: You yourself.

Sardar Sant Singh: Very kind of you.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Mr. Buss said: "If in the sphere of all war activities we should not be prepared to acquiesce in the excess of expenditure which could be avoided,—and I particularly refer to the expansion of the establishment and the creation of highly paid posts to which criticism has frequently been directed

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must not repeat Mr. Buss's speech. It was heard by the whole House the other day.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I only quoted one paragraph.

Now, what is the position? We have the Indian Stores Department which has been in existence for some time now. In the last war, a Department, called the Indian Munitions Board, was created, and, after the war was over, that Munitions Board was converted into the Indian Stores Department. That was the origin of the Indian Stores Department. Recently another Department, called the Defence Co-ordination Department, has been created. When war began in September, 1939, the first mentioned two Departments were considered sufficient to meet the supplies of war materials. What was the necessity, I ask, of having another huge Supply Department? I will give an illustration to show how the Supply Department is working. I am speaking of what has passed, because public criticism has rectified matters to some extent. A huge Department is created and the staff from beginning to end is composed of non-Indians, except in the case of one or two who are Indians. What did they do first? The doors were closed against everybody who wanted to enter its sacred precincts; nobody is allowed to enter it

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: Not even you?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: True, it is correct, not even myself, because it is a secret Department for War Supplies. But what is the public opinion? What is the hush hush business? Why all this secrecy is observed? The Department has been created to buy goods, and we are here to sell them. But why all the secrecy? The secrecy is because they have not much to do. There are too many men, and too little work. Not being contented with that, one of the Departments, the Munitions Manufacture and the Munitions Supply, was transferred bodily from Delhi and Simla to Calcutta. Hundreds of houses had to be rented to give accommodation to thousands of men who have gone there. May I ask, what was the necessity to have that huge office with a complete secretariat at Calcutta with complete freedom and severed from the Centre? They want complete independence to do just as they like, with the board at the door: "No admission without previous engagement". That makes people suspicious, and that is where criticism comes in. There was no necessity for it. Everything was going on smoothly in Delhi and Simla. But there was some difficulty. The check of the Government of India was unsuitable, was not liked. The check was too critical, so they wanted a move, a complete move of the Secretariat with its auditors and accountants, a complete Government in itself of a particular Department of Supply. Sir, if a business man went and asked, what is the thing that you want, the answer would be, that is not your business. A secret! When Sir Alexander Roger went to Calcutta, that was the first time that the commercial business men in Calcutta knew that 8,000 different kinds of goods were required, of which 4,000 could be made in India, and of which 400 were principal goods. Sir Alexander Roger told us so when we met him there. That was the first time that we knew about this, and that was in October last. I will come to that later on.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: (Leader of the House): Why not finish at one stretch?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Because I want to attack my Honourable friend first. That I want to finish first. My Honourable friend, Dr. Sir Ziauddin, while making his speech—the first statement that he made was that all businessmen were dishonest. Then, he said that he protested against the Controllers, liaison officers and the advisers of the Government who were not chosen from Indians or Indian businessmen and so on and so forth. But he has not been able to develop his point. He himself could not understand what he was talking. (Interruption.) The Honourable Supply Member replied to him that he had repeatedly stated on the floor of the House that they had appointed every liaison officer, every controller, after consulting the particular trade and industry concerned and the associations concerned.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): If it is so, it is adding insult to injury.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Will you allow me to give him an answer? My Honourable friend, the Supply Member, said the other day that they had appointed the liaison officers for the particular trade after consulting the association which deals with that particular trade, they had appointed controllers on the same basis also, after consulting the particular trade

and the particular association. I will give him my reply. Take, for instance, Jute. There is the Indian Jute Mill Association. The Chairman of that Association is a European gentleman. Naturally because there are so many European-managed jute mills. If the Government write to that Association, "will you please let us know who should be the controller of jute", will the answer be, not the Chairman, but somebody else? The members who are there,—do they not know, that if they raised any objection now, what would be their fate when he will be appointed controller and when he will exercise restrictions which will perhaps injure their business? Even assuming that that is not so, what has happened in Calcutta I want to state here on the floor of the House. I do not say that that particular gentleman has done anything wrong himself, but, after all, we are all human. There arises a suspicion in one's mind. The Supply Member says: "Oh, no." The Controllers do not buy. It is we who buy from here." But who is their buyer? The Department here acts only as a post office. They get the buying orders from His Majesty's Government which they pass on to the controller to buy. They do not buy themselves. Take, for instance, an order is received in India, a huge order for, say, hessian. That order is communicated to the controller who owns Jute mills in India—that His Majesty's Government require 500 million yards of hessian. What is there to prevent that gentleman before placing that information before the Jute Mills Association, from taking up his telephone and asking his broker to buy five crores hessian for himself. After that he goes with the telegram to the Association and says: "Gentlemen, we have got an order from His Majesty's Government for 50 crores yards of hessian. Any Member willing to supply at this price? It will be distributed to them according to the capacity of their looms." Fair distribution! "If you don't want, say so. If you want to supply, it will be distributed on the basis of—loomage." Sir, what is the position? By that time the market has flared up. The result is that businessmen lose their profit except those who knew the information first. Why could not this business of informing the Jute Mill Association have been done by an I. C. S. officer in Calcutta? He could have himself taken the telegram which was sent from Delhi and informed the members of the Association at their meeting, so that the information would have been simultaneously disclosed to all.

Mr. J. D. Boyle (Bombay: European): Has that been done?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: It has not been done.

Mr. J. D. Boyle: Then, how is it that you say it has been done.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: I am saying that after all we are all human. Is it fair that one in the trade should have the privilege of knowing it first?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must know how to address the Chair.

Mr. Sri Prakasa (Allahabad and Jhansi: Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): He has learnt nothing all these days.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Is that man a liaison officer or adviser?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Controller I make no insinuation whatsoever. As my Congress friends say, we do not attack the Honourable members personally. I am attacking the system. I am only showing to the House that it is the system which is wrong and it has been condemned in England as well. The Government have no business to appoint Controllers from the trade, and besides that the controller learns all about my business and he may turn it to profit after the war is over. That is the grievance—not only with Indians but with every one in the trade. Take for instance the Controller of Shipping. He is a very particular friend of mine but who was he? He was the head of Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co., the firm which is the great enemy of Scindia. Would he, as a Controller, do equal justice to Indian shipping with which he has been competing all the time? We may say that he will, but after all he is human. What will be the position of the Indian Shipping firm which has been fighting him all these years? My friend, the Honourable the Commerce Member, is not here. I believe he would have jumped up straight away and said 'Indian shipping has nothing to do with the foreign shipping'. It is not under Sir George Campbell. He has been appointed by the Board of Trade Ministry of Shipping in London. He has nothing to do with the shipping on Indian Register.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: Who is your Controller?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: If he, Sir, makes that statement in reply to the statement that I have made, then I have got an answer which I shall not give now, but at a later stage when my Honourable friend makes his speech.

Then, I come to the Liaison Officers and Advisers. I know a specific instance of an Indian wool merchant, shipping wool—a very big merchant too. He shipped Tibetan wool. He sold it to Graham and Co., Calcutta—Tibetan wool, packed in Calcutta. Graham and Co. shipped it after it was passed by the Custom Officer. But unfortunately that boat was requisitioned. The whole of the consignments on that boat had to be unloaded. Thereafter, a charge was made by Customs that it contained mixture of Indian wool. They had passed that in the beginning as Tibetan wool. Graham and Co. receives a letter from the Customs Authorities saying that it contains Indian wool also—a mixture which cannot be exported. The result is that he goes to the seller and says: "Take back your goods and give us back the money. We do not want to get into this trouble". The seller had to do that and then samples were taken from this shipment and sent to the Adviser, who is his opponent in the trade, giving him the Shippers' name and address and stating that those samples were drawn for examination from the shippers two bales. The authorities ask the Adviser's opinion. Experienced Government custom official had already passed it. But no. It had to go back again to Cawnpore, and what happened. The Adviser finds his rival's goods and says 'In my opinion there may be a mixture of Indian wool'. The result is confiscation, fine and so on, on the advice of the adviser who is his opponent in the trade as the head of the Cawnpore Woollen Mills. That is so far as the adviser is concerned. Take the liaison officers. Take the leather trade. Honourable

Members are aware that it is entirely in the hands of the Mussalmans. I will correct myself—it is not the leather trade as a whole but all the hide trade. Who is the liaison officer? He is my rival in Cawnpore. What is the Supply Member's answer? He was approved by the Association. But could they not associate an Indian with him? Could there not be two liaison officers or one joint liaison officer or one assistant—an Indian, a Muslim who knew the trade? A very big non-Muslim leather merchant told me his grievances that he does not get orders. The liaison officer is in the trade—represents a big English firm—and he takes the lion's share of the order himself first before he distributes to others. If others dare say anything, against him, they will not get even what little they were getting. That is the position. I wanted to bring home these facts to the Honourable the Finance Member. Something has to be done to change the situation as it exists. Now, Sir, Sir Alexander Roger visited Calcutta. He honoured me by accepting a garden party. (*An Honourable Member*: 'Important information!'). When he went there, I was asked to get the different Indian Chambers to meet him and discuss with him informally how there could be co-ordination between the Supply Department and the commercial community. I arranged a meeting of the various Chambers and met him. I will not take much of the time of the House but I will read a few lines to inform the House what was the gist of the talk we had with Sir Alexander Roger. I said in my speech:

"Some industrialists and business men representing the various Indian Chambers of Commerce in this Province met you at an informal conference on Tuesday when you were pleased to explain to them the purpose of your Mission's visit. If I have understood you rightly, the purpose of your Mission's visit is to advise the Government of India and the British Government as to the best way of co-ordinating and utilizing Indian industries in the production of munitions and war supplies."

Then, Sir, I said:

"At the conference to which I referred I hinted at certain difficulties experienced by Indian industrialists in the matter of munitions production. We hope that the points raised by us will receive your sympathetic consideration."

Certain points were raised and I will give the House his reply and then I will discuss them. He said:

"We know in England and you know here that the enemy is knocking at our gates and we have no time to spare and no time to lose. I therefore accept your assurance that in this war India stands along with Britain. Britain, too, stands along with India and we are going to fight this fight to a great victory. But only by co-operation, only by full co-operation between Indians and Europeans will we achieve the maximum production of munitions in India; and only by full co-operation and enthusiasm will you be able to make the dominions of the British Empire and of the British Commonwealth free from Nazi domination east of Suez. You hold the key of the Empire in your hands; it is safe in your hands and we want you to use that key."

Now, Sir, *The Hindustan Times* has made a caricature of that statement. "The key is in my hands and in the hands of my Honourable friend, Sir Homi Mody, but Sir Alexander Roger is going away with the unlocked box". The idea is that we are holding the key but the box is open and no key is necessary to unlock the box. There has been such a feeling in this country; it is not my feeling at all. What I say, is what the commercial magnates apprehend and I am here expressing the views

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of the commercial magnates. In their industrial number of *The Hindustan Times*. I gave a short statement about the apprehension that was in the mind of Indian businessmen. I shall read a few words therefrom. I said therein:

"Unfortunately, however, it is also too true that industrial magnates and leading business men in India are divided in their opinion regarding the results to be expected from the Conference. While the declared object of the Mission is to advise the Government of India and His Majesty's Government on the best way of co-ordinating and utilizing Indian industries in the production of munitions and war supplies, an important section of public and industrial opinion is frankly suspicious about it inasmuch as it feels that the net effect of the activities of the Mission will be simply to exploit India's raw materials and India's labour to the advantage of others."

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is ranging over a wide field

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Even the Chetwood Committee—I will read only one line, and with that I shall finish—even the Chetwood Committee Report,—which revealed the deplorable condition of the Indian Army in the matter of the poverty of its mechanized arm—failed to bring about a new orientation in the attitude of Army Headquarters and the Government. The present war has brought about some change in this regrettable state of affairs but it is hardly commensurate with the gravity of the situation. Sir, the war is at our gate. What has been done to save India?

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: What have you done?

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief should have taken an early opportunity of giving effect to the Chetwood Report. Has he armed India to the extent that he should have done? Has he made India air-minded?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): "Never-minded" and "air-blinded".

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: Sir, he has done nothing of the kind. We have been crying hoarse: "Give us arms, trust us, take us into your confidence. Arm India, trust India, and then give your ultimatum to the Nazi and the Axis Powers. Take us into your confidence. You will find that India stands by you as a whole." Sir, I conclude my speech by appealing to the Honourable the Defence Member to look into the matters I have brought in here. Sir, I support the motion.

M. Akhil Chandra Datta (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. The question is this. Is it in the interest, or is it the duty of India to finance this war? Sir, conceivably there are two grounds upon which India can be asked to finance the war effort: duty and interest, or duty or interest. Now, so far as that is concerned, the real question, the real issue, is,—is it India's war? If it is India's war, we have got to support and to finance the war. That is, in fact, the fundamental issue over this Bill. That issue can be approached from different standpoints. There are several side-issues but they are all subordinate to this main issue, namely, whether it is India's

war? I shall examine this question and give my grounds in favour of my contention that it is not India's war. The first and foremost ground is that India was never a willing party to this war. The war has been imposed upon her. It is not a war of our own choice. My impression was that it was not necessary to labour this point. I thought it is an admitted fact that India was never consulted before the declaration of this war. But I find that attempts have been made, even during this Session, by two Honourable Members to support the view that, though not formally, India was virtually consulted. I refer to the speeches of the Honourable the Commerce Member and of the Honourable Mr. Griffiths. So far as the attempt of the Honourable the Commerce Member is concerned, I should think that his defence really amounted to a confession that India was never consulted. He said that if India was not consulted legally or actually, she was consulted virtually. And, according to his ideas of the Constitutional law, he said that it was a *pro forma* declaration by His Majesty's Government on behalf of India. So, he admits that India was not actually consulted. But he takes shelter under a supposed fiction of the Constitutional Law. His idea is that when a war is declared by His Majesty's Government, it binds all the Dominions. He further said that the Dominions never cared to go into the pros and cons of this declaration of war and they accepted, as a matter of course, that it was binding on them. India, however, is not prepared to take that view of the Constitutional Law from the Honourable the Commerce Member.

As regards the defence of the Honourable Mr. Griffiths, his main contention comes to this. It is true that India was not consulted and this Assembly was not consulted, but his answer is that the Congress Party was absent. Is that an answer at all? It is tantamount to a confession that Congress Party is India. Is that the position of the Honourable Mr. Griffiths? Does he admit it? In the same breath he said: "Oh, the Congress does not represent India."

Mr. J. D. Boyle: Mr. Griffiths is not here, but he did not make that statement.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: If he did not make this statement on the present occasion, he certainly made it on a previous occasion. I have consulted the Debates and I can assure the Honourable Member on that point. Apart from that statement, does he admit that Congress is India? I am not discussing whether the Congress represents India or not but I am only examining the contention of the Honourable Mr. Griffiths that India was not consulted because the Congress Party was not in the Assembly. He said that as the Congress Party was absent, consultation was unnecessary. Is it an honest statement?

Mr. J. D. Boyle: What he said was that the Congress had forfeited their right to complain because they were not present in the House.

Mr. K. Santhanam (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): If he made that statement, then he made the reply also to that particular point.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: It is no use making a statement and then trying to wriggle out of it. You ought to know your own mind. My answer

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to Mr. Griffiths is that his is not an honest plea. Does he mean to say that it was the intention of the Government to consult India but because the Congress Party was absent, they did not do so? Was that the position? Does the Honourable Mr. Griffiths sincerely believe this? We shall, therefore, conclude that India was never consulted. That is my first ground for my answer in the negative to the issue whether it is India's war or not.

My second ground is that as India was not consulted before the declaration of the war, so during the prosecution of the war India is also not being consulted. On that point, even the Europeans in this country have got a grievance. I hope there will be no contradiction on that point. I have heard the Leader of the European Group in this House complaining about this the other day. He said that the information given to us is not sufficient as to what is going on. We do not know how the war is being conducted and what steps are being taken. That is our grievance—that is also the grievance of the European Group in this House. Shall I place before the House the opinion of the *Statesman*? This is what it said:

"There is dissatisfaction with the antiquated Government departmental system of prosecuting the war."

So, the people have never been taken into the confidence of the Government with regard either to the policy or the details of the administration of this war.

Now, that the Honourable Mr. Griffiths has come, I would like to say this. His case was that on grounds both materialistic and spiritual, it is India's war and Indians ought to fight this war. I am glad he is now a humble student of the Gita.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European). I have always been.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: He has had a chequered career. He has transferred his seat from the Treasury Benches to that other Bench which is nearest to the Treasury Bench. I congratulate him on that transformation. Now, that he has become a student of Gita, I hope some day he will embrace Hinduism also.

Now, Sir, I was going to say that my next ground for saying that it is not India's war is that there is no popular control over the expenditure of the money that is sought to be raised for the prosecution of the war. We have got no control whatsoever either in the raising of the money or in the spending of it. We have got no control over the spending department. Another very important ground on which I say that it is not India's war is that we do not know the aim and object of this war. What is the aim of this war? We are already familiar with the slogans that the war is being fought in the interests of self-determination, and for saving the small nations from the aggression of Germany and all that sort of thing. But the question is, does that apply to India? The question of freedom and democracy and self-determination, does it apply to India? That is the sole point so far as we are concerned. Is it necessary for England to fight Germany for obtaining the freedom of India? I ask that question. In order to win freedom for India, or in order to retain the freedom for India is it necessary for England to fight Germany? If you are really sincere in your professions, how does Germany stand in the way of the freedom of India? Has Germany destroyed the freedom of India? If you want to

talk of freedom and democracy and self-determination sincerely, then we have to fight not Germany for obtaining that freedom, but you have to fight Churchill and Amery, you have to fight the British capitalists, you have to fight Downing street you have to fight the Government of India and not Germany. It is all raising absolutely false issues when you speak of these things so far as India is concerned. Even in the matter of fighting the British Parliament, the British cabinet for the freedom of India, it is said that we cannot carry on this fight during the period of the war. Why not? Why can't we fight the British cabinet during the war? What is the trouble? England was prepared for the most revolutionary change, a radical change in her own constitution on the eve of the downfall of France. The Indian Constitution Act of 1919, when was that prepared? Was it not during the last War? Was not the Government of India Act amended on some matters even during the present war? So that there is no substance in that contention that nothing can be done during the pendency of the war. When there is peace, if you ask for freedom, you are told: "Oh! no, this is not the time, the time is not yet because there is Hindu-Muslim quarrel and all that". That is the reply during peace time. If you ask for it, during the war, it is said "Oh! this is war time". I do not know when to ask for the freedom of India. There is no other time. Either there is peace or there is war. So that is the position.

As the House is aware, nobody demanded in India that there should be an immediate change of constitution. No to speak of the other parties, even the Congress did not demand an immediate change of constitution. What does the Congress demand? An earnest declaration, and nothing else. That is wanted and something more because the history of British India is a history of broken pledges and, therefore, it is too late to have mere assurances. They want an earnest some practical advance in that direction and they proposed a national Government. That proposal was turned down. That was a golden opportunity, as my Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, said, for settlement and for obtaining the co-operation of the people of India for war efforts. On this question whether it is India's war, may I ask one question? Is it not a fact that during all the pronouncements made on this question of war aims in Europe, all responsible statements, including those of the Prime Minister no mention is made of India. Even the latest pronouncement of Mr. Churchill does not make any mention of India. We find mention made of all countries in Europe, but no reference is made to India. It is said that charity begins at home, and, therefore, no mention is made of India. There is talk of freedom of all other countries, except India.

There is still another ground urged for asking our support. It is said, never mind whether you get freedom or not after the war is over. Don't worry yourself about that. Now you have got to make your choice between Germany and England. If Germany comes, do you know what will happen to you? It would be a hellish thing and, therefore, between Germany and England, you must choose the latter. That is the doctrine of choosing the lesser of the two evils. That argument was elaborated by my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths. Germany is bad, but England may not be so bad as that, but England is also bad as you think, therefore, as between the two, you have to choose England and not Germany. I would ask my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, this simple question. Supposing

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one gets 20 stripes from a certain magistrate; does one like it because he might get 25 stripes from another magistrate?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Does my Honourable friend want an answer. The difference is between 20 stripes from the one magistrate and *bakshish* from another magistrate.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: I do not know what the Midnapore magistrate would have done. I think even Mr. Griffiths will not tolerate 20 stripes because somebody else would have given 25 stripes.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: He must take the *bakshish* from the other magistrate and not take the stripes.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: The real position, Sir, is this. We hate Nazism and we hate Fascism but does the hatred of Nazism generate love for imperialism? One point was made by the Commerce Member that when this war broke out the Congress people denounced Nazism and Fascism but now there is a change of attitude on that point. But has anybody sung Halleluja to Hitler and Nazism even today? Can the Honourable Member cite one single instance in which any Indian has said that Nazism is all right and is better than the imperialism of India? So the fact is that there has been no change in the attitude of India with regard to Nazism. We hate it now as we hated it when war broke out. It is not a question of choosing between two evils; it is not a question of weighing in the homoeopathic balance whether Nazism is good or it is as bad as imperialism. That is raising an altogether false issue. Mr. Griffiths raised a specious dictum of the instinct of self-control. The instinct of self-preservation is certainly the most important thing but so far as this question is concerned, whose instinct is it? Is it India's instinct of self-preservation that we should support this war or is the English instinct of self-preservation? What is the object? Survival. It is no longer the creed of self-determination; it has now come to the question of survival.

Then the Honourable the Commerce Member declared that the country as a whole is behind the war efforts of Government as against our assertion to the contrary. If there is a controversy on that question of fact, why did you not test it? Why did you not dissolve this House and have a general election on that particular issue? Does the Commerce Member sincerely believe that that attitude of not supporting the war efforts is confined to these gentlemen here and there is nobody outside this House who is against these efforts? Does he mean to say that these gentlemen have got no following in the country? I shall say, therefore, that this statement of the Commerce Member cannot be taken seriously. There is one special reason why his statement on this point cannot be taken seriously. He has said that whoever is against these war efforts is a traitor to India. I think that is too strong and too sweeping a remark for him to make, and the language of exaggeration cannot go further. I shall not follow him and say that that is an inspired statement or that it is a statement to order. I shall not say that it is a deliberate self-deception. But I do submit, Sir, that it only proves that he is absolutely out of touch with the currents of thought in this country. Remembering that Mahatma Gandhi is himself against these war efforts, remembering that so many of

our respected leaders are sailing in the same boat with Mahatma Gandhi, apart from the question of the merits of that opinion, I am really sorry that he made that statement. I am not angry with him but I am sorry because he wronged himself more than he wronged anybody else. I should say that he has been guilty of the grossest and blackest defamation and calumny that one can think of.

I shall now examine this question from another standpoint. Are these war efforts, so far as the industrial activities are concerned, really for the benefit of India? On this question I shall not give my own opinion but read just one small paragraph from a leader in the *Statesman* of yesterday which says thus:

"India must do three things which at present she cannot do. She must be able to produce motor engines for all purposes, to build aircraft and to build ocean-going ships. These three things are fundamental and inescapable. Britain holds the key to these things; and if for any reason,—inability to see beyond her own air battle, inability to put out of her mind considerations of post-war trade or the pressure of vested interest,—she fails, she will do so at her own peril."

I am anxious to draw the attention of this House to the three possible grounds on which England may not do her duty in this connection. These grounds are,—inability to see beyond her own air battle, considerations of post-war trade and the pressure of vested interests. Then the *Statesman* goes on to say;

"At present the Ministry of Aircraft Production is a stubborn obstacle to aircraft manufacture in India. It will neither help India in any way, nor, in so far as it lies in its power, will it allow America to do so."

Sir, I will not take up any more time of the House as there are many other Members desiring to speak but I shall conclude my short speech with a quotation from a book recently published by an eminent Member of Parliament. I read this because it exactly represents my views. In that book that M. P. says

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): What is the name of that M. P.?

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: The name of that book is *Unser Kampf* and I P.M. it is by Sir Richard Acland, M.P. He says:

"For what are we asked to make these sacrifices? What is the moral stimulus which is to drive our people on to bear these sacrifices? We are fighting against something which is hellish enough in all conscience and that will carry us a long way. To oppose this thing our people will suffer much, but is this enough? What after all are we fighting and sacrificing for? If we could be quite certain that all this suffering would bring us something which will be worth-while and if there was no other alternative but to endure it, then there is no doubt that as a people we should face it. Nobody has yet had given us any sort of assurance that all this suffering is going to lead to anything better than we know today."

He said all this, of course, with reference to England, but I find this still more appropriate from the point of view of India. Sir, I oppose this motion.

Mr. P. E. James (Madras: European): Sir, I do not propose in the course of my speech to refer to the Bhagavad Gita. After Mr. Griffiths' speech the other day, I went into the Library for a copy, but found there had been a run on the book and a copy was not available; the librarian also told me that he had received a large number of questions from Honourable Members as to number of chapters in that book. But I want

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first of all to make one or two references to the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member.

May I say at once that I agree with the Leader of my Party, Mr. Buss, that this speech was most welcome, in that it was some departure from previous speeches and announcements to which we have listened in this House and elsewhere? The Honourable Member said that he was quite willing, subject of course to the over-riding interests of public security, to lift the veil. We are accustomed to seeing the Honourable the Defence Secretary present in this House dressed in a *burqa*. I do hope that the fact that the Honourable the Finance Member has lifted the veil a little bit means that the Defence Secretary and the Finance Member and all the Members of the Treasury Benches have decided to come out of *purdah*. We have during the recess, since the last Session—and I would remind the Leader of the House and his colleagues

An Honourable Member: He is not here.

Mr. F. E. James: that that recess was a particularly long one—during the recess we suffered a great deal of uneasiness and distress in our own community. After all, there were the dark days of summer and there was a strong feeling, which here and there threatened to break out into active revolt, that in the conduct of affairs in the Central Government there was lack of drive, there was lack of co-ordination, there was certainly lack of information, and most tragic of all there was lack of unity in the country. I may say here that I welcome the broadcasts which have been given in recent months by Brigadier Molesworth: that is an example which I think might be duplicated and followed in other departments. Therefore it is not surprising that the Finance Member's speech, in which he lifted the veil to a very small extent, should strike us as a welcome departure from the comparative silence of past months.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): A great boon!

Mr. F. E. James: I am quite prepared to accept my Honourable friend's correction and call it a great boon, and I hope it will be the forerunner of similar boons. The Finance Member's speech also gave us a great deal of encouragement in a positive sense. He told us that there were to be within a measurable time half a million men of all arms, properly trained, properly equipped and properly led, available for the defence of this country: independent, I suppose, of the troops which have been sent overseas. He told us also

Mr. M. S. Aney: What do you understand by "measurable time"?

Mr. F. E. James: There is of course no indication in the speech as to when that extension will be completed, nor can there be. But reading between the lines in that speech, it is perfectly clear to any one who has not made up his mind beforehand that we are within sight of the achievement of that programme? Honourable Members must remember that although in the last war the expansion of the army did not begin

until 1917, and although it may have expanded much more rapidly than it appears to be expanding now, the organisation and equipment of a modern mechanised force is a far different thing from the organisation and equipment of a force even in the years 1916 and 1917. Surely, my Honourable friends remember also the course of events during the summer and the difficulties with which even the United Kingdom was faced in regard to the supplying and equipping and training of its forces. I am quite prepared to admit that they may then turn to me and say that all that should have been done before the war. That is a criticism which His Majesty's Government has to face at home and the answer to that is, in the words of the present Prime Minister, that it is no use wasting time over criticising the past, lest we should miss the opportunities of the present and lose the war in the future. I was then going to say that in addition to the army expansion there is the expansion of the Royal Indian Navy with the promise of almost immediate accession of strength in sloops, mine-sweepers and anti-submarine patrol boats. I would point out to the Honourable the Defence Secretary that there is still a great deal to be done, more especially with regard to the proper equipping of coastal defences at vital points and that is a matter in which my own community has taken a particular interest.

Then, as far as the Air Force is concerned, we are glad to note the expansion in the Flying Schools and the training of the necessary technical ground staff. That staff, even in the United Kingdom was short at the beginning of the war, and on its strength depends the expansion of any force. Here, may I say, that a word of tribute is due, to the work of the Flying Clubs in the various parts of the country who, with Government assistance, have been doing all they possibly can to accelerate the first stages of the training of suitable Indian pilots. Now, Sir, when I say that, I do not for a moment suggest that we are satisfied or that we do not realise that there is a great deal more yet to be accomplished. My friend, the Deputy President, drew attention to an article which appeared in the *Statesman*, of yesterday, in which the writer pointed out that although much had been done, three fundamental things were still lacking in the organization of India's war economy,—motor engines, tanks, construction of ocean going ships and air craft manufacture. It was probably unfair of the Deputy President to put his interpretation upon the reference in the article to the attitude of the Ministry of Production in the United Kingdom. It is quite natural that the Ministry of Production in the United Kingdom should want to obtain the maximum output from those factories which are available today both in the United Kingdom and in America, and it would not be surprising, therefore, if the British Government hesitated to take a step with regard to the transfer of equipment to this country, which might result in diminishing production near at Home, without any corresponding benefit to production in this country. But, Sir, we are entitled to join the editor of the *Statesman* in pinning some hope to the work of the Roger Commission and the Eastern Supply Conference. I hope that the Honourable the Leader of the House will one of these days be able to tell us that the work of the Mission and the work of the Conference has resulted, not in a struggle between competing interests for pride of place in production, but in a pooling of co-operative effort out of which India's defences will

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be strengthened and her vast reserves of men and materials may be used to fortify and supply the great armies in the Middle East and their friendly allies.

Sir, this is an interim finance measure, and as such one must admit that it is not severe in character though the taxation proposed bears upon a strictly limited class of taxpayers. I would remind the House that income-tax payers alone represent less than 1 per cent. of the population. The difficulties of the Honourable the Finance Member which are bound to arise out of a rapidly expanding expenditure on defence forces have yet really to be faced. There are, I suggest, two conditions which have all the time to be borne in mind and which perhaps are most difficult to fulfil in war time. The first is that all extravagant expenditure, whether by the State or by the individual, should be discouraged. I should like to see some emphasis on extravagant expenditure by the individual referred to by the Honourable the Finance Member,—in my view that is a very important factor . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Perhaps at this stage the Honourable Member would like to stop.

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

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

Mr. F. E. James: When the House adjourned for lunch I was suggesting that in regard to the policy of the future in connection with the financing of the war, two things should be borne in mind, which perhaps are extremely difficult to bear in mind under war conditions. The first is, that extravagant expenditure should be discouraged both by the State and by the individual, and I may say here that we were very glad to hear from the Honourable the Finance Member his statement yesterday with regard to the scrutiny of expenditure in the Supply and other Departments. It would be helpful also to hear from him something as to the control which is now exercised by his Department over the great spending departments of the State. That is the first point. The second point is that, so far as possible, the standard of life of the poor should not be lowered and that the bare necessities of life should remain untouched. I know that this is a tall order in a country in which indirect taxation plays such a large part in financing even the ordinary administrative services of the land. But to my mind, particularly in view of the fall in prices to which reference has already been made, as far as the agriculturist in many parts of the country is concerned, it is a factor that will probably require not only negative but also positive action. And I welcome the statements made by the Honourable the Commerce Member, particularly the statement he made to the Export Advisory Council in Bombay regarding measures to deal with surplus and unsaleable crops in the hands of the producers.

Sir, let me, if I may, give, first of all a word of encouragement to my friends on the Treasury Benches and then a word of warning. Perhaps

they do not need encouragement, but I hope they will appreciate it. May I tell them, so far as my own community is concerned, they will have its full and enthusiastic support in all measures which they take for the effective prosecution of the war. The word of warning is this. That enthusiastic support cannot be forthcoming from any community spontaneously unless the Government are prepared to a greater extent than in the past, to take the country into its confidence. Much of the public criticism which has been directed against Government Departments in past months, certainly as far as my own community is concerned—much of that criticism has been due to lack of information. I know that there are a great many things that cannot be divulged in time of war, but there is much that can be told the public and should be told the public. I have noted in recent months that there have been increasing authorities in charge of information, and yet there still seems to be a lack of co-ordination between these authorities. I would put it to my friends that this matter of information and publicity is perhaps one of the most important aspects of all war effort, and it is not a coincidence that in the great countries which are now engaged in this war their governments regard this as one of their most important departments. I suggest that this would merit the undivided attention of a Member of the Executive Council with full power over all branches disseminating information to the public. Sir, while I am on this subject, may I say one word about the press? I should like if I may,—and I think in what I say I am supported by my colleagues—I should like to pay a tribute to the attitude of the press in this country since the war began. I share the relief of many at the recent withdrawal of the order under the Defence of India Regulations which were announced in the press on Monday. I take it that that was a result of consultation and co-operation and an agreement to trust each other. I only hope that that experience will extend to a wider sphere.

When I turn to the political scene, I am confronted with a much less happy and more sombre situation. I was glad when my Honourable friends the Members of the Congress Party decided, in the customary words of invitations in this country, to “grace the occasion with their presence”. I am sorry, of course, that they probably are not going to stay very long; at any rate, I welcome the return of the parliamentary mentality. This debate has been conducted in an atmosphere of extreme passion and to my mind unreality.

An Honourable Member: For which Mr. Griffiths is responsible.

Mr. F. E. James: We are, of course, accustomed to hard words. After all, hard words break no bones and, except under certain circumstances, they do not sow the seeds of hatred. I must say I found it difficult to believe that some of my Honourable friends on the other Benches could be capable of so much bitterness and I could not help thinking, as I heard the first two days of the debate, that some of them at any rate were disregarding their master's doctrine of non-violence in thought, word or deed. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti . . .

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Just as you disregard the doctrine of Christ.

Mr. F. E. James: I shall come to storm-trooper Asaf Ali later on. My Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, in his speech seemed to glory in Britain's discomfitures and did all he could to minimise her strength. And as I listened to him I remembered how strange it was for one who had so lately proclaimed the Europeans as his friends in the Madras Corporation when he was Mayor, to take that point of view.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Why not?

Mr. F. E. James: As Mayor, of course, he is supposed to be above all parties.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Yes.

Mr. F. E. James: And yet I noticed when he was Mayor he lifted no finger to alleviate the sufferings of those in the United Kingdom who some years ago gave him such a hospitable welcome. That, I must tell him quite frankly, is an attitude which has surprised many of his oldest friends. Of course, I realise that he is not his own master.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Nor are you your own master.

Mr. F. E. James: As Mayor I thought that as one above party his humanitarian instincts would have asserted themselves.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Mayors do not vote. Do they vote in Britain?

Mr. F. E. James: Having been elected the first citizen of Madras, I should have thought that Mr. Satyamurti would have started a Mayor's Fund untrammelled by orders from above. Mr. Abdul Qaiyum is a Frontiersman, bulky in form, loud in speech.

When I listened to his vain boastings, I seemed to think that I detected something familiar in those words. Then I remembered that I had heard those identical words from the Berlin broadcasts and I congratulate my Honourable friend on having learnt them by heart! I think he will now be appointed the Lord Haw Haw of the Congress Party.

It was a relief, I am bound to say, to listen to my friend, Mr. Santhanam, because while unyielding in his matter he was gracious in his tribute, and the first tribute of its kind—which he paid to my own countrymen. I thank him for it.

As for Mr. Sri Prakasa, we all miss his revered father who had, I believe, a restraining hand upon him while he was here. I feel sorry for him, because he can scarcely conceal his chagrin at the way in which his Party is leading him. He hides it under a cloak of comic history and I feel all the time that that strange cloak he wears really hides a most uncomfortable mind . . .

Then I come to my friend, Mr. Joshi—Mr. N. Molotov Joshi—the democratic nominee of a bureaucratic Government. He is a great champion of freedom and democracy if he can have them without fighting for them.

Now, these are I hope little quips which will not be taken amiss by any of my friends. They have spoken in diverse tongues on much the same theme: We are the Violent Boys of the Non-Violent Army.

I have been impressed by the restraint of my friend, the Leader of the Opposition. He must have a very difficult task in keeping in check the ebullience and the indiscretions, of his followers. Of course, he is aided and abetted by his Gestapo in Chief, Sardar Joginder Singh. I have noticed from time to time when a Member of the Party has been a little indiscreet in answering an interruption from my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah or in overstepping the bounds of party discipline, the Sardar goes to that recalcitrant Member and after a short interview I have seen that Member automatically salute the Sardar with the phrase: 'Heil Himmler'.

Now, these are all in jest and I am not going to talk at length about some of the arguments that have been mentioned in this House today and, on previous days. There is only one point I want to mention, a point that has been referred to incidentally by several speakers and that is the Provincial Governor's War Funds and the suggestion that coercion has been used. Now, I can only speak of Madras. I do know this; that every possible step has been taken again and again both by His Excellency the Governor and the Advisers and all Collectors to prevent the kind of persuasion which has been referred to. On the other hand I do complain and I have a right to complain of the coercion which is exercised by the Congress Party over its members. I myself have been the recipient of subscriptions from Congress Members. I have known of other subscriptions which have been given in strict secrecy. These men are not free to follow the dictates of their hearts and I think that is wrong. If my Honourable friends complain of coercion owing to collections through the official machine, I am equally justified in claiming that there is coercion by the leaders of the Congress Party over their followers.

An Honourable Member: Not a bit.

Mr. F. E. James: Surely in a matter like this, it is not right for a policy of rigid negation and discipline to be followed. Men should give their money where they think it ought to go. Don't put them in the position of having to give it clandestinely, under cover of secrecy. Let them give according to their heart's dictates.

Now, Sir, I will turn to some of the political issues which have been raised during the past months and have been referred to in this House. It is true that the war caught India in the midstream of fresh constitutional developments. That is a fact which, though one may regret it, is true. In the provinces the Congress had accepted responsibility and were working the constitution and working the Act according to their lights, with, I may claim, the whole-hearted co-operation, in most respects, of the members of the permanent civil services. On the day after the declaration of war, Mr. Gandhi made a statement which has been often quoted to me in letters from my own home. He said:

"My sympathies are with England and France from the purely humanitarian standpoint. I am not, therefore, just now thinking of India's deliverance. It will come, but what will it be worth if England and France fall, or if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled."

Knowing the atmosphere at that time I hope I am not making an over-statement when I say that I and many of my friends felt that in those words he was voicing the opinion of India. But it appears he was alone, for the Congress did not support him in that line. They decided,

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to put it plainly, to bargain for power and during the year that has elapsed since then, they passed Resolution after Resolution. They have put forward various considerations which have been mentioned here. What are Britain's war aims? What is Britain's purpose with regard to democracy? Britain should not have dragged India into the war without her consent. Give us a declaration as to India's independent status. Define and re-affirm your faith in democracy. Give us a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise. Give us a national government at the Centre. Let us occupy seats of power. Finally give us freedom of speech to prosecute the doctrine of non-violence even if it involves even to a limited extent, asking people to take no part in India's war effort. In the process of this bargaining and at the earlier stages the Congress surrendered their power in the Provinces. Looking over the diary of those days, one is struck with a note to the effect that, not long after that, the Muslim League had a thanksgiving day for deliverance from the "tyranny, oppression and the injustice" of Congress rule. Now, Sir, during this period His Majesty's Government made various declarations and there were from time to time in the House of Commons debates which I think well repay reading. The last of these declarations through the mouthpiece of His Excellency the Viceroy made three definite points. First of all, that His Majesty's Government was prepared to agree to the immediate expansion of the Executive Council and the formation of a War Advisory Council, representative not only of British India but also of the Indian States, which would meet from time to time, consult with the Viceroy and give its opinion on the various aspects of India's war effort. The second point was that His Majesty's Government were prepared to do all in their power to make possible the framing of a new constitution covering all the field covered by the Government of India Act of 1935, after the war with the least possible delay, through machinery to consist of representatives of India's national life. In the meantime they went on to say that they would be glad sincerely to help, even during the war, to get an agreement on the form and the methods of the machinery and even on the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. And in the third place, they said that they re-affirmed the goal of Dominion Status for India, that is, the status of free and equal partnership in the Commonwealth. That is now proclaimed and accepted once more as Britain's goal. Now, Sir, we may not always look into the precise meaning of the words; in politics we must also look into the circumstances in which those words were uttered and the atmosphere to which they gave rise. The debates in both Houses of Parliament on the last occasion were most friendly and most earnest in tone and I do not think they merited the abuse which has been heaped upon them. The offer which is now made is a generous offer, (though I cannot expect my Indian friends to look upon it as an act of generosity). I do say that this offer has very far-reaching implications, and let the House not forget that it was made by His Majesty's Government on the eve of that concerted far-flung and long-planned attack which the German war machine was to make on Great Britain.

Now, Sir, unfortunately, this offer has been rejected by the Congress Party, practically rejected out of hand, as being of no worth and of no account, and in place of it a proposal was put forward, I think at Poona.

for a national government in this country—a substitution of the present personnel of the Executive Council by representatives of Indian parties who were to be responsible to the elected Members of this House. On the fact of it that offer appeared to merit very careful consideration. I know that we examined it in South India with great care because it largely was made possible by the skill in debate and persistence of a distinguished South Indian Leader. Unfortunately, from our point of view, although the offer was explained to us as not involving any serious constitutional changes but merely a substitution of personnel, I found, when I read the speeches on the debate at Poona, that quite a different impression was given. In fact it has been made perfectly clear not only then but since that one of the reasons, in fact the main reason for the disappointment of the Congress Party that this proposal has not been accepted is that what they intended was a complete transfer of power at the Centre, and when my friends tell me that that certainly involves no great constitutional changes, I must beg to differ from them. The profound constitutional change that remains in the constitutional machinery of this country is this question of the transfer of power at the Centre. We also found that no other party appeared to support the claim for a national government on those lines. We went into the matter further; we realized that in fact the main essential for any national Government in any country was missing here. In any country, a national Government is the expression of a national union, a united national will. I have been told that there is in the United Kingdom a parallel. If the United Kingdom can have a united Government, a national Government for the prosecution of the war, then why not this country? Well, no doubt if in this country there were the pre-requisites of a national union, even a national Government might be possible. But that is not there. In any case what is being asked in this instance is, not what has happened in the United Kingdom, *viz.*, the formation of a national Government within the structure of the present constitution, but what is demanded in this country is the formation of a national Government to which power may be transferred for the first time in the constitutional history of India. Now, I do not for a moment say that such a desire is not a perfectly legitimate desire. But I do suggest that, first of all, it is asking—whether Members may say it or not, deny it or not—it is asking for a profound constitutional change during war time involving very wide implications. Secondly, it is asking us to believe that there does at present exist in India the basis for a national Government. Unfortunately we cannot believe that at the present moment. And, thirdly, there is no indication, at any rate, from the Congress side, in clear and unmistakable fashion as to what they intend such a National Government should do in regard to this war if they did secure power at the Centre through the formation of a National Government. It is, frankly, a puzzle to many people. On the one hand, we have the declaration that the Congress is a non-violent body and that it is wedded to that principle, not only as an ideal but also as a method of approach to the political freedom of this country. Well, if that is the case, what happens when they achieve a National Government on the lines that they want? What are they going to do with the armed forces which will then be under their control? Is there any categorical assurance anywhere that if power passed during war time, that power would still be used for the effective defence of this country and for the prosecution of the war abroad?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I think in that Resolution itself there is a clause 3 P.M. which is being overlooked by the Honourable speaker.

Mr. F. E. James: I know the clause to which my Honourable friend refers, but that was hastily withdrawn.

Some Honourable Members: No, no.

Mr. M. S. Aney: It was withdrawn after the Resolution had been withdrawn; not till then.

Mr. F. E. James: Very well. I certainly do not want to misrepresent anybody. That is the last thing I would like to do. I certainly remember a clause which referred to the defence of India and there was a certain amount of ambiguity about that phrase which some members endeavoured to clear it up afterwards. But there is still a more fatal objection. The Congress Party have turned down the offer of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government for some of the reasons I have mentioned.

As I understand the attitude of the Muslim League, in the Resolutions that have been passed and in the correspondence that has been exchanged between the Leader and the Viceroy, they moved very close to acceptance in principle of the statement made by His Majesty's Government, subject of course, to various reservations in regard to representation and in regard to other matters which formed the subject of that correspondence. I would not detail them all. I should like to know whether that is final on their part. Is it possible that they are throwing away an important principle for the sake of the details of its application? Is it possible that they feared that if they accepted this and the Congress did not, the Congress might subsequently come in and upset the balance of power on the expanded Council? I know that the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberals and the other minority groups have criticised what they call the vagueness of the statements issued by His Majesty's Government, but I have always understood that they would be prepared to enter an expanded Executive Council if certain conditions were fulfilled. In other words, they have not as yet committed themselves to demanding the kind of National Government to which the Congress have committed themselves.

Now, Sir, one other important factor is this. The Congress is asking His Majesty's Government to transfer power from themselves to a National Government in the country. Obviously, they cannot transfer that power to the Congress alone. Obviously, they cannot transfer that power even to the Muslim League alone even if they were prepared to agree to such a constitutional change in the structure of this Government during the war time. His Majesty's Government have themselves said—and these are important words—that they cannot contemplate transfer of responsibility to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by a large or powerful elements in India's national life.

An Honourable Member from Congress Benches: What about this system of Government?

Mr. F. E. James: It is not merely a transfer from these gentlemen to Congress gentlemen but it is a complete transfer of power from London.

This announcement of His Majesty's Government has been welcomed by every minority, in this country. Yet it need be and should be no hindrance to constitutional development either now or after the war unless, as a matter of fact, any one community is seeking to dominate or to coerce.

Therefore, we are unfortunately back again at a deadlock. There was at one time a co-operative spirit about but much of that has disappeared. The Muslim League have not been able to accept the offer in the terms in which it has been made. On the other hand, they have made their position clear as far as the war effort is concerned. This I noticed in an address given at an *Id* celebration recently. My Honourable friend, the Leader of the Muslim League, said, that he was convinced that whatever the misdeeds of the British Government in the past, in the interests of India, it was their duty to support and co-operate with them now in order to protect their own homes and hearths.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Go on further.

Mr. F. E. James: I have not got the further portion of the speech.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I may inform the Honourable Member that that speech of mine has been thoroughly mutilated and I have not yet been able to find out who the culprit is.

Mr. F. E. James: Naturally. I accept my Honourable friend's word that his speech been mutilated, but there seems to be an epidemic of mutilation of speeches on that particular side of the House. I copied this speech, I think, from an article published in the *Times of India*, Bombay.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Then, I may inform the Honourable Member that he has only got the first part completely out of its contents. I will read to the House my speech from the *Times of India*.

Mr. F. E. James: In that case, it only makes what I was about to say very much more pertinent. I was about to say that if this was true, then we will listen with more interest than usual to the speech that my Honourable friend is going to deliver on the Finance Bill. We hope that in that speech he will touch upon this subject not in its narrow sense but in the broader sense of policy.

Now, Sir, I am left with one unfortunate impression as a result of the study of the position taken up by the Congress from the beginning of the war. I am left with this question in my mind. Did they ever really mean co-operation? Was it ever their will to assist the Government?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Did you ever want India's real co-operation?

Mr. F. E. James: Was it that they wanted constitutional power? If they got it, what were they going to do with it? There is no doubt—and here I am not arguing a case, I am stating a fact—that there was widespread and profound distrust as to their intentions if they captured power at the Centre on the part of practically every other Party in the country. Now, Sir, the position is that we have a deadlock and the Congress Party have handed the baby to the Mahatma, whose words are inscrutable and very difficult sometimes for the outsider to follow.

[Mr. F. E. James.]

I myself have held the view and have expressed it, that civil disobedience as such is not and cannot be a non-violent movement whether it is expressed through one person or through mass movements. I have always felt that it is a cloak for coercion and for violence. I remember recently reading a story told by Sir K. V. Reddy in South India in one of his meetings which is reported in the Press about a *sadhu* and a turtle. I think this story is known to some of my Honourable friends in South India. The *sadhu* was sitting by the road side meditating upon *ahimsa* and in the course of his meditations he became aware that there were a number of villagers who had captured a turtle and they wanted to dispose of it but did not know how to kill it. So they got hold of a number of sticks and were beating the turtle on its shell. When the *sadhu* heard this he said, "my dear friends, as a disciple of *ahimsa*, I must ask you to desist from that cruel practice". Then in an aside he said, "if you really want to kill it, turn it upside down". That has a moral. I think many of us feel that the attitude of the Congress Party and its present leader is puzzling and disappointing.

Mr. K. Santhanam (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I know if the Honourable Member will give the same advice that civil disobedience is wrong on the part of the Belgians, the Danes, the Dutch and other people who have been conquered by Germany?

Mr. F. E. James: My Honourable friend has fallen into a trap. They never claimed that it is non-violent. It is the claim that civil disobedience is non-violent that I challenge. It cannot be. Those brave men in Belgium and Holland know what they are in for. They do not talk nonsense about non-violence.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Will my Honourable friend, Mr. James, advise the Congress to turn violent?

Mr. F. E. James: I should of course hesitate to give even my Honourable friend any advice, let alone the Congress itself. I know that if I gave any advice, they would not take it.

My point is this and I return to it. My Honourable friends cannot get away from it. Civil disobedience is not and cannot be a non-violent movement. To call it non-violent is to deceive yourself and to deceive the country. Now, Sir, I do not want to get excited in these matters as have some of my Honourable friends in the past. I want to refrain from bitterness of speech. One of the most magnificent passages in the speeches of that incomparable leader of men, Mr. Churchill, was that passage dealing with his attitude towards the French nation, after the French had been beaten to their knees. There was an attitude of generosity to a previous Ally who might at that time have been regarded almost as a traitor. He said in that speech of his that we should not accuse as traitors those who had fallen by the wayside through weakness. Far be it from me to emulate Mr. Churchill, although Mr. Satyamurti called me a pocket Churchill.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: You will try, if you can!

Mr. F. E. James: I would rather be a pocket Churchill than a pocket Quisling. This war is going to be won by pocket Churchills. One of the German commentators recently expressed a certain amount of uneasiness at the strength of the defence of Britain. Why, he exclaimed, there is not only one Churchill; there must be about 45 million Churchills defending their country, and things are going to be very difficult. Therefore, when my Honourable friend called me a pocket Churchill, I took it as a compliment.

Naturally, there is not anybody in this House who does not regret the absence of what one may call full political co-operation in the prosecution of the war. If that is not possible, then the preparations must go on without that co-operation, because the danger to my country, the danger to the Commonwealth, the danger to the countries in the Middle East and the dangers to the interests of this country, are one and indivisible. I have been asked by many Honourable friends of mine, what after all are you fighting for. Well, anything that I say to some of my Indian friends will be suspect. I cannot hope to persuade them to believe what I believe. But let them not ask me or any members of my community. Let them ask the Labour party in England. They know that they had no share in the foreign policy which immediately led up to this war. They had practically no responsibility for the defects in the preparations for the defence in the United Kingdom before the war or even during the early days of the war. Yet they are now the spear head in a national government in the United Kingdom which represents the national will and which I predict will be unshakable. I need not ask any one in my country. Go to America. President Roosevelt knows what the war is about. He said it is for freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, for the decencies of life, the right of nations to live and develop into increasing freedom. He was re-elected. America is helping today to the fullest extent in her power. She had no reason to love Britain; she had no reason to love what is called British imperialism. Yet even Mr. Willkie after his defeat said to the press, "All of us, Republicans and Democrats and Independents believe in giving aid to the heroic British people". Sir, I believe this is one of the classic struggles in the history of the world for freedom, for the right to be free and to achieve freedom. Everywhere, even in the occupied countries, there are free peoples co-operating. No man in this country is coerced into co-operation. He is invited to co-operate. He may stand aside and say, "This has nothing to do with me. This is not my war." As long as he does not definitely and deliberately endeavour to impede war efforts, he is left alone. Even without him, there is no lack of men, money and munitions.

Sir, I am afraid this war looks as though it is going to extend. Almost every hour brings news of further extensions and those extensions are in this direction. I do not say that in order to terrorise any one. Of course, there is no one in this House who would be terrorised even by the threats of Germany and Russia combined. But I say that there is a case for the people of this country to extend not only their material assistance but also their moral and political assistance. I believe that those who stand aside from that will one day regret that they did not share to the fullest in our present trials and in the certain victory in which every man of my race has unbounded confidence.

Lala Sham Lal (Ambala Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, on account of an infirmity in my right leg, I cannot keep standing for long and I request your permission to speaking sitting.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Yes, certainly.

Lala Sham Lal: Thank you, Sir.

Sir, I speak to oppose the proposed Finance Bill, and I do so on broad general grounds. I do not propose to repeat any of the arguments that have already been advanced on the floor of this House in opposing this Bill. This Bill is stated to be a war measure, a measure for the due prosecution of the war, and it is stated that clearly this is not the last but more of its kind has yet to come if India is to play a worthy part in securing the victory of civilisation. Which war, I ask? A war which originally broke out between a few Christian countries of Europe and for the purposes of those countries only, a war which has by now knocked down several peaceful and inoffensive countries and has destroyed their liberty, a war in which weapons of destruction of every kind, mostly immoral which science and wealth can possibly invent, are being employed. It is a pity that science and wealth which ought to have gone for the betterment of mankind is being utilised for destruction. Wealth is being consigned either to the bottom of the sea or consigned to fire. Evidently there must be something wrong with this wealth. It must have been acquired through bad *karmas*. The misdeeds are apparent in the exploitation of people and that is why this wealth is being dissipated in this manner. Then, Sir, it is a war in which lives of men, women and children are being destroyed indiscriminately and ruthlessly and for no fault or offence of theirs; and lastly, it is a war in which all laws of morality and rules of God are being set at naught and a war which must be described as a Satanic war. It is for this war, Sir, that India is being asked to make a contribution both in men and in money. India is being asked only to make a contribution; she is not allowed to say or to exercise her will as to whether or not she is to make any contribution,—a strange thing indeed. A person is asked to make payment and he is not allowed to say whether he should make the payment or not. Is not this the method usually employed by a robber or a dacoit? I should ask all Honourable Members to think upon this for themselves.

Then, Sir, India is being given an insult and an indignity. And which India is it, I ask again. India, a veritable ethnological representative of the whole world, India which 400 million people of all castes and creeds in the world are inhabiting, which contains one-fifth of the human race and is the largest single populated country in the world, the Queen of Asia and the home of the civilisation of the East. It is an irony of fate that this India by the happening of strange events constituting a miracle has fallen a slave to a small island in the Atlantic Ocean. This India says in reply that she cannot participate in this ugly, inhuman and Godless war. It is not worthy of her to play any part in this war. She cannot, for fear of God, make any contribution either in men or in money for this war or in furtherance of this war. Now, Sir, it may be asked,—a very legitimate question indeed,—that war is raging in all its ferocity and it is carrying devastation all around it, and how are you going to stem the tide of the coming devastation? In reply to this India says that it is not worth-while to become a rogue with a rogue, it is not worth-while to follow the doctrine

of *Shathe shathyam* as we say in India; it is no good following the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but to meet this war and not only to meet this war but also to meet the future time in a befitting manner you should adopt the doctrine of truth and non-violence. It is only through truth and non-violence that the victory of civilisation can be secured; it is only through truth and non-violence that peace and prosperity can come to mankind; it is only by following this doctrine that the world and mankind can be free. Sir, the greatest leader of Indian thought today prescribes this doctrine for the Indian people and for the people of the world at large. It may be said that this is a novel doctrine and I will deal with it presently. But Mahatma Gandhi, the great leader, says that not only freedom but peace can come to mankind through this doctrine alone. He says that the freedom of India is nothing if it does not come through this; he says that the freedom of India alone is nothing if it does not come to the world at large. India does not exist for herself, she has got a mission to perform for the whole world. This doctrine is mocked in some quarters and it is said that it is a novel doctrine devised by Mahatma Gandhi for the present time and only to suit the present time and to conceal the weakness of India. I say to such friends that it is not the case. It is a doctrine which originated at the time when humanity first got it; it is a doctrine which has been handed down to us from age to age on the basis of which the seers and sages of the world have been giving great warnings to mankind. Sir, if I were to mention these sages in detail I am afraid there will be no time but I would like to place a few instances in support of what I am stating, from India alone. So far back as 1894, 46 years ago, a seer of India stated in emphatic and prophetic words, "We have to teach the world what it is waiting for. Europe, the centre of material energy, will crumble into pieces within the next fifty years."

An Honourable Member: That is what is happening.

Lala Sham Lal: Yes. She will crumble to dust within the next fifty years if she does not change her position, shift her ground and make spirituality the basis of her life. And what will save Europe then will be the soul of India. These are the words uttered by a saint of India in 1894, when there was no war, when there were no prospects for a war; and if my friends would like to see this utterance, they may find it in Swami Vivekananda's works, Vol. III, page 159. This Swami Vivekananda was a seer of India, a sage of India. He made extensive tours in America and in Europe: he made disciples there and his disciples are still working; he died in 1903. Now, what did he say in those utterances? He said we are to teach what the world is waiting for. He was lecturing on *vedanta* at that time, and *vedanta* is the highest scripture for soul elevation. He was telling the people that we will teach soul elevation for the world—what it is waiting for. He said these words to meet the material energy of Europe. He said these words to save Europe at the time of the crisis. These are words which must be considered in a serious mood.

Another sage of India, whose name has been often mentioned by some Honourable friends—I mean Sri Aurobindo Ghosh—shortly after the last war—perhaps a few months after the armistice and the treaty of Versailles and the constitution of the league of nations, he wrote a book called: "War and Self-Determination". Therein he stated that this Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations shall only be a prelude for another

[Late Sharn Lal.]

war in the near future, severer in magnitude than the one which had just finished; and then he said that so long as war cannot be made psychologically impossible, it must remain and if banished for a while it must return. This is the statement of another seer of India, to whom reference has been made by many Honourable friends today on the floor of the House.

This is the position which India takes today. This is the attitude which India takes today and this is the attitude which has been advised for India today by that great leader of Indian thought.

Let me keep aside this attitude and this position for a while and let me turn to Europe—what has the civilisation of Europe and the creed of Europe to say in this matter. Let me take the case of Britain first. Britain is represented by a King. It is the law that the King can do no wrong. Just as God can do no wrong, his representative on earth, the King, also can do no wrong. When we keep in view the history of the divine right of kings, and also the fact that the King of England holds the title "Defender of the Faith"—what faith? "Whoever raises the sword shall perish by the sword"—what faith? "Blessed are the poor in heart for they shall inherit the earth" what faith? "If one smites you on the right cheek give him the left also". This is the faith of the whole of christendom and more so for Germany which country has produced many high thinkers in the past and still more for Italy where the representative of Jesus Christ, His Holiness the Pope resides. We ought to take it that this is civilisation and this is the creed which Britain professes and Britain holds dear. This is the creed—not for Sunday use only but—one—for which Britain has to live and for which Britain has to die. In face of this can it be denied that the position that India is taking up today in respect of this war is correct position? Can Britain in view of its own civilisation contradict this position? I should say it cannot.

It is being stated in some quarters that this is the creed no doubt, a high ideal no doubt, but it is not possible to follow it. It is an impossible and an impractical creed. But let me take an instance from the history of England itself. The history of India is full of such instances, but I am not referring to them at the present time—I am only taking an instance from the history of England itself. In the time of Queen Mary, the despotic Queen Mary, Protestants were being persecuted and were being thrown alive into the fire and being burnt. how did the victims behave? They cried aloud cheerfully "We will play the man: we shall light such a candle in England which by the grace of God shall never be put out." As a result of this cheerful suffering, we see that the papist rule in England was removed for ever. In the face of this, can any one deny that this is a doctrine that cannot be acted upon?

That is the position that India is taking. India says that civilisation will not be secured by becoming violent, by answering the sword with the sword: it will rather be secured by following the doctrines which God has commanded, and which is embodied in the doctrine of truth and non-violence. When making this statement I want to refer to an important thing, which after all I consider to be important. I invite the attention of the Honourable Members of the European Group, particularly, to that statement. The import of this war is not being realised properly. It is not being realised in Europe, and it is not being realised here now by the Members of the Government which is established in India. It is not a war between one country and another. It is a mistake to think that this

is a war between one country and another. It will be a mistake to suppose that this is a war between one set of countries and another set of countries. I would like to point out to Honourable Members that this is a war between one civilization and another. This is a war between one force and another force. It may not be visible today, but it will come into the limelight at no distant time. Sir, this war, as I have stated, is a war really between two great forces. If anybody can exercise his powers of introspection, if anybody has got the slightest intuition, he will find that it is really a war between two great forces, not between one country and another. Now, what are these two forces? I want to explain to Honourable Members of this House. One is the force of material energy, the brute force, prevailing in Europe today, and the other, of the spirit, the force of the command of God. Of these two forces, one is given birth to by the queen of Asia, the India, and both these two forces came into evolution at the same time, developed side by side together, and they are coming into conflict at no distant time. Now, is it not patent that after the close of the last war there have been Resolutions passed by the League of Nations Assembly demanding a restriction in the increase of armaments? In spite of that, the nations of Europe went on increasing their arms. At the same time, look at the state of affairs in this country? The doctrine of truth and non-violence began to be preached from India in about 1919 or 1920. Now, these two forces came into existence about the same time. They have been developing closely since 1919 up to the present time,—and God knows up to what time they may go on developing—until they come into conflict against each other. Now, Sir, this is the position, this is the attitude which India has taken. India has foreseen this conflict, this clash between these two forces, and has prescribed the doctrine of truth and non-violence, not merely to meet this ugly and inhuman war but to receive the coming times also. Therefore, Sir, I do appeal to Honourable Members of the European Group to please allow India to remain sensible. If the whole of Europe has gone mad, please do not drag India also into madness. Leave India alone; let her remain sensible, so that she may be able to save the dying Europe when the crisis comes. That is the position India has taken today, and that is the reason why I am going to oppose the Finance Bill.

Now, Sir, I should like to reply to certain criticisms which fell from my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, on the floor of this House. In the first place, in the whole of his speech I find there is only one question which calls for a reply, and I feel it is my part to make a reply. I do not know how other Honourable Members of this House will reply to him, but I shall give him a reply according to my best knowledge. Sir Abdul Halim referred to the savings of Shri Aurobindo Ghosh, and he referred to the contribution made by Shri Aurobindo, the Sage of Pondicherry, to the war fund. My friend has made much of this fact to support the argument which he placed before the House. Now, Sir, I may tell my friend that the contribution made by Shri Aurobindo is not at all inconsistent with the position, and attitude taken up by the Congress and enunciated in this House. If my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, had studied Mahabharat and other scriptures which Hindus hold dear, he would have known the philosophy of courtesy and manners which a Hindu is required to observe in his capacity as an individual. Sir, when Shri Aurobindo was arrested for a political offence in 1907, when he was kept in confinement in the Alipore Jail, he saw the image of Lord Krishna in every jail authority, in every jail warder, in fact, in every jail official, and also in the Magistrate

[Lala Sham Lal.]

who tried him. Now, at that time, as a human being, he saw the image of Lord Krishna in the jail authority, but today he is something more than a human being. I regard him as a transcendental existence today. I do not know how other Honourable Members may be regarding him, but I for one do regard him as a transcendental existence. Such an existence sees the image of God even in a Satan. But there is a difference between the duties of a man as an individual and between a man belonging to a particular political association. That is a distinction to which I should like to draw the attention of my friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi. If my friend had known this distinction, he would not have referred to the contribution which the Sage of Pondicherry is supposed to have made. Now, Sir, I would like to invite the attention of my friend, Sir Abdul Halim, to one or two instances to support my plea, and these instances I have taken from the Mahabharat itself. Was it not that Lord Krishna in his individual capacity who gave help to Duryodhana, the Satan when such help was demanded of him, but this he did in his individual capacity; but in the capacity of a political leader he came forward in the same breath to destroy Duryodhana and all his supporters

Mr. Umar Aly Shah (North Madras: Muhammadan): That is not correct. What is the use of importing wrong things and wrong points? People who have read and understood the Mahabharat in its Sanscrit original would not give such wrong interpretations to its text.

Lala Sham Lal: That is correct and that is the position; that he did in his individual capacity. Then I want to draw attention to another matter. Did not Bhishma *Pithamaha* bless the Pandavas in his private capacity, while, as leader of a political party, he sided with the Kauravas? Is not Mahatma Gandhi making the same distinction? In his personal capacity, he is blessing Britain. He says that he does not want Britain to be defeated, he says that he does not want Britain to be humiliated. Yet, in his capacity as the leader of a National Party, he is at war with Britain, a non-violent war, for the freedom of his country with the Government that is appointed by Britain in this country. That is the difference. If Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi had said that Shri Aurobindo Ghosh had directed the nation to contribute at the same time as he contributed himself, then I would have thought seriously before contradicting my Honourable friend. Let me give a little reply to my Honourable friend, the Commerce Member, who has characterised the Gita as one which teaches violence.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Member for Commerce and Labour): No, no.

Lala Sham Lal: If my Honourable friend denies that the Gita teaches violence, I will keep silent, but he did say, so far as I remember, that the Gita teaches violence.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar: Active resistance to violence.

Lala Sham Lal: Nothing can be so incorrect as a statement like this characterising that the Gita teaches violence.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): Does it teach non-violence?

Lala Sham Lal: Yes, it does. That is what I am going to tell you. On the one hand, you have Mahatma Gandhi who is a scholar in Gita, who has written many pamphlets on the Gita, who has translated the Gita

Mr. Umar Aly Shah: Mahatma Gandhi is not a scholar in Gita. Were he so, he would not have called his commentary "Anasaktiyoga", which only shows his ignorance of the profound meaning and import of the Gita.

Lala Sham Lal: He has written pamphlets on Gita, he has taken out verses from Gita which he is daily reciting in his prayers. On the other side, there is Sir Mudaliar who says that Gita teaches violence. (Inter-ruption.)

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

Then, Sir, the Gita is being read in every house, and it is being preached in all large gatherings. How many of the readers realise the Gita? So, it is very easy to read, but it is very difficult to realise the spirit of the Gita. This Gita teaches the doctrine of truth and non-violence, and if I were to cite verses from the Gita and discourse upon those verses, I shall make Sir Mudaliar know that the Gita does not teach violence or violence in action. It teaches non-violence for a human being. If my Honourable friend had carefully read the two Chapters of the Gita, namely, the one on the duties of a human disciple and the other on the duties of a Divine Teacher, he would have come to know that the Gita does not teach violence at all for a human being. It may be anything for a divine force

Mr. Umar Aly Shah: You are wrong *Vinasayacha Dushkrutam*. what does it mean?

Lala Sham Lal

*" Paritrāṇaya Sādhūnam
Vinasayacha Dushkrutam
Dharma Samsthāpanarthaya
Sambhavāmi yugē yugē ", etc.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I must tell the Honourable Member that this is no occasion for delivering a lecture on Gita. The Honourable Member must deal with the Bill before the House.

Lala Sham Lal: I am giving a reply to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes, but the Honourable Member has said quite enough on that subject.

Lala Sham Lal: On these grounds, I oppose the Finance Bill and finish my speech.

Sardar Sant Singh: We are very much indebted to the last speaker for the powerful discourse that he has given us on truth and non-violence.

[Sardar Sant Singh.]

but I wish that he had chosen another forum than this House. Here we deal with hard realities of life and we have to face facts as they are. Our complaint against the present system of Government in India is that it ignores the realities of life and enters into that state of mind which does not go to make empires, but rather goes to destroy the empire that has been made by its predecessors. In this case the debate on the Finance Bill has been going on for a much longer period than the ordinary budget discussion does, and the reason is obvious to all. Because the issues involved today are of a far-reaching importance, are of a more lasting nature, than a mere increase in taxation or throwing economic burdens upon the people. Here questions of high policy as well as how that policy is to be worked in practice are before us. This to me is the real significance of the debate on the Supplementary Finance Bill.

Sir, the confusion that is responsible for the great deal of difference of views between those who sit on my left and those of us who sit on this side of the House is that, while the Government, the European Members and those who are supporting the Government have been stressing the need for the successful prosecution of the war, they ignore that India does not feel, rather can not feel, much interested in the result of the war so long as the war aims are not clearly defined by the British Government regarding India's position during the war as well as after the war. The confusion is between what is called the aim of the war as distinguished from war aims. The aim of the war has never been in doubt. If any country is at war with another country, whether the cause be a good one or an indifferent one or even an immoral one, the aim has always been one and that is the single aim of winning the war and defeating its opponent whatever the means employed. The means may be fair or foul. The war must be won.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Everything is fair in love and war.

Sardar Sant Singh: Very often, it is the former rather than the latter in your case. So far as the aim of war is concerned, there can be no two opinions. The aim is that the war must be won.

4 P. M.

As regards the question of non-violence as a creed and non-violence as a policy, there have been serious difference of opinion even in Congress circles. We believe non-violence to be good as a policy and not as a creed. I refer here to my own community, the Sikh community. We believe non-violence to be a good policy for the time being but we are not believers in non-violence as a creed. I make bold to say this. Situated as India is, is it not a good policy for her to follow the path of non-violence? The question was put to the Honourable Mr. James by the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party whether he wants the country to take to violence. He avoided answering this question for it is difficult to answer and that too for the obvious reason that if we turn to violence, he knows and everybody knows that situated as India is, Indians are not able to resist the violence of the Government as against the violence of the people. I again declare that non-violence as a policy is an entirely different thing from non-violence as a creed. In our Sikh history, the aims of our Gurus were clearly pointed out. Up to the time of Guru Teg Bahadur who gave his life and suffered martyrdom in this very city of Delhi, the creed was one

of non-violence. But Guru Govind Singh when compelled, by the continuous mis-deeds and mis-government of the then Government of the time, to raise the standard of revolt sent an ultimatum to Aurangzeb. The first couplet that he wrote before taking to violence was this:

*Chūn kar az Haman Hilate bi-guzasht,
Halal ast grifan shamsher dast.*

It means: "When things become intolerable and all other policies have failed, it becomes lawful to draw the sword". When the circumstances have developed to such an extent that no other policy can help the nation, then it becomes lawful to take the sword in hand. That was the first sentence of the ultimatum that he gave to Aurangzeb, who was the head of the then Government of India. The same teaching is to be found in the jurisprudence of England. I have quoted that times without number on the floor of this House. In the jurisprudence it is laid down that when the evils of the Government become so intolerable that the evils of a revolution are less than the evils of the established Government, then it becomes lawful to rebel. Thus similar conceptions run through two different systems of thought. But however, this is not the time to go into these principles. I only wanted to explain our attitude towards non-violence and to emphasise that war cannot be won through non-violence.

Here we are faced with a serious dilemma at this time of war. Our friends on the European Benches as well as the Government cannot deny this fact that India has been forced into a war not by their own consent but by the consent of others whose possession India is claimed to be. What we want you to answer is this. Do you regard India as a valuable possession of England or do you want to treat Indians as human beings are treated in any country which is their own. That is the question which has been asked so often both on the platform as well as the Press. That question has not been answered so far and that question is contained in our demand for the war aims. You say that war aims are not defined in the middle of the war. Well, may I ask you whether it is not a fact that the declaration of 1917 was made when the last war was at its height. Then we were told that the goal of the British Government in India is the gradual realisation of self-government in India. The distance between 1917 and 1940 is a long one.

An Honourable Member: Much water has flown down the Jumna since then.

Sardar Sant Singh: Much water has flown down the Jumna, as my friend reminds me.

During the last war, Mr. Lloyd George, the then Premier of England, told a Press representative in an interview while talking of war aims, when he was questioned as to what he proposed to do about India: "If we have brains enough to conquer Germany and to establish self-determination for the smaller nations of the world," replied the Prime Minister, "surely we shall have brains enough to find a solution of India's difficulties". Twenty-three years have gone by since then and England has not found a solution.

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My friend, the Honourable Mr. F. E. James, told us in his beautiful and eloquent way that India has been caught in the midstream of constitutional reform. The war has come at such a time when the constitutional theories were being discussed and agitated upon. May I ask him why these constitutional theories did not find an answer during the last 23 years which have elapsed since the termination of the last war. Was not that war a war for establishing self-determination for the nations. Why was not that principle applied so far as India is concerned and why has it been delayed for such a long time. Really it is a question for serious thought. It is true that there should be no embarrassment in your war effort when you are fighting for your existence. There is force in that argument but will you give us an answer to this. If we listen to this argument of yours and go ahead in helping you in the realisation of your aim, will it follow that after the war you will do something for India. To that question, I do not want to give a reply myself. I will give a reply from a book written by an Englishman and the name of this book is "Our War Aims". Here he says:

"This record is one of our liabilities today. If we are fighting to defend the freedom and "peaceful existence" of small nations and of "all freedom loving countries", including our own; if we say, with the Prime Minister, that we are not aiming only at victory "but rather looking beyond it to the laying of a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of every succeeding generation" how are we to persuade the world that we mean business this time when we did not mean business last time? What chance will there be of founding "a better international system" on the morrow of victory unless we ourselves make up our minds in advance that it shall be founded and what we shall do to make sure that its foundations are well and truly laid."

An Honourable Member: Who is the author?

Sardar Sant Singh: Wickham Steed. That is the question. And one important question we ask the Government of India; we ask the Government of India to make a statement at the end of the Finance Bill that "we have heard the voice of the elected representatives of the country. We now realize that the masses do not go with us. We now realize that the masses are feeling very much disturbed on account of this war, and we want to make this statement and assure Indians that it will be implemented after the war." Is such a statement forthcoming? If such a statement is not forthcoming, certainly it is but human for us that we should pause and consider our position, realize what happened after the last war and then frame our policy in accordance with facts as they have already happened. What would you do if you were Indians and if Indians had the Government in their hands? Put yourselves in our position and then tell us, phraseology apart—let us stick to the truth, tell the plain truth more crudely than you want to at this stage and then decide what is to be done. Here again Mr. F. E. James fell into an error when he said, "Could we hand over the Government and the power at this time when the majority is not with the Congress?" All right. Let us take that to be the criterion. I accept this as a test. I say, let the same criterion be applied so far as the present Government is concerned. Who is with the present Government? Are they willing to take a referendum of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs together, and then, if the referendum results in an overwhelming majority that this Government does not represent India, will

the Government then resign and give place to a national Government? So far as your position is concerned, it is hopeless. This Government is an out-of-date and obsolete institution and it must be scrapped off. That is the verdict of all Indians. Today Indians have shown by their attitude that they do not like the policy and the programme of this Government. Does the Government, present Government, regard itself as the wisest Government of the age? Wiser than those who have been in charge of His Majesty's Government in England? During the last year, how many Cabinet changes have taken place? How many Governments have fallen? How many new ministers have been taken in and replaced and why? Simply because the country realised the urgent necessity for a change. The war cannot be prosecuted unless new and fresh blood is brought into the Cabinet and a new turn and impetus is given to the policy of the Government. Is it not so? But why do you stick to this place when you have no policy? You cannot govern the country without the will of the people.

What is the position today, Sir? What has been the consequence of the operation of the Defence of India Act? It has merely forcefully silenced the Indians. I will like to put it in a more charitable way. The position is that Indians have become quite sullen today, they are quite indifferent. That is the result of the Defence of India Act. Do you like that India should remain sullen? Do you think that the war and other speeches of those who are habitually with you who generally are known by the name of "Toadies" in this country, do you think their speeches and outbursts of steam stir the imagination of the masses? You are mistaken if you do so.

An Honourable Member: Who are you referring to?

Sardar Sant Singh: I am referring to the Government. While the Sikhs are with the Government that the war must be prosecuted to its successful end, we do want, so far as the Sikh community is concerned they have made it clear, that we do want to co-operate with the Government in the successful prosecution of the war. We have issued statements, we have told our men in the army that the Sikh community shall not tolerate indiscipline in the army, and we have advised them to keep to the rules and regulations. But that does not mean that we are satisfied with the status of Indians in the country.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: What is wrong with the status of Sikhs?

Sardar Sant Singh: I am telling my friend that this is no time for light talk. If you really want to win the moral support of the country, then this deadlock in the country must be ended, and the sooner it is done, the better.

Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan: How?

Sardar Sant Singh: That is a question which can be settled by a bold statesmanship, by imagination, by vision, not by tinkering with the problem here and tinkering with the problem there. If I was sitting on those Benches, I would have told you how to solve it but it is not my business

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at present to tell you the solution. Even, if I tell you, what is the guarantee that you will accept it? Sir, the agency that accepts this advice lies beyond you and beyond me and beyond even the present Government as constituted today. My proposition is this, that we must know and we are determined to know, whether we be Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, what shall be the position of India. Well, one of my Honourable friends mildly says, "after the war". If I am left to myself, I will say, "No, Sir, today—not tomorrow, what is my position today?" This question disturbs me—it haunts me—well if I know my today, I will make my tomorrow according to my wishes. India wants to develop according to our own wishes. We want to develop this country in the manner best suited to the interests of India. We therefore, ask the Government and we ask His Majesty's Government: "What is there that prevents you from parting with the real power?" You say, "there are differences in the various communities; there are differences between the Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs and the other minority communities"; It may be so. But curiously enough, all sections are at one on this point that the last declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy did not contemplate the parting of real power. This runs through the verdict of all three communities. May I ask, "Are you willing to part with that power or not?" You say you cannot unless there is agreement between the minorities. Yet that is a problem which can safely be left to the future Government if you really part with power.

Then you describe your war aim at present to be winning of war. Your war aim means, in effect, the continuance of your present policy by means other than negotiations; that is, by the arbitration of force. That is your war aim. If that is the meaning of the war aim, then your aim is to win this war and then to carry on the British Imperialistic policy in India. We refuse to subscribe to this war aim. When you say you are fighting for democracy, well I believe you. I trust that you are fighting for the democracy. But for what democracy? You may be fighting for the democracy of Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and even France. I have no quarrel with you. Go on fighting for that democracy. But when you ask us to believe that you are fighting for the democracy in India, we are entitled to know where is the democracy in India? There is none. Therefore, you are not fighting for the democracy of India. Had there been democracy in India, you could easily have said that you were fighting for the democracy in India. But there is no democracy in India and, therefore, you are not fighting for the democracy in India. Then, you say that you are fighting to bring about a new order in Europe. Well, Sir, if you want to draw a new map of Europe, use your own drawing set, pen and pencil. I refuse to grant you my drawing set, pen and pencil for drawing a new map in Europe. There, again, I have no quarrel with you. But I would not fight for you. If you wish, I would sympathise with you. What I want is this. If you want my set, my pen, my pencil and my coloured ink for drawing that map

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: And my beard.

Sardar Sant Singh: Please shut up. You are so flippant that you are losing everything everywhere. If you want to use my set, my pen and my ink, then you must have a new order in India as well. You want

money from me. I will give you the money and I will help you in the successful prosecution of the war, but at the same time I will ask you about myself. Where do I stand? The reply comes in two ways. One way is that you decline to give your war aim *qua* India. You refuse to tell us what your aim is regarding India. The second reply comes from what I see in your day-to-day administration. As soon as the war was declared, you created a panic in this country, and you are continuing to create that panic. The situation that you have created is that because of this war we will all be overwhelmed with the advancing forces of Hitlerism, Fascism, Bolshevism and what not. India will be involved in this war. I say, all right. But look at the way in which you are utilising that panic today. You have created new Departments; you have created new posts and you have filled them with your own kith and kin. You have given higher salaries and your men have accepted them when their relations are fighting for their very existence in Europe. There is only one noble exception and that is the Honourable Mr. Jenkins who refused to accept a higher salary and who refused to go to a hill station to enjoy the cold climate. Barring his case, every one of you has been selfish. The Government comes forward and tells us that we must win the war. I welcome it. Win the war and I will help you in winning it. But what about India's share in that effort? Is it not a fact that the Supply Department and the Defence Department, where new posts have been created, have mostly filled those posts with English and Anglo-Indian boys and girls when Indians are suffering from starvation owing to acute unemployment? I put a question to this effect and the information has been denied to me. This is the working of the war. You can win our sympathy for the prosecution of the war only when you can show that your heart has been changed or when you can show by the working of the day-to-day administration that Indians are getting their due share in this effort.

Sir, I am not a businessman but of one thing I am certain and that is this that even those who have been your habitual supporters feel that you have not placed your orders with Indians and a racial discrimination is in full swing. Is that the way of winning the love of the country? Is that the way in which you can ask us to co-operate if co-operation has any dictionary meaning. But what you mean by co-operation is this: "You shall do my will and not your will, and if you carry out my will, I shall regard it as co-operation." If that is the meaning of co-operation, I think we must hesitate to offer such a co-operation.

Then, there is the further question: how have you treated this House? How have you treated the Members of the Central Legislature? While in other countries, in England, for instance, the Legislatures have been freely consulted, members are given information, are invited to secret sessions to impart the most secret and important information, we are simply ignored. We are not even invited to share your confidence, much less deliberation. We have noticed that during the last few years the position of the Central Legislature has been deteriorating from day-to-day. There is not a single elected Member who does not feel it. It should have been the business of the Leader of the House to enhance the dignity of this House. His pride should have laid in the fact that he has succeeded in enhancing the value, the dignity and the respect of the Members of this House. But things are just the reverse. The pride now is in curtailing the privileges and the rights of this House.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: They have also confiscated our houses in Simla.

Sardar Sant Singh: That is a very minor matter. I am talking of a major issue. I am talking about matters of policy. Why has he done so? Because he knows that his leadership does not depend upon his followers. His leadership does not depend upon the vote of this House but his leadership continues from an order which comes from a different source. He draws his breath and inspiration from that source and that is why he is not interested in the enhancement of the privileges or the reputation of this House. Is it the sort of thing? It reminds me of the story which I was told today. It is a very good lesson for us. One of the Members from South Africa in the Eastern Group Conference told a couple of Indians who were working in that Conference: "You complain that Indians are being badly treated in Africa, but I find that you are treated worse in India itself". That is the impression that he is taking away from the conferences which are going on in Delhi at this time. Is that the sort of co-operation which my Honourable friend, Mr. James, wants from us? Some of us may be willing to co-operate with the Government. Some of us may be able to influence a community here or a community there to help the Government in the successful prosecution of the war, but at every step, at every corner you disable such people. You put us in the wrong. If we enter into discussion or argument with a person to persuade him to help in the successful prosecution of the war, he turns up and says, "We know what your position in the Legislature is. We know what your status and dignity is in the Legislature. You talk of helping this Government". That is the position.

Will not the Government of India open their eyes and change their policy? Here on the floor of the House a definite assurance was extorted from the Leader of the House about the working of the Defence of India Act. During September, 1939, when the Defence of India Act was introduced, I persisted in getting an assurance from the Leader of the House who was then piloting the Defence of India Bill that the Act, if passed, will not be worked in a tyrannous manner or in a high handed manner. But what do I find? In the last Budget Session when I put the question as to how many prosecutions have taken place under the Defence of India Act or action taken under the Defence of India Act, he gave me the figures only for the Centrally Administered Areas. He refused to give me the figures for the provinces.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I have now obtained the figures in answer to a question which the Honourable Member has put down, during this Session.

Sardar Sant Singh: I am very glad about the change that has come over the Honourable Member. I welcome that change. Under the Defence of India Act some members of the Provincial Legislature have been detained without trial. Their number also I expect the Honourable Member to give us next time when he answers my question. There is not a single province where the members of the Provincial Legislature have not been proceeded against under the Defence of India Act. Apart from that as many as four Members of the Central Legislature have been proceeded against under the Defence of India Act. It may be more, (Interruption). My Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, says that probably more are coming.

in. If they go they will go by their own act, not by any action taken by the executive authority. That will be the difference. They will go as *satyagrahis*. But the other members have been proceeded against under the orders of the executive authorities of the various provinces.

An Honourable Member: They will not walk into the jail.

Sardar Sant Singh: Probably they will. It is left to the Leader of the Opposition to define their attitude and policy at a suitable time. However, the Defence of India Act came out in that light. I think if I mistake not the total number of prosecutions and the proceedings taken in India during the last six months probably have exceeded similar figures if we turn to the Defence of the Realm Act and its working. Why, Sir? What does it indicate? The indications and inferences that one is forced to draw from this is that the successful prosecution of the war is only possible if the people are taken into confidence and the people are made to realise that this war is their own war. Without that, any co-operation is impossible. The Government did not hesitate to take action against the most respected son of India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, against whom a thundering sentence of four years has been pronounced and that sentence still remains and though its echo has gone beyond the shores of India and have found place in the responsible press of Great Britain, yet no action seems to have been taken by this Government. Therefore, Sir, one is at a considerable loss to understand what to do with this Government.

An Honourable Member: Destroy.

Sardar Sant Singh: How? That is the trouble. How to destroy this Government? However, if the power is transferred and the tables are turned the Defence of India Act will be more appropriately applied to that side than to this side. The position would not be illogical. Even Sir Arthur Moore, the Editor of the *Statesman* had written a number of articles telling us what culpable negligence was shown by the Defence Department and by the Government of India in not making preparations for the war. We were laughed at when I sponsored a Resolution here that motor vehicles and mechanical equipments, air force and other things should be manufactured in India and India must be made self-sufficient in the matter of defence. As the *Statesman* has said, it is no good being wise after the event. The debates show that even the Opposition Members wanted to make India self-sufficient in the matter of armaments and defence. But this Government disregarded all advice of prudence. Those at whose bidding this Government did so, have been turned out of office but this Government remains. Is it not a serious change under which Governments in other countries have been upset and Governments must have been replaced by other more imaginative Governments? This would have happened in a country where the executive is responsible to the legislature. We are here paying princely salaries to our services and yet the services men are most unimaginative.

Here again, in the matter of this Supplementary Budget, we are asked to make sacrifices, we are asked to contribute in the interest of financing this war. Quite right. I am one of those who would like to see the successful prosecution of the war. Therefore, it is implied that the finances must be given for the war if it is to be successfully prosecuted. But what about the princely salaries? The budget does not contain a single word

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that there will be a cut in salaries. A cut of ten per cent. was decided upon during the depression period. In a state of such an acute emergency when this war, if my Honourable friend, Mr. James, is correct, is extending towards India, greater sacrifices are called for in the matter of defence. There can be no two opinions about it. But has any indication been given that this highly paid bureaucracy and the Civil Servants shall be called upon to make a sacrifice of even ten per cent.? I think it will be perfectly justifiable on your part to say, as some friends behind me are saying, that a cut of 20 or 25 or even 50 per cent. should be imposed in order to defend India. We, surely, expected the Honourable Member to tell us what the estimated expenditure towards this war is, or what is the total amount that it will come to when the full force of the war has come. It is no doubt very difficult, but as a far-seeing Finance Member he has to look ahead and give us some estimate as to what he proposes to do.

There is one more point that I wish to deal with before I conclude and that is that Government probably refuse to transfer any power to the elected representatives of the people on account of the mistrust that has been given vent to in some quarters, namely, that they do not know how the people who come into power will utilise their position so far as the prosecution of the war is concerned. I think the answer is written in the Delhi Resolution of the Congress Committee. They did not stick to the principle of non-violence then; they gave an indication that they would defend India and defence of India does not mean non-violence and allowing Hitlerism and Fascism a free passage through the Khyber or Baluchistan. A wise statesman would have at once grasped that opportunity and would have made the Congress to stick to its Resolution and defend India. They should have thrown the responsibility upon the people's representatives; they would not only have created a sense of responsibility in the persons who had come to use their power but would have electrified the atmosphere of India for the defence of India. The difficulty in the present day relationship is that there is a lack of trust in the Government and in the people. That is the real truth. Englishmen do not trust Indians and Indians do not trust Englishmen. The deadlock is due to that; the rest is mere excuse and pretence.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: And Indians do not trust each other.

Sardar Sant Singh: That is wrong, with due deference to Sir Ziauddin. These quarrels will continue so long as real power is not given. Once the power is given, it does not need a prophet to foretell that our friends, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Desai will work as smoothly as two bulls yoked together to drive a cart. The difficulty is the lack of confidence among those who are in positions of power and those who want to come in.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Who will drive these two bulls?

Sardar Sant Singh: The Sikhs.

Sir, the position is that Government must come forward with a bold statement of policy,—no half measures will do,—and that policy is to grant India full freedom within the country and trust Indians to defend their country to the best of their power. So long as a policy of trust does not replace the policy of mistrust, I am afraid the differences between the

two will go on increasing day by day. Philosophical and logical arguments of one minority suffering at the hands of other minorities are only there because real power has not been given. Give us real power and we will show you that there is no minority problem in India.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose this Finance Bill. In the course of these four days, a number of speeches have been delivered, but I will single out two, because, in my opinion, they are very remarkable. The first speech is that of my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, and the other, that of my Honourable friend, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. Mr. Griffiths, if he really understood what the war actually meant to him and to his country, would not have spoken in the manner and in the words in which he spoke here two days ago. If he were really anxious that India should participate in this war, if he were really anxious that India should wholeheartedly co-operate, the manner in which he delivered his speech and the way in which he attacked the Congress Party was the least calculated to achieve that result. Instead of trying to convince us and undertaking the discipline and responsibility of intellectual thinking, he went on emotionally and tried to approach the problem from the wrong point of view. He told us that in case India did not participate, Hitler would come; instead of convincing us that it was a war which would result, not only in the maintenance of peace in the world, but also result in India's freedom, he held up a gloomy picture and tried to terrorise. Let me tell him very freely that India has long ago outlived that stage when by terrorising you could get help and co-operation from her. He should have been truthful, he should have been intellectual, he should have been honest in a way, and should have stated the problem as it was. Instead of doing all that, he, as I said, approached the problem from an altogether wrong point of view. But he was just like one of those critics who have been very aptly described by Sir Norman Angell as emotional—he says:

"In the early stages of a war, it generally seems to most of us self-evident that the only public opinion which matters is the public determination to go through to victory. To be convinced of the justice of our cause, to feel so intensely about it that there shall be no danger of any failure of national unity, these are assumed to be the moral essentials of success. You are for your country, or you are against it. As to war aims, the easiest definition is M. Clemenceau's: Victory. "Realizing the issues of the war" means understanding fully the perfidy of the enemy and the righteousness of our own cause. Patriotic propaganda is conceived in those terms. Intellectual qualifications of any kind, or any attitude of inquiry, are taken as clear indication of defective patriotism. It is felt that the surest foundations of national solidarity and the safest guide to policy are to be found, not in discussion and argument, but in intense feeling; not in complex ideas but in simple emotions. As the movie advertisement of the war play says: "You can't put up a good fight until your blood boils. This film will make it boil." We feel that boiling blood is the best moral assurance of success."

That is the type to which my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, belongs. But let me assure him that this emotionalism will have no effect so far as the Congress Party and the country at large is concerned. Let me remind him, and also let me remind the Commerce Member, that it is a fact that we do represent here the majority of the Indian people. According to the Commerce Member, it may be a forgotten chapter—for the memories of the last elections may not be exactly sweet for him. But democratically speaking, accepting the democratic standard, so long as we are here and so long as our election stands and our challenge to dissolve the House and

[Mr. N. V. Gadgil.]

order fresh elections is not accepted, the representative character of this House, so far as it is available under the present Constitution, cannot be challenged; and when we oppose this, we oppose it not individually, not merely as a party 47 strong, but we oppose it as representing several constituencies, and we oppose it as representing a majority in this country. Mr. Griffiths said that it is the peculiar habit of the Congress people and the Congress leadership that they try to clothe their mundane motives with the garb of idealism. I do not agree with him. But if this description is really suitable to any person or any country, I think he may not like it, but the fact is that it is his country which is known all over the world as a country, and as a nation which has excelled in the art of hypocrisy. Sir, it is not for the first time that the Congress is opposing any participation in the war. As early as 1927, in the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress, the following Resolution was passed: Referring to the war preparations, the Resolution said:

"These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India, in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war, in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of foreign imperialists.

The Congress demands that these preparations be put an end to; and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever."

That was in 1927. Year after year, this Resolution has been reiterated with suitable changes; and, in 1936, at Faizpur, the Congress laid down clearly that "no credits must be voted for such a war, and voluntary subscriptions and war loans must not be supported, and all other war preparations resisted." It is, therefore, clear that for the last thirteen years the Congress has taken a definite attitude, knowing full well the international situation, that a disastrous war, practically a world war, was bound to come; and in that war the issues involved would not be the freedom of India, but that would be a war between the haves and the have-nots. Knowing this full well, the Indian National Congress warned the people and warned the Government also that, when it did materialise, the Indian National Congress would take the stand of non-participation and would refuse to vote credits. Not only in 1936, but even in the years 1937, 1938 and up to 1939, the Indian National Congress and the All India Congress Committee, from time to time, passed resolutions in the same or similar terms. It is, therefore, not a surprise, and it should not be a surprise to any one that today, in the month of November, 1940, that the Congress for the first time is taking up this attitude of disassociation with war or non-participation. It has a history; and, instead of opposing the Congress, when you really want its help, it is much better—statesmanship lies not in abuse, but in trying to understand and diagnose the causes, and, if possible, and, if it is in their interest, to remove them. Mr. Griffiths went on to say that the Congress pretends to be sometimes violent and sometimes non-violent. That is not really the issue. Violence or non-violence is not the issue; the simple issue which he should have formulated should have been, whether, in the interests of India, the participation of the Indian people in this war wholeheartedly will be to their benefit ultimately. If not, then we have nothing to do with that war. That should have been the question formulated. But, as I said, he assumed that it was in the

interests of India. I propose to analyse later on how this war is not only not in the interests of India, but certainly it is not even in the interests of the British proletariat and the real British people. Today I want to answer another objection raised by Mr. Griffiths, that the Congress is trying to take undue advantage of the situation. I want to remind him that an *ex-Secretary* of State for India, Lord Zetland said some months ago, immediately after the declaration of the war, that the English people are susceptible to any honourable and appropriate treatment, and they react favourably. This virtue is not peculiarly British. We too are susceptible, and if an honourable and appropriate treatment is meted out to us, we too will react favourably. But in this country, particularly even without any response from you, the Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who is our strength and our pride, has saved you from embarrassment. You complain of embarrassment. I will read just one extract from the latest book of Mr. Edward Thompson—"Enlist India for Freedom". He says:

"If Congress had wanted to embarrass us, they hold all the cards, as they well knew. They could have ravaged our relations with the United States of America; and they could have split our war effort in India from top to bottom. The point is, we are in the wrong over this declaring India a belligerent. But the Congress have not exploited their chance against us. Not only have Congress leaders treated us better than we deserve. India as a whole has been magnanimous towards us. We are very lucky to have had at the head of the Congress men who cared supremely for ethical issues and put them above patriotism. There has been statesmanship there all along, waiting until we could produce statesmanship here to answer it and work with it. What about the Army? I have said that if Congress wanted to embarrass us it could have done this here."

That was the attitude of the Congress these fourteen months, and, even now, after fourteen months' deliberation and thinking and waiting, if the Congress has taken a further step, it has been so hedged and circumscribed as not to embarrass the British Government in their war efforts for their existence. Many of us don't agree with this, because such treatment, such magnanimity the English people, anyway the governing class in England and their representatives here, do not deserve. . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech on Monday.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 18th November, 1940.