

Wednesday, 28th March, 1945

# COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

VOLUME I, 1945

*(15th February to 14th April, 1945)*

## EIGHTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

# FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1945



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## COUNCIL OF STATE

Wednesday, the 28th March, 1945

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

### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

#### BAN ON THE USE OF THE WORD "SWADESHI" IN THE EXHIBITION HELD AT KUMBakonam

249. THE HONOURABLE MR. THIRUMALA ROW : (a) Are Government aware that the Madras Government have prohibited the use of the word "60 Swadeshi" in the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition which was held in Kumbakonam during the Maha Makham festival in February, 1945 ?

(b) Are Government aware that the Madras Government have prohibited the Tamilnad Hindi Prachar Sabha from using a stall in that Exhibition to carry on the propoganda for the spread of Hindi ?

(c) Have the Madras Government also prohibited the exhibition of Gandhi's literature ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : (a) to (c). I have no information.

#### WIRELESS INSTALLATION AT RAILWAY STATIONS

250. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state whether it is proposed to set up wireless installations at railway stations in India ? If so, at which railway stations ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN : The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

As regards the second part, I regret that I cannot give this information as it would not be in the public interest.

#### HYDARI MISSION

251. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH : Will Government state the main objects of the "Hydari Mission" to England ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL : I would refer the Honourable Member to the Press Note on the subject issued on 17th January, 1945.

#### DISPOSAL OF "JEEPS" AFTER THE WAR

252. THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR : (a) Will Government state whether it is a fact that the jeep cars which are now in use in India for war transport purposes will be dismantled after the war ?

(b) If so, will they state the reason for deciding upon such a course ?

(c) Do they propose to make them available for sale to the people in the country after the war ?

(d) Have any applications been received from the public offering to purchase them after the war ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN (on behalf of Supply Department) : (a), (b) and (c). Jeep cars are the property of the United States Government and the question of their disposal after the war, should any be declared surplus, has not yet been decided.

(d) A few inquiries were received by the Director General (Disposals), but the parties were told that no vehicles were available.

THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR : Will the Government be pleased to advise or at least suggest to the American authorities that they should not destroy them but should make them available for public use ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN : The suggestion of the Honourable Member will be considered.

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NOTE.—Questions against the Honourable Mr. Thirumala Row and the Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh were asked by the Honourable Mr. G. S. Motilal.

## TOTAL VALUE OF CONTRACTS PLACED BY SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

253. **THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS** : Will Government state the total aggregate value of contracts placed with the British or European firms and individuals by the Supply Department of the Government of India since the commencement of the war and the total aggregate value of all contracts placed by other Departments with Indian firms or individuals since the commencement of war ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN** : (on behalf of Supply Department) : The attention of the Honourable Member is drawn to the reply given to question No. 141 in the Session of the Council of State held in November, 1943. I may add that the total value of contracts of Rs. one lakh and over placed by the Supply Department during the period October, 1943 to September, 1944 was approximately Rs. 68·34 crores, Rs. 40·07 crores with Indian firms and Rs. 28·27 crores with non-Indian firms.

## ASSOCIATION OF MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE WITH FIRMS APPOINTED AS AGENTS FOR PURCHASING GHEE

254. **THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS** : Will Government state: (a) Whether it is a fact that a member of the Central Legislature was appointed by them as purchasing agent for *ghee* required for the Indian Army ?

(b) The name of the agent appointed by them, the terms of his appointment, and the period he has acted as the agent ?

(c) Whether the said arrangement still continues? If not, when was it terminated ?

(d) Whether that agent had any previous experience or any direct or indirect connection with the *ghee* trade ?

(e) By which Department of the Government of India this arrangement was made ?

(f) The aggregate amount of commission or remuneration paid to that agent ?

(g) Whether tenders were called from public as is usually done by wide advertisement in newspapers for acting as purchasing agent of Government for purchase of *ghee* required for the army ? If not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN** : (a) and (b). Two members of the Central Legislature are associated with firms appointed as agents for purchasing *ghee*. Mr. Hooseinbhoj A. Lallji is one of the partners of the firm of M/s Hooseinbhoj Sons & Co. and Mr. Y. Haroon is a partner in the Sind Ghee Purchasing Agency. The first firm has been working from October, 1942 and the second from December, 1943.

(c) The agreement with Messrs. Hooseinbhoj Sons & Co. continues till 31st May, 1945, that with the Sind Ghee Purchasing Agency till August, 1945.

(d) Yes. Messrs. Hooseinbhoj & Sons and one of the partners in the Sind Ghee Purchasing Agency have previous experience of the *ghee* trade.

(e) The Supply Department appointed Messrs. Hooseinbhoj & Sons, before the Food Department came into existence, and the Food Department appointed the Sind Ghee Purchasing Agency.

(f) The accounts of the firms have not yet been completed but it is estimated that the firm of Messrs. Hooseinbhoj & Sons have from the time of their appointment earned a remuneration of approximately Rs. 1,20,000 and the Sind Ghee Purchasing Agency Rs. 14,600.

(g) No. The initial selection of the firms was made with reference to their experience and status. In 1944 however, the annual term of both firms was renewed after considering other tenders.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM** : What is the commission paid on purchases ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN** : They are allowed the actual prices of *ghee* paid by them subject to a ceiling, together with a fixed rate per maund to cover expenses in purchasing and in handling, and a remuneration of from 5 annas 9 pies to 9 annas according to the quantity purchased.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM** : Per maund, or per rupee ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN** : I think it must be per maund.

**THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA :** Have Government similar purchasing agencies in other Provinces in India ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN :** There are four purchasing agents, and these agents cover practically the whole of India.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I hope it refers to natural *ghee* and not vegetable *ghee*.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN :** This refers to milk *ghee*.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Who are the other agents ? Two were mentioned.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN :** I cannot give you the correct names straightaway, but I think the other agents are Alopi Pershad, which covers North India, and the British India Ghee Company, which operates in the Madras Presidency.

#### PURCHASE OF RICE BY THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES

255. **THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS :** Will Government state : (a) Whether it is a fact that some years back agents were appointed in the Madras Presidency for the purchase of rice required by the military department ? If so, will they state the names of individuals and firms appointed by them as agents to supply or purchase rice and also state the terms of their appointment as agents ?

(b) By whom this arrangement for purchase or supply of rice was made and when and where it was made ?

(c) What were the rates at which these agents were asked to supply rice required by them ? What were the controlled rates of rice at that time ? Will Government state whether rates at which these agents were asked to supply rice were above or below the control rates fixed by Government ? Will Government state the difference between the controlled rates of rice then and the rates at which these agents were asked to supply rice to them ?

(d) Whether tenders were called from the public inviting applications before placing such contracts ?

(e) If not, will they state the reasons for not inviting tenders before placing those contracts for supply of rice ?

(f) The total quantity of rice supplied by those agents ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN :** (a) The reply to the first part of the question is in the negative.

The second part does not arise.

(b), (c), (d), (e) and (f). Do not arise.

#### GRANT OF PERMISSION TO START NEW NEWSPAPERS

256. **THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** (a) Will Government place on the table a list of the newspapers which have been permitted to be started or to be issued more frequently since the Newsprint Control Order came into force ?

(b) Will Government state the names of the proposed newspapers or their promoters who have been refused sanction for starting the papers ?

(c) What are the principles for allotment of news-print quota for starting new journals ?

(d) What are the papers whose applications are pending before Government for the allotment of news-print quota and for how long ?

(e) How much time do Government require for the disposal of an application for the allotment of news-print quota for a newspaper ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL :** (a) The Honourable Member has presumably the Newspaper Control Order in mind because under the Newsprint Control Order there is no provision prohibiting the starting of new publication. Two lists showing (i) newspapers which have been permitted to start publication under the Newspaper Control Order and (ii) newspapers which have been permitted to issue at more frequent intervals, are placed on the table of the House.

(b) and (d). Collection of the information asked for will involve an expenditure of time and labour which Government do not consider justified in present conditions.

(c) Permission to start a new newspaper or periodical is given as a rule only if it represents views of an important political party or group or advocates policy which is not advocated by any other newspaper or journal or is likely to serve a useful purpose.

(e) Applications are disposed of as early as possible.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Are the Central Government in this matter guided by the opinion of Provincial Governments or do they take independent action?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL: They do consult Provincial Governments in respect of new newspapers.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is their advice invariably taken or is it only in an advisory capacity that the Provincial Governments give their opinion?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL: They are consulted.

*I.—A statement of new newspapers which have been permitted to start publication under Newspaper Control Order as a special case*

Serial No.	Name of newspaper	Place of publication	Language
<i>Assam</i>			
1	Achikna Uiani monthly	Tura (Assam).	
2	Shillong Times	Shillong.	
<i>Bengal</i>			
1	Morning New daily	Calcutta	English.
2	Nationalist	Calcutta	English.
3	Natun Jeeban monthly	Calcutta	Bengali.
4	Indo-Soviet-Journal fortnightly	Calcutta	English.
5	Pratinodh daily	Calcutta	Bengali.
6	People's Voice daily	Calcutta	English.
7	China Review weekly	Calcutta	Chinese.
8	Saturday Mail weekly	Calcutta	English.
9	Jagran weekly	Calcutta	Bengali.
10	Quarterly of Sino Indian Studies	Calcutta	English.
11	Indian Capital weekly	Calcutta	English.
12	Dacca-Mail daily and Usha daily	Calcutta	English. Bengali.
<i>Bombay</i>			
1	Muslim Times daily, and Muslim Times weekly	Bombay	Gujerati.
2	Mr. Chikadi's weekly newspaper	Belgaum	Kannada.
3	Commercial India weekly	Bombay	English.
4	Janata weekly	Bombay	Hindi.
5	R. C. A. Bulletin of the Photophonic Equip- ments Limited, fortnightly	Bombay	English.
6	Bulletin of the Piece goods and yarn Mer- chants' Association of India.	Bombay.	
7	Prabudha Vishaya, Bombay	Bombay.	
8	Indian Woman's Magazine, Monthly	Bombay.	
9	Belaku	Dharwar.	
<i>Central Provinces and Berar</i>			
1	Udyama weekly	Nagpur	Hindi edition.
<i>Bihar</i>			
1	Parijat, monthly	Bankipur.	
<i>Delhi</i>			
1	Naya Hindustan daily	Delhi	Hindi.
2	Investment and Finance weekly	Delhi	English.
3	Bi-monthly supplement, of the 'Eastern Eco- nomist'	New Delhi.	
4	Indian Overseas	New Delhi.	
5	Aditi	New Delhi.	
6	Weekly, by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif	Delhi	English and Urdu.



Serial No.	Name of newspaper	Place of publication	Language
<i>Madras</i>			
1	Powra Shakti daily	Calicut	Malayalam.
2	Dinasari daily	Madras	Tamil.
3	Picturepost monthly	Madras	English.
4	Muslim India, weekly	Madras	English.
5	Grow More Food bulletin, fortnightly	Madras	{ English. Telugu: Tamil.
6	Tiruppur Cotton Market bulletin, monthly	Tiruppur.	
7	Justicite weekly	Erode.	
8	Indian Journalist	Madras.	
9	Pudu Oolagan weekly	Madras.	
<i>Punjab</i>			
1	Cosmopolitan weekly	Simla	English.
2	Monthly News	Simla.	
<i>United Provinces</i>			
1	Savdhan weekly	Cawnpore	Hindi.
2	Bharat Varsh, daily	Cawnpore	English.
3	Singh weekly	Cawnpore	Punjabi and English.

II.—Statement of newspapers which have been permitted to convert themselves into dailies or which have been allowed to start new editions from other places

Serial No.	Name of newspaper	Place of publication	Language
<i>Bihar</i>			
1	Patna Times daily	Patna	English.
<i>Central Provinces and Berar</i>			
1	Tarun Bharat daily	Nagpur	Marathi.
2	Maharashtra daily	Nagpur.	
<i>Punjab</i>			
1	Ajeet daily	Lahore	Urdu.
2	Nawai Waqt	Lahore	Urdu.
<i>United Provinces</i>			
1	Jiddat daily	Moradabad	Urdu.
2	Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta)	Allahabad edition	English.
3	Telegraph* (Calcutta)	Cawnpore edition	English.
<i>Delhi</i>			
1	Hurriyat daily	Delhi	Urdu.
2	Manshoor daily	Delhi	Urdu.

\* Permitted to start new editions from other places.

#### DETECTION OF ILLICIT WIRELESS TRANSMITTERS BY MR. M. BHATTACHARJEE, TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT

257. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government state:—(a) Whether it is a fact that Mr. M. Bhattacharjee serving in the Telegraph Department in 1941 at Benares was very helpful in the detection of illicit wireless transmitters believed to have been used for fifth column activities?

(b) Whether the Inspector General of Police, C. I. D., Lucknow, recommended that his services be appreciated by the Telegraph Department?

(c) If so, how have his services been appreciated by the Telegraph Department? Whether any reward was paid to him as announced in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, stating the amount of cash reward?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN :** (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) The reply to the first part is that the services rendered by the official have been duly appreciated by the Postmaster General, United Provinces and the Director General, a note of which has also been kept in the confidential records of the official.

As regards the latter part, the Honourable Member is presumably referring to the War Department scheme of cash rewards to members of the public as announced in the press, for apprehending an enemy agent or giving information leading to the apprehension of such an agent. The case of the official referred to is not covered by this notification and the question of granting any reward to him under it did not therefore arise.

#### DRAFT HINDU CODE

**258. THE HONOURABLE KUMAR N. N. SINHA :** Will Government state :

(a) Whether the Hindu military personnel on active and semi-active services have been duly acquainted with the provisions of the draft Hindu Code ;

(b) If so, how, and whether in the different theatres of war ; and

(c) If the draft Code has not yet been circulated to them, whether they propose to take early steps to do so in different languages ; and whether they will allow their friends and relatives to acquaint them in course of private correspondence through post with the provisions of the draft Code, sending them at the same time their views for and against it ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. SHAVAX A. LAL :** (a) and (b). No official action has been taken specially to acquaint Hindu military personnel with the provisions of the draft Hindu Code and the fact that such personnel are numerous does not, in the opinion of Government, constitute any good ground for taking such special action.

(c) The answer to the first part is in the negative. The answer to the second part is that correspondence of this sort is not subject to censorship.

#### IMPORT OF RADIO SETS

**259. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state :

(a) Whether priority licences have been issued for the import of radio sets ?

(b) If so, how many radio receiving sets are expected and when ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI :** (a) Yes, Sir. Essentiality licences have been issued for imports of radio sets from the United States of America and Switzerland.

(b) 4,000 radio sets are likely to be coming shortly from the United Kingdom. Government have no definite information about expected arrivals from the United States of America or Switzerland.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Who has made the Dollar resources available for the U. S. A. ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI :** The Government of India, of course.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Is it from the Dollar pool or is it from the trade balances ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI :** From the available resources.

#### PERCENTAGE OF PETROL IMPORTED AND PRODUCED

**260. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state the percentage of petrol imported and produced in India, which was released for civilian use during each of the last two calendar years ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** It is not possible to say how much of the petrol released for civilian use was imported and how much produced in India, since no records have been maintained on this basis. For purposes of distribution, both military and civil, imported petrol and indigenously produced petrol are pooled.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** But what is the percentage of both which is released ? The question inquires that.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** I am afraid I cannot give you the actual distribution of the petrol. It will not be in the public interest to let people know. But you can rest assured that whatever is needed for Army purposes

**NOTE.—**Question against the Honourable Kumar N. N. Sinha was asked by the Honourable Mr. Susil Kumar Roy Chowdhury.

is first taken away from both lots and whatever little is left is handed over for civilian consumption.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Can you give us any idea at all, if not the exact percentage ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** I am afraid that even if I had the percentage I would not like to give it. It would not be in the public interest to let the enemy know the amount of petrol we were distributing.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** The enemy need not know how much you are actually getting. I only want the percentage that you are releasing.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** He has already answered your question. You have repeated it twice.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** I am telling you that we are giving a little to the civilian public. If that does not satisfy you, I do not know what will.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** My impression is that it is very little.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Would I be correct in saying that 5 per cent. only goes to civilian needs and 95 per cent. to the military ?

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** That is a hypothetical question.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I have said so already in my speech in connection with the Budget discussion. I am asking him whether my estimate was correct.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** You may have stated that in the Budget discussion but it is a hypothetical question.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I can prove in my speech on the Finance Bill how I get this figure. I ask him to indicate whether my estimate is correct or not. He says a small quantity and therefore I want to verify it.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** I do not know, as I told you, the exact figures. But supposing we take, for the sake of argument, that what you suspect or fear is correct. What then ? What difference does it make ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I just want to correct my figures from official sources.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Order, order.

#### IMPORT OF MOTOR CARS

261. **THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL :** Will Government state : (a) Whether the sale of 2,000 motor cars coming from Britain will be controlled by Government ?

(b) If so, on what principle their distribution to Provinces and individuals will be regulated ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN :** (a) Yes.

(b) The distribution among provinces will be on the basis of the existing car census in provinces as well as their actual requirements. Cars will be sold to essential users, official and non-official, on permits to be issued by the Provincial Motor Transport Controllers.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Will the Centre keep something for its own requirements and for non-official requirements ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN :** Yes, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Would the members of the Central Legislature be pooled in the Central allotment ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN :** In answer to a supplementary question in this House during this session, the Honourable Sir Satyendra Nath Roy has already stated that legislators would be included among the users of cars whose cases would come up for consideration.

POST OF CONSERVANCY INSPECTOR IN THE CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE, NEW DELHI

262. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state whether it is a fact that (i) a Board was formed in August, 1944 for selecting a man for the post of Conservancy Inspector in the Central Telegraph Office, New Delhi? (ii) the Board consisted of three members, namely, Mr. Rose (Superintendent, C. T. O., New Delhi), Mr. Smith (A. D. D. G., Telegraphs) and R. S. Das Gupta (Engineering Officer, Construction Branch of P. & T. Directorate)? (iii) two members of the Board assembled at the time of making the selection and the concurrence of the third member (R. S. Das Gupta) was obtained about two weeks after the selection had been made?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: (i) and (ii). Yes.

(iii) The position is not as stated. Two members of the Board assembled on the 23rd August while the third member, who was unavoidably absent at the appointed time, interviewed and interrogated the candidate on the 25th August, i.e., two days later and gave his agreement to the Board's proposal for selection.

PERIOD OF SERVICE RENDERED BY MR. MAHINDRA WITH THE INDIA SUPPLY MISSION

263. THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS: Will Government state how many years of service Mr. Mahindra had put in with them and whether there was anything against him during his past service under them?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN (on behalf of Supply Department) About 2 years and 7 months with the India Supply Mission; there was no past period of service under Government.

INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR

264. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Will Government state the main terms of the agreement which was arrived at between the British and Dominion Governments including India on the one hand, and the Soviet Government on the other, with regard to the treatment and repatriation to India of the Indian prisoners of war liberated by the advancing Russian forces, from German custody, on the western and eastern fronts in Europe?

(b) How many Indian prisoners have been liberated, how many of them have so far been repatriated to India and approximately how many of them are still in German custody?

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: (a) All prisoners of war who are British subjects liberated by the advancing Russian forces in Europe will be taken special care of, and handed over as soon as possible to their own officers' to be repatriated with the minimum delay. Provision will be made for supply of adequate food, clothing, housing and medical attention and for transport. The Indian prisoners of war benefit in exactly the same way as prisoners of war from the other Dominions and Great Britain itself.

(b) 25 Indian prisoners have so far been liberated on the Russian front. They have not yet been repatriated to India. About 9,919 Indian prisoners are known still to be in German custody.

PRESCRIBED QUALIFICATIONS, EMOLUMENTS, ETC., OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN DELHI PROVINCE

265. THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR: (a) Is it a fact that the Recognition Committee for the Higher Secondary Schools, as constituted by the Delhi Provincial Government, have prescribed the following minimum academic qualifications for Principals and teachers of XI class of the Higher Secondary Schools in Delhi Province:—(i) For Principal: A Master's Degree or an equivalent qualification; or an Honours Degree of a British or an Indian University; (ii) Teachers of English, Mathematics, History, Economics, Physics and Chemistry (upto XI class): Master's Degree in the subject; (iii) Teachers of Modern Indian language, namely, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali or Punjabi (upto XI class): M.A. in the subject or in the Allied Classical language, or Honours in the language and Intermediate in English;

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will they state the reasons for not permitting teachers holding Honours Degree to teach XI class in the subjects mentioned in (a) (ii) ?

**THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH :** With your permission, Sir, I will reply to questions Nos. 265 to 268 together. The required information has been called for and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

**PRESCRIBED QUALIFICATIONS, EMOLUMENTS, ETC., OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN DELHI PROVINCE**

**266. THE HONOURABLE SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR :** Will Government state whether there are any Higher Secondary Schools in the Delhi Province in which the post of Principal is held by an ordinary graduate and not by an M. A. or an Honours graduate, if so, will they state the names of such schools ?

(See reply to question No. 265.)

**PRESCRIBED QUALIFICATIONS, EMOLUMENTS, ETC., OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN DELHI PROVINCE**

**267. THE HONOURABLE SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR :** Will Government state whether it is a fact that teachers with Master's Degree are given a start of Rs. 120 p.m. even if they teach classes lower than the XI class, having no work in the XI class at all and whether ordinary graduates and Honours graduates actually teaching XI class and who were drawing pay less than 120 per month immediately before starting to teach XI class are not given a start of 120 per month ?

(See reply to question No. 265.)

**PRESCRIBED QUALIFICATIONS, EMOLUMENTS, ETC., OF PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN DELHI PROVINCE**

**268. THE HONOURABLE SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR :** Will Government state whether there are any teachers in any of the Higher Secondary Schools in the Delhi Province, who possess Master's Degree in the subject other than the subjects which they are permitted to teach the XI class, if so, will they state the names of such schools and the subjects they teach in each case ?

(See reply to question No. 265.)

**MINE-OWNING EVACUEES FROM BURMA**

**269. THE HONOURABLE MR. NARAYANDAS GIRDHARDAS :** Will Government state whether there were Indians owning mines in Burma who had to leave that country on its occupation by Japan and who had come to India ? If the answer is in the affirmative, have they given any financial assistance to such Indian evacuees, if not, why not ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. R. N. BANERJEE :** Government have no information in regard to the first part of the question. I should, however, state that mine owning evacuees are, along with others, eligible for assistance under the Government of India's Scheme of financial assistance to evacuees.

**RECRUITMENT OF A SCHEDULED CASTE CANDIDATE TO THE I.C.S. IN 1941**

**270. THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DAS :** Will Government state : (a) The requisite qualifying marks fixed by the Federal Public Service Commission both for the written and *viva voce* tests of the competitive examination held for the Indian Civil Service in the year 1941 ?

(b) Whether one post in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service was reserved for a Scheduled caste candidate in that year ?

(c) In case any Scheduled caste candidates sat for the examination in 1941, the marks secured by the topmost Scheduled caste candidate in written and *viva voce* examination and the reasons for not selecting him for the post reserved ? and

(d) Whether any Scheduled caste candidates secured qualifying marks in the I.C.S. Examinations held subsequent to the year 1941 ? If so, whether any of them was selected for appointment ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** (a) In 1941 the minimum qualifying marks for the written and *viva voce* tests were fixed at 585 and 100 respectively.

(b) One vacancy was held in reserve for the nomination of a candidate of the Scheduled castes if a suitable candidate was available. In the event of no candidate of those castes being successful by open competition or found suitable for nomination, the vacancy was to be filled by open competition.

(c) The marks secured by the topmost Scheduled castes candidate in written and *viva voce* tests were 607 and 100 respectively. The candidate just attained the qualifying standard in the open competition but the place which he secured in the list was much too low for appointment to the Service, nor did he obtain in the *viva voce* the minimum qualifying marks fixed by the Federal Public Service Commission for purposes of nomination.

(d) No Scheduled caste candidate who appeared at the Indian Civil Service examination after 1941 obtained qualifying marks, and as no suitable qualified candidate from those castes was available for immediate nomination, a special procedure was devised whereby training at the Probationers Training Camp was given to the best available candidate who was considered *prima facie* likely to benefit from the training sufficiently to make him suitable thereafter for nomination to the Indian Civil Service. This candidate was nominated in 1943-44 on the basis of the results of the final examination of the probationary course.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Are there two examinations held, after the course and before the course ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** The last examination was held in January, 1943. I do not quite follow the Honourable Member's question.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** I want to know whether the Honourable Member referred to the same person who was first rejected and then taken or whether he is a different person.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** No ; it is a different person.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DAS :** Was not the man who had first been selected in the year 1944 recommended by the Secretary of State from England ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** No, I think the Honourable Member is under a misapprehension. The member of the Scheduled castes who was recommended by the Secretary of State was a gentleman who bore the same name, *i.e.*, his brother ; but he was nominated at an earlier year. The candidate who was brought in by the special procedure was a candidate who sat for the examination here and was specially sent for training to the I.C.S. Probationers' Training Camp.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY OHOWDHURY :** Is he related to the Minister in Bengal ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** I do not think that question arises.

PROCEDURE FOR SELECTING THE MINORITY CANDIDATES FOR THE I.C.S.

271. **THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DAS :** Will Government state : (a) whether the selection of the candidates for the posts in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service is made on the basis of gradation of marks secured at the competitive examinations, if so, how many candidates were selected in 1941 from Caste Hindu and Muslim communities on that basis ?

(b) Whether with a view to giving representation to Muslim candidates the claims of other candidates with higher qualifying marks were ignored ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH :** (a) In respect of vacancies in the Indian Civil Service which are filled by open competition, candidates are recruited in order of merit at the examination upto the number of vacancies to be filled.

In 1941 six Muslims were nominated and eight Hindus recruited by open competition, including one who was recruited against a vacancy which was held in reserve for the nomination of a Scheduled castes candidate, but could not be filled on account of the lack of a suitable candidate of those castes.

(b) No. The Muslim candidates were selected against the vacancies reserved for candidates of that community and candidates of other communities were not eligible for those vacancies.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is it a fact that according to the Rules of the Home Department vacancies which are not filled by other Minorities should go to the Muslims if suitable candidates are not available ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : My Honourable friend is presumably referring to the 1934 Resolution which is a Resolution of the Governor General in Council and not the Rules of the Home Department.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Is that Rule of 1934 followed ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : Most certainly, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DAS : My question is whether the selection is made on the basis of the gradation of marks secured at the competitive examination ? That is what I wanted to know.

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : Yes, Sir. If the Honourable Member is referring to the candidates taken by open competition, the gradation of marks naturally determines their place.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DAS : May I ask whether in order to make room for Muslim candidates, candidates securing higher marks were ignored ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH : No, Sir. Certainly not.

#### GOVERNMENT TEXTILE SHOPS

272. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Will Government state whether it is a fact that (a) there is only one Government textile shop at each station for all the Government servants in New Delhi and Simla ? (b) there is generally a great rush on the two shops and it is very difficult for purchasers to enter the shops ? and (c) during the first ten days of the month there is always the heaviest rush on these shops ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL : (a) Yes.

(b) Yes, it is a fact that both the shops are fairly crowded but it is not correct to say that the crowding is of such a serious nature that it is difficult for purchasers to enter the shops.

(c) Yes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Are members of the Legislature entitled to purchase goods from these shops ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL : No, Sir.

#### GOVERNMENT TEXTILE SHOPS

273. THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL : Will Government state : (a) Whether the Government servants have to experience a lot of difficulty in purchasing cloth from the Government shops ? (b) Whether the space allotted to the said shops is small and inadequate ? (c) Whether the quota of goods allotted for these shops is very inadequate as compared to the demands of the Government servants ?

Do Government propose to increase the number of shops and the quota of goods to meet their requirements ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. M. PATEL : (a) No.

(b) and (c). Yes.

(d) Yes, Government propose to expand the existing shops but it is doubtful if it will be possible to increase the quota of goods allotted to these shops.

#### IMPORT OF CONSUMER GOODS FROM THE U. S. A.

274. THE HONOURABLE MR. THIRUMALA ROW : (a) Has the attention of the Government of India been drawn to an item of news published on page 7, column 3 of the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 11th March, 1945, with regard to the import of consumer goods from America by an Ahmedabad firm to the tune of 80 lakhs of rupees ?

(b) Have Government ascertained whether there is any basis for this news ?

(c) Is it a fact that 2 lakhs bicycles are also being imported from America ?

(d) Is it also a fact that woollen and silk goods are also being imported into this country ?

(e) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will they state the name of the firm and whether it has arranged for the import of these goods with the permission of the Government of India? and

(f) Have Government arranged for the release of the necessary dollar exchange for these goods?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: (a) Government have seen the Press report.

(b) and (e). So far as Government are aware, there is no basis for this statement.

(c) No, Sir.

(d) Limited quantities of woollen goods from the United States of America are being imported into this country. Some artificial silk goods are also being imported, but no silk.

(f) Does not arise.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: What was the reply to (e)?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: I said that so far as information in the possession of Government goes, there is no foundation for this report.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Not for 80 lakhs, but for a smaller amount?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: Our trouble is we fear that this Ahmed abad firm is mythical.

#### SHORTAGE OF TRANSPORT IN DELHI

275. THE HONOURABLE MR. THIRUMALA ROW: (a) Are Government aware of the great hardship with regard to conveyance caused to the public of both Old and New Delhi?

(b) Have they got any plan to meet the increased demand for public conveyances? and

(c) Do Government propose to organise a system of buses with a fleet of buses which will make transport quick, cheap and efficient, as in Madras and Calcutta?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN: (a) (b) & (c). The desirability of extending the urban bus services in Delhi has long been recognised by the Provincial authorities, but in view of the need for conserving motor spirit they have so far not felt justified in sanctioning any large extensions. Two new routes have, however, recently been opened, and the intention is to take further steps in the same direction as soon as the motor spirit supply position improves.

#### SHORTAGE OF ACCOMMODATION IN DELHI.

276. THE HONOURABLE MR. THIRUMALA ROW: (a) What steps are being taken by Government to relieve the acute shortage of accommodation in New Delhi and Old Delhi for non-official civil population?

(b) Do Government propose to construct hutments or temporary houses to be leased out to the civilian population? and

(c) Have Government studied the plans which are being evolved in America for increasing house accommodation by fabricated houses? Do they propose to make plans on similar lines in this country to relieve the wartime congestion?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: (a) to (c). Apart from financial considerations, it is not possible to undertake a large programme of housing such as that suggested owing to the heavy demands for material connected with the war on the available supplies of building materials. The Government have seen the reports of pre-fabricated houses in the U. S. A. Such houses are made of steel or concrete and the materials required for their construction are in short supply in India. If I may add they may not be suitable even for our climate.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: It is too hot.

#### DELAY IN TRAIN SERVICES BETWEEN SAMALKOT AND COCANADA

277. THE HONOURABLE MR. THIRUMAL, ROW (a) Are Government aware that there are inordinate delays in train services between Samalkot and Cocanada on the M.S.M. north-east line on account of increased civilian and military traffic



(b) Are Government aware that the mails which reach Samalkot at 10 A.M. are being delivered at Cocanada more than 5 hours later than that ?

(c) Is there any proposal made by the Military authorities to connect Cocanada with the main line which will obviate the delays in transshipment at Samalkot ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN : (a) No, but I am prepared to admit that delays probably occur in the prevailing abnormal traffic conditions arising out of the war.

(b) Mails arriving at Samalkot at 10-14 hours are conveyed by the first available train leaving at 12 hours, arriving Cocanada Port railway station at 13-10 hours and the delivery is effected at 14-30 hours at Cocanada.

(c) As far as I am aware, no such proposal has been made.

### NOTICE OF MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

#### DELEGATION TO THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Honourable Members, I received a notice of an Adjournment Motion, before I came in a few minutes before 11 O'Clock. This notice is signed by four Honourable Members : Mr. Sapru, Mr. Mahua, Mr. Chowdhury and Mr. Hossain Imam. I will read the notice to you :—

"I (It should be 'We' but 'I' is mentioned) wish to move the adjournment of the House to consider an urgent matter of public interest, namely, the refusal of Governor General to permit the discussion in the Legislative Assembly of Resolution regarding Delegation to San Francisco Conference".

It is perfectly clear that the action which the Governor General took was under rule 22 of the Legislative Rules. The Governor General's power is entirely unfettered and cannot be challenged anywhere, either by an Adjournment Motion or by anything else, much less by an Adjournment Motion which is a motion of censure on the Governor General. I therefore disallow this Motion.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Could you disallow this Motion without any argument on our part ?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : There is no necessity for any argument. The rule is so perfectly clear that no argument is permissible. You cannot challenge the conduct of the Governor General in any way which is not an action taken by the Governor General in Council.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : The Delegation was selected by the Governor General.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : That does not matter. The question was allowed to be debated in this House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : It cannot be in the public interest—

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : The Motion which you want to move is against the Governor General which I cannot allow. (Order, order.)

### STATEMENTS, ETC., LAID ON THE TABLE

#### AJMER-MERWARA MOTOR VEHICLES RULES, 1940

THE HONOURABLE MR. D. D. WARREN (War Transport Secretary) : I lay on the table copies of Notification issued by the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, No. F/22-18 (cc), dated the 11th January, 1945, amending the Ajmer-Merwara Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940.

### ORDERS BY THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER, AJMER-MERWARA

#### NOTIFICATION

*Ajmer, the 11th January, 1945*

No. F/22-18 (CC).—The Chief Commissioner is pleased to make the following amendment in the Ajmer-Merwara Motor Vehicles Rules, 1940 (promulgated with this Administration's notification No. 1141/34-W/38-III, dated the 12th June 1940) the amendments having been previously published in this Administration's notification of even number dated the 25th October, 1944.

"(i) Delete the existing sub-rule (2) of Rule 7.1 and substitute instead the following :—

"(2) Producers approved under sub-rule (1) shall not be deemed to be approved elsewhere in British India unless specifically approved by a competent authority of the jurisdiction in whose area it is to be used.

(3) No Producers approved elsewhere in British India shall be deemed to be approved for the purposes of Sub-rule (1) unless the gas filtering certificate in respect thereof granted either within the original province or elsewhere, has been accepted by the authority specified in schedule 1".

(ii) In Schedule 1 delete the words and brackets "(List of Purpose of Rule 7.1 (2))".

(iii) Existing rule 7.4 should be re-numbered 7.4 (1) and the following added as sub-rule (2) :—

"(2) New or unusual designs and new methods of construction : If any person wishes to manufacture a producer the design of which contemplates departure from ordinary practice, the employment of any new or unusual methods of construction, or the use of methods of construction and processes not in conformity with these rules and specifications shall apply to the Registering Authority stating in what respects the design departed from ordinary practice, and the modifications or relaxation of the rules and specification, which he desires to be made, with the reasons therefor".

(iv) In sub-rule (1) of Rule 7.5 read a comma after the words "air leaks" and insert the following :—"and all exposed hot surfaces shall be effectively screened from accidental contact".

Insert the following as a new sub-rule to Rule 7.5 :—

"(3) The fitting of a producer plant to any motor vehicle shall be reported to the registering authority as an alteration as required by section 32 of the Act, and the vehicle shall there upon be produced for inspection by such authority and at such time and place as the registering authority may specify".

(v) In sub-rule (3) of Rule 7.6 insert a comma after the word "of" which occurs in the last line, and insert the following between the words "of" and "the" :—"and facing to the rear of,"

(vi) In sub-rule (1) of Rule 7.7 for the words "one-eighth" which occurs in the 5th line, read "one quarter".

(vii) Add the following as new sub-rules to Rule 7.7 :—

"(3) The joints in any insulating material as afore said shall be either :—

(a) overlapped by not less than 3 inches, or

(b) butted with a covering butt-strap of the same material and thickness not less than 5 inches wide, and overlapping the butt joint equally by not less than 2½ inches.

(4) The clearance between the ground and the lowest part of any producer plant shall not be less than 12 inches.

(viii) The existing rule 7.8 should be re-numbered 7.8 (1) and the following proviso and new sub-rules added :—

"Provided that in the case of a transport vehicle other than a public service vehicle, the generator may be at a distance of less than 2 feet from any part of the petrol tank, but shall be as far removed therefrom as possible, and, in no case, shall there be a distance of less than 8 inches between any part of the generator or of any pipe connecting the generator or the gas filter and any part of the petrol tank.

Provided further that when any part of the generator or pipe as aforesaid is at a distance of less than 2 feet from any part of the petrol tank, that part of the generator and pipe shall be insulated from that part of the petrol tank by the interposition of the insulating material and the clearance specified in Rule 7.7.

(2) The filler cap and any other opening in the main petrol tank shall, where the generator is mounted on the side of the vehicle, be located on the opposite side of the vehicle to the generator, and shall be not less than 4 feet away from the generator and from any pipe leading from the generator to the gas filters.

(3) Any auxiliary petrol tank with gravity feed shall be located in front, as far from the generator as practicable".

(ix) In sub-rule (d) of Rule 7.11

(i) before the word "clean" insert the following :—"at any time when there is fire in the generator".

(ii) Substitute the word "take" which occurs in the first line of this sub-rule by the word "rake".

(iii) after comma which occurs after the word "vehicle" in the second last line of this sub-rule insert the following :—"or on any road surface".

(x) (a) In sub-clause (1) of Clause (2) of Schedule II insert the word "not" between the words "vehicle" and "being".

(b) *Insert* the following sub-clause as sub-clause (ii) :—

“(t) In the case of goods vehicle being a heavy transport vehicle—15 miles per hour”.

(c) Re-number existing sub-clause (ii) to read (iii) and for “30 miles per hour” read “25 miles per hour”.

(vi) In clause 6 of Schedule II *delete* the words and figures “No. 16 B. W. G. (0·065 inches thick) . . . . . less than 5 inches” and instead *insert* the following :—“the following gauge thicknesses.

*All outer shells* where fitted, not thinner than No. 16 B. W. G. (0·065 inches thick).

*Updraft generators* :—The lower end of shell from the bottom to a point 12 inches above the grate, or to the top of the gas outlet whichever is the less not thinner than No. 11 B. W. G. (0·120 inches thick) remainder of shell not thinner than No. 16 B. W. G. (0·065 inches thick).

*Downdraft generators*.—The lower end of shell from the bottom to a point 12 inches above the fire grate, not thinner than No. 14 B. W. G. (0·083 inches thick) remainder of shell not thinner than No. 16 B. W. G. (0·065 inches thick).

*Cross draft generators*.—The lower end of shell from the bottom to a point 12 inches above the centre line of the tuyere, not thinner than No. 14 B. W. G. (0·083 inches thick) remainder of shell not thinner than No. 16 B. W. G. (0·065 inches thick) ”.

(xii) In clause 9 of Schedule II *delete* the words and figures “No. 11 B. W. G. (0·120 inches thick) . . . . . less than 4 bolts” and read “ $\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick”.

(xiii) *Add* the following as a new clause to Schedule II :—

“Water Tanks :—These shall be made of mild steel sheet or copper sheet material of a thickness not thinner than No. 20 B. W. G. (0·035 inches thick) and shall be provided with strainers for inlets and outlets and suitable arrangement for determining the water level”.

### FINANCE BILL

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : We will now proceed with the Finance Bill. I may mention it to Honourable Members that there is no time limit. I have received intimation that several members desire to speak on the Bill. Though there is no time limit, if speeches are unduly long I shall be under the reluctant necessity of intervening and asking the members to resume their seats.

THE HONOURABLE SIR CYRIL JONES (Finance Secretary) : Sir, I move :—

“That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the year beginning on the 1st day of April, 1945, in the form recommended by the Governor General, be taken into consideration.”

Honourable Members, Sir, are aware of the general financial policy which the Government has pursued, and is pursuing, in the exceptional and increasing difficulties created by the war ; and I assume that Honourable Members are acquainted with the terms of the Indian Finance Bill as presented by the Honourable the Finance Member to the Legislative Assembly, which was published about one month ago. The Bill in the form recommended by His Excellency the Governor General differs from the Bill which was presented to the Legislative Assembly by the Honourable the Finance Member in one respect only, that is, by the rectification of a drafting omission relating to tobacco excises. I refer to the last three lines of sub-clause (a) of clause 6 of the Bill at the bottom of the first page of the Bill as presented. That drafting omission would have been rectified in the Legislative Assembly by an amendment, of which notice had been given by Sir John Sheehy, had the Bill there reached the stage of consideration of clauses. In all other respects, the Bill as recommended by the Governor General, that is the Bill now before the House, is identical with the Bill in its original form, and I take it, Sir, that it is unnecessary for me to take up the time of the House at this stage by any further explanation of the clauses of this Bill. Sir, I move.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : What it was in the original, Sir, which has been corrected ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR CYRIL JONES : The original Bill did not contain the last three lines at the bottom of page 1, which then went straight on to sub-clause (b). That was an omission which has now been rectified.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadan) : Before I pass on to a consideration of the questions that arise

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in connection with the Finance Bill I should like to refer to the remarks of the Finance Member on State ownership and management of State industries and I should like to say that I found them somewhat intriguing. This is what he said : —

" I feel that perhaps insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the question whether it would not be advisable to extend the State ownership of industries as a source of additional revenue. It may well be that in the future the State may find it necessary to nationalise certain industries, especially those with large possibilities of expansion, in order that it may have at its disposal additional sources of income for the sustenance of national well being as a whole "

If I understand the Finance Member rightly, he sees the Indian State running certain industries as profit-making concerns in much the same way as business concerns, and commercial enterprises, are run on a profit basis. When we talk of nationalisation of certain basic industries we have in mind the public interest, we have in mind public utility concerns or concerns connected with the defence of the country. Now the State is at the moment owning certain large enterprises. We own railways in this country and we own irrigation works and hydro-electric works and we are running today a number of defence industries. I do not question that public opinion favours the extension of public control over basic and key industries. In fact, speaking for myself, I am all in favour of a nationalisation of basic or key industries. Provided we get a national Government, I would like to have the key and basic industries in this country to be State-owned, State-managed and State-controlled. But the ideas of the Finance Members are not very clear to me. He apparently wants the State to enter the commercial field as a profit-making agency for the purpose of running commercial concerns. What Sir Jeremy Raisman seems to favour is that the State should take up enterprises for adding to its sources of revenue. This is something very different from what goes by the name of nationalisation of key industries.

Let me explain what I mean. If the State takes over industries which are remunerative and leaves to private enterprise industries which are unremunerative, then there will be little scope for private enterprise. Further, if the State takes over concerns not because they are socially important but because they are likely to be profitable concerns, Government will become a monopolistic concern so far as these industries are concerned, and the temptation for it will be to fix prices in accordance with monopolistic principles. Any large-scale development of this tendency could make a Government independent, in the matter of taxation, of the Legislature, and might indeed imperil the working of democratic government. I must not, as I said, be misunderstood. I am not opposed to the nationalisation of key industries. But this is not what the Honourable the Finance Member, if I understand him aright, has in mind. What I do not definitely favour is the suggestion that the State, irrespective of the social utility of the defence value of industry should take it over and run it on a profit basis as a monopolist which can fix such prices as will enable it to obtain maximum profits. I wish Sir Jeremy Raisman had explained himself more clearly on this point, as the question of the role of the State in industry is one which cannot be ignored in any future planning in this country. It strikes me that in the form in which he has put it the doctrine which he has enunciated is a novel doctrine which may have far-reaching reactions on the relationship between the individual and the State.

Before I pass on to another point, I would like to say in connection with this question that, speaking for myself, I would favour the utilisation of sterling balances for the nationalisation of the coal and the oil industries. In connection with the Industrial Health Committee's tour last year I had opportunity to visit the coalfields of Raniganj and Dhanbad, and I cannot say that I was happy at what I saw in those coalfields. The housing conditions were absolutely disgusting, and certainly the wage position left very much to be desired. One of the observations which the Finance Member has made in his Budget Speech—

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH (Education, Health and Lands Member): Will the Honourable Member elucidate one point? He referred to oil. Which oil? Oilseeds?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Petrol.

One of the observations which the Finance Member made in the Budget Speech the other day is that it must be obvious that so long as war conditions continue, not only in India but in all the Allied countries, resources of material and manpower must remain mobilised for the immediate task of achieving victory. Once that task has been accomplished and the inevitable period of adjustment passed, it will be possible to initiate the execution of post-war plans. Now, it is quite clear that for the needs of the war the Budget provides amply, and even more than amply—I would say it provides excessively. There is an excess of expenditure of over 96 crores over earlier estimates in 1943-44, and of 130 crores in 1944-45. I would just invite the attention of the House to the evermounting Defence expenditure of India. Our expenditure in 1939-40 was 58·49 crores; in 1940-41, 76·66 crores; in 1941-42, 160·16 crores; in 1942-43, 301·65 crores, in 1943-44, 451·99 crores; in 1944-45 519·78 crores; and the net estimate for 1945-46 stands at 466·94 crores. The staggering nature of these figures will be apparent from the fact that the normal military budget for India stood at 36·77 crores before the war. Sir, the urgency of the situation which may be said to have necessitated the rise cannot be denied. But equally it cannot be denied that the rise has been out of all proportion to India's capacity to bear the burden.

An examination of the figures in connection with the loans floated will show that they have been undersubscribed. We budgeted for 300 crores under loans; we realised only 200 crores. Under National Savings Certificates we anticipated 28 crores; we could get only 18 crores. Many comments have been made as to the manner in which these loans were realised. Most of us who are in touch with the Provinces know—I am putting the case very mildly against these methods—the manner in which these loans have been realised. The methods used have not been in all cases fair and just. There has been in many cases much harassment, in connection with the small savings drive, of the poor man. Sir, we have been financing war through loans. It is said that it is necessary to do so to check inflationary tendencies. But these loans will have to be paid back some day or the other. They will mature one day or other. During the interim period we shall have to bear the interest charges and provide the Sinking Fund for them. So, this heavy expenditure has not only affected our present finances but is also likely to have reactions on our financial future. I would, therefore, urge that a maximum ceiling should be put on our obligations and liabilities in respect of war expenditure. There is no desire that we should escape our legitimate share of war expenditure. But the sacrifice that we are called upon to make should be in proportion to our ability to make that sacrifice. We must not be bled white. The sacrifices that we have been called upon to make are not only of a financial nature. They are many and varied. If we were to count up the real defence expenditure we would find that it is much greater than what it is represented to be. A good portion of our civil expenditure, which has also been mounting up, is connected with Defence. It is due to the war that the expenditure has had to go up. Then there has been the strain and depreciation which the war has caused to our railway system. All these and many other things of similar nature will have to be taken into consideration in finding out the real sacrifices, material and human, which the Indian people have made for the war. Sir, this colossal expenditure for India's war effort has been incurred by a Government over which the people of this country have no control; Is it not, therefore, desirable that some method should be devised which would inspire confidence in the public mind that the money is not wasted, that there is no extravagance in Government Departments, that the principles of the financial arrangement between Britain and India, for which thanks are due to Sir Jeremy Raisman, are being strictly adhered to? I would, therefore, plead for the appointment of a Committee, composed of representatives of the Indian Legislature, to go through the accounts of the expenditure already incurred—I am not thinking of the current year's expenditure—of the expenditure already incurred in order that the Indian people may feel that the financial agreement between His Majesty's Government and this country is being followed in spirit and letter and that there has been no unnecessary waste so far. This Committee should also go through the various financial settlements reached and examine how the lend-lease arrangement is working. Sir Jeremy Raisman has himself recognised that one of the contributory factors which has made it difficult for Government to fight inflation is the lack of co-operation between the Government and the people. The suggestion that I have ventured to make has the merit of bringing the representatives of the people into

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closer association with the Government. A Committee of the nature which I have suggested would make for closer relationship between the Government and the people and would inspire confidence to a greater extent than the present arrangement, which denies to the people all association so far as this expenditure side is concerned, does in the public mind.

Sir, the Budget of 1944-45 was framed on the assumption that operations against the Japanese would take place outside India and that in consequence no portion of their cost would fall on Indian revenues which would be relieved as a result of the sending of forces beyond India's frontiers to take part in those operations. Actually, what happened was that not only forces earmarked for employment overseas had to be detained in India but others were brought in to repel the Japanese invader. Is it fair that the cost of troops brought to repel the invader should be entirely borne by Indian revenues? In the defeat of Japan or in repelling the Japanese invader from India, not only India but Britain and the other United Nations are also vitally interested. British troops cost nearly three or four times as much as Indian troops. To the extent that they are employed and reliance is not placed on mobilising India's man-power for repelling the Japanese invader, justice demands that the difference between the pay of the British soldier and that of the Indian soldier should be borne by His Majesty's Government. Who decide the composition of the armed forces. What one would like to know and what one misses in the information that has been supplied to us is the difference in expenditure that would have resulted to this country if either His Majesty's Government had borne the cost of the difference between the salary paid to the British soldier and the Indian soldier or alternatively the difference in the expenditure that India would have had to incur if she had relied exclusively on her own man-power and not on British *plus* Indian man-power. To the extent that India has had, because of the control of His Majesty's Government over her Defence services, to rely on British personnel for her defence, the cost of repelling the Japanese invader from her soil has been heavier than it need have been. It is inevitable that we should regard this difference as the price that we have to pay for our political subjection.

Sir, the war in our case has made temporarily possible that fuller employment of man-power which paradoxically peace-time conditions in this country, or for the matter of that in other countries, did not provide. The question is,

12 Noon. what should we do to ensure that the industries that have grown up during the war and which have a chance of survival shall survive in the post-war world? The transition from war-time to peace time economy will be a difficult one. In war-time we have been accustomed to think so far as expenditure is concerned, having regard to the limited resources of this country, in what must be called astronomical figures. If there is a sudden reduction immediately after the war is over in public expenditure, then there may be unemployment and slump. We must therefore provide sources of investments for private investors so that it may be possible for us to maintain employment to the maximum extent possible. It is therefore essential that the policy which Government intends to pursue in regard to industrialisation should be clearly stated. It should be clearly stated what industries can expect support in the post-war world; and for this purpose what is needed is a liberalisation of the tariff policy which has been pursued so far. I am not by conviction a whole-hearted protectionist. My inclinations are all in favour of freer trade. But I want the State to follow a policy of industrialisation in future so that this country may be able to raise the purchasing power of its people. For that purpose it would be necessary for us to give, at all events in the initial stages of our planning, State help and State support to our industries. Therefore, there is need for a Planning Commission which would also act as a Tariff Board for Industries which we would like to see started and established and rehabilitated in this country in the post-war world.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : Don't you think that the industrial panels which have been formed will serve the purpose?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRÚ : So far as industrial panels are concerned, my difficulty is that the panels are full of industrialists and I believe in the man of common sense. I believe that the layman has something to contribute and I should like in any Planning Commission the inclusion of consumers' interests also

The point that I was driving at was that so far as the post-war world is concerned, we should think in terms not of a contractionist but expansionist economy and it will be necessary for us in determining the question of agricultural and industrial prices to bear this in mind that we cannot go back to the pre-war days. The price level to a certain extent will have to be higher than it was in the pre-war days. That is something inevitable and that is something which we shall have to ensure if we are to plan wisely so far as the post-war world is concerned.

Then, Sir, it has been said that the war has made the country more prosperous. I should like to examine this statement a little closely. Certainly—and I hope my Government friends will not misunderstand me at all, because it can have no reference to the higher services—certainly corrupt Government officials have benefited by the war. There is no doubt that there is a great deal of corruption in connection with all the Departments connected with the war and connected with industry. There is a great deal of corruption in connection with the Supply Department; there is a great deal of corruption in connection with the Food Department. I know, Sir, from knowledge—in the sense that people have come and told me that this has happened and money has passed—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN (Nominated Official):** Will the Honourable Member give us some indication of the kind of corruption that he alleges is going on in the Food Department so that we may be able to investigate?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** In regard to the purchase of primary products, in regard to the distribution of foodgrains and in various other ways—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN:** The purchase of foodgrains is made by the Provincial Governments.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** They are not made by the Provincial Governors, they are made by provincial officials and the point is that Caesar's wife should be above suspicion.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN:** In that case the Honourable Member's remarks should be addressed to the Provincial Governments and not to the Central Government.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** So far as Provinces are concerned, Provincial Autonomy is not functioning and the answer that we get from the Provincial Governments is that everything is all right with our servants and agents. The C. I. D. is very good so far as investigation of political crime or supposed political crime is concerned, but it is not efficient so far as the weeding out of corrupt officials is concerned. To deny that there is much corruption in all the Departments of Government today is to deny what is common knowledge.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** There have been many prosecutions of Government officials.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** For one man who is prosecuted, there are a hundred who escape prosecutions.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** How can the Government find out who are the other people?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** We want an Intelligence Department in each Department.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN:** There is already an Intelligence Department dealing with corruption cases.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** If we had a Government which commanded the goodwill of the people it would be easier to weed out corruption.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT:** You think there will be no corruption when there is a National Government?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU:** I did not say that there will be no corruption when a National Government came into power, but I did say that there would be less corruption when a National Government came into power than there is today. A National Government will not look upon police agents as the sole authority. It will look upon them as beings to whom it must pay its complete homage.

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There is no doubt that corrupt officials have benefited by the war. There is no doubt that big industrialists who have had war contracts have benefited by the war. I do not know the extent of benefit they have derived from it, but they have benefited, I assume, from the war. But so far as the man with a fixed income is concerned, he certainly has not benefited by it. So far as the middle classes and the lower middle classes are concerned, they have not benefited by it and so far as the working classes in industries are concerned, I venture to say that they have not benefited to the extent that it is represented that they have benefited by this war.

Sir, the dearness allowance has not in all cases been linked with the rise in the cost of living. I have seen the slums in Bombay and Calcutta, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad and other places. What has happened is that the populations of these cities have increased by about 80 per cent. Even temporary accommodation is not provided for the men who are doing social war work. The result is that their health has suffered. They have to live in overcrowded and insanitary houses and therefore I do not accept the view that the working classes have, taking a long range view of things, really benefited by this war. So far as agriculturists are concerned they may be getting better prices for their products but then they have to pay more for their consumer goods, for the goods which they need; they have got to pay more for their implements, for their cattle, for their labour, for their seeds. Sir, we want to dispel the fiction, which has been sedulously cultivated in this country, that the country has benefited as a country by the rise in prices or by this war.

Sir, there is no doubt that health conditions have very much deteriorated. It is very difficult to get even ordinary medicines today. There is much adulteration of food and the quality supplied in the ration shops is very bad. I am prepared to recognise that there has been some improvement in some places so far as these ration shops are concerned but I know what the quality of food supplied in the ration shops in my town used to be. I showed that quality to a high I.M.S. officer and he was horrified to see that quality. You would not give that kind of *atta* even to your dog.

Sir, so far as the detailed arrangements in the Finance Bill are concerned, I welcome the distinction between earned and unearned income. As regards the Death Duties Bill I shall reserve what I have got to say when that Bill comes before this House. To the principle of that Bill there can be no objection but there are certain difficulties in applying the principle of death duties to a country like India with its inheritance laws and I shall, therefore, reserve what I have got to say on the death duties question if and when the Bill comes before this House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa Muhammadan): Would you give power to this unrepresentative Government?

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Not even to the National Government!

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU: Only a National Government commanding the confidence of the country can undertake a Death Duties Bill. I am not prepared to give the power of levying death duties to a Government which is a mere agent of an alien Imperialism in this country.

Sir, I should like to say a few words on the food situation as it exists in the country. Now, we know that in the United Provinces in several districts rationing has been introduced and it will be in operation in Allahabad, in my own town, by the 1st of May, but let me just contrast the manner in which the food situation in this country has been dealt with and the manner in which it was dealt with in Britain. I was reading an instructive article by Sir John Orr, the other day in *Britain To-day* and I have taken these facts from his article.

Now, Sir, as we all know, Britain is an island depending, or it used to be dependent, for her food upon imports. When the war broke out its immediate effect was to cut off supplies and there was danger that the health and efficiency of the people would suffer. The principle which determined distribution of food in peace-time was purchasing power. Immediately the war broke out it was realised that this was not the right thing and as food was produced the principle was accepted that in war the over-riding consideration must be the health and efficiency of the people. Leading



scientists were called upon to draw up a policy which would help to maintain with sufficient food the health of the people in accordance with the principles of distribution based on the nutritional needs of the people.

Now, Sir, the story of the Ministry of Food is one of the romances of this war. Home production was increased. Six million acres of grassland were brought under cultivation and a cropping programme arranged to give the maximum amount of human food per acre. Dairy cow was given priority for all available feeding stuffs. Shortage of labour due to farmers leaving to join the Army was made good by an increase in mechanisation and by the assistance given by town dwellers and school children at harvest time. Local Committees were formed to make the best use of available tractors and other implements and to assist farmers in their efforts for maximum production. The Food Ministry gave a guaranteed market at a remunerative price. Families were urged to increase the production of vegetables in gardens and in small allotments of ground which were made available in or near town suburbs.

The position today is that the majority of families have a supply of potatoes and vegetables at their own door. These allotments made a substantial addition to food production and the result is that food production has been increased by over 70 per cent. Further, steps were taken through giving priority to foods which had a certain value and to shipping to import food from abroad. The import from time to time was arranged in such manner as to ensure that Britain had a sufficient quantity of food of protective values. Rationing was introduced for foods which had food values and the rationing system, as we know, works very well in England. What happened in this country? We know the story and I will not repeat it over again. And even today the ration is only a pound. In my own town you get about 8 chhitaks and many people have told me that this quantity is not sufficient for them. It is alright for Mr. Sen, and it is alright for me, because we take many things besides *atta* and rice. It is not alright for the workman who works hard. In England, as we know, priority is given in the matter of milk and eggs to women and children. So far as eggs are concerned, social conditions do not permit the use of eggs in this country very much, but so far as milk is concerned, we know how difficult it is to get milk. And we know the prices of vegetables have not gone down.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Is the Honourable Member contending that the conditions in these two countries are analogous ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** So far as you are concerned, Sir, you will always want this country to remain where it is. But the world has moved very much, and I may be pardoned if I would like my country to be as great as Britain, if not greater.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Honourable Member was making a comparison ; therefore I asked the question.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** I would now like to say a word or two about our reconversion finance. We are being given 20 million dollars for reconversion purposes. So far as Egypt is concerned, she has sterling assets amounting to £200,000,000—

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Honourable Member has already taken 50 minutes and he should bring his remarks to a close soon.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** I will not bring my remarks to a close. This is a Finance Bill, and we have got unlimited right to speak as long as we like so long as we do not repeat our arguments. So long as I do not repeat my arguments, I have a right to speak as long as I like.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Honourable Member can speak as long as he likes—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** I guarantee that I will not repeat a single argument.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** The Honourable Member can speak as long as he likes, but if other Honourable Members do not get a chance to speak, they should not blame me.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU :** We have been allowed only two days. It took the Assembly seven days to discuss this Bill. And so far as our party is

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concerned, we have not got the Honourable Dr. Kunzru, and my Honourable friend Rai Bahadur Mahtha is not well and he is not participating in this debate. Therefore, I had intended to take another five minutes or so.

I will leave the cloth position to be dealt with by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam. I would just invite the attention of the House to what Mr. Suhrawardy has to say with regard to the cloth position in Bengal and the Centre's responsibility for it. I would say that, speaking from personal knowledge, I know that it is impossible to get cloth even in a town like Allahabad. I do not know what has happened to those quotas and how the cloth has disappeared from the market. But the fact is that it is very, very difficult to get cloth these days.

Now, Sir, so far as reconversion finance is concerned, what I wanted to say was that a greater portion of our sterling balances should be given for conversion into dollars. The allotment of 20 million dollars is not enough. The allotment is very meagre. Industry will have to be rehabilitated after the war, and it should be made possible for Indian industrialists to make their purchases of capital goods from the United States.

I cannot conclude my observations on the Finance Bill without a reference to the political situation and the hopes that Lord Wavell's visit to Britain has generated in this country. We have been told that that visit is not primarily political, though the political deadlock will no doubt come up for discussion between Lord Wavell and His Majesty's Government. We in this country are a very patient people, and we have been hoping that His Majesty's Government will take some positive action to break the deadlock. Britain, as the party which is in authority over this country, cannot escape responsibility for the political stalemate in this country. The failure of the Indian political parties to come to a settlement ought not to be trotted out as an argument for denying to this country the independence which is its legitimate due. Britain professes to be fighting for democracy and freedom. What is her policy in relation to the Empire over which she holds sway? For us the question of freedom from British imperialism is just as important and vital as that of security against aggression from Japan and Germany. It cannot be said now that the war situation is unfavourable for a bold move forward. Fortunately the end of the war in Europe is within sight. Whether there will be unconditional surrender on the part of Germany or the German people will allow their country to be occupied by the United Nations, I do not know. But I know this, that either Germany will surrender unconditionally or her territories will be occupied by the United Nations at no distant date. After the collapse of Germany, India will become the base of operations against Japan. The strain on her economy will increase after the German collapse. Would it not be wise, in these circumstances, on the part of His Majesty's Government to enlist to the maximum extent possible the whole-hearted support and the co-operation of the Indian people in the task of both defeating Japan and thereafter building a world on new lines? No rational world order will work or can work which does not tackle seriously the problems which imperialism raises. The domination of one country by another is neither healthy for the ruling race nor for the race which is ruled. A division of the world into master and slave races must necessarily lead to friction between the two. Is it not possible for Britain to realise that the old order has changed and that the world can ever go back to what it was before the war?

If the deadlock is to be seriously tackled, contributions will have to be made towards the solution of it by all the parties to the dispute. It is not for me to indicate what the solution of the problem is or should be. Devotedly the Conciliation Committee is working to find a way out. Men of goodwill are hoping that it may be given to it to suggest the broad lines of a solution which people can regard as just, equitable and reasonable. In any case what I would like to stress is that India's constitutional problem needs to be approached by all the parties to this dispute in a new spirit, in a spirit of determination to solve it. It is possible for Britishers to change the Indian scene beyond recognition if they will take courage in both their hands to do the just thing by this country. It is for them to inspire confidence in their sincere desire to endow this country with the full rights of an independent State in an interdependent world. It is for them to tell the Indian people that they wish to write a new and glorious chapter in the relationship between the two countries. It is for them to say to us: "We wish you to become our partners, enjoying equality

of status and functions with us and the other independent countries, of the world in the glorious task of rebuilding the world on foundations of justice, freedom and democracy. We assure you that if you co-operate with us wholeheartedly we shall see that you rise to the fullest height of your stature as a people who have a past of which you can be legitimately proud. Give us the hands of your friendship and we shall grasp it willingly. You will find that we shall help you to achieve your full independence. Let Britain declare unequivocally that she stands by the principle of India's freedom, that India will from hereafter be treated even if it takes some time to make changes in her internal constitution, as a free country. If she concedes this country her independence it will be equally incumbent upon Indians to forget and forgive many things for which, rightly or wrongly, they blame the British in this country. It will be necessary on their part to reorient their attitude towards a Britain which has shed her Imperialism and which is seeking their friendship as partners in a commonwealth of free nations, enjoying equality of status and functions. I have no doubt that if Britain concedes the substance of independence to India, India too in her own interest would like to remain associated with Britain if for no other reason than this that she too needs security in an insecure world. Freedom will bring security both to Britain and India and thereafter it will be possible for the best sons of the two countries to work together. It will be possible for us to work together if there is a change in the spirit, in the temper, and in the tone of British administration and if Governments which command the confidence of the people are installed at the Centre and in the Provinces. Hindus and Muslims too have to come together and I hope it may be given to them to reach an early agreement so that they may be able to concentrate on the task of economic and social reconstruction which awaits them in the post-war world. I wish to emphasise that I approach the question of communal relationship from the point of view of one who is sincerely anxious to have lasting friendship with the minority community. Both Hindus and Muslims are the inheritors of great traditions. They represent a gifted race and surely they cannot be happy with the continuous deterioration in communal relationship which has been a marked feature of our political life during the last five or six years. It is not for me to apportion the responsibility for a deterioration in communal relationships. Those who are seeking the path of reconciliation owe it to the ideals they worship to refrain from indulging in mutual recrimination. I have no doubt that the Muslims and the Muslim League are just as anxious as the Hindus and the Congress for a just settlement which will bring freedom to their Motherland. What is needed on the part of both the communities is a determination to see that our differences are reduced, if not eliminated altogether, to the minimum extent possible. What is needed is a passionate desire on the part of both the communities to achieve freedom for the country. If they approach their task in the spirit of men eager to be free, God willing, they are bound to succeed. The controversies of today will be forgotten when both the communities have reached their aspiration of independence and learn to work together for noble ends. I am bound, however, to say that an essential prerequisite for any improvement in the political situation is the release of the Congress leaders. The war situation is not now what it was in 1942, assuming that there was any justification for detaining Congress leaders in 1942,—and I do not admit that there was any then, and there is none now. There is no question today of any revival of civil disobedience which was in fact never started by the Congress. There is a universal desire on the part of all sections of Indians to devote themselves to constructive effort. Victory is definitely now not in doubt. Is it necessary under these conditions for Britain to detain behind prison bars esteemed Congress leaders who have the allegiance of millions behind them? I plead with all the earnestness at my command for their release for I think that their release will have a good and salutary effect on racial relationship. It will help to improve the relationship between Britain and the Indian people. It will help to change the atmosphere of frustration which the policy so far pursued has helped to create in this country.

The country is hoping that it may be given to Lord Wavell to initiate a policy, a new era, of cooperation. It is expecting results from his visit to Britain.

[Mr. P. N. Saprū.]

It will be a tragedy if the hopes which his visit has raised in many Indian hearts do not materialise.

Sir, I gave an undertaking that I would finish in one hour. It has been necessary, in order to do so, to rush through my speech and to omit points which I wanted to touch upon.

Before I conclude, it is necessary for me to indicate our attitude towards the Finance Bill. We happen to be no supporters of the Government in power. The present Executive Council—I do not say for good reasons or bad reasons—does not enjoy the confidence of the people. It would be, in these circumstances, a betrayal of the convictions that we hold if we were by our vote to make it appear in the slightest degree that we are happy or satisfied with things as they are at the Centre. For the big policies which are embodied in the Finance Bill and of which the Finance Bill is the resultant we are not responsible. They have been evolved by an Executive Council which owes no responsibility to us. In these circumstances there is no option for us but to vote against the Finance Bill. In so doing we feel that we are discharging our duty to our country. As I have said, our principal difficulty is that the Executive is not responsible to us. It does not derive its authority from us. We have no means of controlling it. We cannot by an adverse vote of ours affect its fortunes. Its real masters are not the Indian people but the British people and the British Secretary of State. How is it possible for us to share responsibility with the Executive for the financial administration of his country. There is, in the circumstances, only one alternative before us, and that is, to stand firmly by the principle—and it is a principle to which we have adhered—that so long as the Executive is not constituted on a representative national basis, we shall continue to deny it in the matter of supply, our support. I have no apologies to make for declaring that I shall deem it my duty to vote against the Finance Bill. Indeed, it would be a betrayal, as I said of the interest of the country if I were to vote for the Finance Bill.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to take this opportunity—I am sorry Sir Jeremy Raisman is not here, but I would like to take this opportunity to say a word or two about Sir Jeremy Raisman. He will be retiring shortly as the Finance Member of this country. It has not been possible for us to support his policies embodied in the Finance Bill. But he is entitled to credit for two things. First of all he is entitled to credit for sticking to the Financial Agreement of 1939 and resisting the pressure to have it revised in the direction in which Britain would like it to be revised. Secondly, he is entitled to credit for the stand that he took in common with the other Indian delegates at Bretton Woods so far as the sterling assets of this country are concerned. Indian nationalism has always believed in being fair and just to its opponents and it is due that we should acknowledge the good work that he did at Bretton Woods. In his retirement he will have the good will of the people of this country. It has not been possible for us for reasons which I have explained and for reasons which I could explain in greater detail if I had more time why it has not been possible for us to support the Finance Bill. But we recognise that Sir Jeremy Raisman has meant well by this country and that there were occasions on which he did stand up for the rights of the people of this country.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay: Non Muhammadan): Mr. President, my Honourable friend Pandit Saprū has dealt at very great length with the political situation. The House is very impatient to hear a number of other speakers. I shall therefore try to be as brief as I can and as far as possible touch only the financial aspects of the Finance Bill.

The Honourable the Finance Member in presenting the Sixth War Budget and the last in his term of office has received many encomiums as the one which my Honourable friend Pandit Saprū has just given to him. Economic factors should not be judged entirely by political considerations and individual grievances should not be advanced to condemn the whole administration of the Government. Therefore, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member requires both support and criticism. It is a question, Mr. President, of the right balance.

The most important feature of the Budget is the staggering Defence expenditure which is about ten times the prewar normal basic figure—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM:** It is more than that, including capital outlay.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL:** My figure does not include capital outlay. However, Sir, this does not constitute the total burden on India. There are several items of expenditure which are now being charged to the Civil Departments which in the ordinary course would have been charged either to His Majesty's Government or to the United Nations. For instance part of the cost of expansion of certain railways in Assam and the huge importation of rolling stock from abroad should, in my opinion, have been charged to the South East Asia Command as, these were more or less required for military requirements. India's contribution to the war effort should take into account not only such concealed items but also such other items as the purchase of commodities at reduced prices, the carriage of war transport by Indian railways at concession rates, as well as the severe deterioration of certain of our national assets like the railways, roads, ports and rolling stock which have again been very heavily used for military requirements of the South East Asia Command.

Coming to the Cotton Textile Control Order, the price of cloth and yarn has gone down by about 18 annas to the lb. or about 29 per cent. of the price of the year 1943 before the control came into force in the year 1944. Mills selling prices have gone down by about 50 to 60 per cent. of the price of the year 1943. Therefore it can no longer be said that the mill-owners are still making unjustifiable and fantastic war-time profits. But the question is in spite of the reduction in cotton textiles, has the cost of living of the average man in the street come down? A doubt judged by the continued flourishing of the black market where cloth prices are still at a very high level. The consumer is still being mulcted and Government are losing a very high amount in taxation due to the lack of control of the black markets. When Government introduced such close control of the cotton textile industry they said there would be more or less a *pro rata* reduction in the cost of living. Therefore it is a question whether Government have implemented their side of the bargain by ensuring that there is a *pro rata* reduction in the cost of living of the people in this country.

The policy of the Government apparently designed to check inflation, by the importation of consumer goods has come in for a certain amount of criticism and rightly too. Consumer goods if imported in very large quantities are bound to compete with our industries which are already unable to maintain themselves, let alone expand. The present position to a certain extent has been brought about by Government's failure to make any kind of concerted effort to import from abroad plant and machinery, raw materials and chemicals which would have made our own industries prepare to a certain extent at least some of the very important consumer goods so necessary for this country. Mr. President I am not against the absolute prohibition of consumer goods. I am in favour of a limited number of consumer goods being imported into this country, consumer goods, like electric bulbs or very fine cloth, for which there is really great dearth in this country. But we would like to be assured that the total indigenous production in this country would be made available to the fullest extent for civil consumption and that no part of the local indigenous production will be exported out of this country.

Coming next to the export trade of India, I would like Government to see that they maintain the present export trade, and not only maintain it but develop it as far as possible in the post-war period. It must be remembered that a number of big industrial concerns and business firms have already lost a considerable amount of their export trade due to war developments. Further the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, and the system followed by certain foreign countries in centralising their purchases through their own agencies in this country have militated against the expansion and development of the export trade of this country.

The working of the numerous controls imposed by the Central and Provincial Governments from time to time regarding import and export of commodities, procurement, purchase and distribution, transport and movement of commodities

[Mr. M. N. Dalal.]

from place to place, have resulted to a certain extent in corruption of the lower grade officials and in the dislocation of smooth and efficient working of the normal trade channels. Instead of expanding production they have had a restrictive effect. Further, in any scheme of Government control the association of non-official business men should have been a *sine qua non* if delay and failure were to be avoided. In my opinion Mr. President, the time has come when Government should review the administration of all controls, revise and rationalise them so as to encourage industrial and agricultural expansion and facilitate smooth and quick working through normal trade channels.

Then we come to the commercial discrimination clauses which exist on the Statute-book. It is not possible for this Government to prevent under the present statute the formation of "India Limited" in this country with opportunities for enjoyment of the tariff, or fiscal action, which they might take for the protecting and fostering of India's nascent industries.

So long as this lacuna exists British industries, with their powerful connections are bound to have preference over Indian industries.

An amendment of the Constitution Act at the present juncture—and that too, Sir, in default of the political settlement—is not practicable. Therefore a Convention should be arrived at between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India to prevent unfair competition between powerful equipped British interests and Indian interests, which are at the moment in a state of nonage. Then, Sir, the funding of pensions and gratuities of the Armed Forces is a move, I think, in the right direction as it removes one of the probable sources of friction and uncertainty in the post-war period, but I only wish Government had taken the Legislature into their confidence before putting the whole scheme through.

Lastly, Sir, the action taken by Government in issuing requisitioning notices to a number of buildings on the Marine Drive in the City of Bombay has rightly come in for a lot of criticism. It would merely aggravate the already very difficult accommodation position in that City. I would request Government, Sir, to collect all available material they can and build on every available space in the City of Bombay, which has been wasted in the form of parks and maidans. Each of these buildings, Sir, consists of as many as 25 flats and the residents in these buildings are all permanent residents. They are businessmen. They are people who are helping in the war effort by following their usual vocation, trade or business. They have been living there with their families for a number of years and it is Sir, now the intention of Government under the Defence of India Rules to throw these sons of the soil on the streets of Bombay as there is no alternative accommodation provided for them. There are today, Mr. President, many refugees staying in luxurious flats in the City of Bombay. It is Government's duty first to ask these refugees to vacate and go to the districts where there is a considerable accommodation available. If, however, requisitioning is unavoidable for military purposes I think Government should first requisition clubs and places of amusement rather than disturb and upset the normal life of the citizens. I would further request Government to see that there is no capriciousness or arbitrariness in decisions to requisition and that fresh demands on accommodation in the City from whatever sources are properly and well co-ordinated. (Applause.)

The Council then adjourned for lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Council reassembled after lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

THE HONOURABLE MR. J. M. B. GIBBONS (Bombay Chamber of Commerce): Mr. President, I rise to offer my full support to the Finance Bill that is before us. At the same time I should like to offer my sincere congratulations to the Honourable the Finance Member on his presentation of his last Budget. It has been his misfortune that term of his office as Finance Member has lain almost entirely during a period of war, and the difficulties of controlling the finances of any country in war-time are of course multiplied many times over. As we all know, he has had an

exceedingly hard row to hoe, and I think there is no doubt that he has hced it with extreme success. And in leaving, I feel that he can hand over his task to his successor and take considerable satisfaction in the thought that, however difficult the task may be for his successor, he himself has made it as smooth as it was in the power of any man to make it.

There is one feature of the Budget which of course overshadows all others, and that is the Defence expenditure. It is inevitable in times of war that Defence expenditure should be on an exceedingly large scale, and I must say it has come as something of a surprise to me that it has evoked the amount of criticism that it has. In my very early school days I used to read stories of the exploits of Dick Turpin and of highwaymen of all kinds. These gentlemen would go up to a coach in which sat a rich merchant, clap a pistol to his head, and say: "Your money or your life". Well, in all my reading I do not think there was any thing except one answer to that, and I do not think you need two guesses as to what that was. Exactly parallel circumstances have been affecting India for some time. She has had a pistol at her head, and it was only last year, a little more than a year ago, that the Japanese had penetrated inside her borders. They were prepared to sweep on right through the country and I think it has appeared recently that they were fully in the expectation that they would reach Delhi, and in fact I think they had already provided themselves with the necessary Press reports announcing the capture of this city. Well, quite obviously the men and the money had to be found and that money was found. And when I realise that the total additional estimate of expenditure for driving the Japanese out of India's borders was not much more than about 90 or 100 crores, I must say it seems to me that India got away fairly cheaply. It is quite true that at the present time the Japanese have been pushed away from India's borders. But it is very much still the case of "We have scotched the snake not killed it". And I remember my Honourable friend Sir David Devadoss saying the other day that it would be folly on any one's part to delude himself with the idea that the war with Japan was over. He emphasised that it was probably going to be a long and arduous task before victory was finally won.

There is another aspect of Defence expenditure that should not be forgotten and should make one rather chary of criticising it. The enormous cost of modern warfare is very largely accounted for by the provision of mechanical equipment of all kinds. There was one lesson of the last war that has been well and truly learnt and that is that you cannot pit man against machines. It cost the blood and suffering of many millions in the last war for that lesson to be driven home, and I am glad to say that it seems to have been driven home fairly well in this war. The result is that expenditure on machines has to be heavy, because the cost of these machines and equipment is not light. But I know that nobody would grudge the expenditure; nobody would wish their armies to go into the field without every item of equipment that modern industry and science can provide. I am quite sure that everybody must take tremendous satisfaction in the feeling that the victories that have been won by the Indian armies recently have been won through their gallantry and through the fact of their having every item of modern equipment as well as their skill in using their weapons.

I know that the suggestion has been made that under the Financial Settlement India has been burdened with more than her fair share of expenditure and comparison has been made between the present and the pre-war scale of expenditure. It seems to me that if any comparison is needed it must surely be between the scale of expenditure in India and that of Britain and America. Britain's war-time expenditure is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 18 to 20 crores a day. How much of that can be attributed to the war with Japan, I have no idea: it must be fairly considerable. What America's war-time expenditure is I am afraid I cannot guess at—I have not sufficient noughts at my command to be able to estimate the figures—but there is no doubt about it that the expenditure is colossal. And when you reckon that their front against Japan stretches half way round the world from the Aleutian Islands right across the Pacific to India, the figures of expenditure must be simply stupendous. Compared with that enormous expenditure, I feel that India's share is not unreasonable. Apart from that comparison, you must also make one with what would have been the cost of the destruction and damage

[Mr. J. M. B. Gibbons.]

to India's cities and towns and industries if the enemy had not been kept at bay. It is too true that the burden of providing this expenditure largely falls on those who are best able to bear it—the rich man, the merchant and people of that kind. It is only reasonable that it should be so as they are the people that have more at stake and more to lose in the country than any one else. Take the case of the unfortunate coolie who escaped from Burma with his life and nothing except his life. You can say about him that he saved everything, and lost nothing because he had got nothing to lose. Take the case of the rich merchant who escaped from Burma, also with his life and nothing but his life, who left his money bags and his properties behind. He would reckon that his loss was a heavy one. It is very reasonable therefore that expenditure should fall on his shoulders.

It seems to me too that comparison with pre-war expenditure is a dangerous one. We all know that the state of India's defences, as indeed the state of all the defences of the democratic countries before the war, was one of complete unpreparedness for anything like modern warfare. If comparison with pre-war expenditure implies the feeling that India can go back to that standard of unpreparedness, I think the idea is an exceedingly dangerous one. I know that great hopes are entertained of a world system of mutual defences against aggression. But even if that system is set up, nothing is more certain than that India must take her full share in it. We all hope that it will not be long before India attains a position of full independence, and full independence connotes ability to conduct her own defence. I have heard it stated by one of the leaders of Indian political thought in another place that control of her own armies is a *sine qua non* of Indian independence. I entirely endorse that view. India must be responsible for her own defence. But if she is going to make a proper job of it, that is going to entail a vastly greater scale of expenditure on her army, her navy and her air force than was ever dreamt of in pre-war days. I would remind you that when the plans that my Honourable friend the Member for Planning is now investigating come to fruition and industries in this country are developed and expanded to the extent we all hope for, India will provide a vastly greater prize for the aggressor and it will be of greater necessity that she should have an adequate system of defence. There is also the point that when the programme of industrialisation is considered, its objects are primarily, of course the improvement of the standard of living of the poorer classes in the country, but behind the idea of industrialisation, there also lies the thought that defence under modern conditions depends very largely on industries and having industries of her own, India will be in a much better position to conduct her own defence. That is one of the underlying reasons I should say myself, for industrialisation and it should be borne in mind in considering the general question of defence.

At the same time, while I advocate the utmost liberality of expenditure on the armies in the front line, that nothing should be lacking in the way of munition and equipment—I do suggest that there are fields for economy further back. I know that this subject has already been engaging considerable attention. But I think that most of us could still produce instances of waste and extravagance. I hold that there is a very large field for further energetic action and I hope that that will be undertaken by the authorities. There is one point which I will make in connection with this and that is that we hope very much that it will not be long before the question comes up of the disposal of surplus war stores and supplies. I know that this question is already under consideration. But here, in particular, it seems to me there is a field for preventing the waste of public funds and I feel that the conduct of that Department, when it is finally established should be entrusted to men of the highest integrity, who could be relied upon to see that public interest is consulted in every way possible.

I suppose that when all these vast sums are being expended on the war, it is only natural that the other Departments of Government should cast rather envious eyes on the wealth that is passing before them and should wish to dip their fingers into the coffers as deeply as possible. It is a question which has already been raised elsewhere and I should like to emphasise it because the disease of spendomania is one that afflicts practically every Government during war-time and I do not think anybody would try and argue that this one had escaped it. I can



perhaps illustrate my point best by quoting one or two instances. The first is taken from a report of the Standing Finance Committee. I do not give chapter and verse because I think the expenditure in question was entirely justified. I am merely using it to bring in the wording which seems to illustrate my point. The project concerned was one which apparently was in hand some 16 years ago. The additional expenditure called for was very little—I forget how much it was—it was something less than Rs. 1 lakh. But, in the words of the explanation given to the Standing Finance Committee, among other reasons, “It was never undertaken on account of financial stringency”. The explanation then mentions a few decisions that have been reached and says; “There is now no need to defer this project any longer”. In other words, there is now no financial stringency.

The next instance is a more striking one that concerns a demand for Rs. 35 lakhs for seamen in India. I have no knowledge of what the project was and I am certainly second to none in admiration for the work of Indian seamen and for the gallantry with which they have faced the perils of the sea during the war. But a sum of Rs. 35 lakhs suddenly coming down from the blue is a very large amount and I do not think it is unfair to ask whether the request for this sum of money was not connected with the conclusion I drew from the illustration, namely, that it is now held that there is no financial stringency. I gather that the particular demand has actually been dropped but what the inference is from the dropping of it I am not quite sure. What I would say is that the turn of the other Departments will come later. When the war expenditure ceases, the cutting off of Government expenditure would create considerable dislocation in industries and labour and everything else throughout the country. Then is the time when there clearly is a great opportunity for wise spending among the other Departments. I would suggest that they prepare their projects now, but they should defer the actual putting of them into execution until such time as the Government spending on Defence ceases and there is need for spending on the part of Government in other directions.

I must say that one supplementary grant that at the present time I think would win the approval of everybody is the provision for the ample supply of pruning knives or surgical knives to members of the Standing Finance Committee.

I think the most outstanding feature of this year's Finance Bill is the proposed introduction of a system of relief on salaries. The amount of the relief is 10 per cent. exemption up to a maximum of Rs. 2,000 and it amounts in all to the very respectable sum of about 3 crores. The provision for that is being made out of an increase in the income-tax which falls mainly on the shoulders of the rich. Once again it is a laudable proposal and I must say that the introduction of this measure marks a very great advance in income-tax legislation in this country altogether. The relief already exists in Britain and it must be of immense benefit to the class of lower paid clerical staff and also lower paid executives in offices everywhere that they should now be given it. It is this class to my mind which has suffered far more than any other as a result of the high prices and the privations arising out of the war. Many other classes have benefited there is no doubt. The agriculturist with his higher prices, the industrial worker with his very greatly increased scale of wages, they have all received some benefit; but it is the clerical worker and the lower paid executive, as I said, who, to my mind, have suffered the most. It has got to be remembered too that this exemption is not merely a temporary measure; it is a permanent one; and if one may use that rather controversial expression, I should say that this measure has provided a kind of charter for the salaried worker in this country. It is something of a paradox that in the situation arising out of the present political conditions in this country that the Finance Bill, which includes a measure so beneficial to such a large number of the electorate, should have been as roughly handled as it has been. I suppose that is purely as a result of having a Government here that is not subject to the rough and tumble of election. But in the ordinary course of events there is no doubt about it that for a Government to be able to offer the electorate a measure of relief of this kind would provide one of the finest electioneering slogans that I can imagine—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL:** Once you had the electorate.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. M. B. GIBBONS:** You have the electorate, but the electorate is not functioning. Whenever they function, their function is that of electing an opposition.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL:** When the Government will be able to say that we are doing it and stand for election.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. J. M. B. GIBBONS:** But you see that at the present time the Government have no need to do that. They are solidly and comfortably installed; there is no need for them to appeal to the electorate. Here you have an-elected opposition: and they are the people who have treated this measure with extreme roughness. I say it is an extraordinary paradox emblematic of the political situation in this country. I must say that I agree with everybody who feels that the sooner the political situation is remedied and the electorate can get down to their normal function of deciding the issues not so much on a political basis as on an economic basis, the better. In a democratic country like Britain, politics as such have ceased to count. I suppose there may be a few political issues such as the adjustment of the franchise, but with the application of votes for women and later on votes for flappers, real political issues have ceased to count and only economic ones remain. In this country there is a great programme of economic progress under consideration but at the present time it seems to me that all economic progress is bound to be interfered with unless the political situation is clarified. My Honourable friend the Member for Planning must have scratched his head on many occasions wondering where his task begins and where it ends, what is going to be the function of the provinces, of the Centre and of the Indian States. All this kind of things must militate against the economic progress of the country. I can say most sincerely that it is my earnest wish to see this period of political deadlock end and to see India's political troubles resolved. I have great pleasure in supporting the Finance Bill.

**THE HONOURABLE SIE DAVID DEVADOSS (Nominated Non-Official):** Sir, it has been said of old that charity coverth a multitude of sins. Now the war effort coverth a multitude of inequities. Whenever a complaint is made that something wrong, the man is told "You are against the war effort" and if it is persisted in, he would be considered as a fifth columnist. My object in getting up is to bring to the notice of the authorities the hardships under which people suffer on account of the rigorous ways in which things are done. It is all very well for the Finance Member to collect a lot of money by hook or crook and then give a blank cheque to the Defence Department. Whatever the war has done, it has done one thing. It has jettisoned all ideas of morality, all ideas of self-respect, all ideas of regard for anything religious or proper. The God that is now erected in this war is money. Everybody wants to make money by fair means if possible by any means otherwise. That is the reason why there is so much corruption and so much discontent in the country. If the Government Departments would only see that corruption does not prevail and people are not harassed, I think things would be in a better condition and the Budget would not have swollen to this vast extent.

I would draw the attention of the House to one or two things which are really important. Whenever a complaint is made, it is thrown out on the ground that it is against the war effort. You might have heard of Kodaikanal which is the largest hill station in South India next to Ootacamund. The population is more than 20,000. There is only one road leading from the plains to the station. For the last few years the Government have given a monopoly to a one-man company.

3 P. M. He runs the show and makes a lot of money. He not only carries his own goods because he is a merchant himself but he prevents other merchants from having access to the plains because his trade would suffer. No doubt when a big officer goes or the Governor goes, he gives Rs. 50,000 for the War Fund or subscribes Rs. 10,000 to this fund and that fund. Well, he is patted on the back and told that he is a nice boy and things are alright. It is only two

days ago that I received a letter from a teacher in the local American Mission School in which he says that he found it extremely difficult to travel by the buses. This is what he writes :—

“From last month only six seats are allotted for third class and the rest for upper classes. We are experiencing much more difficulty, all because of the monopoly.”

Now why should there be a monopoly, Sir? There are big firms who can run any number of buses. Now the season is beginning; it begins about the beginning of April and goes on till the middle of September. All our attempts have been thwarted. The reason is “This is war time, we cannot have any more Company”. As a matter of fact some years ago there was any number of people running cars and buses to Kodaikanal. The result is that people are suffering. The charge used to be only Re. 1, Rs. 1-4-0 or Re. 0-12-0 for a seat. Now a third class seat costs Rs. 3-8-0 or Rs. 3-12-0. People go and ask for a third class seat and are told that there is no room. They pay Rs. 5 and get one. Now you are making the rich richer and the poor poorer. Now people, like coolies, work-people and servants and others have to go up. They cannot go. Now this man is running the show for the last five years and all our attempts have ended in failure because they say it is war time; they cannot do anything. Even the newspapers would not publish complaints about this man. I may mention one instance. There was a municipal meeting held at which a Resolution was moved by one of the members that this monopoly should be stopped and other people should be allowed to run buses and lorries. Well, the man who runs the show now—the one-man company—actually assaulted the member of the municipality who brought the Resolution in the presence of the Chairman who was a European. Well, this matter was reported to the papers but was never published in the papers. It shows, Sir, what one can do to prevent any complaints being ventilated in the Press. The Government ought to look into this. The Central Government may say it is a provincial matter. It is not a provincial matter. It is on account of your Rules and Ordinances that things are being done in this high-handed manner.

Take the case of vegetables and the prices fixed by the Collector. He says that vegetables ought to be sold at a certain price. Now nobody can check the cost which the kitchen gardener has to pay on account of the higher cost of labour. But he has to sell at the price fixed by the Collector. I can give an instance. Potato seed was sold by the Agricultural Department at Rs. 5 and Rs. 5-8-0 a maund. When a crop was harvested the Collector said “You cannot sell at more than Rs. 3-8-0 a maund”. Now what are the growers to do? They are not big companies which can afford to lose; they are ordinary people who cultivate potatoes on half an acre or an acre of land. Some no doubt cultivate on 10 or 15 acres, but they are an exception. Well, if you go down to Madura, which is only 70 miles away, you will find potatoes being sold at Rs. 5 and at Dindigul at Rs. 5-8-0 because there is plenty of corruption going on and other things are being done, but the Government will say: Well we have appointed a number of persons who have got licences. These are the men who combine together and keep down the prices. They can buy things from the cultivator at a cheap rate and transport them, thus making a lot of money out of it. All this is being done under the guise of war effort and the Ordinances. Why should these small things be controlled? Why should these people be allowed to do what they are doing at present? Therefore, I say, Sir, that though it may be said to be a matter for the local Government this Government should use its influence to see that the people are not harassed.

I have already drawn the attention of the House to the way in which War Loan is being pressed upon the people. It is not a question of peaceful persuasion. It is a question of each Tehsildar, each Revenue Officer being asked to make so much available, otherwise he would lose his appointment. In order not to lose the good will of his superiors he has to go and worry the people.

So far as the Budget is concerned there are good points and bad points about it but I know it is war time and you must have money. We accept the Budget but I want that the money that is collected with all this trouble should not be wasted,

[Sir David Devados.]

That is one thing and the second is that the ordinary citizens should not be harassed on account of the war effort. I will only confine myself to one instance, a very glaring instance of the misuse or waste of money. I was surprised or rather shocked to read some time ago an instance mentioned in the other place: that a bridge was built for which money was drawn and it was destroyed for which money was also drawn! No bridge was built; no bridge was destroyed. Well, who is responsible for that? This is like an instance which happened in my own district 80 years ago. There was an engineer who said he was building a bridge. No doubt the Government sanctioned the amount and he "built the bridge" and then after some time it was reported to have been washed away. Well the Collector at that time happened to be a very clever officer—his name is even now a household word in our part of the country—and he went and inspected the place. He found no trace of any bridge having been built and the man was prosecuted. In this case, it is obvious he not only did not build the bridge but also wanted money for destruction of the bridge not built.

Sir, these are the things which the Central Government ought to take note of. They should see that the people are not harassed on account of the so called war effort. People must be allowed some latitude and they must be given some facilities for travel and other things.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): In no other country could a Government like this have lasted for more than 24 hours. Any self-respecting Government would have resigned immediately they found that they did not command the confidence of any section of the people of the country. Of course, we know that if they vacate their offices today there are enough toadies in this country to replace them tomorrow and play the part of marionettes and echo their master's voice. That may be the only justification for these gentlemen to stick to their jobs. That is why we, Sir, want a change in the constitution so that a National Government may be found by the real representatives of the people. These estimable gentlemen, however eminent they may be, do not represent anybody but themselves. None of them can be elected from any constituency, even if that constituency has only 100 votes.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: Question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY: You may question it but you contest an election and then find it yourselves.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: Wait and see.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY: With this Government at the head what is happening in India to-day? People are being starved to death. Small-pox and Cholera in their most virulent form are raging in Bengal and other parts of the country collecting very heavy tolls every day.

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: Yet your party will not help.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY: You do not ask for our co-operation and help. Men, women and children are in rags and nudity faces the unfortunate people of this country. Sir, I was surprised to listen to the astounding statement made by the Honourable Mr. Patel the other day in this House that the citizens were partly responsible for the present cloth famine because most probably some of them purchased a third pair of dhoti or sari, though perhaps they had already two pairs in their possession. A statement like that is only possible from an officer of the present Government. He can very well say that because he himself can purchase anything he likes from the Government Employees Stores at controlled rates facilities denied to ordinary citizens like us.

Sir, we have to ransack every shop in Delhi, Calcutta or elsewhere to get a yard of long-cloth or any other piece of material for ourselves or our wives and children, whereas the Government stores meant for Government servants only are stacked to the full with varieties of cotton goods, woollen materials and other consumers'

articles. May I ask, Sir; Is this Government run only for the benefit of Government servants? The Honourable Sir Aziz-ul-Huque says that Bengal has been given more than the quota of cloth she is entitled to; he is promptly contradicted by the Honourable Mr. Suhrawardy, Minister of Civil Supplies in Bengal, who also makes a statement that the whole cloth trouble in Bengal is due to the policy of the Central Government. One does not really understand how the quota is fixed. Most probably it is fixed on the basis of Bengal having a population of 61 millions whereas the population during the present war has increased, by about 7 millions more. It has not also taken into account the large imports before the war to the port of Calcutta direct. Besides, the large amount of cloth used as dressings, bandages and bedsheets in hospitals as well as the smugglings of cloth and yarn to China and exports to the Middle East have also not been taken into consideration in fixing the quota for Bengal. While discussing the cloth situation in Bengal, I find from a newspaper published in Calcutta that half naked men and women parade the streets asking for cloth in one of the district towns in Bengal. While this controversy goes on between the Province and the Centre, men in Bengal are going about half naked, and women have to remain behind closed doors; they cannot go out before the male members of their families as they are literally clad in rags. The people in Bengal, both Hindus and Muslims, also find it impossible to get a new piece of cloth to cover the dead bodies of their relatives, as is the custom among them. The Textile Control Board has been packed with the representatives of the millowners, and not a single consumers' representative has been taken on that Board. The Board has been packed by the millowners' representatives, though these very millowners are responsible for the high prices prevailing and are partly responsible for the present cloth situation in the country.

Sir, the grievances of the unfortunate people of this country are unbounded. They do not get food. They do not get medicine. They do not get clothes. They do not get coal; and sometimes they find it difficult to get firewood even for cremation purposes. They do not get accommodation in the railway trains even if they have to travel in order to see a dying relative or for other pressing needs. The railway authorities complacently allow people to be huddled like pigs rather than attach an extra bogie, on the plea that trains cannot be overloaded. But this question of overloading does not apply in the case of Executive Councillors' and high railway officials' saloons being attached to important trains. Why should the Honourable Members of the Executive Council and the railway officials keep up this pomp and show at public expense at a time like this?

I am glad, Sir, that Mr. Frank Anthony, the Leader of the Anglo-Indians in the other House, slashed that guttersnipe Beverley Nichols to whom Sir Sultan Ahmed's Department gave all facilities for the publication of his scurrilous book "Verdict on India". Of course, nothing surprises which is done by a Department of which Sir Sultan Ahmed is the head. Is he not one of the strongest pillars of British imperialism in India? He is all out to do the biddings of Messrs. Churehill, Amery and Company.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is he alone?

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY: He is the Leader of the Assembly. I said "one of the strongest pillars of imperialism".

Sir, though an overwhelming majority of Hindus are opposed to any revolutionary changes in their personal laws and the Rau Committee is greeted with black flags and hostile demonstrations everywhere, it has no effect on this Government, and this Government must have the Hindu Code with the help of non-Hindu votes.

Now, I come to the food situation in the country. What steps have the Government taken to implement the recommendations of the Honourable Mr. Somers Butler for monopoly purchases of foodgrains? The Government should have an all-India policy and the purchases and distribution should be on an all-India basis. There should be foodgrains reserve stores and foodgrains reserve banks, so that no province in India will suffer from famine as my unfortunate province of Bengal suffered about a year and a half ago. I also want to know what has happened to the Famine Inquiry Commission. Have they concluded their deliberations, and have they made any report? Will their report be published, and will any action be taken

[Mr. Susil Kumar Roy Chowdhury.]

on the recommendations in that report? These are questions which naturally come to one's mind, and I hope Government will enlighten us on this subject.

I will now refer to another very important matter—the scandalous state of affairs and the financial irregularities connected with the denial policy in Bengal as mentioned in the report of the Public Accounts Committee. I shall read out from page 43 of the Public Accounts Committee's Report for 1942-43 about the Defence Department. In paragraph 102 the Committee say :—

“The Committee observed that there had been very large expenditure (amounting to Rs. 1,23,00,000) on Denial measures during the year under review. It was explained that it was necessary in 1942 to withdraw from areas threatened by the enemy all forms of transport which might facilitate his advance and the Central Government had accordingly issued orders that this should be done. In pursuance of this policy, boats, cycles, carriages and elephants were removed from the threatened areas and the amount spent consisted mainly of compensation paid to the owners. It was hoped that the entire amount would not be a dead loss, but that on the restoration to the owners of such property as still existed Government would be able to recover for itself a fair proportion of the expenditure.

The Auditor General explained that the amount shown in the accounts was by no means the entire sum expended on the Denial policy and similar measures. Large amounts had been held under suspense by him pending audit prior to their acceptance as a liability of the Central Government. He was not at all satisfied at the state of the accounts of the expenditure on these measures and feared that it would be impossible ever to get the requirements of Audit satisfied. The Government of Bengal who had acted as agents of the Central Government in this matter had, at his instance, deputed a special officer to investigate these accounts and his report had disclosed a most deplorable state of affairs. It appeared that the Bengal Government had issued orders to Treasury Officers to pay out money on demand to Government officers without the intervention of the Accountant General and, in some cases, without the safeguard of giving to the Treasury Officers the specimen signatures or even the names of the officers who were entitled to demand payment. In addition to sums standing in suspense on this account, there were other large sums relating to Bengal debitible to the Central Government the liability for which the Auditor General had not found himself in a position to accept on behalf of the latter; the aggregate amount was at one time of the order of Rs. 3 crores.

The Committee expressed the gravest concern at the state of affairs disclosed by the Auditor General. While they realised that the conditions under which this work was done were of the utmost urgency and that the times were entirely abnormal and though they recognised that some confusion was only to be expected and could be understood they could not see any excuse whatever for the neglect of elementary financial precautions. They felt that if further investigation revealed that the control of the Bengal Government was through negligence so lax as to give rise to serious doubt that the money was actually spent on the purposes for which it was meant they would hold themselves at liberty to recommend that the Central Government should not accept debits which could not satisfy the reasonable demands of Audit. At this stage, however, they desired only that the Auditor General should present to them a report not only with regard to the state of the accounts of the money spent on Denial measures but with regard to the entire Central expenditure in Bengal which was now held in suspense.”

Can anything be more scandalous than this? I wonder whether the Government have taken any steps in these matters. The whole report, Sir, is full of condemnation of the Departments of this Government and the irregular ways in which accounts are kept.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR CYRIL JONES :** May I ask the Honourable Member to whom, in his opinion, the scandal attaches?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY :** To the Central Government and to the Bengal Government.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** The Bengal Government are your agents.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY :** I understand, Sir, that the boats which were taken over by Government were either destroyed or broken up and used as fire wood. By this act of Government thousands of my countrymen were deprived of their living and there is great difficulty in communications in the country-side as in most places the boats are the only means of communication. What steps are the Government taking to restore the means of communications. The Central Government cannot escape responsibility and shift it to the Provincial shoulders. It is said that the denial policy was taken for military reasons. It might have been a mistaken policy but it was taken all the same bringing innumerable sufferings to the people in its trail. The Government must do something to relieve the

distress caused to the people on account of this denial policy. They must undertake building boats according to the needs of the people and make them available to the villagers at a controlled and even subsidised price.

Sir, now I want to say something about the future planning and development. There are so many schemes and plans that one gets bewildered but the most mischievous one is that of the Bombay Industrialists and Millionaires who have advocated a class war against the Zemindars. These industrialists aspire to dominate the country even after the war as they are doing now and in their zeal have gone so far as to bless the imposition of death duties and other similar levies, measures not liked by the general masses of Hindus or Muhammadans. So long they never bestowed any thoughts or showed any sympathy for the poor agriculturists; on the other hand, they have exploited them as best as they could, but suddenly they have become solicitous for the agriculturists and for that purpose they have suggested in their plan the total elimination of Zemindars and all landholding interests. I have an apprehension that the new Planning Member of the Government of India, who was till recently one of them, may accept these portions of the Bombay planners' suggestions. I fail to understand why only the landholders and Zemindars should be made the targets and the capitalists and industrialists should be allowed to grow richer and richer every day. Sir, if anybody has been benefited by the present war, it is the millowner and industrialist and I hope in a National Government, before land is nationalised, all industries, no matter what industry it is, will be taken over by the State. Till that is done, no dividends at more than 3 per cent. or any bonus share should be allowed and no individual or company should be allowed to draw more than Rs. 2,000/- in all per month as salary, commission or remuneration in any form as manager, managing director or managing agent.

In conclusion, Sir, I want to point out that this dying Government is going to bring about the Death Duties Bill but I hope that before that Bill reaches the primary stage, this Government will cease to exist.

BRIGADIER THE HONOURABLE SIR HISSAMUDDIN BAHADUR (Nominated: Non-Official): Mr. President, Sir, I rise once again to support the Finance Bill about which I have already spoken at length the other day during the General discussion. So I will be brief.

In my opinion the taxation proposals in the Finance Bill are very moderate and have not affected poor or the middle classes in this country. Patriotism is not the monopoly of any particular individual or of any Party or the side opposite. From what I have seen in this Honourable House, for years, I can confidently say that even if the Government had instead of levying taxations declared that there will be no taxation at all for the year 1945-46, I am sure the critics according to their cherished hobby will feel as much as they have felt now and would have made lengthy speeches against it. It reminds me of a story which the Honourable House may be interested to hear. There were two facetious living in a town and both were of the same religion. They went to the extreme so much that even if one of them said "there is one god" the other would say "certainly not there are two gods," using the following persian verse:—

شیکتے بہ مسجد آمد و گفت خدا یک است  
 اعدت برآ نکس کلا گوید خدا دو تا است

I am sure, Sir, no Government on the surface of the earth can run the administration without taxes, duties and customs etc., especially in world-wide War times, which is essential for the interests of British India and administration. So I wholeheartedly support the Finance Bill. All these debates seem very small compared with the real business of life and death.

\*THE HONOURABLE MAULVI ALI ASGAR KHAN (Assam : Muhammadan) : Mr. President, we have before us the Finance Bill which has been twice overthrown in the other House over which Government must be very unhappy. But I am sure they care little when they know that they have got a back door through this House. They know quite well that if they are defeated in the other House, they can come victorious in this House with such an overwhelming majority with the help of nominated Members. I do not see why a House like this should be maintained at all and

\* Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan.]

why a huge amount of money should be spent on it. It will be much appreciated if this money is spent for the country in a better way. If this House is indispensable I will ask the Government to replace the nominated Members by elected representatives of the different interests, for instance, the Depressed Classes, the Aborigines, the Christians, the Universities, Baluchistan, the Frontier and Delhi. A Government which is really a democratic Government should be run by elected Members and not by nominated Members. Much has been said about the present Indian Executive Council Members and stone has been thrown over them from all quarters. But I pity them because they only carry out the orders of their masters—

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN :** You need not pity them. They will take care of themselves very well.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON :** What about your party masters ?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** We have a mandate, Sir.

**THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN :** We have the mandate from the King Emperor.

**BRIGADIER THE HONOURABLE SIR HISSAMUDDIN BAHADUR :** *Chotta moon, badi-bath.*

**THE HONOURABLE MAULVI ALI ASGAR KHAN :** To say that there is a democratic Government and you have given democracy is nothing but an eye-wash. India has got a huge amount of credit with the British Government and when it will be repaid we do not know. Had it been our Government, a national Government, perhaps the utility of this would have been much better. Recently arrangements have been made to increase the import of consumer goods. Government should increase the manufacture of these goods in India and only those which are not made in India should be imported. Government should always bear this in mind and if they are at all sincere they should increase the Indian industry and its outturn to keep pace with imports. England is fighting for the freedom of nations, but I wonder if she is fighting against our clutches, and going to free India, and thus become the champion of freedom irrespective of nationality. The Germans wanted to divide the world into a ruling race and the rest as a subject nation to provide a market for their manufactured goods. I wonder if His Majesty's Government propose to follow the plan laid down by that power to continue to exploit India and her resources.

For a long time the province which I represent has been the forward base of allied operations with its consequent difficulties to the civilian population ; but the Government of India has given us step-motherly treatment, while Bengal and the rich province of U. P. with a surplus of 2 crores, have received additional grants from the centre. Assam has got nothing in spite of her big war effort. Is this just, is this fair and is this honest ?

One thing more I want to mention here. There has been so much agitation against the land system of Assam and yet this standing injustice is supported by the officials and by a section of interested persons. The Centre owes a duty to the people of India and therefore should intervene in the matter and abolish the system, stock and barrel. It is their duty, being the head of the Government, but they might say that this is a provincial question, but let me say that they can remedy this defect, since they have become the champion of the freedom of other nations.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish to state that the present executive have thrown the burden of the great defence expenditure on India without keeping a portion of it for the improvement of the country and the benefit of the people of India. Hence I cannot support the B II.

**THE HONOURABLE SAYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan) :** Sir : at the outset I would like to draw pointed attention to one point which the Honourable Mr. Sapru stressed and stressed rightly. We are all out for weeding out corruption from all Government Departments. During recent



years expenditure has enormously increased. The Defence Budget has gone up by leaps and bounds and that money required to defray this mounting expenditure has had to be wrung out of the people after subjecting them to great hardships and severe privations. Taxes had to be heaped upon taxes on the one hand, while the prices of necessaries of life have also been steadily growing up. The result is that the people in the country have been put to great hardships on account of this heavy expenditure. There is, I admit, justification for the Government to try and find ways and means for finding the wherewithal to spend upon the abnormal items of expenditure which they have got to meet. But, Sir, it is equally incumbent upon the Government to see that this money which is got out of the people by putting them to such inconveniences such severe hardship cut is carefully spent. It is therefore very necessary that the Government should see to it that there is no corruption and that the money spent by the Departments is really, honestly and usefully spent. Of late, Sir, we have been hearing a number of complaints as regards corruption which is prevalent in several Departments of the Government of India. By this we do not wish to cast any reflection upon the heads of the Departments, upon the high placed officers, the top most persons. The one complaint that we have against them is that they do not take the necessary care and the necessary trouble to see that this corruption is weeded out. Only recently it has come to our knowledge that there has been a very serious case of embezzlement in the Stores Branch of the Telegraph Department at Calcutta. This is only one instance of the corruption, embezzlement, defalcation and misappropriation that is rampant throughout every Department of the Government of India. In this connection I would earnestly appeal to the Honourable the Leader of the House to pay attention to this matter with his usual vigilance and firmness and stamp out this evil from his department which ever since he took charge has improved very vastly and is one of the best administered departments in the Government of India.

**THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT :** Why do you call a case of embezzlement corruption ?

**THE HONOURABLE SAYYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR :** Not only there is embezzlement, but as I said, there is corruption, misappropriation and everything. I would mention another thing, and that is about the plight of the low-paid officials in the Government of India. Sir, some dearness allowance has been given to them—some increase in their emoluments—but I find, Sir, that the actual increase which they have received is not commensurate with the increase in the cost of living. There are some Services of the Government of India which are somewhat protected. For instance, the Railway employees. There, Sir, the Government are spending crores of rupees to maintain cheap grain shops but the other servants of the Government of India, for instance the menial staff that is working in the Secretariat, find it extremely difficult, if not almost impossible, to make both ends meet. It is therefore just and fair, Sir, that their plight should be taken into consideration and something should be done to give them much-needed relief and save them from starvation to which they and their families will otherwise be subjected.

Now, Sir, I would address myself to the grievances of the Muslims in the services of the State. Sir, when I enter this protest I know that my protest will be cried down as job-hunting and communalism, but, Sir, I do not think any value will be attached to the slogan inasmuch as we know that these slogans come from vested interests, from interested quarters which naturally resent anything that might go to disturb their monopoly. Sir, the Mussalmans demand an effective share in the services not in the interests of the few individuals employed and likely to be employed but in the larger interest of the Muslim nation in India. The modern State, however undeveloped it may be, as is the case in India, covers more or less the entire field of activities of the human society and the welfare of a particular section of society depends as much upon the responsibility, with which the Government discharges its duties to that section as upon the efforts and enterprise of the individuals composing that section. In a country with a democratic constitution the State comprises the Government formed with representatives of

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

the people and of the administrative machinery comprising Services. In India, the Government in the sense in which the word is used in a self-governing country, does not exist, with the result that the entire function of the State devolves on the administrative machinery. The top most in this chain of service, who constitute the Government, lay down the policies while the lower links are authorised to put those policies into execution, of course, with wide powers of discretion. This is enough to prove, Sir, that the importance of services in the body politic of India is immense and cannot be over-stressed.

Now, Sir, if there be a preponderance of the members of one section in an administrative machinery of the type that exists in India; the policies and the day-to-day working of such a machinery is more than likely to have an adverse effect on the whole social structure of the other nation, which is not adequately represented on such administration and which differs from the former not in this or that aspect of life but in its entire outlook on life. I think it requires no elaborate representation of facts and figures to show that the Muslims in India have been denied, and are being denied, a proper share in the administration of the country and this exclusion of theirs from the services of the State largely explains why Muslims have been left behind in every sphere of life controlled by the State, be it education, industry, commerce, finance or trade. Sir, a level has already been reached by the Muslims below which they cannot afford to go without becoming a danger to the Indian society as a whole. Will the Government, Sir, realise this and wake up and try to take effective steps to give to the Muslims a proper and effective share in the administration of the country. I am aware of the existence of the Home Department Resolution of 1934. I also know the various pronouncements and promises made by the Government from time to time for the improvement of the Muslim representation in the Services but the very fact that some stereotyped promises have to be repeated so often shows that they have not so far been fulfilled. If I am not wrong the Government may be thinking of throwing another such bait in reply to this speech of mine. But, Sir, may I enquire how long will they go on evading the proper solution of the problem? If you are really sincere, you will have to come out with a definite scheme, create some reliable machinery for putting that scheme into effect and let this House know of the progress you have made by the time it meets again at the next session.

In the matter of direct recruitment Sir, the Government have made certain rules though they are not fully acted upon but in the matter of promotion they have not even attempted to frame any rules which can guarantee a fair deal to the Muslims in this respect. There are grades to which promotions are made by seniority but there are other grades where merit is said to be the criterion. Muslims are however, the losers in either case. Having made a late start they are generally junior in every class of service. In case of promotion by seniority they are automatically left out of consideration. If, however, they happen to be senior in some rare cases and if the promotions are to be made on merit they generally lose the rare chance of being promoted by virtue of seniority, inasmuch as in the Government of India "merit" and "Islam" are not supposed to go together. Can this state of affairs satisfy any Muslim, or, for that matter, any fairminded person? Will Government now take up the question of revising their whole system of promotion and base it on some sound principle so that Muslims do get a proper share in promotion from grade to grade.

Sir, I have never been able to understand the objection of the Government of India to the application of the principle of communal representation in the matter of promotion? May I know if this principle has worked unsatisfactorily in the matter of direct recruitment? Have Government got anything to say that the efficiency of the Services has deteriorated under this system of recruitment, or has it caused any general discontent among other communities whose members, though occupying higher positions in a list of candidate qualified for a service, have been left out and Muslims in lower positions have been appointed? I am sure nothing of the sort has happened. Moreover, in the case of promotions on the basis of the so-called merit; seniority has no weight. Senior officials are superseded by

their juniors but the Government refuses to respect the former's sense of grievance over such supersession. But as soon as we recommend the introduction of the system of communal representation in promotions the Government put forth the plea of their extreme regard for the seniority of the officials to be affected. One simply wonders at this double play. What reasons have Government to suppose that the system of promotion on communal basis a rather definite and sure basis should be more offending to the sense of the seniority of the officials to be affected than is the case with the present system of promotions on the basis of merit—a totally vague and unreliable basis. And what all this so-called merit is? And what all this so-called merit is! It is in disguise favouritism not only communal but also individual, which is the worst form of discrimination. I say this not on my own information but also on the authority of a statement made by the Leader of the House on 26th March, 1943, in which he admitted, though in guarded words of course, that merit sometimes degenerates into favouritism, individually and communally. Sir, this "sometimes" is nothing else than the official translation of "usually". Now, Sir, when the principle of promotion on communal basis is already being practised in the guise of "merit", is it too much to ask the Government to tear away this evil and let the system of promotion on communal basis appear in a recognised form? This will mean fairness to all. This will prevent opportunities being monopolised by one community only. This will stop the corrupt practice of putting the garb of merit on communal favouritism.

It is almost eleven years since the much talked of resolution of 1934 has been in existence. The application of the principle enunciated therein only to initial recruitment has not improved the position of Muslims in all classes of services. Examples are not lacking where Muslims recruited to some lower grades of establishments have been found rotting in those very lower grades till the fag end of their service. Do Government now propose to shake off their apathy towards Muslims and decide to fix a definite quota for them in the matter of promotions from grade to grade, and thus make some reparation at least to the Muslims for all the injustices and acts of apathy and neglect of which they have been the victims for all these years?

Having made this general observation I would just draw attention to the proportion of Muslims in just one or two classes of service, in order that the general observations that I make might be borne out by facts and figures. I start with the Home Department, which has issued instructions to other Departments to give Muslims 25 per cent. of the appointments in the Government of India. Sir, the information that I have culled is from the Combined Civil List. There I find in the Home Department of the Secretariat, out of the 61 people employed there are only 8 Muslims—a percentage of 13.11. And the percentage recommended by that very Department is 25. In the Civil Supplies Department, Head Office at Delhi, the number employed is 31, out of whom only seven are Muslims. Office of the Controller-General at Bombay out of 34, 7 are Muslims. Labour Department: out of 52, there are only three Muslims. Central P.W.D. out of 111, only 14 are Muslims. I am speaking only of the gazetted services. Department of Education, Health and Lands: out of 82, only 5 are Muslims. Commerce Department Secretariat: out of 29, only 2 are Muslims. Office of the Economic Adviser: out of 9, 2 are Muslims. Foreign Trade Controller: out of 9, Muslims are nil.

I will just mention something about the Posts and Telegraphs Department. Here, we are disappointed to find that in spite of all that the Honourable Member has been doing all these years and in spite of his being so vigilant and careful to see that every section employed under him gets its due share—not only Muslims but everybody—in spite of that, I find there are glaring instances where Muslims have failed to secure their due share. I would here also request the Honourable the Leader of the House to try and be a little more vigilant in this matter because whatever he might do the officers under him, the officers who have actually to give effect to the instructions by the heads, do require this kind of check. Unless proper control is kept over them, it is just possible that the instructions given by the Honourable Member will not be properly carried out.

I will now say a few words about post-war planning and development. Sir, everybody admits the necessity of planning for the economic development of

[Saiyed Mohamed Padshah Sahib Bahadur.]

India. Planning has come to stay. There could be no two opinions on the question that some form of planning is necessary for the industrial and agricultural development of our country. But how is it to be effected? What should be the nature of the authority saddled with this highly important task of reorganising the economic life of the country? The present Government of India is irresponsible and not responsive to public opinion, and as such is not competent to carry out the industrial revolution necessary in the country. It lacks public support and everything it does is looked at with suspicion. The regimentation and the curtailment of individual rights which any "plan", be it for five, 10 or 15 years, will involve, cannot be carried out by an administration which is divorced from public opinion. Only a people's government can have the right and the necessary courage to so drastically interfere with the private rights of individuals for the general good of the community. The elemental necessity for the success of any plan; however good and beneficial it might be, is the backing it has from the public.

Although any plan for the economic development of our country should lay an adequate emphasis on industry, agriculture should on no account be overlooked. An agricultural revolution is as much necessary as an industrial one. We cannot afford to forget even for a moment that India is a land of well over 400,000 villages. However advanced we become industrially, the place that agriculture occupies in the national economy will not become less important and vital to the general interests.

When evolving any plan of industrial development, cottage industries should also receive due consideration. The present plans of the Government of India have almost overlooked this important aspect. No general prosperity can result by schemes which would only go to fill the pockets of the "big" businessmen, which are already brimfull with wartime windfalls. The country will not be benefited if a few who are already rich become richer, unless the good resulting from the industrial advancement reaches the lower strata of society and is equally distributed. Added to this the problem of centralisation and decentralisation of industries and their location will call for the utmost care by the planning authorities. The economic development should not be lopsided. All parts of the country and all the people, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed and colour, should receive equal treatment. There should be no favouritism and no invidious distinctions.

Having these principles in view let us have a birds-eye-view of what the Planning Department has done in respect of the plans so far announced. As a preliminary step, panels have been constituted for the various industries to advise the authorities on the problems and to do various other things. The functions of these panels, seem, from the very words of the Press Note issued today, to be all important and decisive. In such important bodies it is a wonder. Sir, that Muslims have not received adequate representation. In several of them no Muslim is found. The 25 panels comprise in all 154 members, and out of these 154 there are only 13 Muslims, and on some panels there is not a single Muslim, and on some panels, out of 10 or 12 members, there is only one Muslim. There are panels also where, out of 10 or 12 members, there is only one Mussalman, and in 50 per cent of the panels, there is no Muslim representation at all. No case can be made out by the Government for this act of gross injustice. Government cannot afford to brush aside lightly the legitimate claims of such an important element of India's national life. No plan can succeed if it started like this. The Mussalmans will never take this lying down. The press note issued by the Government says that out of 29 panels proposed to be set up to make recommendations by Government on the development of industries, 25 have been constituted. As I have just mentioned, on several of them there is no Muslim representation at all and in others there is only one Muslim on each panel. Even in industries in which the Mussalmans have in fact a majority share: their representation has been meagre or almost negligible. Take the panel constituted for the Skins and Hides industry. The panel is called a Leather and Leather Goods panel. There is only one representative from Madras on it and that representative is a Hindu gentleman. I have every respect for the Hindu gentleman from Madras and I have no hesitation in saying that his is really a happy

choice. But along with him, there were a number of Mussalmans who could rightly have been put upon this panel. As you know, Sir, in Madras the tanning industry has been one of its principal industries, and in this industry, the Mussalmans have from the inception taken a very prominent part. There are firms in Madras and in the districts where the Mussalmans own very big tanneries which command all-India reputation. It is just and fair that the Planning Member should have put at least one or two or three Mussalmans connected with these long established tanneries. Sir, besides this invidious discrimination against the Mussalmans, there has been some sort of discrimination shown as regards the religions. Madras finds very little representation on these panels. Places like Bengal and Bombay have been given more representation. My submission is that when the future reconstruction of the country is being planned out, it is necessary that all parts of India should receive fair treatment. Planning intended for a vast country like India should not be lopsided if it is to have any chance of success.

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DASS (Nominated Non-Official) :** Mr. President, I had no mind to join the discussion in connection with the Finance Bill. I thought I would record my silent vote in favour of the Bill. But, Sir, certain remarks made by some of the Honourable Members on the opposite side with regard to the nature of the nominated members have made me stand up to speak as regards the position of nominated members. Then I will deal with the merits or demerits of the Bill under discussion. Sir, invariably I have noticed that whenever there is a talk among members a distinction is drawn between nominated and elected members by the members of the opposition Party. Sir, are they under the impression that the nominated members are aliens not people of this country? (*Honourable Members:* No, Sir). Have they no Indian blood in them? Do they not feel for the people? Do they think that it is only they who feel for the people and not the nominated members? Invariably they draw this distinction that nominated members come by the back door and the elected members come by the front door. That is what they always brag of. Now, Sir, if there is consistency, the consistency can be found only in the case of nominated members. They are true to their principle, they are honest, they are faithful—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** What principle?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DASS :** They are not changing. But in the case of elected members, very often they move turn-coats and time servers. If they find some opportunities before them they will at once change their colour very often. We have seen a lot of examples like that. If my Honourable friends sitting opposite do not like to associate with the nominated members of the House, I think they must resign and let the House be—

**THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :** Carried on by nominated members?

**THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DASS :** No; the House cannot be carried on by nominated members. Let there be vacancies, as has been done in the case of some Provinces where the Congress Ministry resigned. But they are now coming in and forming Congress Ministries. I hope, Sir, that the mentality of my Honourable friends on the opposite side will change and they will have an equal eye upon the nominated members. We are not so many servants to go and follow blindly without the dictates of our conscience.

Sir, in connection with the Finance Bill, I notice one peculiarity here. The speeches that have been delivered by my Honourable friends with reference to the Bill have no bearing on the merits or demerits of the Bill. The Bill has been placed before us for discussion of the proposals that have been embodied in the Bill but I find that Members, when speaking, ventilate their personal grievances, their communal grievances, their social grievances, in the name of National Government. But they don't dwell upon whether the Bill is at this stage necessary or not and whether it should be introduced or not; and whether it should be supported, or not. They simply say, "We have no representation in such and such matters; we have not been given this quota or that and matters ought to have been done like this" and so on. Have these things any bearing upon the merits or demerits of the Bill? In the beginning I thought of giving a silent vote; but

[Mr. M. L. Dass]

having got up I wish to speak in favour of the Bill. There was a time when the post-card used to sell for one pice a piece. It was then raised to two pice; then there was a clamour; still things were working and there was an increase in the postal revenue. After that the rate on postcards was increased to three pice. Again there was a clamour like this. It is stated that had there been a National Government we would not have had an increase in the postal rates—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Hear, hear.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. L. DASS : That is what you say. Can any of the Honourable Members give a definition of National Government? Can they put their hands to their hearts and give a true definition of nationalism. (*Some Honourable Members laughed.*) It is not a matter for laughing away; it is a serious thing. Why is India suffering and why is India clamouring? Our duty should be first to settle our differences and have unity before we ask for anything. The Muslim League Party will want Pakistan. The Honourable Mr. Sapru would go and want Caste Hindu domination; the Scheduled Castes people want their share and the Sikhs want their share. What should be our duty? Our duty should be first to put everything in order, feeling as though the whole country is lying ill and we should give medicines and medical aid. This money is going to spend on what? It is because India should be saved from the worries of all these troubles; the war troubles.

Let us then have our independence. I told you in the beginning that we are not so many aliens as to say we are not Indians; true patriotic blood flows in our veins. We want real independence. But is this the time? Government is going to make a little bit of increase. What is the harm? Let them carry on. Let the country be free from all these worries from outside. Let a more suitable time come and surely it will come. Let us all settle our differences. We can then fight with the Government that we want our independence. But this is not the proper time. Nobody in this country understands the definition of the word "nationalism" in its true sense. With these words, I beg to support this Bill, Sir. (*Applause.*)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT : Does any other Honourable Member desire to speak?

(No Honourable Member rose.)

I understand many Leaders have reserved their remarks till tomorrow, but I do not know whether all of them will get an opportunity. I may mention here at this stage that I will call upon the Honourable Sir Cyril Jones to reply to the debate at 4 P.M. tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 29th March, 1945.