

3rd September 1937

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

(Official Report)

Volume V, 1937

(2nd September to 17th September, 1937)

SIXTH SESSION

OF THE

FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

1937



**PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI.
PRINTED BY THE MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, SIMLA.
1938.**

Legislative Assembly.

President :

THE HONOURABLE SIR ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I.

Deputy President :

MR. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

SIR MUHAMMAD YAKUB, M.L.A.

MR. S. SATYAMURTI, M.L.A.

SIR LESLIE HUDSON, M.L.A.

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR, BART., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A.

Secretary :

MIAN MUHAMMAD RAFI, BAR.-AT-LAW.

Assistants of the Secretary :

MR. M. N. KAUL, BAR.-AT-LAW.

RAI BAHADUR D. DUTT.

Marshal :

CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUR AHMAD KHAN, M.C., I.O.M., I.A.

Committee on Petitions :

MR. AKHIL CHANDRA DATTA, M.L.A., *Chairman.*

SIR LESLIE HUDSON, M.L.A.

MR. M. S. ANEY, M.L.A.

MR. M. GHIASUDDIN, M.L.A.

MR. MATHURADAS VISSANJI, M.L.A.

L453LAD

CONTENTS.

VOLUME V.—2nd September to 17th September, 1937.

	PAGES.
THURSDAY, 2ND SEPTEMBER, 1937—	
Starred Questions and Answers	983—1014
Short Notice Questions and Answers	1014—21
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1021—22
The Control of Coastal Traffic of India Bill—Referred to Select Committee	1022—55
The Repressive Laws Repealing and Amending Bill—Motion to continue adopted	1055
The Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill—Motion to continue adopted	1055
The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill (Mr. Lalchand Navalrai)—Motion to continue adopted	1056
The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill (Mr. B. Das)—Motion to continue adopted	1056
The Muslim Intestate Succession Bill—Discussion on the motion to refer to Select Committee not concluded	1056—59
FRIDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	1061—84
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1084—86
Nomination to the House Committee	1086
FRIDAY, 3RD SEPTEMBER, 1937,—contd.	
Resolution re—	
India's withdrawal from the membership of the League of Nations—Discussion adjourned	1086—88
Economics in the Central Government expenditure—Adopted	1088—1131
Appointment of qualified Indian cadets by British Navigation Companies—Discussion not concluded	1131—37
MONDAY, 6TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Members Sworn	1139
Starred Questions and Answers	1139—57
Unstarred Question and Answer	1158
Motion for Adjournment re erection of an abattoir in the Lahore Cantonment—Disallowed	1158
The Insurance Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	1158—1207
TUESDAY, 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Member Sworn	1209
Starred Questions and Answers	1209—43
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1243—46
Statements laid on the Table	1246—47
The Insurance Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded	1248—94

	PAGES.
WEDNESDAY, 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	1295—1323
Short Notice Question and Answer	1324
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1325—29
The Insurance Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded	1329—76
THURSDAY, 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	1377—1402
Unstarred Question and Answer	1402—03
The Muslim Intestate Succession Bill—Referred to Select Committee	1403—26
The Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) Application Bill—Discussion on the motion to consider not concluded	1426—47
FRIDAY, 10TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Member Sworn	1449
Starred Questions and Answers	1449—81
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1482—86
Report of the House Committee	1486—90
Resolution <i>re</i> Appointment of qualified Indian cadets by British Navigation Companies—Adopted as amended	1490—1538
MONDAY, 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Speech delivered to the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly by His Excellency the Viceroy	1539—44
Members Sworn	1545

	PAGES.
MONDAY, 13TH SEPTEMBER, 1937—<i>contd.</i>	
Starred Questions and Answers	1545—76
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1576—80
Statements laid on the Table	1580—96
The Repealing Bill—Introduced	1597
The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Introduced	1597
The Indian Mines (Amendment) Bill—Referred to Select Committee	1597—1614
TUESDAY, 14TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Member Sworn	1615
Starred Questions and Answers	1615—47
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1647—52
The Indian Tariff (Second Amendment) Bill—Introduced	1652
The Insurance Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded	1652—96
WEDNESDAY, 15TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	1697—1720
Unstarred Question and Answer	1720—21
The Indian Mines (Amendment) Bill—Appointment of Sir Cowasji Jehangir to the Select Committee	1721
The Insurance Bill—Discussion on the consideration of clauses not concluded	1721—65
THURSDAY, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—	
Starred Questions and Answers	1767—99
Unstarred Questions and Answers	1799—1805

PAGES.	PAGES.
THURSDAY, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—<i>contd.</i>	FRIDAY, 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1937,—
Statements laid on the Table 1805—18	Starred Questions and Answers 1867—86
Motions for Adjournment <i>re—</i>	Unstarred Questions and Answers 1886—88
Fixation of the price of sugar-cane—Withdrawn. 1818—19	Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> China's appeal against Japanese aggression to the League of Nations—Disallowed by the Governor General. 1888-89, 1902.
Inquiry about the Bihta Railway—Disaster—Disallowed 1819	Resolution <i>re</i> Constituent Assembly—Discussion not concluded 1889—1936
The Moslem Personal Law (<i>Shariat</i>) Application Bill—Passed as amended 1819—65	

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 3rd September, 1937.

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

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

BREAK OF JOURNEY BETWEEN BENARES AND LUCKNOW ON THE LOOP LINE.

286. *Mr. Sri Prakasa : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways state if it is a fact that passengers holding tickets between Benares and Lucknow on the East Indian Railway cannot break their journey while travelling *via* the Loop Line, though the routes are alternative ones ?

(b) What is the difference in the mileage between the Main and the Loop Lines ?

(c) In view of the inconvenience caused and the nominal difference in mileage, are Government prepared to recommend to the Railway to permit break of journey on either route ?

(d) Is it a fact that a passenger can travel between Howrah and Benares on the East Indian Railway *via* the Sahebgunj Loop, the Main Line and the Grand Chord and break journeys on any of the routes ?

(e) What is the difference in mileage between these three routes ?

(f) How does that compare with the differences on the two routes between Benares and Lucknow ? And why is there such differentiation in the treatment of the two sections of the same railway ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) Yes.

(b) Fourteen miles.

(c) The suggestion will be conveyed to the Agent, East Indian Railway, for consideration.

(d) Yes, except that break of journey is not permitted on the Main Line between stations :

(i) Gahmar and Kuchman in the up direction, and

(ii) Madhupur and Salanpur in the down direction.

(1061)

(e) The mileage by the three routes compares as follows :

	Mileage.
Howrah to Benares <i>via</i> (i) Main Line	481
Howrah to Benares <i>via</i> (ii) Grand Chord	429
Howrah to Benares <i>via</i> (iii) Sahibganj Loop	.. 544

(f) For the differences between the routes, the Honourable Member is referred to the answers to (b) and (e) above. Government are not aware of the reasons for such differentiation in the treatment of the two sections of the Railway. The Honourable Member's question, however, and this answer are being sent to the Agent, East Indian Railway, for consideration.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : In view of the fact that the Punjab Mails, the Punjab and the Dehra Dun Expresses traverse from end to end both the provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces, and in view of the further fact that the Honourable Member himself is a Bihari and more facilities are given to passengers in that province than in my province travelling by the very same train, will the Honourable Member, with reference to his reply to part (c) of the question, also convey to the authorities concerned his fear that he may be charged with partiality if the wrong is not put right ?

(No reply.)

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad : With a view to encourage travelling, is it not desirable that facilities should be provided to the travelling public to travel by these alternate routes ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have answered that question.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Is it a fact that passengers travelling by the Loop Line are not allowed to break their journey for a day when the journey exceeds 100 miles ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Will the Honourable Member kindly repeat his question ?

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : The rule is that a passenger is entitled to break his journey for 24 hours after every 100 miles covered. Am I to understand that a passenger who is travelling by this Loop Line is not entitled to break his journey ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have answered the question. I have said that there is a differentiation which I cannot understand and I am bringing this matter to the notice of the Agent.

NOTING DOWN OF NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PASSENGERS AT THE TARA DEVI RAILWAY STATION.

287. ***Mr. Sri Prakasa :** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways state what is the average amount of time for which trains are detained at the Tara Devi Station (North Western Railway) on their way to Simla for purposes of noting down the names and addresses of passengers ?

(b) What is the purpose of this procedure ?

(c) Are Government aware that while first and second class passengers are politely given the registers on which they are requested to note down the required particulars, the intermediate and third class passengers are roughly asked as to their names and addresses and purposes of their visits to Simla ? If so, do Government propose to take steps to equalise the status of the passengers so far as this procedure is concerned ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) The average detention to trains is about 13 minutes, and to rail cars five minutes.

(b) The procedure is in pursuance of Simla Municipality Health Regulations.

(c) Government are aware that first and second class passengers enter the required particulars in registers, and particulars relating to intermediate and third class passengers are noted by employees of the Simla Municipality. Government have no reason to believe that the latter do not carry out their duty with courtesy, and do not propose to take any action in the matter. The comparatively few upper class passengers are able to note the required particulars in the registers without delay to trains which, it is considered, would ensue if the same procedure were adopted for intermediate and third class passengers, apart from difficulties which would arise owing to illiteracy amongst these classes.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that the same procedure is adopted even at Kalka station and the third class passengers are really harassed by the railway employees ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I am not aware of it.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : What is the object of taking down these names ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : That question does not arise either from the question or the answer given.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : When the question is whether it is being done and when it is also said that it is the procedure of the Simla Municipality, the object must be known. So, I want to know what is the object ?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The questioner apparently might have known this and that is why he did not put the question.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : With reference to the answer to part (b) of the question, may I know whether the names that are noted down are sent to the police also and that passengers are harassed in their own towns ? I say this, because my nephew, Mr. Harsh Vardhan, has been recently shadowed at Benares on enquiries made by the Simla Police.

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have no such information.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : May I ask if this is done under the instructions of the Home Department ? Are inquiries made regarding the health of the travellers or the diseases they are suffering from ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have no information at all. It is done in pursuance of the Simla Municipality's Health Regulations. They are doing it and I am not responsible for it.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Will the Honourable Member take it from me that only the name and the address is taken and no inquiry is made regarding the health or the disease from which the person is suffering ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I take it from the Honourable Member.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar : In view of the specific complaint made by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, that a particular gentleman has been harassed by the police, may I ask if an inquiry will be made in the matter ?

(No. reply.)

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : May I ask whether it is being done under the instructions of the Police Department and not the Health Department ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : My information is that it is done in pursuance of the Simla Municipality Health Regulations.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : Will the Honourable Member inquire from the Simla Municipality whether they hand over all this information to the Police ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : That question must be put to the Health Department of the Government.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : In view of the fact that the Honourable Member is in charge of the Railways and in view further of the fact that he permits these men to go to the railway premises which are under his charge, will he not please make sure that the passengers who travel under his protection are not harassed by another department on his premises ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I will certainly inquire on my premises but not outside my premises.

PREFERENCE GIVEN TO INDIAN COFFEE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

288. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that the preference given to Indian coffee in the United Kingdom is only nominal and not effective, and are Government aware that other countries can and do manipulate their exchanges to suit their trade ;
- (b) whether any attempt is being made to increase preference for Indian coffee in the United Kingdom ; and
- (c) what is the result of the negotiations carried on, and when preference will be definitely granted ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) Indian coffee enjoys in the United Kingdom a preference of 9s. 4d. per cent. but the preference has not had the effect of increasing the consumption of Indian coffee. As regards the second part of the question, Government are aware that this allegation is often made.

(b) and (c). The question of preference on coffee is receiving consideration in the present Indo-British trade negotiations which are still in progress and it is not possible to anticipate the result of these negotiations.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza : Is it not a fact that since the conclusion of the Ottawa Trade Pact the import of Indian coffee into the United Kingdom has been progressively diminishing and that it has reached its lowest figure during the four months of the current year ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : The answer has been given. Yes.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza : Is it not a fact that in spite of the preference of a penny per pound given to Indian coffee in the United Kingdom, the South American countries, like Costa Rica, have been manipulating their currency and in spite of the preference given to us in the United Kingdom, the coffee of the South American countries are selling at a premium of 33 1/3 per cent. in the United Kingdom.

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I would ask the Honourable Member to put down that question. This has nothing to do with the answer given or with the question put. The fact is that much depends upon the taste of individuals for coffee. In spite of high duties in France, the consumption of Indian coffee in France is increasing simply because of the taste. I do not want to go further into that matter now, because the matter is under discussion at present in the United Kingdom.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza : Is it not a fact that a campaign is being steadily carried on in the United Kingdom maligning the quality of Indian coffee although the French are the better connoisseurs and are taking more coffee ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : There is no foundation for the first observation.

Dr. F. X. DeSouza : Will Government be pleased, for the honour of the contracting parties, to see that the advantages and conditions promised to India by the Ottawa Trade Pact will be secured to her growers ? (Hear, hear.)

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : The matter is being considered by our delegates and they are giving this full consideration.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar : Are the Government satisfied that the low consumption of Indian coffee is not due to any manipulation of the currency ? Have Government examined the matter ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : We are fully satisfied. But the matter is still under consideration. Now that discussions are going on in the United Kingdom, I do not like to proceed further here.

CONSUMPTION OF INDIAN COTTON BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES.

289. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state :

- (a) the latest figures with regard to the consumption of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom, Japan and other countries ;
- (b) whether there is any agreement in contemplation between Great Britain and India, by which the consumption of Lancashire cloth by India will depend on the consumption of Indian cotton by Lancashire ; and
- (c) whether the preference recently granted to Lancashire goods will be reduced, and if not, why not ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) The Honourable Member is referred to Table I in the third Annual Report of the Lancashire Indian Cotton Committee, 1936, a copy of which is available in the Library of the Legislature.

(b) The whole question of a revised trade agreement is at present under discussion between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India's delegate assisted by his official and non-official advisers.

(c) The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the import duties on British cotton piecegoods. If so, these are not directly preferential but protective and constitute a measure of protection to the Indian cotton textile industry in pursuance of the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board. There has always been a difference between ourselves (i.e., the Government) and the Honourable Member on the other side as regards this question. We have always taken the view that it is a protective duty.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to part (b), may I know whether this particular matter, that is to say, the dependence of the consumption of Lancashire cloths by India on the consumption of Indian cotton by Lancashire is specifically now being considered in the negotiations by our delegates ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Yes.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to part (c), may I know whether since the reduction of these duties on Lancashire goods the results have justified the assumption that these duties are protective, and not preferential ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : We are satisfied.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Will the Honourable Member give me some figures ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have no figures at present with me.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Has the import of British piecegoods been considerably reduced ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I want notice. But most likely, the answer will be in the affirmative.

**CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE BY SIR MOHAMMAD ZAFRULLAH KHAN AT THE
IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.**

290. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Honorable the Leader of the House be pleased to state :

- (a) who authorised Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, India's delegate to the Imperial Conference, to state in the course of his speech at that Conference that India appreciated the service that the British Empire was rendering to the cause of world peace ;
- (b) who authorised him again to state, that India would derive enormous benefits from her participation in the Imperial Conference, even though she was not participating on the same footing as the Dominions, inasmuch as Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan had no authority of the people of India behind him ; and
- (c) whether the Government of India propose to take steps to convey to His Majesty's Government and other Governments who took part in the Imperial Conference, that India was not represented at the Imperial Conference by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan ?

REPORT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

292. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti :** Will the Honorable the Leader of the House be pleased to state :

- (a) whether Government will place on the table of the House a copy of the full report of the Constitutional Committee of the Imperial Conference ;
- (b) whether the Government of India were invited for an expression of opinion on the question of the definition of British subjects ;
- (c) whether the Government of India proposed at the Imperial Conference the need for including the Indians as such in the definition of British subjects, so that, wherever they are in the British Commonwealth, they may enjoy the privileges thereof ;
- (d) whether the Government of India have any information on the recommendation that any member of the Commonwealth contemplating to pass a law on the membership of its community should submit its proposals to the other members, so as to enable them to offer observation on the law, if they feel so inclined ; and
- (e) whether the Government of India propose to press for being consulted on all these matters ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Siroar : The two questions, Nos. 290 and 292, have been wrongly addressed to me. They ought to have been addressed to the Home Department.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : When will they be answered ?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : They will be answered on the next day according to the procedure recently adopted.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Is the Home Department in charge of all Imperial Conference delegations ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Siroar : Yes.

RESOLUTION ON THE SHIPPING POLICY ADOPTED BY THE SHIPPING COMMITTEE OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AND HELP TO INDIAN SHIPPING.

291. ***Mr. S. Satyamurti** : Will the Honourable the Commerce Member be pleased to state :

- (a) whether the Government of India were represented, or had any part, in shaping the resolution on the shipping policy adopted by the Shipping Committee of the Imperial Conference ;
- (b) whether the maintenance of adequate Indian shipping was considered ; and if so, what conclusions were arrived at ;
- (c) whether India brought to the notice of the Committee certain forms and methods of foreign discrimination, seriously prejudicial to Indian shipping ; and
- (d) whether Government propose to take any steps to help Indian shipping as against foreign competition, including British competition ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) and (b). The Government of India have not yet received the full proceedings of the Imperial Conference and I am, therefore, unable to give detailed information as to what took place at the Committee of the Conference on shipping questions.

(c) The Government of India are not aware of any foreign discrimination against Indian shipping.

(d) For the last ten years Government have been maintaining the "Dufferin" Training Ship, the annual net cost of which is now about rupees two lakhs. This in effect is a considerable subsidy to Indian Shipping Companies, who would, otherwise, themselves have to meet the cost of training their Indian officers.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : With reference to the answer to parts (a) and (b), I take it that the Government of India were represented on this Conference. May I know if Government sent any instructions to their delegates to this Shipping Conference ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I want notice.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : The question is already here :

"Whether the Government of India were represented, or had any part, in shaping the resolution on the shipping policy adopted by the Shipping Committee of the Imperial Conference ?"

With regard to the subject which came before that Conference, namely, the shipping policy of the Imperial Conference, I am asking whether any instructions were given by the Government of India to their delegates to that Conference ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : As I said I am unable to answer the question with any degree of precision because I have not got the proceedings here. Nor have I actually made any enquiries about it. The proceedings are expected very soon and I will be able to place the whole of it before the House or as much of it as is considered necessary.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know what good has the " Dufferin " ship done ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : If the House is satisfied that no good has been achieved by this, the Government will be prepared to consider the desirability of abolishing it. But I propose to make a statement on the Resolution of Sir Muhammad Yakub. I hope it will be reached.

GRANT OF HOLIDAYS ON INDIAN FESTIVALS IN GOODS AND PARCEL OFFICES ON RAILWAYS.

298. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** With reference to the answer to my starred question No. 761, dated the 30th March, 1937, will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to state if there is any difficulty in giving the same treatment and same holidays to both Goods Shed Clerks and the Parcel Clerks ? If so, what are the reasons for different treatment ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : It will result in business being seriously dislocated if the booking and delivery of goods and parcels is suspended on all communal holidays. Railways are essentially public utility services and the number of days on which the normal business is suspended for any reason must be kept as few as possible. In view of the very large number of religious festivals which vary in their significance and importance in the different areas served by the same railway, it would not be in the public or in railways' interest if the number of closed holidays was increased in order to satisfy all communal demands for holidays on this account.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : I want to know what is the difference between the holidays that are being given to the goods clerks and parcels clerks. If holidays are given to goods clerks, why not for parcel clerks ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : The difference lies in the importance of the duties which the different clerks in the different departments perform.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Will the Honourable Member consider the suggestion that instead of granting closed holidays on important festivals and ceremonies, they might grant holidays to these people by batches ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : It will be absolutely no use and it will not give satisfaction at all. These holidays are demanded on the basis of religious festivals.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : I want to impress on the Honourable Member whether the Government will consider the suggestion that instead of granting closed holidays on certain specific holidays, these clerks might be allowed to enjoy holidays in batches instead of closing the office completely for all people ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Supposing there is one clerk only, and as a rule there is only one clerk, what would be the position ? There would be tremendous difficulties and therefore I am not prepared to support it.

GROUP INSPECTORS OF SPECIAL TICKET EXAMINERS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

294. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** (a) With reference to my starred question No. 762, dated the 30th March, 1937, will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to place on the table replies to parts (b) and (d) of the aforesaid questions ?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state what action the Agent, North Western Railway, has taken in respect of the suggestion conveyed to him regarding the Group Inspectors' wearing uniforms referred to in answer to part (e) of the aforesaid question ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed : (a) The replies to parts (b) and (d) of the Honourable Member's question No. 762, dated the 30th March, 1937, are incorporated in the proceedings of the House for the 23rd August, 1937.

(b) The Agent, North Western Railway, has issued orders that Group Inspectors should wear uniform when on checking duty.

REVISED RULES FOR THE ISSUE OF PASSES ON RAILWAYS.

295. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai :** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to state if the recent Railway Pass Rules, which are very much protested against, have been revised or altered ? If so, to what extent ? If they have not yet been revised, do Government propose to make any alterations in view of the general complaint ? If so, in what way ?

(b) Has the Indian Railway Conference Association made their report in connection with the revision of the Pass Rules ? If so, what are their suggestions ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed : (a) The Pass Rules introduced with effect from the 1st January, 1937, have not been revised. The memorials received in connection with these new rules are under consideration.

(b) The Indian Railway Conference Association have not been asked for a report in connection with the revised Pass Rules ; the latter portion of this question does not, therefore, arise.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Is it known to the Honourable Member, who took charge after these pass rules were made, that there is great resentment and grievance among the staff over this pass question ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : We have received a number of memorials and a number of telegrams and representations on the subject.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Will the Honourable Member go through them all and do justice to them ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : As I have said, they are under consideration.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : May I know how long will Government take to come to a final decision ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : Are the Government of India aware that the officers on the Indian railways get a much larger number of passes than the subordinate employees ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : All these matters are being considered.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : May I know whether pending a final decision Government will allow the employees to have as many passes as they were allowed under the old rules ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : No, Sir.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : May I know if the Honourable Member's department has got representations about passes from the railway labour unions ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I do not remember, but I have received a number of memorials and a number of representations.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Is the Honourable Member aware that the Railway Board had promised to meet a few Members of this Assembly in September, and discuss these pass rules ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I am not aware, Sir.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Will the Honourable Member receive that deputation ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : No, Sir.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Will the Honourable Member take it from me that his predecessor promised me and Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and my Honourable friend here that the Railway Board will discuss the situation with us in September ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan will be here, I hope, by the end of October and if Honourable Members will approach him I suppose they will get satisfaction.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : But if the Honourable Member takes up this question for consideration earlier, where will be our deputation ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Then I will let this matter stand over till he comes.

RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THOSE IN SERVICE AFTER THE SEPARATION OF
RAILWAY ACCOUNTS AND AUDIT.

296. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to place on the table the information promised in answer to my starred question No. 764, dated the 30th March, 1937, regarding rights and privileges of those in service after the separation of Railway Accounts and Audit ?

Mr. B. M. Staig : The information in question was laid on the table of the House on the 23rd August, 1937.

NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTANTS' EXAMINATION.

297. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai** : Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to place on the table the information collected and a statement sent for with regard to my starred question No. 733, dated the 30th March, 1937, regarding Subordinate Accounts Examination on North Western Railway ?

Mr. B. M. Staig : The information in question was laid on the table of the House on the 1st September, 1937.

INVESTIGATION OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT, GREAT
INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

298. ***Mr. K. Santhanam** : Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state if it is a fact that Mr. Collins was asked to investigate the affairs of the Great Indian Peninsula Publicity Department and that he was paid Rs. 15,000 for this investigation ? Will a copy of his report be placed on the table ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Government have no information. I am, however, having enquiries made and will lay a reply on the table in due course.

INDIAN STATE RAILWAY MAGAZINE.

299. ***Mr. K. Santhanam** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state whether it is a fact that one Mr. Collins is working as the sole agent of the *Indian State Railway Magazine* ? When and why was this Magazine handed over to him ?

(b) What was the financial position of this Magazine before it was handed over to the said Mr. Collins and what has been the position since ?

(c) Is it a fact that an All-India Time Table was for sometime issued by the Central Publicity Officer ?

(d) Is it a fact that after some issues, it was handed over to Mr. Collins and that after a few issues, it was resumed and suspended ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) *The Indian State Railway Magazine* has not been handed over to Mr. Collins. Mr. Collins was appointed sole agent for securing advertisements for insertion in the *Indian State Railway Magazine* in 1933, it being considered preferable to employ one agency and Mr. Collins was securing 80 per cent. of the advertisements that appeared in the Magazine.

(b) In view of the reply to part (a) above, this does not arise.

(c) Yes.

(d) It is correct that the issue of the all-India time table has been suspended. It is not correct that the publication was handed over to Mr. Collins and that after a few issues it was resumed.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Will Government consider the advisability of publishing this all-India time table again ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : No, Sir.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Why not ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Because they do not consider it necessary.

LEAVE PRIVILEGES OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS ON THE SOUTH INDIAN RAILWAY.

300. ***Mr. K. Santhanam** : Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to state :

- (a) whether new rules regarding leave privileges of superior railway services were introduced in the South Indian Railway on the 12th October, 1933 ;
- (b) whether these rules were made applicable to all officers of Asiatic domicile who were confirmed after 1923 ;
- (c) whether they were similarly applied to officers of non-Asiatic domicile who were confirmed after 1923 ;
- (d) whether the new rules differentiate between officers of Asiatic and non-Asiatic domicile while there was no such differentiation in the old rules ;
- (e) the principal differences in the new rules as regards leave on full pay, leave on half pay and maximum full pay leave that can be availed of at a time ; and
- (f) the reasons for these racial discriminations ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed : (a) to (f). I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply given on the 31st August, 1937, to starred question No. 216 asked by Mr. Joshi in this House.

CLOSING OF THE WELL NEAR THIRD CLASS SHED AT THE ALLAHABAD RAILWAY STATION.

301. ***Mr. Sri Prakasa** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways state whether it is a fact that in the Railway compound adjoining the third class shed at the Allahabad Junction railway station on the East Indian Railway, there is a well which used to supply water to pilgrims taking shelter in the shed ?

(b) Is it a fact that the well was closed up some time back ?

(c) Are Government aware that many pilgrims have religious objections to using pipe water, and, by the closing of the well, they are being considerably inconvenienced ?

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the desirability of re-opening the well and give orders accordingly ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmed : (a)—(d). Government have no information but suggest that the matter is one which might suitably be taken up with the Administration through the Local Advisory Committee. Meanwhile, a copy of the Honourable Member's question together with the reply will be sent to the Agent, East Indian Railway, for consideration.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : In view of the fact that I have no influence with the Local Advisory Committee, may I ask what I should do ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I am doing my best.

PROSECUTION OF CERTAIN PERSONS FOUND WITHOUT TICKETS AT THE MUZAFFARNAGAR RAILWAY STATION.

302. ***Mr. Sri Prakasa :** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways state whether it is a fact that recently some persons were prosecuted for being found on the platform of the Muzaffarnagar railway station on the North Western Railway without any tickets ?

(b) Is it a fact that the Magistrate in acquitting the accused passed strictures on the railway administration for unnecessary harassment to these persons ?

(c) Is there a provision for the purchase of platform tickets at the Muzaffarnagar railway station ?

(d) What instructions, if any, have Station Masters to admit persons coming to receive or see off friends and relatives at such railway stations that have no arrangements for platform tickets ?

(e) Are Government prepared to consider the necessity of issuing immediate instructions to the effect that Station Masters are to admit without making any difficulty, such number of visitors to the railway platforms that come to receive or see off friends as can be admitted without inconvenience, having regard to the accommodation available on the platforms concerned ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) and (b). Government have no information.

(c) Yes.

(d) At stations on the North Western Railway at which platform tickets are not issued, station masters have discretion to admit a limited number of persons who are not passengers.

(e) In view of what is stated in my reply to part (d), the necessity for such instructions does not arise in the case of stations where platform tickets are not issued.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : With reference to parts (a) and (b) of my question, in view of the fact that the case was reported in the papers and that the honour of the railways is involved, will the Honourable Member kindly inquire into this matter ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I am prepared to do that.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : To avoid recurrence of such complaints, will Government consider the advisability of insisting upon these platform tickets being issued at every station ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : We shall be very pleased to consider that.

Several Honourable Members : No, no, do not consider that.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : Did the Honourable Member say that the system of platform tickets was in operation at Muzaffarnagar railway station ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Yes, it was.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE CONDITION OF THIRD CLASS COMPARTMENTS.

303. ***Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya** : (a) Will the Honourable Member in charge of Railways state what steps have been taken by Government to improve the condition of third class compartments in all State-owned Railways and to induce Company-managed Railways to do the same on their respective Railways ?

(b) Is supplying of healthy bath and latrine arrangements in third and intermediate class compartments on State Railways in contemplation ? If so, how long will it take to give effect to the schemes ?

(c) Will the Honourable Member in charge of Railways be pleased to state if two styles of latrines, viz., Indians and Europeans, will be introduced in the second and first class compartments to suit the convenience of both ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) and (b). I lay a statement, detailing the steps taken by Government to improve lower class compartments and their latrines on the table of the House. The provision of bath arrangements in lower class compartments is not contemplated.

(c) No, due to the loss in coach earning capacity that would result and the unsuitability of the Indian style latrine for use in railway rolling stock.

Statement.

In so far as new carriages are concerned, Government appointed a Committee in 1925 to examine the whole question of broad gauge lower class carriage design. As a result of the deliberations of this Committee and the existing Standing Carriage and Wagon Standards Committee (which has carried on the functions of the original Committee) sample full third class and full inter class carriages also combined inter and third class and third class, luggage and brake carriages were constructed and approved by the Railway Board during 1927 and 1928. As each type of carriage was approved, complete detail drawings relating to each type were prepared and sent to all broad gauge railways, State-managed being advised that all lower class carriages built in the future should conform to these approved designs (generally known as the I. R. S. coaching body designs) and Company-managed Railways requested to do likewise. These I. R. S. coaching body designs represented a vast improvement over the lower class carriages constructed by Railways hitherto in respect to accommodation per passenger, number of compartments, number of latrines per passenger, area of latrines, comfort of seats, quantity of water per passenger, lighting, etc., etc., and 785 bogie carriages conforming to these designs have since been built

and placed in service. That the number is not larger and the change more generally apparent on broad gauge railways is due entirely to the limited number of new lower class carriages built during the period concerned on account of falling traffic.

In 1935 it became apparent that four standard types of carriages represented too small a range to meet the varying requirements of individual railways and at the same time the possibility of still further improving the standard of comfort provided in third class carriages was investigated. As an outcome of this investigation a further sample full third class carriage was constructed and inspected by the Railway Central Advisory Council in the early part of 1936. In view, however, of the impossibility of covering the varying types of carriages (representing combinations of accommodation of different classes) required by individual railways with a reasonable number of standard detail designs, it was decided that subject to the use of fittings and components included in the original I. R. S. designs and the observation of certain major requirements laid down by the Railway Board (which in themselves ensure a greater standard of comfort than existed in the original I. R. S. design), railways should themselves again prepare their own detailed lower class carriage designs and this course is now being followed.

The position in respect to Company-managed Railways is that they cannot be forced to adopt any particular detailed carriage design. To ensure, however, that the degree of comfort which new lower class carriages built by Company-managed Railways provide is not appreciably inferior to that of new carriages built for use on State-managed Railways, a number of requirements such as width of seat per passenger, number of latrines per passenger, area of latrines, etc., etc., have been laid down from time to time and the observation of such requirements is obligatory for all railways. Further the layouts of all new carriages have to be submitted to the Railway Board for approval by all railways prior to construction being undertaken.

In respect to existing lower class carriages, constructional considerations severely limit the modifications and improvements that can be introduced but if reference is made to paragraphs (viii) and (ix) of chapter VII, Volume I, of the report by the Railway Board on Indian Railways for the years 1934-35 and 1935-36 it will be seen that this aspect of the matter is by no means neglected and Government is constantly urging railways to introduce such improvements as economic considerations will permit.

In this connection it should not be forgotten that the average economical life of a coaching vehicle is thirty years and if railways are to be operated economically a wide margin between the standards of comfort offered by recently constructed stock and stock approaching the end of its economic life will always be apparent and at the present time the position in this respect has been aggravated by the limitation imposed on renewals during a period of depression.

In respect to washing arrangements in lower class carriages, wash hand basins are provided in modern inter class latrines and taps in modern third class latrine compartments. Government have no intention of providing bathing arrangements for inter and third class passengers, in fact it would be a practical impossibility to carry the water necessary to provide this facility for lower class passengers in a railway coach.

RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT BIHTA ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

304. ***Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya** : (a) Will the Member in charge of Railways be pleased to lay on the table the report of the investigation into the cause of the disastrous derailment of the Punjab mail on the 17th July, 1937, which took place near Bhitia Station on the East Indian Railway ?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if any deliberate attempt at derailing the train under reference had been made ? If so, have the culprits been found ?

(c) How many men, women, children met with death on the spot, in hospital outside, and how many were injured ?

(d) Is it not a fact that at the same place on the same Railway a similar disastrous derailment took place some five years ago? Can the Honourable Member enlighten the House how disasters like these take place at the same spot over and over again? Was there any defect in the line at the spot?

(e) Has any damage been claimed by injured passengers or families of dead passengers? If so, how much, and have such damages to be given by the Railways? Have Government any scheme for payment of compensation to the descendents of the dead persons?

(f) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state what steps are being taken to prevent such disastrous derailment on Railways in future? What possible preventive machinations and scientific devices are ready for the purpose?

(g) Was there any defect in the line or point which led to the disaster?

(h) Are any Railway staff or coolies responsible for this disaster?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) The report is still under the consideration of Government.

(b), (g) and (h). No conclusion has yet been reached as to the cause of the accident.

(c) 93 persons were killed and 12 died subsequently of their injuries; in addition, 106 other injured persons were admitted to Hospital.

(d) The Honourable Member is referred to item (f) of my reply to question No. 223 on 31st August last regarding the accident in this locality some five years ago. The accident on that occasion was due to sabotage. The cause of the present accident has not yet been determined.

(e) Government have no information of claims which may have been made against the East Indian Railway by injured passengers or families of dead passengers. The matter of the Railway's liability to pay compensation will be considered when a conclusion has been reached as to the cause of the accident.

(f) All railways in all countries as well as manufacturers of railway materials, engines and rolling stock, etc., are constantly working to the end to make railway travel safer. The cause of the present disaster, as in the case of other accidents, will be fully examined with a view to prevent a similar occurrence in future. The Honourable Member will, however, appreciate the difficulty in preventing accidents, such as that referred to in (d) above, which was due to malicious tampering with the rails.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal : Are Government in possession of the names and addresses of all the persons that were killed?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Not all.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Is it a fact that the driver of the Mail train passing that place seven hours before had informed the Station Master at Dinapore that there was a certain noise while the Mail passed Bihta?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I cannot exactly remember the date, but I answered this very question on the floor of the House.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : That question was not reached and no supplementaries could be asked. That is why I am asking it now.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member cannot be allowed to put supplementary questions now on that question.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know what is the reason of the cause not having been found out yet ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : The whole matter is under consideration ; we are considering the reports.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : May I know why so much time is being taken ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : The reports have now been received. They will have to be carefully examined, which is not a very easy matter.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai : Has the Honourable Member inquired whether they are sleeping over it or whether they are investigating ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : They are investigating.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : In view of the fact that it has been suggested that the driver of this particular train was drunk, will the Honourable Member see to it that drivers are not served with drinks while they are on duty ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : There is no foundation for the first statement ; therefore the second question does not arise.

RAILWAY ACCIDENT AT BIHTA ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

305. ***Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya** : (a) Will the Honourable Member in charge of Railways be pleased to lay on the table the report of the departmental enquiry and investigation into the matter of the serious accident at Bihta resulting in many deaths and injuries of passengers ?

(b) Is it not a fact that the European engine-driver has escaped unhurt and unscratched ? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state how it happened that other two people in the engine died and only the European engine-driver remained alive and unhurt ?

(c) Is it not a fact that on departmental enquiry, it was found that the European engine-driver was found sleeping in a first class compartment and that was the reason why he escaped unhurt ? If so, will Government be pleased to state what punishment has been meted out to the man through whose negligence of duty this terrible disaster took place ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) The Honourable Member is referred to part (a) of my answer to question No. 304 today.

(b) The engine driver and the two other people (firemen) on the engine escaped serious injury. It is not correct that the other two people on the engine died.

(c) It is not a fact that the enquiry found that the engine driver was sleeping in a first class compartment at the time of the accident. This suggestion seems to be mythical.

REVISED RULES FOR THE ISSUE OF PASSES ON RAILWAYS.

306. *Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi : Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to state :

- (a) whether it is a fact that revised rules for the issue of passes to Railway employees have been enforced by the Railway Board from 1st January, 1937 ;
- (b) whether Government are aware that this has caused great discontent amongst the staff because they have operated harshly ;
- (c) whether it is a fact that memorials and appeals have been preferred in large numbers by the Railway employees of all the State Railways, protesting against the revision of the pass rules, and whether it is a fact that one of such appeals was preferred to the Chief Commissioner of Railways by the East Indian Railway staff ; and
- (d) whether he proposes to look into the matter and allow the old employees the option of retaining the old rules applicable to them when they were appointed in terms of Government of India Resolution No. 4863, dated the 4th December, 1891 ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) Yes.

(b) Representations have been made to this effect.

(c) A number of memorials and appeals have been received, including one to the Chief Commissioner of Railways by members of the East Indian Railway staff.

(d) The memorials are still under consideration.

EXTENSION OF THE LIFE OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

307. *Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : (a) Will the Honourable the Leader of the House state for what period has the life of the present Legislative Assembly been extended ?

(b) Were the Government of India consulted by the Governor General in the matter ? What advice, if any, did they give ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : (a) His Excellency the Governor General has reserved, and I am unable to anticipate, his decision on this point.

(b) In the public interest I have to decline to answer this question.

NON-ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE TRADE UNION, LUCKNOW, RESIDING IN BIHAR AND BENGAL, AS VOTERS IN THE LABOUR TRADE UNION CONSTITUENCIES.

308. ***Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena** : (a) Will the Honourable the Law Member state if it is a fact that the members of the East Indian Railway Registered Trade Union, Lucknow, resident in Bihar and Bengal were not enrolled as voters in the Labour registered Trade Union constituencies, notwithstanding representations made in this behalf ?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, what were the reasons for not doing so ?

(c) Are Government prepared to issue necessary instructions to permit the members of a registered railway employees union being registered voters all over the line, irrespective of the fact whether the head office of the union is located in the province or not ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : The qualifications, entitling persons to be included in the electoral rolls, are prescribed in the Government of India (Provincial Legislative Assemblies) Order, and the preparation of the rolls is a matter purely for the Provincial Governments. I very much regret that I have no material to enable me to answer the points raised by the Honourable Member.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Is it not a fact that unions which are working on an all-India basis have members spread all over the provinces ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : I said that as these are provincial matters I have no material to enable me to answer the points raised by the Honourable Member.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Will the Honourable Member bring it to the notice of the various Local Governments that unions which are registered in one province and have members residing in another province may be enrolled as voters ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : I can send a copy of this question and the supplementaries to the Local Governments.

MODIFICATION OF THE STANDING ORDERS AND RULES OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

309. ***Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena** : (a) Will the Honourable the Law Member state if the Government of India were consulted in the framing of new rules of the Legislative Assembly recently published in the Gazette ? If so, what advice, if any, did they give to the Governor General ?

(b) Will he state what was the necessity and the reasons for the modification of the Standing Orders and Rules ?

(c) Is any additional staff being provided in the Legislative Assembly due to the new rules ? If so, will the Honourable Member state the number and the designation of the hands as well as their salaries ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : (a) The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the amendments to the Indian Legislative Rules which were published in the Gazette of India of the 24th July and were debated on an adjournment motion on the 24th August. The rule making power is vested in, and the amendments were made by, the Governor General in Council and not, as the Honourable Member appears to suppose, by the Governor General.

(b) There has been no modification of the Standing Orders. The considerations dictating the amendments to the Rules were explained in a Press communiqué issued on the day on which the amendments were published in the Gazette, and further they were fully discussed and debated in the House when the amendments were considered by it.

(c) The answer to the first part is in the negative. The second part does not arise.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : May I know whether Government have considered the position since the adjournment motion was carried in this House ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : Government are aware that the adjournment motion was carried.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Have Government considered the position since then ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : That is the position. The adjournment motion has been carried.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : The question is whether Government have considered whether the adjournment motion will persuade them to change these rules.

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : If my Honourable friend wants to know whether the rules are now going to be changed or re-changed, then the answer is in the negative.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : When did they meet, and come to that conclusion, that there is no need for changing the rules ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : Why does my Honourable friend assume that every one must meet before Government can come to a conclusion ? I do not propose to disclose whether they met.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Does the Governor General in Council talk by silence ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : They can conduct business without talking as much as other people do.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Do they talk at all ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : Oh, they do. The minimum necessary amount.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : I want to know whether they met at any time, to consider the effect of this adjournment motion.

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : I cannot give the information as to whether they met and what they talked, or whether they talked, but I have told you of their decision.

Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : May I know if finance was one of the considerations for limiting the number of questions, and if so why has so much additional staff been entertained for the purpose ?

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar : That does not arise.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh : Do Government care for these censure motions ?

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

ARTICLES EXPORTED TO AND IMPORTED FROM INDIA IN PEUBA AND ZANZIBAR.

310. ***Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena :** Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways be pleased to state what articles are exported to and imported from India in Peuba and Zanzibar and their respective values during the last two years ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I lay on the table a statement giving the required information as far as it is available.

Statement showing principal exports to and imports from Pemba and Zanzibar during the years 1934-35 and 1935-36.

EXPORTS (Indian merchandise).

Articles.	Value	
	1934-35 Rs. (000)	1935-36. Rs. (000)
Books, prints and printed matter including maps and charts	19.4	30.6
Boots and shoes	20.0	11.7
Candles of all kinds	10.3	8.5
Dying and tanning substances	1.0	9.4
Fruits and vegetables	34.0	41.4
Grain, pulse and flour	997.9	1,002.7
Instruments, apparatus and appliances and parts thereof ..	31.7	8.9
Metals and ores	7.2	14.2
Provisions and oilman's stores	25.9	14.0
Seeds	30.2	28.5
Spices	26.8	22.2
Cotton manufactures (including twist and yarn)	102.3	71.6
Jute manufactures (including twist and yarn).	75.2	49.2
Wood and Timber	25.8	22.3
Postal articles	72.2	72.3
All other articles of merchandise	101.0	85.6

GRAND TOTAL .. 1,590.1 1,492.7

IMPORTS.

Gums and Resins	12.6
Ivory (unmanufactured)	202.5	257.0
Tortoise-shell (including nakhla or nakh)	8.0	12.1
Cloves	2,926.8	2,085.6
All other articles of merchandise	41.7	38.7

GRAND TOTAL .. 3,179.0 2,406.0

REFUSAL OF THE AGENT, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY, TO RECEIVE DEPUTATIONS FROM THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAYMEN'S UNION, LUCKNOW.

311. ***Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena** : (a) Is the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways aware that notwithstanding repeated requests, the Agent of the East Indian Railway has refused to receive periodical deputations from the East Indian Railwaymen's Union, Lucknow, to discuss the grievances of the railway employees? If not, is the Honourable Member prepared to make enquiries?

(b) Is the Honourable Member prepared to issue instructions to the various Agents regarding the advisability of holding periodical meetings with the representatives of the recognised unions to discuss the grievances of the employees on their respective railways like those that are held between the Railway Board and the Representatives of All-India Railwaymen's Federation?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) As regards the first part Government have no information. As regards the second part Government are not prepared to make any enquiries as this is a matter of detailed administration within the competence of the Agent, East Indian Railway, to decide.

(b) No.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Is the Honourable Member aware that during the conference with the representatives of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and the Railway Board, it is always impressed upon these representatives that the questions should be taken up and discussed with the Agents of the local railways before they are taken up before the conference?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I was not aware of that, but I take it from the Honourable Member.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : In view of that fact, will the Honourable Member impress upon the Agents the desirability of giving opportunities to the representatives of various railway unions to discuss questions locally?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : It is a matter entirely for him to decide and if ever I find that he has not done his duty I will certainly interfere : otherwise not. I do not anticipate any difficulty at present.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : With reference to part (b) of the question, what is the present practice prevailing in the various railways whether these Agents try to ascertain the grievances of the workers through extraneous agencies or through the recognised labour unions?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have no information on that myself.

Mr. Muhammad Ashar Ali : Will the Honourable Member consider that these are registered and recognised unions and inquire from the Agent of the East Indian Railway why this Union has got no hearing about grievances?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I have no ground at this stage for any intervention at all.

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Will the Honourable Member take it from me that the Union has been recognised for nearly ten years and the Agent has not granted a single opportunity to meet the deputation from the Union to discuss the grievances of employees ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Perhaps he thinks that it is not necessary.

Prof. N. G. Ranga : Will the Honourable Member try to ascertain what procedure is followed by these Railway Agents to try to ascertain the grievances of labour if they do not consult the recognised labour unions ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : I will find out.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CLOSING OF WELLS AT CERTAIN RAILWAY STATIONS.

42. **Mr. Badri Dutt Pande** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways state if there are some good drinking water wells inside the yards of large junction stations, some of which have hitherto proved of immense utility to members of the public and Railway staff, especially to a number of orthodox passengers who do not take water from the water-pipes, thinking it to be unclean ?

(b) Is it a fact that these wells have recently been covered permanently with tin sheets, causing great inconvenience to the persons cited above ?

(c) Why have they been closed ?

(d) What harm would there be if they are opened as hithertofore ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Government have no information, but suggest that the matter is one which might suitably be taken up with the Administration or Administrations concerned through the Local Advisory Committee.

ISSUE OF RETURN TICKETS ON THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

43. **Mr. Suryya Kumar Som** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state whether Government are aware that even now ordinary return tickets are not issued in M. B. Branch of the Assam Bengal Railway ?

(b) Are Government prepared to take early steps to see that ordinary return tickets are issued throughout the Assam Bengal Railway ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) Yes.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given him in reply to question No. 411 in the House on the 13th February, 1936.

REALISATION OF EXCESS FARE TOWARDS THE COST OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE BRAHMAPUTRA BRIDGE ON THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

44. **Mr. Suryya Kumar Som** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state whether the cost of construction of the Brahmaputra Bridge on the Assam Bengal Railway has not been realised by the excess fare realised for crossing the bridge ?

(b) What was the cost of construction of the bridge, and what amount has been realised by way of excess fare ?

(c) If the cost of construction has already been realised, why is excess fare realised even now, and do Government propose to see that realisation of the excess fare is stopped immediately ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a), (b) and (c). I would invite a reference to the information laid on the table on the 3rd April, 1935, in reply to parts (g), (h) and (i) of the Honourable Member's question No. 60 of the 22nd February, 1935.

SPEED OF PASSENGER TRAINS ON THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

45. **Mr. Suryya Kumar Som** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state the speed at which the passenger trains of the Assam Bengal Railway run ?

(b) Are Government prepared to take steps to increase the speed of those trains ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) The only trains running on the Assam Bengal Railway solely for passenger traffic are the following :

Between.	Train.	Distance miles.	Average over-all speed including stops.
Chandpur—Silchar	1 Up Mail	222	20.8 miles per hour.
Silchar—Chandpur	.. 2 Dn. Mail ..	222	21.3
Pandu—Tinsukia	.. 29 Up Mail ..	324	23.4
Tinsukia—Pandu	.. 30 Dn. Mail ..	324	23.9

All other passenger-carrying trains are "Mixed", carrying both passengers and goods.

(b) The question of improving the passenger services is a matter for the consideration of the Assam Bengal Railway Administration. The attention of the Agent will be drawn to the Honourable Member's question and this reply.

INSUFFICIENT ACCOMMODATION FOR INTERMEDIATE CLASS PASSENGERS ON THE ASSAM BENGAL AND EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAYS.

46. **Mr. Suryya Kumar Som** : (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state whether Government are aware of the grievance of the intermediate class passengers for want of sufficient accommodation on the Assam Bengal Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : Government have no information. The composition of trains is a matter of detail to be settled by Railway Administrations having due regard to the requirements of traffic. I am, however, sending a copy of this question and of my reply to the Agents of the Assam Bengal and Eastern Bengal Railways for consideration.

REPLACEMENT OF INTERMEDIATE CLASS CARRIAGES ON CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

47. **Mr. Suryya Kumar Som :** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Commerce and Railways please state whether Government are aware that the most shabby and small third class carriages of the former Darjeeling line have been put in as intermediate class carriages in the most important line of the Eastern Bengal Railway from Dacca to Jagannath Ganj and Bahadurabad ?

(b) Do Government propose to see that these carriages are replaced by more decent and spacious carriages for the intermediate class passengers ?

The Honourable Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad : (a) Government have no information : the question of the utilisation of the available rolling stock, to the best possible advantage to meet the requirements of traffic, is a matter for Railway Administrations.

(b) The suggestion will be brought to the notice of the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, for consideration.

NOMINATION TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I have to announce that I have made the following nomination to the House Committee :

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury, *vice* Rai Bahadur Sir Satya Charan Mukherjee resigned.

RESOLUTION *RE* INDIA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The House will now resume consideration of the following Resolution moved by Seth Sheodass Daga on the 2nd April, 1937 :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to withdraw the membership of this country from the League of Nations and to discontinue the payment of the annual contribution thereto.”

Mr. F. E. James (Madras : European) : Sir, I understand that there is a motion on the Order Paper suggesting the adjournment of the discussion of this Resolution, and as it would be an embarrassment to me to continue my speech at the present time, I should be very glad if on this ground you will permit the whole matter to be postponed to a future occasion.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I should like to have more definite grounds as to why the Resolution should be adjourned today.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi : General) : Sir, I have a motion in my name. I move :

“ That the further discussion of this Resolution be adjourned.”

In doing so, I have not lost sight of the fact that this Resolution was moved on the 2nd of April last, and four or five speakers had participated in the debate, and Mr. James was in possession of the House, when the discussion was adjourned. I need hardly say, we consider it as one of the most important Resolution from our point of view for a variety of reasons. But among others, for the definite reason that India, as signatory to the Treaty of Versailles and also as an Original Member of the League of Nations, is deprived of direct relationship with the League of Nations. and secondly we also consider it a most important Resolution from another point of view, namely, that the League of Nations was originally designed and intended to be an instrument of peace but....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I thought the Honourable Member wanted the discussion of this Resolution to be adjourned, but he is making a speech emphasising the importance of the Resolution and not adducing grounds as to why the discussion should be adjourned.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : I am giving you the grounds, Sir. From our point of view, the League of Nations has failed to be an instrument of peace, and today the international situation is tense with the greatest anxiety possible. Although we have been at times called an irresponsible opposition, even we can be responsible, and, therefore, in view of the international situation and the tenseness of it, we would like this discussion to be adjourned to a more appropriate occasion. Perhaps, if the discussion is allowed to go on it will neither be a free, nor a full, nor a frank discussion as it should be from our point of view. That being so, I hope even the Government will agree with me that the motion which I am making is not an inappropriate one, and I submit that the discussion of this Resolution should be adjourned.

The Honourable Sir Nripendra Sircar (Law Member) : Sir, I have nothing to add. I support the motion.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : On a point of order, Sir. An Honourable gentleman is in possession of the House, he has not yet completed his speech on this Resolution. This is really the continuation of the debate on the main Resolution. I should like to know under what Standing Order a motion of this kind is moved.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member who was in possession of the House on the last occasion is Mr. James. He does not want to continue the discussion today, because he himself feels that further discussion at this stage would be embarrassing to every one, and that is why he does not want to speak. A motion has also been moved by Mr. Asaf Ali that the discussion should be adjourned. I understand that the Honourable the Leader of the House also supports

[Mr. President.]

this motion. I do think that is good ground for adjourning the motion, but I must make it clear that I do so on the merits of the motion for adjournment and not on the ground that another item on the agenda which is considered as more important should be taken up.

The question is :

“ That the further discussion of this Resolution be adjourned.”

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* ECONOMIES IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The next Resolution is in the name of Sardar Sant Singh.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, I move :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to effect all possible economies in the Central expenditure, particularly in the Army expenditure, with a view to making ample contributions to the Provincial Governments according to their needs to enable them to undertake and accelerate the pace of nation-building activities.”

Sir, in commending this Resolution to the House, in the first place, I want to bring into bold relief the fact that by the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy in the various Provinces of India the Government aspect has entirely changed. From the bureaucratic form of Government, it has assumed, though not a complete democratic form, but something approaching it has been introduced. Here I may be permitted to congratulate the Congress on its wise decision to accept offices in the six Provinces of India, and I may say, now the seventh as well, if today the North-West Frontier Province changes the Government from the old into Congress Government.....

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : What about ourselves ? What do you wish ?

Sardar Sant Singh : I wish that Sind and my own Province as well had been captured by the Congress (Hear, hear), but my wish is not likely to be fulfilled in the near future. I will wait and I will strive my best to do something for bringing the Congress Government in the Punjab at any rate, and I leave Sind to my Honourable friend. After having accepted offices, Sir, it is but natural that the Congress should strive to fulfil its electoral pledges to the electorate. In order to do it, the Provincial Governments must have the munitions of war. The munitions of war in this case is nothing but solid money to be placed in the hands of the Ministers for improving the beneficent departments in their charge. There can be no two opinions on this point that in order to get money for these beneficent works, the Provinces naturally look to the Centre for help and assistance. That assistance can only come, not by further taxation of the people of this country who are already proportionately more heavily taxed than people in other countries, when we consider the *per capita* income of those countries, the question then resolves itself to this, how are we going to get money for the Central Government ? What are

the methods which we should look to in order to find out more money so that more assistance may be given to the Provinces for these departments. The only way.....

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Presidency Division : Non-Muhamadan Rural) : Beg, borrow or steal.

Sardar Sant Singh : My Honourable friend, Pandit Maitra, says, beg, borrow or steal. I do not think that any question of begging, borrowing or stealing arises in this particular case because there is an ample field for finding out such money if we only put our axe on some of the extravagant expenditure that is being indulged in by the Government of India in the various departments. One point which in the past engaged the attention of this House and which still continues to do so for bringing about some retrenchment in the expenditure of the Central Government has been the Indianisation of the Services. After a long struggle the Government of India agreed to the policy of slow but steady Indianisation of the Services all over the country. But, unfortunately, this policy is not being adhered to and certain records are before the Government of India which have not been published—and this House has not been taken into confidence about them—wherein the whims of our Honourable friend, the Finance Member, are finding their ample scope. That is, gossip outside says, though the report is not before us, that the Finance Member is after the Government of India to introduce more I. C. S. members into the Secretariat of the Central Government. If it comes about, if there is any truth in that gossip, certainly it will be most deplorable from our point of view.

An Honourable Member : Why ?

Sardar Sant Singh : For the simple reason that we do not want more Europeans to replace the Indians that are already in the Service.

Sir Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : I. C. S. does not mean an European.

Sardar Sant Singh : There are Indian I. C. S., but I speak subject to correction ; the gossip is that Indian I. C. S. are not to be taken, but only European I. C. S. are to be taken into the Secretariat of the Central Government.

An Honourable Member : Who told you that ?

Sardar Sant Singh : I need not tell you the source of the gossip. Lobby is full of it. If my Honourable friend cares to be there and hear.....

Sir Leslie Hudson (Bombay : European) : It is only gossip.

Sardar Sant Singh : I say it is gossip and I am speaking subject to correction. However, the position is that by Indianisation we can save a lot of money which we can contribute to the Provinces. Then there are certain departments of the Government of India which have been introduced as a measure of emergency or necessity. For example, when New Delhi was under construction a lot of engineers, high paid officials were appointed, Joyces and Jones's are still in existence and they have not been retrenched though New Delhi stands complete today.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official) : They are making money.

Sardar Sant Singh : In what way ?

Mr. N. M. Joshi : I won't tell you.

Sardar Sant Singh : You won't tell me ? Why ? Then let the House judge for itself.

Sir Leslie Hudson : It is gossip.

Sardar Sant Singh : It is not gossip.

Sir Leslie Hudson : It must be gossip.

Sardar Sant Singh : Then there are other departments ; for instance, the Reforms Office which is in full swing and is over-staffed, and, certainly, the axe of retrenchment could fall on it to bring about certain economies and those economies could be utilised for helping the Provinces.

An Honourable Member : Come to the military department.

Sardar Sant Singh : I am coming to the military department. The military department is a department which swallows a great proportion of our revenue. It may appear strange that this House should ask for retrenchment in the army expenditure at a time when war is almost at our doors and when the international situation is the worst for the last ten or twelve years, but one cannot help wondering at the short-sighted policy of the Government in looking for their defence measures to far distant England when the Mediterranean Sea is in danger of being closed for communication with this country. But I shall not deal with that now, but I can say this, that without affecting the efficiency of our defence to protect India from foreign aggression there are certain aspects in which this military expenditure can be materially reduced. I hold that if the British troops are replaced by Indian troops there will be a considerable saving. I am not asking for the removal of the British officers, I want to make it very clear.

An Honourable Member : Why not ?

Sardar Sant Singh : British officers may be necessary ; it may be a doubtful point, an arguable point between us, but so far as British troops are concerned it is a conclusive point to which other parties cannot take objection, namely, that British troops are no better than Indian troops and they have never proved better than Indian troops in any sphere of the late war. By replacing British troops by Indian troops considerable savings can be effected. Then there is the matter of allowances that are being given to British officers and British units. Recently we were told that the daily allowance of British ranks has been increased from probably 4½ annas to six annas, I am not sure about the figure, and there is an addition of an additional meal, as my friend, Mr. Maitra, tells me. As an illustrative case, if you look at the Army Headquarters which is just close to us, you will realise how the taxpayers's money is being wasted. I will just now give you an illustrative instance of the monies that are paid to these Army Headquarters people in the shape of pay and allowances.

The Army Headquarters had, till lately, two kinds of service like the Civil Secretariat but since two years there has come into existence another service called the Indian Army Corps of Clerks. This Corps is divided into two wings. One is the Indian

Wing and the other is the British Wing. Again, the Indian Wing is divided into lower division and upper division. In the lower division the clerks start with a salary of Rs. 50, Rs. 4 annual increment till they rise to Rs. 90. After that there is a selection grade, then from Rs. 90 rising by annual increments of Rs. 3 to Rs. 120. In the upper division they start with 100 with an annual increment of Rs. 7-8-0 till they reach Rs. 250. Now, as regards the British Wing, there is the staff sergeant who starts with either Rs. 190 per mensem or Rs. 220 per mensem. See the difference in the starting pay of the two. I will like to read to the House a list of the allowances which are earned by these staff sergeants. He gets Rs. 30 allowance as Indian army allowance, Rs. 10, if he is married, for each child, Rs. 30 per month marriage allowance, Rs. 80 monthly as a house-rent allowance. Rs. 10 monthly as mess allowance and Rs. 7-8-0 monthly for hair cutting and washing allowances, Rs. 120 per year as clothing allowances and 20 maunds of coal every month. I do not know whether I have exhausted the list because I could collect only this much from various sources. Now, if we total up these allowances, the sergeants get more than double their pay in the shape of allowances. An Indian who works in the same capacity starts on Rs. 50 whereas an European gets Rs. 420 or something like. Now the difference is eight times that of an Indian. May I ask if this is not extravagant?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra : Why don't you call it robbery or legalized robbery?

Sardar Sant Singh : I will certainly be prone to call it legalised robbery because much can be said in support of this term. Who are the givers, who are the persons sanctioning these. They are themselves the sanctioning authority. Therefore you cannot deny that there is ample scope for retrenchment and for economy in the sphere of the expenditure of the Central Government. Provincial Autonomy will be of no avail unless it proves a success and I am sure that the Government departments will agree with me and there can be no two opinions about it that the Government departments professedly, at any rate, want to see this Provincial Autonomy a success. If so, they will have to provide the money for the Provincial Premiers in that case. The money can only come from the Central Government. In view of the international complications surrounding us, we will have to appeal to the people. We will have to raise them economically. We will have to give some facilities to the Governments that have come to power on the vote of the general electorate in order that the people may get the benefits of a democratic form of Government. Therefore, I will strongly appeal to the House to accept this Resolution.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Resolution moved :

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to effect all possible economies in the Central expenditure, particularly in the Army expenditure, with a view to making ample contributions to the Provincial Governments according to their needs to enable them to undertake and accelerate the pace of nation-building activities.”

Dr. Bhagavan Das (Cities of the United Provinces : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : Sir, The problem before us is how to reduce the burden of Army expenditure upon the people, without impairing the strength of the Defence, and so make possible various nation-building activities.

[Dr. Bhagavan Das.]

We cannot solve the problem unless we deal with all the main needs of the people in intimate connection with each other—the needs of Nutrition, Protection or Defence, and Education, *Ta'am*, *Tahaffuz*, and *Ta'alim*, or *Bhaksha*, *Raksha*, and *Shiksha*, in the older words. We must begin with right Education, which is the first and most indispensable condition of the right solution of all human problems, in civilised communities. We should systematically cultivate, by education, in appropriate ways, the essential virtues of courage and patriotic self-denial and the spirit and also the art of self-defence—always defence, never offence—in the students of our schools and colleges, and generally, in all the able-bodied, who should indeed be the majority, if the country be well administered.

What systematic education can do, in the broad sense, of education, in various suitable ways, of all sections of the people, in their respective life-works and duties—this we see in the marvellous transformation, in a few decades, even a few years, before our very eyes, of Japan, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Czecho-Slovakia, where conditions, formerly, were very like those of India. These countries were no less poor than India before their leaders and administrators resolutely set foot upon the path of uplift and regeneration.

During the Delhi Session of 1936, the Foreign Secretary and the Military Secretary, between them, informed the House that the Government was maintaining a force of 42,000 soldiers at the North-West Frontier, in order to keep in check and prevent from raiding Indian territory, the tribes beyond. They also said that those tribes had about 2,50,000 men, armed with rifles, who practically formed a standing army of that strength; and they challenged the elected Members to suggest a cheaper method of defending the Frontier.

By a rough calculation, the British-Indian force of 42,000 men, about one-fifth of the total Army, must be costing over ten crores of rupees annually, simply to maintain. Active operations, of a comparatively mild sort, which have been going on for many months now, are said to be costing a lakh of rupees per day, over and above the permanent expenditure. We have no access to the accounts, if any, kept by the border tribes. But we may take it for certain that their irregular and untrained army of 2,50,000 men which requires a very highly trained and powerfully mechanised army of 42,000, to keep it in check, does not cost them even a twentieth part of ten crores, annually; probably nothing more than the actual price of rifles and munitions.

Now, a layman's suggestion is, that the Government should take a leaf out of the book of these tribes, and should give general elementary training to able-bodied persons, throughout India, in militia and civic guard work; under solemn oaths and covenants of right use of arms for only defensive purposes; and also under some other carefully thought out safeguards. The persons thus trained would require no salary from public funds; they would earn their living by their normal occupations; and, if they are selected, by a process of rough-and-ready election, by their neighbours, or local *panchayats*, as being well-conducted and trustworthy, many of them probably would also be able to pay out of their own pockets, or through their friends and electors, for such simple uniform and light arms and ammunition as may be needed for elementary training. On the turbu-

lent borders, more substantial arms would be provided. The trans-border tribes are brave ; and when they see that the cis-border people are equally brave, and no longer emasculated by the Arms Act, their contempt will be replaced by respect, and the wish to rob will be replaced by the wish for mutual friendliness and sober ways of life and exchange of goods in honest trade. If we adopt such a course here, we could easily and speedily build up an efficiency defensive, yet inexpensive, reserve force of twenty to twenty-five million adults, an average of about two million in each province.

Any special expenditure, that might be needed, would not be difficult to meet if the necessary *moral* condition is fulfilled. The people would willingly bear such additional burdens, as may be absolutely necessary, if they could only become convinced that the Government was not a Government *against* them, but an Administration *for* them, which sincerely worked for their welfare. But, indeed, such additional burdens could be made either unnecessary, or easily bearable, by a systematic Organisation of the whole People ; an Organisation for Peace, which would increase the general well-being and strength of the People, and would automatically provide, almost as a bye-product, the most effective Organisation for Defensive War. In other words, firstly, the spirit must change from that of ' Government ' to that of ' Administration ' ; from ordering about to helping ; from antagonism of interests between Governor and Governed, to identity of interest between Minister and Ministered. Secondly, the Governors, the Councillors, the Ministers, the Legislators, and the Leaders of the People should put aside the current ways of muddling along anyhow, from day to day, with one-sided executive measures, mostly intended to " strengthen the Executive " *against* the People, and with unco-ordinated, piecemeal, competitive legislative measures, mostly calculated to help some one sectional interest against all other interests. They should *confer* together earnestly, (instead of *debating*, trying to " beat each other down " , *de*, down, and *bateo*, to beat), to evolve a far-sighted and comprehensive Plan and Programme, to *strengthen the People*, to increase their general welfare, by means of inter-linked educational, defensive or military, economic and industrial organisations, of the whole People, which would ensure equitable and appropriate work and remuneration to all types and temperaments, and serve to the just and reasonable extent all sectional interests ; and they should gradually carry out this plan and programme, within a reasonable period, by means of legislative measures carefully co-ordinated and thoroughly consistent with each other, which would look at and deal with any and every part in the light of the whole.

Other countries have been and are following such a course, and have made astonishing advances in prosperity, on the whole. There is no good reason why India should not and cannot. The one disastrous drawback in the case of these other powerful countries is that their science has far outrun morals, and, therefore, while God proposes, Satan disposes, affairs in them. God surely wishes that all the nations should live at peace with each other ; should regulate, each its own household, in respect of population and production, in such a manner as to be self-contained and self-dependent as to the necessities of life ; should exchange their surplus goods freely, without any wish to dominate one another, economically or politically ; and should thus avoid war. But the Arch-Enemy of God and

[Dr. Bhagavan Das.]

Man, through his prime agents, the diplomats of all these Great Powers, is doing his best, and largely succeeding, to frustrate that purpose of God ; to ever more profusely manufacture and intensify lust and hate and greed and pride—which are the ultimate, the most powerful, and the most destructive explosives ; to make the internal self-regulation and self-sufficiency of nations impossible ; and, thereby, to compel them to covet the lands of others, and so destroy civilisation by internecine war.

A survey by the military experts of the United States of America, recently reported in the press, of the standing armies and reserves of the Great Powers, shows that the total amounts to the astounding figure of fifty-five million men, and the annual expenditure thereon is estimated, for the current year, at the yet more astounding figure of twenty-five hundred million pounds.

The new Premier of Britain, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, repeatedly bewailed, in several public speeches, in the early part of this year, " the incredible folly of this highly intellectual modern civilisation, which, by its limitless war-preparations, seems determined to destroy itself ". I am quoting his own words as far as possible from memory.

In round figures, Russia is said to have 19 million men in regulars and reserves ; Italy seven ; Japan, about the same. Britain has about 400,000 regulars, with a possibility of some five million readily convertible into soldiers, as during the days of the Great War. British India has 60,000 British and 125,000 Indian soldiers, according to an official pamphlet issued in 1935.

Capitalism and Communism have been fighting in and through Spain for about a year now. Japanese and various other imperialist interests have been clashing in China. In his speech before referred to, the Foreign Secretary mentioned the desirability of opening and maintaining a trade-route between India and Sinkiang in north-west China. Frontier troubles and operations began soon after. Last year it was the Mohmands ; this year, it is the Waziris ; in previous years, it was the Mahsuds and the Afridis, who were said to be making trouble and providing occupation and practice for the British Frontier Force.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Honourable Member has two minutes more.

Dr. Bhagavan Das : Sir, I do not trouble the House very often to listen to me, and perhaps the House will indulge me with a few more minutes and enable me to finish what I have to say.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I understand there are a number of speakers and important statements will be made by Government Members.

Dr. Bhagavan Das : I will try to finish as soon as possible, in about four or five minutes.

There have been boundary disputes between Burma and China which have been, or are being, settled with the help of a mediator deputed by the League of Nations, it seems. Various pacts have been made between Russia and Persia and Afghanistan and China, and also between Japan and Germany and Italy. Japan has been saying for some years now, to

all other powers, "Hands off China", and to forestall them, has been repeatedly, in the last few years, and is now again, actually invading China.

We laymen cannot understand the intricate subtleties of the diplomats, in world-politics. We only see that they are all behaving like the animals in Vishnu Sharma's immortal book, the *Pancha-tantra*, which has been translated into many civilised languages. The international chess-board shows a new arrangement of the pieces everyday; and every move of every chessman brings the danger of a world-conflagration nearer. In such circumstances, if that fire should flame up suddenly, the Indian people, without any better preparation for internal security and external defence than they have at present, disproportionately expensive as it is, are likely to be reduced to ashes before very long. But if we have 25 million volunteers, with elementary training, and ready to be converted into full soldiers with a few weeks' further training (as even wholly untrained raw recruits were in the days of the World War); if we have them ready for the purpose of *defending* India, simultaneously with the five million of Britain for *defending* Britain; and not for subserving any aggressive imperialist interests; if they are all thoroughly imbued with the sincere philanthropist spirit of an *Indo-British Commonwealth*—as contradistinguished from the imperialist spirit of a *British Empire*, which all other countries, scarcely excepting even the U. S. A., are now looking at with jealousy and hatred; if we prepare thus for self-defence, then we may well hope that the conflagration will not burst forth at all, or if it does begin, it will be successfully kept out of India and Britain. We may well hope that it will not begin, because with the giving up of arrogant and greedy imperialism by Britain, and the establishment of a genuine Indo-British Commonwealth, other countries will cease to be jealous of and to hate Britain, and will begin to imitate her in the spirit of 'Commonwealth'; as they have so far been imitating her in the spirit of capitalism and imperialism.

Let us note well that the much and rightly loved British word 'Commonwealth' is the same as the word 'Communism', now so disliked by the British people generally; but it is for us to restore to both words, that reasonable and equitable significance from which both have wandered far away, most deplorably, in opposite directions of extremism.

For such reasons, and with such hopes, I support the Resolution that the expenditure on the present army should be reduced; by reducing somewhat the total number of regulars; or, if not the number, then, in every possible way, the expenditure thereon; by educating in the general public, the spirit and the capacity of righteous self-defence; by creating a very large, yet inexpensive, reserve force of volunteers; and by meeting all the necessary expenditure by means of, firstly (a) a general and thorough overhaul of the whole system of administration; secondly, (b) a determined stoppage of corruption, bribery, extravagance, leakage, and waste, of which there is at present an immense amount going on, undoubtedly in every department of Government; and thirdly (c) by a reasonable retrenchment, limitation, and proportioning, not only of public salaries, for which the Congress ministries in the Provinces have set a most laudable example, but also of private incomes, in accordance with a far-sighted, comprehensive, equitable Plan of complete Organisation of the People, and a corresponding Programme for advancing their prosperity steadily. (Applause.)

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie (Defence Secretary) : Sir, I propose to start by pointing out that the Resolution, as drafted, confuses the subject of Defence and Defence expenditure with other issues. Personally I should have thought that the subject was of sufficient importance to merit a Resolution to itself. But I find it mingled with others which though doubtless are of great importance have no bearing upon the question of Defence at all. The results so far, in this debate, have been to me at least somewhat peculiar. At one moment I heard talk about extravagance in the Central services, at another bribery in the Departments of Government, and at a third that certain persons are still employed as Engineers in New Delhi—in fact all sorts of things are there—and then comes in, occasionally perhaps, rather like a night-mare the question of defence. Before I proceed to explain the exact position, so far as circumstances allow me to do so, I will try to deal very briefly with the arguments I have just listened to. My Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, I noticed, talked far more about allowances to Staff Sergeants than he did about the abolition of the British Army in India. That struck me as showing a slight lack of proportion. He went on to admit at the close of his speech that there were international complications and drew from that, to me, surprising conclusion, that Government must provide facilities to the people in the Provinces in order to appease them. I should have thought that the first thing to be done was to provide facilities for defending them. Dr. Bhagavan Das then gave an admirable and clear and scholarly account of the present world condition which I could hardly wish to be bettered. But the conclusions he drew from them were that such small military preparations as we have here should be discontinued. After recounting the enormous armaments which are being piled up by other powers, he stated accurately, for the year he was describing, the strength of the British and Indian armies in India at 60,000 and 125,000 and seemed to think that it was more than is required to protect one-fifth of the human race. He ought, I think to have drawn the conclusion that compared with the immense armaments which he was describing, it was at least not enormous.

He then went on to propose the formation of a national militia, 25 million strong who are to be armed, as far as I can see, with rudimentary weapons and to be occasionally trained in the intervals of the exercise of their civil callings. If he considers that such a force can be anything but sheep for slaughter now-a-days, I think he is very wrong. If he considers that such a force can take on for a moment the Waziristan tribesmen I think my Honourable friend, the Foreign Secretary, will, in due course, be able to enlighten him.

Now, I will describe briefly what has been done in the way of reductions. One of the things suggested by my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, was, that the House for ten years had been calling upon the army to make reductions in their expenditure. Sir, enormous reductions have been made. The extent of the budget in 1921 was 68 crores. After that the Inchcape Committee sat. As a result of those recommendations the military expenditure dropped by 13 crores, to 55 crores. There it stood until the great depression of 1930-31 descended upon India. As a result of the first-class financial crisis thereby occasioned, it was felt necessary, in spite of the fact that our

defence estimates were already very low, that a risk must be taken and there must be a further decrease. An army retrenchment committee was, thereupon, formed from Honourable Members of this House, of which Sir Muhammad Yakub was a member; and that Committee made recommendations which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and his staffs most loyally carried out. They went even further than the retrenchment committee had thought possible, and succeeded in cutting down Defence expenditure by another 10½ crores; that is to say, since 1921 by a total of 23½ crores. Now with anybody who says that this is a small and contemptible reduction I am afraid I cannot agree. At the time it must be remembered that there was no imminent and pressing danger of war. The assumption then was that the League of Nations and disarmament would in the end prevail. It was assumed that the danger of a major war was remote. Otherwise those reductions could not have been carried through, and they were rendered in part at least, possible by a great fall in the prices of food grains. Notwithstanding the fact that that the advantage as regards the price of food grains has since largely disappeared, the budget remains at the lowest figure it has ever touched. Now can it be reduced further? (*Voices of "Yes."*) The reduction already in terms of troops is 20,500 British troops and 28,000 Indian troops. These reductions could not have been made, of course, unless the army had progressed in efficiency; and this rise in efficiency and progress in rearmament is steadily going on, though, owing to financial conditions, it is going on much more slowly than we should like. Further retrenchment in the ordinary sense of retrenchment is frankly impossible. Savings may be effected here and there; we are always discovering minor economies. Any of those gentlemen who sat on the Public Accounts Committee which has examined the military expenditure will, I think, agree, that the Defence Department yields to no department in the way it conserves the taxpayer's money. I think Mr. Satyamurti will testify to that. But large reductions in the ordinary way of retrenchment are impossible. What then are the suggestions which are now proposed? I will proceed briefly to examine them. The main proposal appears to be the substitution of British troops by Indian troops; and the figure given,—I quote the letter of Mr. Asaf Ali to the Premiers of the Provincial Governments,—the figure which he quotes is 20 crores. He might just as well have quoted 200 crores; it bears absolutely no relation to the facts whatever.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi : General) : Will you try to explain them now?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I will try, give me time. The facts are that British troops cost roughly,—prices fluctuate from time to time,—about 12 crores.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : Including pensionary charges and allowances abroad, etc., etc.?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Allowances abroad, certainly. You will find exactly the charges which are taken into account in assessing the cost of British troops

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : Add to that nearly five crores pensionary charges...

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I am not giving way. My Honourable friend, Mr. Asaf Ali, will find the exact charges which are taken into account in assessing the cost of British troops on page 25 of the printed budget.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : I find it on page 4.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Now the saving, if it could be effected, would amount to approximately 7½ crores. If the units are at full strength, it may be a little more; if below it, rather less. And that is the sum, more or less, which is expected to go to the Provinces as a result of the Niemeyer award. It is also just about one-third of the sum which has already been saved by the reductions I have been describing. Now, the reasons why we cannot effect any reductions whatever on that head, I will now explain as well as I can. I will be straightforward with the House and say that we cannot for one moment face the slightest reduction in the number of British troops at present stationed in the country. The reasons have been given to this House several times. They are the old ones of internal security and the fact that for our purposes we find that the mixture of British and Indian troops gives us, in all circumstances, the best value for our money, and money is the important thing. Now I will give you one of the reasons,—not by any means all of them, but just one of the reasons,—why British troops are not only essential but also give the best value for our money in India. If I may be allowed to read a portion of the Resolution passed, by this House, in 1921 and accepted by Government, it will, I think, throw a certain amount of light.

“The purpose of the army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity. To the extent to which it is necessary for India to maintain an army for these purposes, its organisation, equipment and administration should be thoroughly up-to-date with due regard to Indian conditions in accordance with present day standards of efficiency in the British army, so that when the army in India has to co-operate with the British army on any occasion there may be no such dissimilarities of organisation which would render such co-operation difficult.”

The Indian Army is primarily organised for that purpose—the internal security and the defence of its borders, that is, the defence of its borders against what we are usually wont to describe as the minor danger. Major dangers are, however, possible and from the speeches of my Honourable friends opposite it seems that they are under no illusion as to their imminence. The British Army is trained and equipped for major war. Should such a calamity overtake India, the British Army and the British Air Force as well as, of course, the British fleet would come as quickly as possible to India's aid (interruptions) but it is necessary that during the time that must elapse before the reinforcements can arrive that there should be sufficient here to withstand successfully the initial onslaught.

Now, I turn briefly to Mr. Asaf Ali's other suggestions for reduction. One is the reduction on the Ecclesiastical Department. The amount involved is small. That spent on the army is, I think, approximately 23 lakhs.

An Honourable Member : Very small !

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Comparatively small. The next argument was that if the Fakir of Ipi can manufacture weapons of precision, why cannot the British Government do the same in India. (Interruptions.)

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : Are those my words ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I think so.

“ If the so-called semi-civilised frontier tribesmen can manufacture arms of modern precision, is there any reason why the Government of India cannot do so ? ”

The answer is that they do and have done for very many years. The answer is, as the Honourable gentleman could easily have found out if he wished, that every rifle, every machine gun, every automatic and every field gun that we use in this country is made in this country.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : What about big guns and tanks ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : We don't use them : we cannot afford it. In fact, I think that this statement is an excellent example of the light-hearted way in which this most formidable problem has been approached. His next suggestion was that all materials required for the army should be manufactured in India. Everything possible that India produces is bought and the Indian Stores Department and the Director of Contracts make overwhelmingly greater purchases from India than they do from England. Nothing that India can provide do they not buy here

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The House has to adjourn early today, being Friday. Will the Honourable Member conclude his speech now ? He has already spoken for twenty minutes.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I shall require at least another ten minutes.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : The Assembly will adjourn till 2-15 p.m.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter Past Two of the Clock.

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

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Sir, to resume, as far as I remember, where I left off, the general situation including the degree of retrenchment and reduction which we have accepted already, make it likely that, so far from expecting anything further in the way of reductions, India may have to face an increase.

An Honourable Member : Very soon ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I am no prophet. The figures of expenditure of the Great Powers are such, I think, as to give every one serious cause for thought and anxiety. I will give you a few. They are not perhaps entirely reliable as some countries do not publish their military budgets in full, and the amount of loan money which is added to the sums expended from revenue is usually not stated. The great pacific country of America, as peaceful as ourselves, spent last year 263 crores. German figures are hard to obtain, but the Honourable the Finance Member told the House on the occasion of the last Budget Session that it has been stated in the British Parliament that German expenditure for that year was believed to be 800 million pounds. Italy and Japan, we know, have pledged their resources to the hilt. Russia, so far as can be

[Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie.]

ascertained, is spending this year 790 crores on armaments. Great Britain, on whom the vast mass of the burden of the defence of the Empire falls, is spending this year 366 crores of rupees

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : And one-third of the British Army is in India.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : The figure for army expenditure in England this year is 82 million pounds, that with the Navy 108 million pounds and that for Air Force 82½ million pounds. The total expenditure of India is roughly 34 million pounds.

An Honourable Member : Question.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Is that a large sum to pay for averting a possible disaster in a country with more than 350 million population ? . . .

Mr. Sri Prakasa (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : We have nothing to lose except our chains !

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : I think you will find you have. Well, if the Honourable Member thinks that, we know where we stand, but I don't think his views are shared by every one in India. Well, the defence expenditure in England comes to Rs. 80-14-5 per head of population a year

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : What is the income there ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : The defence expenditure for British India alone comes to Rs. 1-8-6 per head of population, and if the States were taken into account it is Rs. 1-4-1. How is it that India, in spite of her very disadvantageous strategical position, with her long unguarded coast line, her long and dangerous land frontiers can get off so cheaply ? The reason is the vast forces of the Empire are now being steadily built up, and are ready to come to her assistance.

An Honourable Member : When ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Now, just imagine for a moment the burden that the United Kingdom bears in comparison to that of India. For her naval defence India pays roughly something less than one thousand part of the cost of the Royal Navy. The Indian Air Force cannot possibly ever, as far as we can see, be maintained on a sufficiently large scale to cope with possible menaces

An Honourable Member : Our man-power is quite enough.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : The cost of modern aircraft is enormous. An ordinary army co-operation machine will cost a lakh of rupees, while a medium bomber will cost about Rs. 2,40,000, a heavy bomber or a troop carrier from Rs. 2,00,000 to Rs. 3,00,000. Then, you must remember that each one of those machines and first class air force will have perhaps 2,000 or more machines, and there must be two, three or even four completely equipped in all respects and ready to take the air to replace war casualties. Aeroplanes are highly expensable articles. Multiply the figures that I have given you by 2,000, and then multiply that again by three or four, and you will see the cost of a modern air force. A small

nucleus of the British Air Force is necessary in India for the following reasons. I imagine that too would have to be abolished by the terms of the Resolution. The reason is that it is necessary to have a nucleus of British officers who know Indian conditions of flying, geographical.....

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh (Bombay City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : But Indians don't know the Indian conditions ?

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : May I ask, Sir, that I may not be interrupted so frequently. I am dealing with figures largely, and if I make a mistake I shall give the opposition a wholly unmerited point.

Geographical and climatic conditions in India are very difficult, and it is necessary that the Metropolitan Air Force should contain a number of officers who have served in India and who know what those conditions are in order that if they are called to the assistance of India they may be employed to the best advantage. The Indian Air Force can never be large enough. At present we find that our 8½ squadrons costs two crores a year as against 80 and odd millions spent in England, which is as much as this country's resources can stand. There is no reason, whatever, why the Indian Air Force, small though it may always be, should not be highly efficient, and one of the reasons for that is that it has the vast accumulated experience of the Royal Air Force to draw on.

An Honourable Member : The Honourable Member's time is up

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : The Honourable Member has got one minute more.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie : Finally, the reasons I have given, I think, ought to persuade Honourable Members to admit that India, of all the nations of the world, is in the matter of defence the most fortunate,—and that,—thanks to her association with the Empire. (*Several Honourable Members* : “ Oh.”) She is able to garner the fruits of peace at a price which bears no relation whatever to the present world conditions.

Mr. M. Ghiasuddin (Punjab : Landholders) : Mr. Deputy President, I wish to say a few words to explain the position of the Party to which I have the honour to belong so far as this Resolution before the House is concerned. At the outset I wish to say that the object of this Resolution is very laudable and the spirit in which it has been moved is very praiseworthy. Only I have a little quarrel with the language of the Resolution because the Resolution, as it stands, covers a bit too wide a ground and should be divided into two parts. The first part is general economy and the second part exclusively deals with the defence services. As far as general economy is concerned, it is a very desirable thing. We want to give our newly sprung Provincial Governments a fair chance if they are ever to be a success. The whole success of those Governments depends on the finances to be spent on the beneficent departments which they sorely need. The people of this country for a very long time have been looking forward to self-government, and they have been thinking that when their own people are governing them they will spend more and more on public utility departments. But wherefrom is that money to come ? Our people at present are too heavily taxed as it is, and any further taxa-

[Mr. M. Ghiasuddin.]

tion is impossible, so they naturally look towards the Government of India to finance them. The first and primary proposal that comes from this side of the House is Indianisation of all branches of the departments of the Government of India. We cannot conceive why the Government should still insist on bringing people from abroad, people who cost us much more than we can afford to pay, while our own people with the best qualifications, with the best foreign degrees, are rotting for want of employment. I think the Government can possibly have no answer to that and this Honourable House has pressed again and again that Indianisation should be speeded up. By that means we can find employment for our young men and we can reduce the expense. Our young men would not need to go to England every three years to recoup their health and that of their families, and we can save a lot of money in that way. Secondly, I would request Honourable Members opposite to give up their expensive habits. This coming to Simla every year and this exodus to the hills is far more expensive than our exchequer can bear. We find that if an officer has to travel he will not be content with one berth in a first class compartment but he must have a whole compartment to himself. If they come out to serve a poor country like India they should cultivate a little more spirit of self-sacrifice and give up these expensive habits.

The next question is that of the army and that I submit is a more ticklish question at the present moment. This Honourable House has always insisted that the British troops, who naturally cost more, should be reduced and should be replaced by Indian troops as soon as possible. This House has passed a good many Resolutions on this subject and during every Budget Session it has unequivocally expressed its opinion. Now, I think the time has come when the Government should give effect to this recommendation of the House as speedily as possible. Another thing which I wish to bring to the notice of the House is that in his speech the Army Secretary said that the Indian army was mainly meant for the defence of India. I must respectfully differ with him there. If we read the history of the Indian army we will find that our Indian army was used against Abyssinia—in Lord Napier's campaign of Magdala—and after that, it was used for the conquest of Somaliland. May I most respectfully ask whether those conquests were made in the defence of India? There was absolutely no danger either from Abyssinia or Somaliland that they would invade our country. Our contention is that our army is maintained for the imperial purposes as well as for the defence of India, and on that account I would request the Government of India to start negotiations with His Majesty's Government and ask them that they should bear at least a part of the expenses of our army. That is only fair and equitable, because the Indian army has played its honourable part in almost all the campaigns of the last century barring the Boer War. So, it is really apparent that it is meant for the defence of the Empire as a whole. Speaking for myself I do not grudge it. More recently our people have been sent to China to defend the imperial interests, and it is no good saying that it is only for the defence of India. Another point that I would suggest is the redistribution of the British army stations in India. At present we see that British

troops stationed in this country have to spend their summers in one place and winters at another. My submission is that this constant transport is a very expensive business. Why cannot you station the British troops at a place where the climate is good all the year round? It would minimise the expense of transport a very great deal. Lastly, I would say that on this side of the House we are really anxious that this army expenditure should be reduced, but unfortunately, at present the situation in the Far East is such that we cannot demand that effect should be given to our recommendation at once, but we do urge that as soon as the tension in the Far East is relieved all these recommendations should be carried out. As it is, we are supporting this Resolution because we agree to it in principle.

Mr. J. Ramsay Scott (United Provinces : European) : Mr. Deputy President, the Resolution of my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, is like the Curate's Egg—good in parts, and I presume I shall be accused by some of my friends of damning it with faint praise.

I would like Honourable Members to take a long view, and while the needs of the Provinces are considerable, we at the Centre have got to look ahead and see that the funds under the control of the Centre are sufficient for our needs and that future Finance Members like Sardar Sant Singh or Mr. Satyamurti are not forced to resort to further taxation to supply the needs of the Centre. We are not averse to the suggestion that there is room for further economies in Civil Expenditure, but the words "particularly in the Army Expenditure" which includes the Royal Indian Navy seems to show that the real intent of the Resolution is to attack and reduce the Army Budget. My Group have in the past pressed for retrenchment in Army expenditure, and especially for a lowering of Expenditure on the Ancillary Services. In the eight years during which I have been a Member of this House, I have seen the Army Budget reduced from a figure of Rs. 57 crores to Rs. 45 crores at which it stands today. I would like the House to consider very carefully if now is the proper time to press for further reductions, the reasons being the world situation on the one hand and the other a more domestic one—the rise in the cost of food stuffs in this country and the increased cost of clothing and materials both in this country and in imported goods. I would point out in world conditions there can be no doubt that the Disarmament policy adopted some few years ago had a detrimental effect on world stability, but I am pleased to say that the recent rearmament programme of the United Kingdom who have spent 300 millions or 400 crores has had a good effect and in my recent journeying through 7 or 8 European countries, I found that the Empire prestige was higher than it had ever been and that a strong British Empire is and will be the greatest contribution we can make to the peace of the world. You may tell me that you have no interest in Europe and would like to assume a detached attitude, if so, what about Asia and the East? Have you any doubt that trouble is looming in the East and although one nation at the moment is fully occupied with absorbing another the time will come when she will cast envious eyes on India. What is the state of our coastal defences and our protection at sea. India has a small Royal Indian Navy on which she spends Rs. 68 lakhs yearly and she also makes a yearly contribution of Rs. 100,000 or under Rs. 14 lakhs to the U. K. Navy. Great Britain's contribution is 108 million pounds or over 144 crores.

[Mr. J. Ramsay Scott.]

It would appear that India's contribution to Naval defence is trivial and entirely incommensurate with her huge coast line. Money is being spent on the coastal defences, and I have no doubt more will be required as the chief towns of India with 4 or 5 million inhabitants and crores of valuable property are at the mercy of any raider. Although Singapore may be a very adequate defence, I believe, Mr. Baldwin, a little while ago, told the House of Commons that the raider always got through, and I see no reason why this should not occur again. I think the House has recently heard of such a subject as Insurance and probably many of you know more about it than I do but I consider that the Defence Budget is a form of Insurance and with Insurance, in order to spread risks, there is such a thing as reinsurance. Well, in this case we spread our risks with insuring with the British Empire and in her case the British Empire does some little bit of her reinsuring here. I would not be at all adverse to Great Britain being asked for a larger contribution towards our cost and I believe our Defence Department can make out a very good case.

In conclusion, I would point out that although Revenue is coming in well and exceeding the estimates of the Honourable the Finance Member, we are still on an emergency taxation basis and although I am not prepared to say that we have yet reached the crest of a wave of prosperity it must be remembered that a depression will follow sooner or later and provision should be made now or increased taxation in the future will be the inevitable result. We are not prepared to support a Resolution like this in the conditions existing today.

Mr. G. V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Division : Non-Muhammadan) : The Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of Government stressed the importance of money. Money is important to him and it is not less important to us. There is one vital difference between him and us as to why he wants money and why we want money. He wants money for the destruction of human life and we need it for the welfare of human beings. We want money, in the words of the Resolution, 'to enable the Provincial Governments to undertake and accelerate the pace of nation-building activities'. Money is badly needed in the Provinces where 80 per cent. of the population who are agriculturists are starving. There is so much unemployment in the country, both among the educated and the uneducated. Money is badly needed for granting relief to the poor agriculturist and the industrial labourer and relief can only be given if we have money in the hands of the Provinces who are running the Government, especially in the Provinces where the Congress is running the Government. Now, we want relief and we want to accelerate the pace of the nation-building activities and what are these? The education of the masses—that is the primary need; the health of the masses comes next, rural reconstruction and the development of industries also come in the Provinces. How can industries be developed if there are no funds and if industries cannot be developed, rest assured, no relief can be given to the Provinces. Take, for illustration, my own Province. The gross revenue of the Province from which I come, Central Provinces and Berar, is 4 crores 81 lakhs and a few thousands and the expenditure is 4 crores 89 lakhs and a few thousands. That means that there is a deficit of eight lakhs in the year 1936-37. Rest assured, Sir, that this deficit is likely to get increased.

The Provinces which are faced with the agricultural problems and industrial problems have got to remit land revenue which would certainly mean the increasing of deficit in the next Budget. The Province where there is a Congress Government also wishes to elevate the moral tone of the public. Therefore, it desires to follow a different policy in excise. That means, that it wants to go dry. It may happen gradually, but there it is. Therefore, the deficit is likely to grow more and more. If this deficit grows and the Province is faced with all the problems, such as, the indebtedness of the agriculturist, the troubles which the labour is creating because they are not getting any relief, then there is no other alternative but to find ways and means.

Now, my Province is mainly an agricultural Province but it is not necessary that it should remain so. In my Province are to be found many minerals. The raw produce of my Province goes to other Provinces and to other countries and it is returned to the Province in the form of manufactured products. Why cannot we, in our Province, develop these industries ; but we cannot develop them because we have no money. Money in the form of contributions is immediately necessary. The Resolution says that ; ' immediate steps to effect all possible economies in the Central expenditure ', should be taken. We merely desire that the Governor General in Council should try retrenchment in its expenditure. We are not wanting money from the surpluses of this Government because we know very well that its budget is really a deficit budget. What we desire, very keenly, is that because the Provinces are faced with mightier problems, retrenchment should be effected in the Central Budget. My Honourable friend's attitude reminds me of a ' touch-me-not '. It reminded me of the Managing Agents whose position was being discussed in the House and who carried on a propaganda outside the House. I have no doubt my Honourable friend in this House will have, fortunately, for him and, unfortunately, for us men who will carry on his own propaganda, namely, that money is needed and it cannot be spared and they will give reasons for it. Sir, to borrow the phraseology of the Insurance Bill, one might put it in this way. The Governor General in Council are the Managing Agents of His Majesty's Government the insurer. His Majesty's Government as well as the Government of India have, in their wisdom, said, that they are here for our benefit just as the Managing Agents and the insurance companies say that they are for the benefit of the policyholders. They say : " We are here to give you the Swaraj ; those are our declarations. " Sir, we have been waiting for the Swaraj and I do not know when we are going to get it. I do not fix any time-limit for the removal of these Managing Agents ; they will be here. All that I desire and request them to do is to improve the state of affairs. They have been so extravagant that they really should be taught a lesson if not by anybody else at least by this House and I have no doubt that this Resolution will be passed.

Sir, before I finish I would like to point out one thing. It is the retrenchment in the army expenditure. Speaking about the army expenditure, let me first of all say this that we maintain in India an army which exceeds in peace time the requirements that are necessary even in war time. In England they do not maintain in peace time establishments which exceed those kept in war time. Whatever may be the reason

[Mr. G. V. Deshmukh.]

for it, it is a strong argument against them which they will have to reply. Then again the British army is meant here not for our own defence but for Imperial purposes. Why should we bear the whole of the burden? These are the criticisms by way of general policy. Coming to concrete facts, what we say is this. Nearly one-half of the revenue is swallowed up by this army. Can we not find any means or can we not suggest anything which will reduce the expenditure? First of all, I would suggest that the capitation payment, which is a matter of dispute, should be settled in our favour. Why should we be made to pay particularly for the army which is stationed here and which is employed principally for Imperial purposes? Next to that, I come to the officers in the army. Here, I suggest that we can certainly reduce a good bit. In the combatant services, there are officers, with King's commission, whose number is 3,993. I will now refer only to the reduction of officers with King's commission. We can reduce our expenditure either by reducing their pay or by reducing their number. But taking it for granted that these combatant services and the officers who are attached to it are necessary, why should it not be not only possible but certain to reduce the staff officers. The number of staff officers, with King's commission, is 589, Military training establishment 107, Indian Army Services Corps 398, Medical Services 863, Miscellaneous establishments 329 and so on. The total number of officers is 6,650 out of which you can deduct 3,993 as combatant service officers. Why should it not be possible for us, then, to reduce the number and also reduce the pay by replacing these officers with Indian officers? Take, for instance, the Royal Military Medical Service. Why should it not be possible for us to Indianise the whole of it? Why cannot we replace all these officers by appointing Indians? Leaving aside the combatant services, all these other services whom I have mentioned can be manned by Indians and the pay of the officers can certainly be reduced.

Sir, we have to remember this that the Provincial Autonomy is the creation of His Majesty's Government and this Government is at the back of it. If you do not support these Provinces to stand on their own legs to carry on the administration, the sin will be on your heads. Nobody will undertake to run the Provincial Autonomy if this experiment, which is being carried on by Congressmen in six Provinces, at a great sacrifice to themselves and by carrying out great retrenchment in all the departments, fails. If they fail, nobody else will succeed and the sin will be on the head of the Government of India, specially on the Army Department. I, therefore, submit, that this Resolution which desires and demands urgently money for carrying on the nation-building activities should unanimously be supported by the whole House.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir, I rise first of all to congratulate the Defence Secretary on putting up a very brave defence on behalf of a defenceless case. He was a little confused because speakers before him did not give him a clue to the origin of this Resolution. I think I might try to facilitate the work of those who are likely to follow me and give them an idea of how this Resolution came to be tabled here. I believe it was during the last Session or last year that, in the other place, a demand was made on behalf of Indian representatives that the British troops

should be replaced by Indian troops. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, replying on behalf of the Government, asserted that the retention of the British troops in India was absolutely necessary because the Provinces wanted them for internal security. Taking the cue from that point, I, on behalf of my Party and under the direction of my Leaders, addressed the Premiers of the eleven Provinces and asked them whether they wanted the British troops in India for internal security. We have time and again asked the Government to tell us here and now whether they are prepared to address the Provincial Governments and ask them whether the British troops in India are necessary for internal security, but they have point blank refused to do so. There was no other way for us but to address the Premiers ourselves and ascertain their views. It was more or less in accordance with the views of the Premiers of the Provinces, though not under their guidance, that we tabled this Resolution. We are now in a position to tell the Government of India, through this Resolution, that a majority of the Provinces in India do not want these British troops for internal security. (Applause.) That is one point. The Defence Secretary made a few points out of the letter which I had addressed to the Premiers. The very first point which he took up was that I had adopted the figure of twenty crores as against twelve crores which was the figure vouchsafed to us the other day by the Honourable the Finance Member and which the Defence Secretary has repeated today. I take it that the Honourable the Defence Secretary has totally ignored the estimates of last year in quoting and sticking to this figure. I would refer him to page 4, column one, of the Budget Estimates where we find that no less than 38 crores or to be more accurate, 38 crores and 62 lakhs and odd are spent on troops in India alone, and the rest is paid in England. Expenditure on the Indian and the British troops is in the proportion of 1 : 4. If one rupee is spent on Indian troops, four rupees are spent on British troops. If that proportion is correct, then taking also the other proportion, namely, one British soldier to every three Indian soldiers, I think the least amount that is spent on British troops in India is roughly 19 crores—that is only on salaries and their ordinary comforts. Now, add to these 19 crores, another eleven crores and 21 lakhs

3 P.M. and some odd which are paid by us in England. Of these 11 crores and 21 lakhs nearly five crores are in respect of non-effective expenditure which means, pensions for those who serve in India for three years or so. They have got to be paid their pensions and also passage when they go back to their home. We have got to pay them their marriage allowances, overseas allowances, transport expenses, in fact no end of allowances. So eleven crores and 21 lakhs are paid by us in England in respect of these gentlemen. Do we want them? Now, 11 crores and 19 crores make thirty crores. I was, therefore, very conservative in my figure of twenty crores. I shall wait to hear something against it. I should like the Honourable the Finance Member to justify his figure of twelve crores. How he arrived at that figure is a mystery. In these estimates the Government never tell us how much money they are spending exclusively on British troops in India not merely on their pay and pensions, but also on their comforts, spiritual comforts also—because they have got an Ecclesiastical department. The poor Indian soldiers, whether Hindus, Sikhs or Muslims, have yet to have their spiritual comforts attended to. We are about 85 crores Indians but we have to meet our spiritual comfort expenses out of our own pockets.

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

Why, if huge sums are drawn by British officers and soldiers, can they not build their own churches and maintain their own ecclesiastical service out of their own pockets. Not only that, Sir, but, we have also to take into account the number of summer depots by the dozen which are maintained for the benefit of the British troops, and a number of sanitarium, etc., all for the benefit of the British troops. There are so many of these summer depots and sanitarium, where these British troops must be taken so that they may spend their summer in comfort in these places. But in place of these British troops, we want our own Indian troops. The Honourable the Defence Secretary was also good enough to tell us that the Retrenchment Committee of 1932 arrived at certain figures beyond which the Government could not possibly go. You will be surprised to hear that this wonderful Retrenchment Committee was really to have been presided over by Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar who was a protagonist of retrenchment, but, unfortunately, Mr. Rangachariar did not attend one meeting of this Retrenchment Committee nor was he available for Chairmanship and, in his absence, this Retrenchment Committee came to its own conclusions. According to the conclusion which the Committee reached, it appears that instead of any retrenchment there was an increase of officers at the headquarters. In 1914, the officers at the Army Headquarters were only 94 when there were much more troops in India than they are today. After the Retrenchment Committee's report, we find that the number of officers in the Army Headquarters reached 174 which is nearly double, and, as far as the commands and brigades and districts are concerned, the number of staff officers has gone up by about 400 today. Further, we find, that there are more than 7,000 officers in the army. Have you ever heard of such a thing anywhere else in the world except in India? All these 7,000 and more British officers have got to be paid, well Heaven knows how much? If you go to the neighbouring States where efficient armies are kept, you yourself could find out whether the troops in India are required in such large numbers for efficient field service. And there you find, perhaps, a Major drawing Rs. 150 and a Colonel drawing, perhaps, Rs. 250, and he is as efficient a Colonel as any of your Colonels who are now drawing perhaps Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 2,500. And they are getting all sorts of allowances, and yet they do not put in at the headquarters more than half an hour's work daily. Of the 600 staff officers who are now running the show and for whom we pay more than two crores of rupees, I do not think more than about 110 are required. All the rest of the work can be done by Indian clerks and Indian officers. Why are there no Indian officers at the headquarters? Why are there no Indian officers in the Commands? Why are there no Indian officers in the Brigades and Districts? Why is money being wasted in this fashion? Sir, my Honourable friend, the Defence Secretary, said something about the defence expenditure in Great Britain and the defence expenditure in India. May I tell him for his benefit and for the benefit of the Government of which he happened to be the spokesman that one-third of the entire British army is kept in Indian barracks? In fact, India has been turned into barracks for one-third of the entire British army. If one-third of the entire British army is here, it does not lie in the mouth of any one to say that the Indian army is the weakest to defend one-fifth of the entire human race. While one-third of the British army and 150,000 or more of Indian troops are for the defence.

of India, only a lakh and a few more thousands are enough to protect, not only Great Britain against the armed camp of Europe but are also sufficient to protect the entire Empire. Sir, our army is certainly excessive by the British troops. You cannot say that this figure represents the irreducible minimum. The Defence Secretary also adverted to what might be called a very abstruse subject, namely, the disadvantageous position of India in regard to her frontiers. That disadvantageous position is this. India has got a huge sea-board which must always be kept free by the British navy, whether we will or we will not, because we are their market and the British navy must keep the way clear for British trade. They are not obliging us. They may say : " Oh, we are protecting you ! " But they must protect themselves in their own interest and they must protect us in their own interest, because if the sea-board is allowed to be raided by others than the British, and if it is not kept free, where would their world markets be ? Where would Great Britain's markets be ? Nowhere. Then, in so far as our land frontier is concerned, I think even the Defence Secretary will allow that most of our land frontier is protected by very high mountains and these afford a natural protection. We do not want troops to guard our mountains.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta) : The Honourable Member has one minute more.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : I shall be finishing in a minute.

Well, Sir, the Defence Secretary said that India is paying only about £1,000 for her defence as far as the navy is concerned. But what about the great ships of Great Britain which are carrying away millions and millions of rupees from India ? I understand that one-fourth of the entire income of Great Britain is derived from India. If so, some of it must be spent on the navy, or somewhere ! It is not as if they are simply obliging us.

As regards the question of manufacture, my Honourable friend tried to ridicule it. He says that all the manufactures in connection with the army have been undertaken here by the Government of India and all things are being manufactured here. He said that all weapons of modern precision were being manufactured here, and what more do we want ? Are great guns being manufactured here ? Are tanks being manufactured here ? Are the means of transport being manufactured here ? Are any of the lorries required for the army being manufactured here ? Are any of the 102 aeroplanes which your 8½ squadrons must possess and without which they will not be an air force,—are they manufactured here ? All these things are manufactured abroad, and lakhs if not crores of rupees every year are being paid by us in England for the various manufactures which are being imported by us. As to the stuff required for the medical services as far as the armies are concerned, as far as the hospitals are concerned,—are all these things being manufactured here ? Are all the medicines bought here ? Are all the surgical instruments manufactured here ? Why do you say that everything that is required for the army is being manufactured here ?

I have just one word more to say. There are other points which will be dealt with by my Deputy Leader but I wanted to confine myself to a reply to the Defence Secretary. Our demand is that the British troops must be replaced by Indian troops. If British troops are replaced

[Mr. M. Asaf Ali.]

by Indian troops the defence of India will not be weakened in the least degree. In fact, I personally think that our defences will be much stronger than they are today.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : We can shoot better. (Laughter.)

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : More than that, the Defence Secretary said that the British troops were necessary for mixing British with Indian troops to get the best value for our money. If that was one of their aims, why did they not appoint all our Indian officers who held the King's Commissions as officers in the British army ? Why did they shove them all into these Indianised units and segregated them ? That would have been proper mixing but they do not want Indian officers to mix with the British troops. All that they want is that British troops should be there as an army of occupation to continue to threaten our freedom.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons (Secretary, External Affairs Department) : Sir, if time was not so short I should have liked to join issue as a layman with some of Mr. Asaf Ali's statements, but in the time available to me I can only hope to deal with one aspect of the subject, and that is what one or two Honourable Members have suggested, that it is possible to reduce the army if the Government of India followed another policy on the frontier, and secondly, that the strength of the army on the frontier is in excess of what is required. The problem with which we are faced is a belt of country extending from Bajaur on the north down to Gomal on the south,—50 miles across more or less. It is bounded on the west by the Indo-Afghan boundary and on the east by the border of the administered districts. It is inhabited by more or less uncivilised tribesmen.....

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City : Muhammadan Urban) : No, no.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province : General) : Uncivilised people are those who drop bombs. Butchers ! Sir, I protest against the use of that word. He must withdraw it.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : These tribesmen have many affinities in common, of religion, of language, of social structure. And they have connections both across the Indo-Afghan border and across the administered border of India ; but the connections they have with India are very much stronger than those that they have with Afghanistan. The Durand Line was not drawn haphazard : it follows the boundaries of the tribes, as far as is possible. On the other hand, the border of the administered districts in some cases is crossed by tribes, that is to say, part of the same tribe lives in tribal areas and part in the administered districts : and all these tribes are economically connected with British India. In this belt we have very wide variations in the amount of administration. In some places we exercise practically no control at all and in some places quite a lot. The responsibility of Government in these areas is now twofold. We have the responsibility towards the administered areas that the tribes of these tribal areas should not commit raids and kidnap or do any damage : and we have now, since the very rapid development of Afghanistan into a modern state, the responsibility towards Afghanistan that our tribes people shall not cross there and commit similar crimes in

their territory. Now it seems to us that there are three possible policies by which we may maintain control in this area. The first is a policy now, once and for all, to administer up to the Indo-Afghan boundary. The second is our withdrawal to the line of the administered districts ; and the third is the policy which is now being pursued, of administering for the benefit of the tribes (Laughter) and to fulfil our responsibility both to Afghanistan and to India.

The first policy is far too expensive, it will be admitted. It would also require a very great amount of fighting over a period to which I think none of us could see the term, and it would inevitably involve us in difficulties with our friendly neighbour. I have no doubt that that policy is entirely impossible at the moment. It could not in any case conceivably allow of any reduction in our armed forces.

The second policy of retirement to the borders of the administered districts is, I think, equally impossible. Up to 1919 we attempted to a large extent to carry it out. The result was, that as far as the protection of British India was concerned, we failed. We discovered that we could not prevent raids, we could not prevent kidnapping, by putting forces along the actual border ; and for that reason we decided, in 1919, after the Waziristan campaign, to attempt to protect India from inside the tribal area ; and in the last fifteen years this attempt has met with marked success. In the last 15 years there has been practically no such thing as kidnapping or a raid in the southern districts of the North-West Frontier Province. As soon as Government's power in the tribal areas is relaxed, we begin to get trouble as we have during the last six months : as soon as we restore our power there, there is an automatic decrease of trouble.

And for other reasons we could not take this line. Strategically, I think it is indefensible and we should be dividing all those tribes that are half in our territory and half in the tribal areas. We should also not be able to fulfil our responsibility towards Afghanistan. Government is responsible for the whole of India. (Interruptions.) Supposing we did not take any action inside this area, what would the Afghanistan Government say to us ? " Let us take it over." But I do not think that any Member opposite would wish us to hand over the tribal areas to anybody else. They are part of India and they must remain so.

The middle policy, which I will briefly mention is that of the Government at present, that is to say, we go into the tribal areas : we interfere as little as possible with the life of the people and we never attack the people but only defend ourselves when we are attacked. I can assure you that the tribes, in normal times, do not dislike this control very greatly ; and Government is convinced of the importance of offering them economic and other advantages, so that in course of time they may wish themselves to join in that large country which is India. But Government does not put more force on them than is necessary to maintain their responsibility towards Afghanistan and the administered areas. That policy, I may say, is likely in our opinion, if steadily applied, to make it possible, perhaps at some future date, though not now, to reduce the cost of our defence forces of all kinds. The other two policies could not.

It is a tribute to the importance of the subject that it appears that nearly every one has views on this matter. But if we look at them we find very rarely any constructive proposal. Many have appeared in the

[Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons.]

papers and we have had one today from the House. Dr. Bhagavan Das seemed to think that his 25 million volunteers would be able to deal with the situation that is now existing in Waziristan. I do not know if he has any many friends in the Army, but if he has I would ask him to ask them what do the Army think of these tribesmen as fighters. I can assure him that in their own terrain there are no better fighters in the world ; and I also want to assure him that in fighting, quantity can never take the place of quality. You may put 25 million people there : they are just as much cannon fodder for the Mahsuds as 25. (Interruptions.) I do not think that is a practical solution. I saw another solution the other day. I think it was the editor of a paper in Delhi who came back from the Frontier and assured a rather credulous public that the solution of the problem lay in repealing the Land Alienation Act on the frontier ! How does he think that these tribes, whose mode of thought is not that of Lower India, who are hostile to his class, the Hindus, how does he think they will pay one moment's attention to that, or how could it possibly make any difference to the situation in the Frontier ? Finally, there is the solution which I see occasionally mentioned—the demand for Government to substitute a policy of conciliation instead of one of force. Sir, I have already said the Government never use force unless compelled to do so. If any Honourable Member can give me an instance I am willing to answer it. But I do not really know what is meant by a policy of conciliation. The true policy of conciliation is the one adopted by Government,—the policy which aims at providing educational, medical and agricultural facilities within the limits of the money that is available. The tribesmen of Waziristan are much better off now than they were in 1919, and I myself think that their standard of living may have gone up by 50 per cent.....

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi (Meerut Division : Muhammadan Rural) : On account of bombing ?

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : On account of the benefits which Government have given them.

I do not know if any of you have noticed it, but if we look at the history of the Frontier, we see one fact standing out at once that if Government is weak and if its hands are tied elsewhere, the tribesmen are the first to recognise it and the first to take advantage of it by attacking British territory, and I may add, the Hindus are the first to suffer.....

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : No, no, let us suffer.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : If some Members who contradict me were to go.....

Maulana Shaukat Ali (Cities of the United Provinces : Muhammadan Urban) : I would go.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : I think the Maulana Saheb has not.....

Maulana Shaukat Ali : You don't know the Mussalmans of India as well as I do.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : I do know Mussalmans well, and like them, but if you go and ask the villagers in the Tank tehsil whether they feel secure, once the Government is weak, you will get no uncertain answer. One of the great difficulties on the Frontier is this which I just mentioned, that, when Government's hands are tied elsewhere, the tribesmen take the opportunity to attack British India, and the result is an expedition such as you see.....

Maulana Shaukat Ali : They hate you.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : I would appeal to Honourable Members opposite. There is scarcely a statement made by the Members of their Party in the Frontier Province, there is scarcely an action of theirs which is not devised to bring the authority of Government and law and order into contempt. In 1930-31 the results were seen. They will be seen again when perhaps they themselves are in power. What is needed is conciliation between them and the Government because they will soon have to govern themselves. What is needed is a change of heart, not a change of heart in the Government, not so much a change of heart in the tribesmen, but a change of heart in the Congress. If Congress will see that they do nothing to damage law and order on the Frontier, I can conceive a time, in the far distance may be, when it will be possible to make a reduction in the armed forces that are maintained for that purpose. But until that time, there seems to me to be very little chance of doing so. I warn the Congress.....

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena : Thank you for the warning.

Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B. Parsons : I warn the Congress that their time will come, and they will find that they are reaping the whirlwind.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum : Sir, I had no intention to take part in this debate, but, as usual, after I had the pleasure of listening to the speech of the Honourable the Foreign Secretary, I thought it was my duty to get up and say something by way of reply. To start with, Sir, he described the tribesmen as uncivilized people. Of course, to describe certain people as civilized or uncivilized depends upon the opinion one holds. But I should like to say one thing, Sir, that if people are to be judged by what they do and how they behave, that would be the best test for determining whether a people are civilized or uncivilized. I can assure this House that whenever there has been a war with the tribal people, it has been sought by the British authorities and the political authorities on the Frontier. Their object is very clear. They want to extend their sphere of control ; this is how they start. They get hold of certain people among the tribes, protect them, give them money, and gradually these people come to be called as protected persons, and certain areas are also described as protected areas. These protected persons start making a nuisance of themselves. They always try to provoke the non-protected tribes, and as a result of this provocation sometimes there is an affray, sometimes there is a little war, and it gives an admirable opportunity to the British in the Political Department and in the army to lead an expedition against these tribes. I can assure this House that the tribesmen have got no newspapers, they have absolutely no news agencies to place their point of view before the world. All that we hear and read about the tribes is through the British agencies. The

[Mr. Abdul Qaiyum.]

British are past masters in the art of telling the world that they are always helpless victims of the aggression of other people. But, as a matter of fact, they are past masters in the art of provoking others and rendering them absolutely desperate, and then to deal with them, because they have at their disposal all the powerful engines of destruction, like bombs and machine guns. These gentlemen who have absolutely no right to be in the tribal area, who have mechanised the army, who have up-to-date aeroplanes, have been throwing bombs on innocent women and children from the air.

An Honourable Member : Shame.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum : Eight thousand is the number of bombs,—that is what the Government spokesman said the other day,—dropped on the frontier on innocent villagers. I can assure this House that houses and even mosques have been destroyed, even places of worship have not been spared. People who have been talking of Shahidganj should learn a lesson from this, in fact more mosques have been destroyed in Waziristan than all the mosques and temples put together in India since the dawn of history or since the advent of Mussalmans in this country. I ask, Sir, whether these people who threw bombs on defenceless women and children are civilized or uncivilized, or whether the tribesmen who want nothing more than to be left severely alone in their own surroundings. Sir, we are being frightened by the bogey of the Russian danger, of an Afghan danger. I assure this House that the greatest danger to the liberty of this country, and to the freedom of the millions of people who inhabit this country is British Imperialism. (“Hear, hear” from Congress Party Benches.) Unless and until you remove this danger, unless and until you destroy this British Imperialism, you will never have peace and contentment in this country. Ever since the British Imperialists came in contact with Afghanistan, on how many occasions did the Afghans try to invade India? If you will read history, you will find that every expedition has been led by British Imperialists to crush the freedom of a neighbouring country called Afghanistan. It is only the stamina of the tribes—it is not the Afghan Army, it is the Afghan tribesmen who love liberty, who love freedom, who love their religion and who want to raise their heads always aloft in this world and who want to feel that they are not subordinate to anybody else—it is these people who have protected Afghanistan from the onslaught of British Imperialism. I assure the House that there is absolutely no danger from Afghanistan, or from Russia. If there is any danger to the liberties of India, it is from British Imperialism. There is absolutely no justification for the retention of this large army, for the retention of the British personnel, which, according to the report of the Capitation Tribunal, in 1933, was costing this country something like £10 million at that time and I think that the amount has gone up considerably since then. What are these British troops here for? They are here to protect the British markets, they are here to protect the British trade, to protect the British supremacy and British interests. If they are here to defend British interests, it is only fair and just that Great Britain should pay for them and not this poor down-trodden country called India. I would read only one passage, which is a very ominous passage, of an Indian Judge

on the same Capitation Tribunal, who is now a member of the Privy Council. Sir Shadi Lal said at that time :

“ It is true that the Indian military expenditure imposes a very heavy burden upon her resources and prevents her from providing money for extending education and promoting other nation building activities. It appears that the ratio of the military expenditure of India to her public revenue is higher than any other part of the Empire or in any foreign country. The statistics supplied to us also show that in respect of certain colonies where British troops are stationed the Imperial Government have adopted the rules that the cost to be levied from them should not exceed one-fifth of the total assessable revenue of the colony concerned.”

I have one more thing to say. It is asserted from the other side of the House that the army in India and especially the British element in that army is not being maintained for Imperial purposes. It is also asserted that the British troops in Great Britain act as a sort of reserve to rush to the rescue of poor India whenever India happens to be attacked by some foreign aggressor. May I know if during the last fifty years or sixty years any single occasion has arisen when it was necessary for British troops to be rushed from England ? It is a well-known fact that till the report of the Capitation Tribunal was written, on fourteen occasions Indian troops were sent out to fight other people who had absolutely no quarrel with our people. They were sent out to Abyssinia, to Somaliland, to China, and this process is still going on, they have gone to France and so on, to crush the Arabs, to crush the Turks, and all the other Asiatic nations. It clearly proves that the army in India is being kept for Imperial purposes. All our revenue is being swallowed up by the army. Under the new Government of India Act, certain taxes have been earmarked as Provincial and certain others as Federal. All those who have read the Act know very well that the sources allocated to the Provinces are absolutely inelastic. There is absolutely no scope for expansion, and the hands of the Provincial Governments, especially those of the Congress Ministries which have been set up in six provinces and I hope in the seventh Province also (Applause), will be considerably handicapped if they are merely to carry on their administration with revenues derived from these inelastic sources. All the elastic sources of revenue are in the hands of the Federal Government and the Federal Government will determine what portion of those taxes, say, from salt, from excise duties, from export duties, from jute, from income-tax, from corporation tax—what part of these should be allotted to the federal units. I submit that this Resolution has been very mildly worded and I request Members of this House, especially the elected Members of this House, who love the freedom of their country, to vote for this Resolution and show that this House is absolutely dissatisfied with the policy of this most irresponsible, reactionary and inhuman Government. (Applause from Opposition Benches.)

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

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Year after year as a Member of the Independent Party I had supported a motion of reduction in the army expenditure. Year after year I had supported Resolutions about the Indianisation of the army, but in the present Resolution, as it is worded, I find two difficulties which I would like to mention. But before I do so, may I say a word on the question of the frontier policy ? Unfortunately this question is dragged in in season and out of season, in every debate, and

[Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad.]

speeches are delivered to the gallery. I think that it would be better if we have a full dress debate on the question of the frontier policy so that we may not have a side discussion on this question every now and then. On this particular Resolution the question of frontier policy is not under discussion. Every one of us has his own views, the Government have their own views, but my difficulty is that the Government have not uniformly pursued one policy. The change in policy involved unnecessary expenditure in connection with their frontier policy. I believe that the frontier policy is outside the scope of this Resolution. We require on the frontier an army of defence anyhow, but that may be discussed on some other occasion and not on this Resolution. The two difficulties that I have in connection with this Resolution are, one, the latter part of the Resolution commits us to a thing which requires very great consideration. It commits us to a policy that we should be indefinitely responsible for the needs of the provinces. It is a problem by itself and should be discussed independently on its own merit. But if we want to do so, that ought to be achieved by means of a separate Resolution, and not as a side issue. My second difficulty that prospects of war are visible everywhere. War has commenced not very far from us. We find that every country is increasing its army expenditure. Never mind, the British Government may stay, or may go, but India must have an army of defence and we cannot go on without it. If this country goes on without any defence then we will be in a very difficult position, in the position of the king in the story which I have told this House before. There was a king and he had a Wazir. He was very much against army expenditure as my friends on the right. He used to say that the money so saved could be spent on schools and colleges and other nation-building departments and that, if any foreign king ever attacked him, he had a thousand and one arguments with which he would convince the aggressor that it was absolutely wrong to attack the king. Besides we have no enemies and we don't want to conquer other countries. There was an attack and all the thousand and one arguments collapsed, like the arguments of rats in front of the cry (*Mianun*) of the cat. The king realised but realised too late that it was the army and the army alone that could defend his country, and not arguments, not reasons, nor the rhetoric of the politicians. Whatever the form of Government may be in this country, whether British or indigenous, it is absolutely essential that we should have a very strong army of defence.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Why British soldiers ?

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad : That is immaterial.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum : Let them bomb Aligarh !

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad : I love interruptions. You must have an army of defence ; you must have an air force, you must have a very good navy, and a very good army because we have got not only our North-West Frontier to protect but we have got a very large sea coast which has also to be protected by means of a very good navy. This is very important. The existence of an army itself is a good defence. The moment it is known to the world that a particular country has got no army of defence, then it will always be in danger of an attack from

outside. We have discussed a Resolution about the League of Nations, but we resolved today it was not an opportune moment to discuss it. The discussion of this Resolution is more inopportune as we are face to face with a war next door to us,—war between Japan and China. Nobody knows at this moment to what extent it may or may not develop. If you reduce the army expenditure you will be exposing yourself to enormous risks. Most countries have doubled their expenditure on the army. Their proportionate expenditure is much greater than ours. The very fact that we find the legislature of a country voting enormous sums for army expenditure is a safeguard against attack. If foreign countries know that a country has got an enormous army, they would not think of attacking that country. When war is waging next door, this is really not the proper time when we ought to discuss a motion of this kind. In fact we should vote for special loan to develop our navy and air force. These are the two difficulties which I pointed out. The second part of the Resolution ought to have been moved as a separate issue and not have been tacked on to the first part of the Resolution. It is all very well to try to curtail army expenditure but when the clouds of war are hanging everywhere, when war is actually going on next door to us and there is every chance of a conflagration all over the world not only in Asia but also in Europe it is very unwise for us to demand that the expenditure on the army should be curtailed.

***Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani** (Tirhut Division : Muhammadan) : Mr. President, since long I have been trying to borrow the foreign language, but I have not as yet achieved success. I, therefore, ask your permission under Rule 14 to speak in my own language.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Very well.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani : Thank you very much for your allowing me to speak in my mother tongue.

The Resolution, as moved by my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, has got two parts. One deals with reduction in general, and the other aims at the curtailment of the army expenditure. So far as the first part of the Resolution is concerned, I think it has often been amply discussed. I, therefore, want to confine myself in discussing the latter part.

The British soldiers and officers entail a very great unnecessary expenditure. Only two arguments can be put forward for the appointment and retention of the British officers and soldiers. The one may be that the British officers and soldiers are superior and more efficient, and the other may be that they can command more confidence of the British Government. The former is always pleaded by the Government, but the latter is kept concealed within the heart. So far as the former claim is concerned, I can safely say, it is entirely wrong, and the history has given oft-repeated proofs. Is it not a fact that during the last Great European War, British soldiers and officers did prove themselves a failure ? Is it not a fact that the Indian soldiers and officers did achieve success in every battle in Europe and did save the honour and prestige of the British Government ? Is it not a fact that it was the Indian soldiers who played with their lives and gave crushing defeats to the Germans and thus saved the honour of the British Government ? Is it

*Translation of the speech delivered in the vernacular.

[Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.]

not a fact that these black soldiers of India, who were ever looked down and were thought disgraceful by the European Nation to fight against the white soldiers in Europe, were embraced by French ladies as their saviours. Sir, where had the efficiency and superiority of the British officers and soldiers gone? Alas, man is very ungrateful. He forgets his misfortune very soon when the danger is over, and the British Nation and the British Government have got this characteristic in the highest degree. I assure you, Sir, that it is all due to the error of one Muslim King who gave the trading rights to the East India Company as rewards to a physician who treated his daughter that the British Government have courage to adduce such claim. I am sure, even today, if the British Government be convinced of the safety of the British Trade in India, they will easily entrust the administration to Indians. Neither, they will be convinced, nor it is desirable to try to convince them as the trade is a most indispensable element for the life of a nation. My Honourable friend, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, has said, the defence of the country is very necessary at this juncture. I agree with him. But this does not entail that the defence should be had only by British soldiers and British officers.

The question before us is that Indian officers and soldiers should be appointed to effect economy in the army. It has recently been said that the British soldiers have been allowed five meals instead of three meals per day. There is no doubt that there exists some mutual distrust in the country, but I assure you, Sir, when the question of defending the country against the invasion of a foreign nation will be before them, they are sure to forget such communal discrimination and will be ever ready to drive away their common enemies, and I assure you, Sir, the appointment of more Indian soldiers will be a means to achieve the mutual confidence and goodwill.

At present, Indians are quite helpless being fully disarmed. They do not even know the use of firearms. Military training is most essential for the Indians for the proper defence of the country, and hence the Arms Act requires amendments so as to enable Indians to keep and bear arms for the defence of India.

In the end, I will say, Sir, that as India is a hot country, it is quite necessary that Indian troops should be maintained for her proper defence. The British soldiers, who are of a cold country, cannot bear the hot climate, especially when war breaks out in the summer. They will be much troubled owing to heat and thirst, and as such, will forget the question of defending the country rather than defending themselves. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to enlist the Indian soldiers and officers and thus to effect economy and help the nation-building departments with the money thus saved.

With these words I support the motion.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg (Finance Member): Sir, I rise under a considerable sense of grievance. After the fiery cross or perhaps I ought to say a succession of fiery crosses which have been sent round to Provincial Governments by Mr. Asaf Ali, I did expect that the Opposition would come here and deliver a really blasting attack upon Government

with horse, foot and artillery. But what has happened ? The attack was opened by Sardar Sant Singh who was much more interested in hair cutting allowances than in horse, foot and artillery. (Laughter.) Then, Sir, the Opposition put up Dr. Bhagavan Das, one of the most learned, the most respected and, if he won't mind my saying so, the most pacific Member of this House, and the learned Doctor saw no inconsistency in putting forward at one and the same time a plea for universal disarmament, a plan for the institution of a Tolstoyan Commonwealth and a project for the creation of a citizen army of 25 million armed men ! In fact, if I may continue the military metaphor, and after all this debate has been largely concerned with military matters, it was not till five minutes to three that the first real shot was fired in this engagement. If the House will allow me to bring forward a recollection of my brief and not particularly glorious military career and if they will forgive me for my incurable propensity for joking, I would say that even then the shots fired were "pip-squawks" rather than "crumps", and even so they were not in the nature of an attack on Government but of counter-battery work direct towards the attack which the Government had made on the Opposition. Then, again, Mr. Satyamurti has been smitten with a most unprecedented attack of silence. (Laughter.) And I understand, Sir, that he is going to recover the use of his tongue only when I have reached the conclusion of my remarks. I should be perfectly justified in claiming that the case against us has gone by default. But I must, I suppose, take the motion at its face value and deal with it accordingly.

Let me then begin by analysing the Central Budget and I would ask for a little indulgence from Honourable Members of this House while I try to take them through the figures. 4 P.M. The total of the Budget, excluding the post office and railways is, in round figures, 83 crores. Defence, Ecclesiastical and the administration of Frontier Watch and Ward come to about 47 crores. Now, after the speeches of Mr. Ogilvie and Colonel Parsons, I do not propose to go into those figures at length because they have already been very fully dealt with on this side. But I would like to say a word or two in regard to Mr. Asaf Ali's counter-battery work. He made—he will forgive my saying so—a number of fantastic statements. The first of them was that a quarter of the income of the United Kingdom was derived from India. Now, the annual income of the United Kingdom is £4,000 million or thereabouts and a quarter of that is £1,000 million and the annual remittance from India to the United Kingdom is in the order of Rs. 50 crores or £37½ millions, so that Mr. Asaf Ali's arithmetic amounts to saying that £37½ million is equal to £1,000 million. I think most of his other statements were in keeping though not possibly of such a gross character. As regards his figure of thirty crores, I have studied carefully both before and after this debate the Defence Estimates and I cannot find a single one of the figures he used in them. I will say without fear of contradiction that my figure, the figure I gave the other day of the amount that would be saved by the replacement of British troops by Indian troops, which was of the order of 7½ crores, is much more nearly the correct figure. Many of the things which Mr. Asaf Ali mentioned have been allowed for in that estimate but, perhaps, I ought to say a word about pensions. Mr. Asaf Ali produced from page 4 of the estimates a non-effective total of 11 crores.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali : I rise to a point of personal explanation. I did not say that the non-effective charges were eleven crores. I said that eleven crores and 21 lakhs was the total paid in England, of which four crores 57 lakhs was non-effective.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : But the amounts paid in England have no necessary relation to the cost of British troops because some of the stores attributable to the Indian portion of the estimates are purchased in England so that the figures paid in England merely refer to the sterling expenditure as opposed to the rupee expenditure. They do not necessarily mean and they do not mean expenditure on the British troops of the army.

Let me now come back to pensions. Of the non-effective charges shown there, something over $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores—I think about $7\frac{3}{4}$ crores are in respect of pensions and retiring gratuities. Of that figure of $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores, three crores entirely relate to the Indian personnel of the Indian army. Three crores relate to the retired British officers of the Indian army and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores refer to the British personnel of the British army, so that taking the part of the non-effective charges which is attributable to the British personnel in India, that comes to $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores. But that represents practically entirely an accrued liability in respect of past services and if you decided by a stroke of the pen to replace tomorrow the whole of the British personnel in India by Indians, not one pie of that $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores would be saved. It is an accrued liability, a contractual liability which has already accrued.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : They also die.

Mr. N. M. Joshi : How long will it last ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I am not such a donkey as to try to get away with some of the arithmetical fallacies I have heard put forward in this House and I am coming to that. I say that for the best part of 20 years or so, no substitution will save more than a small part of this $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Similarly, supposing you decided to save by substitution the $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores which the Defence Secretary referred to as the active charges, it would be necessary to train Indian personnel to replace the British and that could not be done, except after a period of years, so that, even if you add this quite legitimate $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores to $4\frac{1}{2}$ and decided upon immediate substitution, a saving of the figure of about 12 crores would only accrue at the end of a very long period of years and even on that showing, which as I say is arithmetically unsound, but I put it in that way so as to state the case for Mr. Asaf Ali at its highest, even on that basis the figure of saving by the replacement of British troops by Indian is about half of what he says. But this again, Sir, if the House will forgive me for saying so, is really rather an academic question because the Defence Secretary said there can be—the House must, I am afraid take this as a decision of the Government—no substitution of the kind that the Opposition has been asking for. Similarly, as the Army Secretary has pointed out, it would be idle. it would be more than that, it would be dishonest to try and mislead the House into thinking that there is any serious scope for further economy on defence expenditure in India, in the present circumstances. I noticed during the course of the debate that outside the Congress Party, there seems to be a general feeling of the House—if I understood aright the speeches

of my Honourable friends, Mr. Ghiasuddin, Mr. Ramsay Scott and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, they all seemed to me to give expression to the opinion, that it would be folly to leave India less well-defended than she is now with the present condition of the world. I have digressed and said more about army expenditure than I intended to after the speech of the Army Secretary but perhaps I might deal here with one more point which I think was raised by the speaker on behalf of the Independent Party. He referred to the Garran award. On that, if I might be forgiven for quoting one of my own speeches in the other place when the same question was raised, I said :

“ My recollection is—the House can correct me if I am wrong—that the late Commander-in-Chief expressed his sympathy with that claim and assured the House—I am speaking from recollection, but I think I have got the sense of what he said.

“ The Honourable the President : You are quite right. He gave that assurance.

“ He assured the House that Government will lose no opportunity in advocating that claim.”

But I said then and in the interest of candour I must repeat now, I am afraid that it is not a very favourable opportunity, it is not an opportunity which offers very much prospect of success to approach the British Government at a time when they have trebled their armament expenditure and incidentally while I am on that point, I think it would be found that the ratio of Defence expenditure to public revenue in England is now very much the same, if not more, than the ratio of Indian defence expenditure to public revenue taking the Central and the Provincial revenues together which you must do in order to get a fair percentage. But this is another digression for which I apologise. I do not think that at a time when Great Britain has trebled her armaments expenditure, when she has found it necessary to borrow, I think, something like 80 million sterling in this year for armament expenditure, this cannot be regarded as a time when we, here—to put it as an understatement—could be certain of success if we advance that claim at the present moment. This is as I say a digression commenting on the items of defence expenditure which total 47 crores.

I will now go on to deal with the civil items. The cost of the Crown Representative's Department is $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. We come now to a group of items of the same general character, namely : interest, 14 crores, pensions $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, grants to Provinces $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Now, of the interest payment of 14 crores, something over three crores is attributable to the debts to the Provinces which we remitted under the Niemeyer settlement so that I imagine that even from the party opposite there is no suggestion that we should save the money on that six or seven crores which is charged to the Central Budget because of the amounts we have to pay to or remit in favour of the Provinces. Now on these heads the only other ways of saving are as follows. In the first place, as far as interest charges are concerned, you can undertake conversion to a lower rate of interests as opportunity offers. In the main the opportunity of effecting savings on conversion only offers when there are maturities, so that this must be a very slow and cautious process. Incidentally, in the non-productive part of the debt alone, we have saved $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores a year since 1929. There is another method of saving on interest, which I only mention to reject, and I imagine that now that the party opposite has a more direct concern with

[Sir James Grigg.]

the government of the country; they also will reject it; and that is of repudiation. I then come to the pension item of 2½ crores a year. Here again, this is a contractual payment and the only way of saving money on that is to repudiate your contractual obligations; and Government rule that out and I imagine the party opposite would rule that out, particularly as the main damage of repudiation would be to Indians and not to Europeans.

Now, Sir, I come to another group of services. The first of that group I may call the minor self-supporting commercial undertakings, and by that I mean Lighthouses and Mint and so on; and on that we spend ¾ crores. Quite obviously, any economies on that group would have to be passed on to the public as these are self-supporting commercial services and they are not designed to make a profit.

The next group are the centrally administered areas. They cost 1½ crores and they produce ¾ crores on the other side. Naturally any economies achieved in the expenditure in this field the inhabitants in the centrally administered areas would expect to be passed on to them and not to the big Provinces. The next group, which is a much bigger one, relates to the scientific and development activities of the Government of India. I will mention the main ones,—Meteorology, Archaeology, Education, Public Health, Agriculture, Broadcasting. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that the pressure of this Assembly is to increase expenditure on this group and not to diminish it; and, therefore, I do not suppose the House will stand for any economy in that item. Now I have reached a total of 73½ crores out of 83. There are left 9½ crores; and, if the House will bear with me I will go through the main items in that. The first one is Audit, which costs a crore. My recollection of the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee for the last three years is that the general demand of Indians is not that the Audit Department should be curtailed but that it should be widely extended; so that we rule that out from the field of economy. The next item is Civil Works....

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur *cum* Nellore : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : That is a bad item.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Yes, very bad; 1½ crores of it goes straight to the Provinces for roads. (Laughter.) Another item is the collection of revenue, which costs 3½ crores. Now, I say without any fear of contradiction that so far from being excessive, the amount of money spent on the collection of revenue has been too small, and that is the reason why evasion and smuggling has been so rife in India in the last few years. And for my own part I certainly intend to spend more money on the collection of revenue, and I am quite certain it will be a remunerative expenditure.

Now, Sir, I have disposed of all but 2½ crores of the Central Budget; and I challenge Honourable Members opposite to pick out from those items subjects which are really practicable objects for the economy which will enable enormous sums immediately to be released for the Provinces.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : Yourself is one. (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I am coming to that. (Laughter.) I expected that and it came at the right moment.

I was going to say that this has not quite disposed of the question until I have disposed of the question of pay. You may retort to me, as I think the intention of Mr. Sri Prakasa was, " Yes, do not cut down these services but cut down the pay of those performing them ". That, I think, is the argument. The total pay bill of the Government of India, leaving out of account the Posts and Telegraphs Department and the Crown Representative, is eight crores.

Seth Govind Das (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions : Non-Muhamadan) : Reduce that by half.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I will come to that too. That can be divided up into the following categories. What in our official jargon we call the ministerial staff accounts for $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores ; the pay of officers (voted), $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores, and officers (non-voted) $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Now, of course the main attack,—I know it perfectly well and it is very appropriate that Mr. Sri Prakasa should have raised it this afternoon,—the main attack is of course on the European.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : And on the Indians who draw fat salaries. Do not mislead the House, and do not make it racial.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Most of the Europeans fall in the last class. The total of the pay of Europeans employed by the Government of India is $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Supposing you replace those by Indians, you are not going to save very much for the Provinces on that. And however you indulge your anti-British predilections you will get a very small contribution to the Provinces out of cutting the pay of British officials in India. If you want to save money on pay you have got to cut down the Indian staff ; and the main contribution to any saving that you produce must be from the lower paid staff. And leaving out of account the safeguards and commitments of the Government of India Act, I imagine that very few of the people opposite would suggest that we should cut the pay of existing Government servants when the Provincial Governments have left them uncut.

Sir, I think I have conclusively shown that in the sphere of economy there is no very great hope of releasing large sums for the Provinces and that in any case the sums mentioned by Mr. Asaf Ali are fantastic, as I said before.

But, Sir, I do not want to end this note of negation. I do not want to remind the party opposite, even by example, of the fact that in three years we have had very little but blank, unconstructive and unreasonable criticism ; and I propose to make some constructive suggestions. (Hear, hear.) In a word, my plea is that the Opposition should turn their attention to the revenue side of the budget and by this I am not (interruptions). May I be allowed, Sir, to continue without interruptions ?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I think the Honourable the Finance Member should be allowed to go on with his speech without constant interruptions.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : and by this I am not referring to the Provincial Budgets or to the fact that Provincial finance ministers are being widely advised not to throw away, too lightly, remunerative sources of revenue. I am thinking only about my own sphere. First let us take the railways, which on present indications and in the absence of any set-back during the remainder of this year are likely to provide something—and I hope something substantial—for distribution to the Provinces in this very year. Clearly, in the first five years of Provincial Autonomy directly, and in the later years indirectly—for as the House knows the Governor General has a suspensory power in the allocation of revenue—the Provinces will gain substantially if railways can be made more and more prosperous. What is the attitude of the party opposite towards the railways ? They have, opposed and, it would appear, have every intention of hamstringing the Ticketless Travellers Bill. Next, they have, for no very easily ascertainable reason, displayed the strongest possible opposition to the Motor Vehicles Bill. Indeed, on the question of road versus rail, they have favoured and indeed almost virulently supported the road interests as against the railways, and have crabbed all the efforts of Government to produce co-ordination which is so necessary to protect the railway revenues. I will come to another subject on the revenue side—income-tax. Here the Provinces have virtually an eight-anna interest in the yield of income-tax. Certain experts from Somerset House have made suggestions for improving the present collections of income-tax. Their suggestions include both administrative improvements and provisions for strengthening the law against avoidance and evasion. At the same time, they have not neglected to make recommendations which tell in favour of the taxpayer where they think the law deals hardly with him. If their recommendations are adopted in full, I have very little doubt that they will produce from two to three crores of extra income-tax every year ; some people have even put the figure at double that amount. We have consulted Indian opinion on the report, and although there are still some opinions to come in, it is quite clear what the predominant tendency will be. Any recommendation which tells in favour of the rich taxpayer is warmly commended. Any recommendation which is designed to shift the balance of taxation further from the poor on to the rich or to make it more difficult for the rich to evade the manifest intention of the law is strongly opposed, unless it is one which bears on British interest alone, in which case it is almost feverishly praised. (Laughter.) I am under obligation to produce a Bill on this subject. What line is the party opposite going to take about it ? I wish I could be certain of their wholehearted co-operation. Already I have been extremely disturbed, if I may say so, at the fact that Mr. Satyamurti has given a declaration of his intention that there will be no co-operation unless the Bill is made a Bill of pains and penalties upon British officers and British interests.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Also.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Powerful interests will be at work to influence this Legislature in the direction of making the Bill completely innocuous to themselves. What in these circumstances are the Opposition going to do ? They will not of course, if I may hazard

a guess, do anything in the nature of a direct frontal attack against it ; if he will allow me to say so, my Honourable friend, Mr. Desai, is much too clever for that. He will accept the principle of nearly everything that I want to do ; but I think he will say : " Yes, but this clause goes too far : you are hitting people whom you ought not to hit and you must insert some safeguards against abuses and so on." I am only speaking of clauses which affect adversely Indian interests. And altogether I would wager a shade of odds that when the Bill leaves this House it will be a Loss of Revenue Bill, that it will lighten the burdens on the rich and that it will diminish the money which goes to the Provinces under the Niemeyer Award. Parenthetically I may add that if the report is adopted—I am speaking from memory—two-thirds of the total number of taxpayers and those at the lower end of the scale will be less taxed ; while the remaining one-third will pay more, in some cases a great deal more.....

Mr. S. Satyamurti : We shall support it then.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I hope my forecast is a wrong one. But in any case it seems to me that the Income-tax Bill which I am to introduce will provide an acid test of the sincerity of Members opposite in their professed policy of shifting the burden from the poor on to the rich and of their desire to make money available for nation-building in the Provinces. I may mention here in passing one small item on which I suggest the party opposite might reconsider their attitude. In each of the last three years, an amendment in favour of the half-anna postcard has been carried against the Government and I have been accused of being a brutal and unsympathetic autocrat or bureaucrat, whichever you like, because I have had to take steps to neutralise the verdict of the Assembly. Now, there is no doubt whatever that that amendment would produce an infinitesimal benefit to any member or family among the poorer classes. It is equally indubitable that it would cost 50 or 60 lakhs a year and reduce to that extent the power of the Central Government to make grants to the Provinces.

I come now to my King Charles' head—industrial protection. The party opposite was, and to the best of my belief, still is a party of prohibitive industrial protection. (*Some Honourable Members :* " Oh ! Oh ! ") There is no doubt whatever that protection benefits almost entirely a few rich industrialists.

An Honourable Member : Why not tax them ?

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I will come to that. There is no doubt that the cost of it is borne in the main by the consumer, and in India as I have repeatedly said—I am afraid to the annoyance of the party opposite—the consumer is almost entirely a very poor person indeed. But I do not want on this occasion to placard my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti or my Honourable and learned and somewhat voluble friend, Prof. Ranga, as the bulwarks of the rich. I want to confine myself to the revenue aspects of protection. It is clear that high protection destroys customs revenue rapidly and irrevocably, and that the revenue destroyed can only be replaced from within after considerable delay and loss of revenue, from excise or income-tax. I need only give one example and the House will excuse me for harping on this,

[Sir James Grigg.]

but it is a very relevant one. That example is sugar. In the peak year the customs revenue from sugar was roughly 11 crores. This year we expect from the excise duty something under four crores ; and up to now we have never got more than 28 lakhs in income-tax from the sugar companies in any one year. The subtraction can be done for yourself : the loss of revenue is seven crores ; and with seven crores it will be possible to do a great deal for the Provinces. But, Sir, my object, as I said before, is not to score points against the party opposite, in spite of the laughter of the Leader of the Opposition. I ask the party opposite to believe it is a sincere one,—my object is to plead for a new attitude on their part. In the Provinces the new regime is beginning. By universal consent for English officers, whom some of you, at any rate, have been vilifying for a great many years, are co-operating to the utmost of their capacity with Indians upon whom the Government of India Act has placed the burden of ministerial responsibility. The co-operation in the Provinces is not going to get very far if you have got non-co-operation at the Centre.

Some Honourable Members : You are responsible for it Change your heart.

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : Co-operation in the Provinces is not going to get very far if there is non-co-operation, mistrust and abuse. Personally, I do not mind the abuse, as long as the other two are absent, and if I may say so, co-operation at the Centre means dropping your negative criticism, dropping all your efforts to prove that if only the British were not so selfish the expenditure could be cut down by some preposterous figure, and, as I said, if you drop all that, and combine with us in our efforts to strengthen the Central revenue system, I have very little doubt that not only will the Provinces get appreciable sums immediately under the Niemeyer Award, but they will also get, in the near future, sums under that award very substantially greater than they would otherwise do, and apart from the award altogether, a full response to the appeal which I have ventured to address the Opposition must mean that, if not I, at any rate, my successors will be in a position to allocate sums to the Provinces over and above our strict legal obligations.

Sir, I have done. I claim to have shown a far better way of benefiting the Provinces than that adumbrated in the Resolution. I am afraid that my appeal will fall on deaf ears (Laughter) or has fallen on deaf ears. I hope it has not, and if it has not, Honourable Members can best demonstrate the fact, and show the sincerity of their desire to help the Provinces by withdrawing the motion which they have put forward. (Applause from Official Benches.)

Mr. S. Satyamurti : Mr. President, my Honourable friend, the Finance Member's sojourn in his own country has made him fuller not only physically but mentally as well, because he indulged in a series of cheap jokes at the expense of the Opposition, in answer to a serious Resolution put forward seriously in a spirit of 'trying to help this Government to help the Provinces'. Sir, he made a very elaborate attack on some of the speeches made before he rose, and, particularly, he attacked my friend, the Secretary of the Congress Party, on some of the figures he produced. Then, Sir, he, after analysing all those figures, admitted himself that

they could save at least ten crores by the substitution of Indian troops for British troops. If that is so, may I ask him to produce those ten crores by agreeing to substitute all British troops by Indian troops? He talked of the acid test of the sincerity of the Opposition. This is the acid test of the sincerity of the Government of India in trying to work, as they call it, the Government of India Act. I ask them to do it. I speak no longer as an irresponsible member of an irresponsible Opposition. Just at this moment, we are governing seven of the eleven Provinces of India, and soon we shall be governing two or three more; and, surely it does seem to me, that the Finance Member of the Government of India should read the Resolution which we have tabled, with a little more seriousness than he has attempted to introduce into it.

He referred, Sir, to Mr. Asaf Ali's charge that one-fourth of the income of Great Britain is derived from India. I believe it was Lord Brentford, one of the frankest of Britishers, who admitted in a public speech that every fifth man in Britain lives on India.....

The Honourable Sir James Grigg : I don't accept him as evidence.

Mr. S. Satyamurti : You will not accept any evidence which is against you. My Honourable friend, the Leader of my Party, reminds me that Mr. Winston Churchill also said the same thing. And now, my friend tells us : ' how ungrateful are you people,—we Britishers are here, God's chosen on earth, we are spending crores of rupees on you for your defence, and yet you are ungrateful '. I ask these friends to have some sense of proportion, some sense of humour. Do you honestly believe that your countrymen are spending money on my country for nothing? You are doing it, because it pays you to do so. You want to exploit my country, you get crores and crores out of my country; and if you come and tell me that you are doing it out of benevolence of your heart, I do suggest that, in carrying on these discussions some more regard may be had to truth and less to fiction.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend gave an elaborate analysis of all the expenses of the Central Government, including Lighthouses. I admire him for his cleverness in trying to confuse the issue, by something so meticulous and so careful as analysing all this expenditure. I draw one inference from it, and I want him to draw the same inference. You cannot save on Central expenditure, except by cutting down the defence expenditure. That is the basis of this Resolution,—and we say " particularly in the army expenditure ". My friend repeated,—he always does,—and his co-Indian Members sit there helpless,—" on behalf of the Government, I assure you that there can be no substitution of British by Indian troops ". The Indian Members dare not speak. But, may I ask them, if they think they are good enough to govern this country, along with their esteemed colleagues,—to answer—' Why are you parties to this ' ? Will you get up and answer this, or will you remain silent? Have you no sense of honour, have you no sense of self-respect, that you should sit here quietly, and that a Britisher should get up and say on behalf of the Government, of which three Members are Indians,—' There can be no substitution of British troops by Indians ' ? Did you vote against it? No? But then it does seem to me that this nakedly exposes the tragedy of the present situation. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said in the other place last year, that every Local Government whom

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

they had consulted protested against the reduction of British troops, because they wanted them for internal security. Sir, I am here to say on behalf of the seven Provincial Governments that we do not want the British troops for internal security. Will you be fair? Will you consult these Local Governments now? The other day, I asked you a question, and in answer my friend, the Army Secretary, replied with that military manner which he always adopts,—‘No, Sir, I won’t consult the Local Governments’. Why don’t you be honest? Follow your own Commander-in-Chief, and consult the Local Governments, as to whether they want these British troops or not. And to suggest that you alone can defend India and we cannot defend ourselves is sheer nonsense. Get out of this country. I know how to defend myself. And may I say this to England? You have no friends in the world. We have no enemies. We can make peace with many friends. We have no territorial ambitions. We have no desire for a war with other people; we can make peaceful alliances with Afghanistan, with Russia, with Persia, with Turkey, with China,—and with them, we will defy you. It seems to me, therefore, that this stunt, that you cannot reduce the British army, is not going to hold water any longer. You will soon hear from the Provincial Governments, and they will tell you that they don’t want any more of these British troops. I thought the Honourable the Finance Member might grow softer, but he is a racialist in politics; he looks at every question from a British point of view, and when we ask for reduction of salaries, he must misread us or misrepresent us and say that we want the British salaries to be reduced. Does he not know that we have set an example? Today, Sir, the Indian Ministers in the seven Provinces are drawing Rs. 500 per month (Applause from Congress Party Benches), whereas the servants of our country are drawing Rs. 3,000, Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 5,000. I do suggest to the Honourable the Finance Member that it is easy to get the cheap laughter of a few European and Indian Colleagues on that side of the House who are highly paid, but a problem like this is met by statesmanship, and not by cheap buffoon-like methods. There is no racialism in this at all. We stand for the reduction of salaries all round, British and Indian. The Congress makes no difference between British and Indian. On the other hand, we shall set an example and make you ashamed of yourselves, if any sense of honour is left in you, that you should draw very huge salaries, when we do much more responsible work than you do and draw much less.

Mr. Sri Prakasa : And having larger families also! (Laughter.)

Mr. S. Satyamurti : The Honourable the Finance Member, after having conclusively proved to himself that there can be no saving on the expenditure side, wanted us to co-operate with him in increasing the revenues. I will accept that invitation, when I have got power to control the expenditure of this country. It was the great Kalidasa who wrote :

“*Prajanameva bhutyartham sa tabhyo balima grahit*”.

We believe in collecting taxes, only for the welfare of the taxed. You believe in collecting taxes for your own welfare. Until our angles of vision change and we both can sit at a round table with a view to take from our people just enough and no more for serving their vital needs, we will not be party to your taxing our people, so that you may walk

away with the best part of it. Of our attitude to the railways the Honourable Sir James Grigg was frankly contemptuous. Do you know why we rejected the Ticketless Travel Bill? Consult any decent lawyer, and he will tell you that that Bill is not worth looking at. As for the Motor Vehicles Bill and road-rail competition, this House will accept a Resolution under which we are in favour of an all-India Transport Board to deal with this whole question. On the income-tax, I can only speak for myself just now, but I believe I speak for the Congress Party, that if the sole and honest object of your Bill is to tax the rich people, Britishers and Indians, and you get the Government of India Act amended, so that when you go on a holiday to your country your salary may not be exempt from income-tax, or your pensions may not be so exempt, and you get that honest amendment of the Government of India Act, to get all monies drawn in Great Britain from the Indian exchequer taxed—I can say, on behalf of my Party, that in any attempt to stop evasion of taxes under the law of the land, in any attempt to make the rich pay more in order to relieve the poor, we shall be more anxious than you are, provided you do not make any racial distinction. I suggest to him, as a parliamentarian of some experience, that it does no good to anticipate and doubt the motives of the Opposition. My Honourable friend is proud of having served as Private Secretary to Lord Snowden and Mr. Winston Churchill, but he may learn something even from us. If he wants to pilot a Bill, let him not start by doubting the *bona fides* of the Opposition. That is the worst way of going about your legislation.

There is one aspect of this Resolution, on which I want to say a word. My Honourable friend publicly prayed in this House, without the aid of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Government of India, that the Congress might accept office in the Provinces. The prayer has been granted, although it came from an unfaithful heart like that of Sir James Grigg, but still that has been granted; and I believe and I can say this that Governors will not be too anxious, after Mahatma Gandhi's masterly stroke of the negotiations with the Government for three months, to enforce their safeguards. The Congress Ministries are not going to create deadlocks for the sake of creating them. But I will say this to the Honourable the Finance Member that, if Provincial Governments are not able to get money for nation-building departments, take it from me that your so-called Provincial Autonomy will die, Congress ministry or no Congress ministry. Today, the position is. Except probably in one or two Provinces, most of the Provinces have deficit budgets. They are committed to *prohibition*, which means a loss of one-fourth of the Provincial revenues. You may knock your head against it, but Mahatma Gandhi is there, and no Ministry can ignore him. Our land revenue must be adjusted. We can tax the rich more, but I believe that, in spite of all taxation, we can only secure this—that on land revenue we shall not lose. There are no other major departments of taxation open to the Provinces; but I can assure my Honourable friend that with Sir Otto Niemeyer there is Mahatma Gandhi who thinks that the rich in this country are not taxed as much as they ought to be. Therefore, we will explore all that, but ultimately it will come to this, that unless about 12 crores a year are available for use to all the Provinces for necessary inevitable expenditure on nation-building departments, the Ministries cannot make good. You have got to find that money. You can save it, you ought to save it today, on your defence expenditure. Save that money.

[Mr. S. Satyamurti.]

give it to the Provinces, and then if you will call us to an honest conference in which we can pool our resources together and see how we can readjust the Central and Provincial revenues on the basis of a reduction of at least 12 crores of expenditure on the defence services of this country, you will not find us wanting. One word more, and it is this. We heard again and again this morning and again this afternoon, "We are protecting India." What is the India that you are protecting? The hunger, the poverty and the nakedness of the millions of my countrymen? We want India to be protected, but we want every Indian man, woman and child to be well-fed, well-clothed, well-educated, well-looked after, living in decent houses, as you live in your own country. For that purpose, we want that this attempt at protecting India, while impoverishing her, must cease, and that you must cut down your military expenditure, come to our help, and help us to build a free, self-respecting and prosperous India. That is why I ask this House, in spite of the nefarious attempt on the part of the Honourable the Finance Member to divide the Opposition saying that some friends were not for this and some friends were not for that,—in spite of that, I ask every Honourable Member in the name of the starving, naked and hungry millions of this country, who are looking forward to help by the Congress Ministries in the Provinces, to support this Resolution unanimously. (Applause.)

Some Honourable Members : Let the question be now put :

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I do not think that there is any other Member who wants to speak.

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

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps to effect all possible economies in the Central expenditure, particularly in the Army expenditure, with a view to making ample contributions to the Provincial Governments according to their needs to enable them to undertake and accelerate the pace of nation-building activities."

The Assembly divided :

AYES—70.

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.
Abdul Qaiyum, Mr.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Anwar-ul-Aziz, Mr. Muhammad.
Asaf Ali, Mr. M.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. Ananthasayanam.
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.
Bajoria, Babu Baijnath.
Banerjee, Dr. P. N.
Bhagavan Das, Dr.
Bhagchand Soni, Bai Bahadur Seth.
Bhutto, Mr. Nabi Baksh Ishaq Baksh.
Challha, Mr. Kuladhar.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.
Chaudhury, Mr. Brojendra Narayan.
Chettiar, Mr. T. S. Avinashlingam.
Chetty, Mr. Sami Venkatachalam.
Chunder, Mr. N. O.

Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Datta, Mr. Akhil Chandra.
Desai, Mr. Bhulabhai J.
Deshmukh, Dr. G. V.
Deshmukh, Mr. G. V.
DeSouza, Dr. F. X.
Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.
Gadgil, Mr. N. V.
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.
Govind Das, Seth.
Gupta, Mr. K. S.
Hans Raj, Raizada.
Hosmani, Mr. S. K.
Ismail Khan, Haji Chaudhury Muham-
mad.
Jedhe, Mr. K. M.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.

AYES—*contd.*

Jogendra Singh, Sardar.
Joseph, Mr. George.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kailash Behari Lal, Babu.
Laluri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.
Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
Laljee, Mr. Huseebhai Abdullabhai.
Maitra, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta.
Mangal Singh, Sardar.
Miana, Pandit Shambhu Dayal.
Mudaliar, Mr. C. N. Muthuranga.
Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi, Qazi.
Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.
Paliwal, Pandit Sri Krishna Dutta.
Pande, Mr. Badri Dutt.
Parma Nand, Bhai.
Raghubir Narayan Singh, Choudhri.
Ramayan Prasad, Mr.

Ranga, Prof. N. G.
Rao, Mr. Thirumala.
Saksena, Mr. Mohan Lal.
Sant Singh, Sardar.
Santhanam, Mr. K.
Satyamurti, Mr. S.
Sham Lal, Mr.
Shaukat Ali, Maulana.
Sheodass Daga, Seth.
Siddique Ali Khan, Khan Sahib Nawab.
Singh, Mr. Gauri Shankar.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Som, Mr. Suryya Kumar.
Sri Prakasa, Mr.
Umar Aly Shah, Mr.
Varma, Mr. B. B.
Vissanji, Mr. Mathuradas.

NOES—51.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.
Aikman, Mr. A.
Buss, Mr. L. C.
Chanda, Mr. A. K.
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.
Dalal, Dr. R. D.
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.
Fuzli-Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur
Shaikh.
Fazli-Ilahi, Khan Sahib Shaikh.
Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim.
Gidney, Mr. C. W. A.
Griffiths, Mr. P. J.
Grigg, The Honourable Sir James.
Highet, Mr. J. C.
Hudson, Sir Leslie.
Hydari, Mr. M. S. A.
James, Mr. F. E.
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.
Sir.
Kamaluddin Ahmed, Shams-ul-Ulema.
Kushalpal Singh, Raja Bahadur.
Lang, Mr. J. C.
Lloyd, Mr. A. H.
Mackeown, Mr. J. A.
Manavedan Raja, Rao Bahadur K. C.
Mani, Mr. R. S.

Mehta, Mr. S. L.
Mudie, Mr. E. F.
Nagarkar, Mr. C. B.
Nayudu, Diwan Bahadur B. V. Sri Hari
Rao.
Ogilvie, Mr. C. M. G.
Parsons, Lieut.-Colonel A. E. B.
Purssell, Mr. E. S.
Rahman, Lieut.-Colonel M. A.
Roy, Mr. S. N.
Scott, Mr. J. Ramsay.
Sen, Mr. S. C.
Shahban, Mr. Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.
Sheehy, Mr. J. F.
Shar Muhammad Khan, Captain Sardar.
Sir.
Sikandar Ali Choudhury, Maulvi.
Sircar, The Honourable Sir Nripendra.
Sivaraaj, Rao Sahib N.
Slade, Mr. M.
Spence, Mr. G. H.
Staig, Mr. B. M.
Stewart, The Honourable Sir Thomas.
Sultan Ahmad, the Honourable Sir
Saiyid.
Thorne, Mr. J. A.
Yakub, Sir Muhammad.
Ziauddin Ahmad, Dr.

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION *RE* APPOINTMENT OF QUALIFIED INDIAN CADETS BY BRITISH NAVIGATION COMPANIES.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : I understand
that Mr. Abdul Qaiyum and Mr. Samuel Aaron do not
wish to move the Resolutions standing in their names.

So, I would ask Sir Muhammad Yakub to move his Resolution No. 5,
I will sit late, so that Sir Muhammad Yakub may not only move his Reso-
lution, but finish his speech.

Sir Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Mr. President, I am extremely obliged to you for the concession which you have given me in allowing me to move this Resolution this afternoon. I beg to move the following Resolution which stands in my name :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to introduce, at a very early date, legislative measures in order to compel the British Navigation Companies to take qualified Indian cadets of the I. M. M. T. S. ‘ Dufferin ’ as officers on their ships.”

Mr. President, without making any preliminary remarks, I will start with my arguments on the Resolution. The House knows that the I. M. M. T. S. “ Dufferin ” was started as a result of the report of the Mercantile Marine Committee. One of the terms of reference to the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India on the 3rd of February, 1923, was that they should consider what measures could usefully be taken “ for the establishment of a Nautical College in Indian waters for the purpose of training Executive Officers and Engineers of ships ”.

The Committee recommended that a Training Ship should be established in Indian waters and should be in the form of a Floating Establishment and that it should be maintained by the Government. The Committee inquired by a circular letter addressed to the Managing Agents of the British India Steam Navigation Co., the Asiatic Steam Navigation Co., the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., and the Mogul Line whether they would be prepared to accept for training on board their steamers a certain number of Indians as apprentices from the Training Ship to be established in Indian waters and employ them when they were duly qualified as Officers on board their ships, provided they proved efficient and satisfactory as apprentices and successfully passed their Board of Trade qualifying examinations as Mates and Masters. The Committee received a reply in the affirmative from the Shipping Companies named above both as regards their taking these cadets as apprentices for giving them training and for employing them as Officers when they were duly qualified. The point to be noted and emphasised is that the crux of the whole problem for the creation of an Indian personnel for the sea service was the opportunities that would be available for these cadets for employment as Officers. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee realised that from the very start and obtained an assurance in writing from the Companies named above that they would give training to these cadets as apprentices and later on employ them as Officers when they were duly qualified. The following observations of the Committee on the point deserve to be carefully noted :

“ While appreciating the readiness expressed by the existing lines to take Indian apprentices and to employ them as Officers after they have been fully trained, we have come to the conclusion, after careful consideration, that the success of the scheme we are proposing for the training and future employment of Indian lads so trained should not be left to chance or the good will of Shipping Companies. We are, therefore, providing in our recommendations for the coastal trade that before a license is granted to any company an undertaking must be given that apprentices will be taken to the extent of at least two per ship, subject to a maximum of 60 for any one company, and that Indian officers and engineers as they become eligible will be employed up to the extent of 50 per cent. of the total number of Officers and Engineers employed. In this way it is hoped in course of time to bring about the complete Indianisation of the superior personnel on the coastal Mercantile Marine.”

Even the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee realised that the question of the future employment should not be left to chance or the good will of Shipping Companies. They thought that the compulsory employment of the Officers was necessary to make the scheme for the creation of an Indian personnel in the sea service under the existing circumstances quite successful.

It was in 1925 that the Legislative Assembly adopted a Resolution for the establishment of a Training Ship in Indian waters and it was in 1927 that the Training Ship was established in the Harbour of Bombay.

The question as regards the prospects of employment was exercising the serious thought of all concerned and Lord Irwin made the following appeal in his speech at the Annual Session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Cawnpore on the 6th December, 1926 :

“Of equal importance to Indian shipping is the question of its personnel. (There has for some time been a very natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. The Government has accordingly decided to establish a Training Ship at Karachi next year, and the Board of Trade have agreed to recognise the course, on the same footing as the Nautical Colleges in England, for the purposes of certificates of competency.) It is, however, no use training Indians in this way unless they have a career open to them. I hope, therefore, that British shipping companies will co-operate to make the training ship a success by giving fair opportunity of employment to Indian cadets.”

It was Lord Irwin who himself realised, as indicated in the above observation, that it was no use training Indians unless they had a career open to them. Thus the question of employment was of fundamental importance for making the scheme a success.

The members of the Governing Body realised the importance of the question of employment from its very preliminary meeting and the views which they expressed on the subject made the Government of India revise their draft notice and delete the following objectionable clause therefrom :

“It must, however, be clearly understood that Government cannot guarantee that Steamship Companies will be able to take as apprentices all the cadets who have successfully completed their training on the Training Ship, or that appointments will be found for them on completion of their sea service as apprentices.”

Moreover, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who was carrying on conversation at Simla on the subject of employment, was definitely assured both by Sir Geoffrey Corbett, the then Commerce Secretary, and by Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy, that the Government of India would not hesitate to take suitable action by law if these cadets did not get employment as Officers when they were duly qualified. It was only after such definite assurances were given that the notice was issued which assured the public that there would be fair prospects for employment for those cadets who were duly qualified and gave satisfaction in all respects.

The Governing Body also obtained assurances from the British India Steam Navigation Company, the Asiatic Steam Navigation Company, the Mogul Line, the Nourse Line and the Scindia Steam Navigation Company that they would employ duly qualified cadets of the Training Ship as Officers on their vessels. The Peninsular and Oriental Company, which has been enjoying very large patronage both from the people and

[Sir Muhammad Yakub.]

the Government of India, made it clear that they would not employ duly qualified cadets of the Training Ship as Officers on their vessels. In their letter marked Private, dated the 3rd October, 1929, they wrote :

“ The boys and their parents should both clearly understand that when the apprenticeship is finished this Company's responsibility entirely ceases and there is no promise of further employment.”

Later on, they made it definitely clear that they would not employ these cadets as Officers. This point deserves to be carefully noted, since the Peninsular and Oriental Company has been enjoying large patronage both from the people and the Government of India and consequently the Governing Body at their meeting in April, 1935, requested the Government of India to use all their influence with that Company to take duly qualified cadets of the Training Ship as Officers on their vessels.

The Mercantile Marine Committee, Lord Irwin as representing the Government of India and the Governing Body were seriously alive from the very start to the fact that unless reasonable chances for employment as Officers were secured for the duly qualified cadets of the Training Ship, the scheme would not be successful and an Indian personnel for the sea service would not come into existence.

It was because this aspect was considered as of supreme importance that Lord Irwin again in 1928 made the following observation at the Annual Session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta :

“ On the same occasion I spoke of a question of vital concern to Indian shipping, the question of its *personnel*, and the natural desire on the part of Indians to take a greater part in the transport systems of their country. To help to meet this claim the ‘ Dufferin Training Ship ’ was established, and I should like to acknowledge the assistance of British shipping companies in helping to start the ship and the interest that their representatives take as members of the Governing Body. It is also a cause for great satisfaction that shipping companies should have shown themselves willing to take ‘ Dufferin ’ cadets as apprentices, and I earnestly trust that Indian cadets will prove their capacity and will eventually find employment by companies which have given them their apprentice training.”

In 1929 Sir George Rainy as Commerce Member conveyed the assurances to the Members of the Indian Legislature on the same subject and stated :

“ While anxious to avoid giving the impression that employment is assured to every passed apprentice, Government desire to emphasise the opportunities of employment which exist for those apprentices who give satisfaction.”—

and what the members of the Governing Body and the public are now pointing out to the Government of India is that the opportunities of employment which the Government of India emphasised *do not exist* inasmuch as the Peninsular and Oriental Company have refused to employ these cadets as Officers and the British India have only taken four and have given the Governing Body to understand that they would not be able to implement their undertaking and the Asiatic Company and the Mogul Line and Nourse Line do not employ these cadets as Officers. It will, therefore, be apparent that the opportunities of employment which were emphasised by the Government of India and on the strength of which the parents sent their boys to this Training Ship

by spending nearly Rs. 5,000 for each boy do not now exist and that is just what the members of the Governing Body and the public want the Government to create by bringing all their influence to bear on the shipping companies who gave their undertaking in the past and which were loudly proclaimed in season and out of season.

The Members of the Legislative Assembly have taken a very keen interest in this subject and have asked questions from time to time in the Legislative Assembly. When they inquired of the Government as to why they were not legislating on the lines of the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee for the compulsory employment of these cadets as Officers, the Government stated :

“ They do not consider that the need to give effect to the recommendation of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee referred to by the Honourable Member had arisen.”

It must be noted that they did not say that they would not legislate on those lines, because the Government of India realised that Lord Irwin had given his word to Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and the other members of the Governing Body that in case these cadets did not find employment, the Government of India would not hesitate to take action by law. The emergency has arisen now inasmuch as employment will have to be found for nearly 30 cadets as Officers and the British shipping companies have made it clear that they would not be able to take them as Officers. Why should not the Government of India not legislate now on the lines recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee.

When an inquiry was made in the Legislative Assembly as to why conditions were not attached as regards the training and employment of Indians as Officers on board the steamers of the Companies which were granted mail subsidies, the Honourable Sir Frank Noyce stated :

“ Up till now no serious difficulty has been experienced in securing employment for suitable qualified Indian apprentices and officers. Should necessity arise, the suggestion contained in the question will no doubt be considered.”

The necessity has arisen. Will Government be now prepared to attach conditions at any rate so far as the steamers getting subsidies are concerned ? Why do the Government of India merely adopt the policy of drift, because it is the British shipping companies that are concerned ? This very Government of India are ready to issue circulars after circulars asking the people of India to patronise the British shipping companies both as regards travel and as regards the import and export of goods. Why are they then afraid to ask these very British shipping companies, for whose benefit they have been working so hard, to employ these cadets as Officers according to their undertaking in the past ? Again only in last March the Commerce Member assured the Members of the Assembly in the following unequivocal words :

“ The Government will take steps to impress on all shipping companies, whether British or Indian, engaged in the coastal trade, the importance of employing duly qualified Indian Officers in adequate numbers.”

The words “ in adequate numbers ” deserve to be noted. Can we not ask the Government of India whether the British shipping companies have employed these cadets in adequate numbers. When the British

[Sir Muhammad Yakub.]

India with more than 70 ships on the coast have employed only four cadets as Officers and the Asiatic, the Mogul Line and the Nourse Line have employed none and while the Peninsular and Oriental have refused to employ any, will the Government of India call such a state of affairs as equivalent to the employment of Indian cadets as Officers in adequate numbers? It is true that the British shipping companies have been taking up these cadets as apprentices, but what will these apprentices do, when they obtain their certificates of competency, if these British shipping companies refuse, as they do, to employ them as Officers? Mere training without the prospect of employment will only increase the number of discontented young men remaining out of employment.

The latest position seems to be that out of the 99 cadets who joined the Training Ship in 1927, 1929 and 1930 and who have gone to sea, 15 did not follow the sea career. Of the remaining 84, three joined the River Survey, five took to the Engineering Line, four went to the Royal Indian Navy, one entered the Royal Air Force, seven were taken into the Bengal Pilot Service and one was absorbed by the Calcutta Port Commissioners. Twenty-one cadets thus out of 84 found employment in services other than the service afloat. It would not be possible for shore establishments to absorb so many cadets hereafter every year. Vacancies were advisedly kept open in the Bengal Pilot Service which took seven cadets at a stroke. In future years they would not be able to take more than two per year. Of the remaining 63, 29 are serving as Officers afloat. This leaves a balance of 34. Twenty-four will have completed their sea time by the end of the last year and it will, therefore, be clear that employment will have to be found for 34 cadets as Officers during the current year. This is rather a serious problem to solve. Unless the British shipping companies implement their promise and employ these cadets as Officers on their vessels in adequate numbers, as referred to by the Commerce Member, it would be difficult to secure employment for these cadets, and unless the cadets are employed, the Training Ship would not achieve the object for which it has been started.

The Governing Body has been fully alive to the question of employment. In 1931 a comprehensive inquiry was made and the Governing Body came to the conclusion that the prospects of employment were uncertain. In 1935 the Governing Body realised that the problem of non-employment was becoming serious and appealed to the Government of India to use their influence with the shipping companies to persuade them to employ these cadets as Officers in larger numbers. The Government of India, instead of giving any definite assurance on the subject, suggested certain changes of fundamental nature in the Prospectus. The Governing Body came to the conclusion that no such changes should be made and emphasised that all that the Government of India had said in the past establish the fact very clearly that it was their moral responsibility to see that these cadets did obtain employment as Officers on steamers plying in coastal and adjacent waters. It would be wrong to turn this Training Ship as a public school and to emphasise the public school aspect of education. That was not the intention of the Government of India from the very start, because they themselves stated in

their resolution No. 238-S. (9), dated the 25th November, 1925, Department of Commerce :

“ It should be borne in mind that the object of the Training Ship is to train boys for a sea career and not to add one more to the educational institutions of the country designed to train boys for ordinary avocations.”

It must be realised that a father who sends his boy to the Training Ship spends on an average nearly Rs. 5,000 during the course of three years that the boy would be undergoing training in the Ship as against Rs. 500 at the most which he would spend if the boy was to receive education on shore. He sends the boy in the faith and hope that he would receive employment in the sea service. It would be cruel to tell him now that he could look upon it as a public school and his boy could follow any other career on shore. The result is that the number of candidates has been falling. In 1935 there were 218 candidates, in 1936 the number fell to 180 and in 1937 to 124 ; and when this change in the prospectus will be known to the Public, I think the number will fall still more. This laying of more stress in the public school aspect of education is an afterthought by the Government of India, possibly as they realised that they were quite helpless to persuade the British shipping companies to carry out their undertaking and employ these cadets as Officers. If that was the real reason, the proper remedy is to take suitable action by law, but not to go back upon all their undertaking and make a change in the Prospectus and tell the public that the Training Ship was also a public school for education.

With these remarks, Sir, and thanking you again for the concession you have given me, I move my Resolution.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) : Resolution moved :

“ That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to introduce, at a very early date, legislative measures in order to compel the British Navigation Companies to take qualified Indian cadets of the I. M. M. T. S. ‘ Dufferin ’ as officers on their ships.”

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 6th September, 1937.