

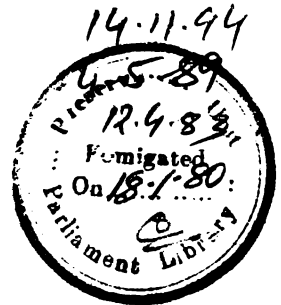
12th November 1940

THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES
(Official Report)

Volume IV, 1940

(5th November to 18th November, 1940)

TWELFTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1940



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 12th November, 1940.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at eleven of the clock; Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

WANT OF SHUNTING FACILITIES AT BUKHTIARPUR JUNCTION OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

48. Mr. Muhammad Nauman: (a) Is the Honourable Member for Railways aware :

- (i) that there is considerable detention of working goods trains at Bukhtiarpur Junction in Dinapore Division of the East Indian Railway for want of shunting facilities, resulting in unnecessary expenditure on the running of these trains;
- (ii) that such trains have also on that account to be stabled;
- (iii) that successive station-masters of Bukhtiarpur have been writing to the Divisional Superintendent, Dinapore, for the extension of the yard and the introduction of 'B' class system of working at Bukhtiarpur;
- (iv) that 'B' class system of working had actually been introduced in 1927, but later was withdrawn; and
- (v) that, due to the present war condition, it is not possible to extend the yard at present?

(b) If the answers to parts (i), (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v) be in the affirmative, do Government propose economising expenditure on these trains by introducing single line system of working within the local limits only of Bukhtiarpur to relieve one line for shunting purposes?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Enquiries are being made from the Railway Administration and a reply will be laid on the table in due course.

DUTIES AND EMOLUMENTS OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR, KAMARAN.

49. *Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha: (a) Will the Foreign Secretary please state the duties and emoluments of the Civil Administrator, Kamaran?

(b) How much of his time does he ordinarily devote to the work of pilgrims?

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

(c) What part of his salary is met from Government funds and what part from the quarantine fees realised from pilgrims?

(d) Will he get any pension or gratuity from the amount of fees collected from pilgrims when he retires from service?

Mr. O. K. Garoe: (a) The Civil Administrator, Kamaran, is responsible for the entire administration of the Island. He is also the Director of the Quarantine Station and in that capacity exercises general supervision and control over the whole staff of the station. He is employed on contract and draws pay in the scale of Rs. 900 (probation)—950—100—1,350, subject to proportionate reduction by the amount of pension he may be drawing.

(b) Like other members of the staff he is in touch with the pilgrims during the pilgrim season and for the rest of the year he is in charge of the arrangements which are made for the pilgrims.

(c) The entire pay of the Civil Administrator is met from quarantine revenues.

(d) No pension or gratuity is granted as a rule, but any case requiring special treatment is considered on its merits and the amount involved charged to the Quarantine Station Fund.

DACCA MAIL DISASTER.

50. *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state the cause or causes of the 8 Down Dacca Mail disaster on the 5th August, 1940?

(b) Was any enquiry committee appointed to enquire into the cause or causes of disaster, and who were the members of the committee?

(c) Did the committee submit any report? If so, will the Honourable Member place a copy of the report on the table of the House?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The cause of the accident was the removal of a rail from the track before the arrival of the train.

(b) and (c). No: the accident was enquired into by the Senior Government Inspector, a copy of whose report is in the Library of the House.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know, Sir, why in these cases no judicial inquiry was made?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Honourable Member was not present during the debate which took place last week, from it he will find the reasons.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Was any inquiry made by the Provincial Government?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I believe the Provincial Government has decided to make no judicial inquiry.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know, Sir, whether the Provincial Government approached the Central Government on the matter of this inquiry, and did the Central Government offer any advice to them?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I am not sure what the Honourable Member means, when he asks whether the Provincial Government approached the Central Government, but there has been a certain amount of correspondence on the subject.

Mr. K. Santhanam: May I know if the Central Government suggested to the Provincial Government that an inquiry need not be held?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I am not prepared to disclose any correspondence which took place demi-officially between two Governments.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Am I to understand then that the Honourable Member does not deny that the Government of India might have suggested to the Provincial Government that no inquiry need be held?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Honourable Member is not going to get it disclosed by asking whether I deny or affirm it.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know, Sir, whether the Government Inspector is still under the control of the Railway Department or he is made independent of that Department?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: He is subordinate to the Railway Department, but not to the Railway Administration.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know whether Government propose to remove him from the control of the Railway Department and place him under some other Department?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: They have that question under consideration.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know, Sir, for how long have the Government of India been considering that question?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I think during last year, actively.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Is the Honourable Member aware that in the new Constitution of the Railway Board the Government Inspector is made independent of the Railway Department?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I believe that is so.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know, therefore, that this question has been under the consideration of the Government for a much longer time?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Not actively, Sir. I think the question was raised in this House in the Budget before last, and it was raised in the Council of State in the last Session.

RELIEF GIVEN TO THE VICTIMS OF THE DACCA MAIL DISASTER.

51. ***Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury:** (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state how many people were killed as a result of the 8 Down Dacca Mail accident and how many were injured?

(b) What steps, if any, were taken to render first aid to the injured, and what steps, if any, were taken for giving medical relief to the injured after the first aid?

(c) Were any steps taken to repatriate the injured to their homes at railway expense?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to the copy of the Senior Government Inspector's report on the accident which is in the Library of the House.

(c) Yes.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know, Sir, how many of the injured were repatriated at Railway expense?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have not got the numbers here.

ACCIDENTS TO THE DACCA MAIL IN 1939 AND 1940.

52. *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state the total number of accidents to the Dacca Mail in 1939 and 1940?

(b) Is it a fact that the accidents are mostly due to defective engines?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Government only receives information of serious accidents as defined in the Government of India, Railway Department, Notification No. 1926-T., dated the 19th March 1930. There have been two such accidents, one in 1939, and one in 1940.

(b) No.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know, Sir, what is the cause of these accidents if it is not due to bad rails?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The reason for the first accident was one train crashed into another train which was standing at a station; the reason for the second accident was removal of a rail.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: By whom was the rail removed?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: If the Honourable Member will give me their names, I shall be very grateful to him indeed.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: If the inquiries disclosed that the accident was due to sabotage, may I know if the miscreants have been traced out?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Investigations are still proceeding.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I know, Sir, if the Honourable Member has been in communication with the Provincial Government to find out what steps they took or are taking on this particular section to trace the miscreants?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Steps are being taken to trace out the miscreants, but I do not know whether they will be successful or not.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Are these steps taken by the Government of India or by the Government of Bengal?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I think by both; we have had a police officer on special duty.

Mr. Badri Dutt Pande: Are these lines guarded by the police?

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

DIVERSION OF CARRIAGE OF POSTAL MAILS BETWEEN SYLHET AND SHILLONG FROM ROAD TO RAILWAY.

53. *Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: Will the Honourable Member for Communications please state:

- (a) the reason for the diversion of carriage of postal mails between Sylhet and Shillong from the road to the railway;
- (b) the time taken for carriage of the mails by the respective routes and their respective lengths;
- (c) the steps that are being taken, or are contemplated, to restore the old route by road, and when it is expected to be restored;
- (d) whether it is a fact that for some time mails were carried by a passenger-carrier concern at a nominal charge of rupee one per year and that contract is no longer available having been terminated by the Postal authorities themselves;
- (e) whether offers to run these mails are still available at Rs. 300 a month, and why the offers are not accepted;
- (f) the volume and income from these mails; the reasons for refusing the offers; whether the importance and income-value of these mails do not warrant the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 300 a month which works at about one anna per road mile;
- (g) whether any communications passed between the Government of Assam and the postal authorities about carriage of these mails;
- (h) whether the above mentioned contract at rupee one only was terminated on the advice of the Government of Assam, before making suitable arrangements to carry the mails by road;
- (i) whether the postal authorities used discretion, or merely accepted the advice of the Provincial Government;
- (j) the present cost of carriage of these mails by railway route and otherwise by runners, etc.; and
- (k) the cost per road-mile of carriage of mails by motor vehicles on other hill roads of the province?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The reason is that the remuneration demanded by the contractor for conveying mails by motor was excessive.

(b) The distance by direct road from Sylhet to Shillong is 86 miles and the time taken to convey mails by motor was 6 hours and 5 minutes. The distance by railway route *via* Lumding and Gauhati by road from Gauhati to Shillong is 368 miles and the time taken is 40 hours.

(c) The matter is under examination in consultation with the Provincial Government.

(d) The reply is in the affirmative except that the amount paid was Re. 1 per month and not per year.

(e) Yes, the offer was not accepted as the amount demanded was considered excessive and unjustified.

(f) The average weight of mails carried by road between Sylhet and Shillong was about two maunds a day. Information about the income from these mails is not available. Government do not consider that either the volume or the importance of the mails warrant the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 300 per month.

(g) and (h). Yes.

(i) In view of certain information received from the Provincial Government, the local postal authorities considered it necessary to give notice of termination of the contract.

(j) Rs. 72-8-0 per month.

(k) The cost varies from five annas three pies per mile to ten pies per mile.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: Is it a fact, Sir, that it was due to financial reasons that this mail route was diverted?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have given the reason for the diversion of the mail route in the reply which I just read out.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: I find, Sir, according to the information placed before the House by the Honourable the Communications Member, that formerly the mail was carried at Re. 1 per month; may I know what is the cost now for carrying the mail from Sylhet to Shillong?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I also gave that figure in my reply to part (j).

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: May I know, Sir, when the cost is so small as Re. 1 per month, what is the financial gain on account of the diversion of the mail route?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: It is not a question of financial gain. It is a question of cutting down the financial loss; the difference is that between Rs. 72-8-0 and Rs. 300 per month.

Maulvi Abdur Rasheed Chaudhury: It was carried at Re. 1 per month?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Yes, but the Contractor is not willing to carry it at that rate now.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What was the amount tendered by the contractors for carrying the mails by motor?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The amount demanded was, I think, Rs. 300.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What was the rate before that?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: One rupee per month.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE MATTER OF PASSES AND PRIVILEGE TICKET ORDERS BETWEEN AN ADOPTED AND STEP-SON ON STATE RAILWAYS.

54. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) With reference to the supplementary question to my starred question No. 521, asked on the 26th August, 1938, will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that step-children of an employee on the North Western Railway are entitled to passes and privilege ticket orders, even when he has natural born legitimate children of his own?

(b) Is it a fact that under the present railway rules, an adopted child loses the privilege of passes and privilege ticket orders, when the employee is blessed with his natural born legitimate child?

(c) If the reply to parts (a) and (b) be in the affirmative, what are the reasons for discrimination in the matter of passes and privilege ticket orders between an adopted and step-son?

(d) Are Government aware that the right of adoption is permitted only to Hindus, who have generally no step-children amongst them and that this restriction is objected to by the Hindu employees?

(e) Is it proposed to issue instructions to ensure equal treatment to employees of all communities by allowing similar treatment to the step and adopted children in the matter of railway passes and privilege ticket orders? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) and (d). The difference was based on the legal position in respect of adoption. I have not seen any complaints from employees on this score, but the question will be re-examined.

(e) If any further instructions are issued to State-managed railways, they will be based on the principle of according similar treatment in the matter of passes and privilege ticket orders to the children of employees of all communities.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member if, when there are more than one son who are natural born, all of them will be entitled to passes, or only one?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I think they are all entitled to passes.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I ask if the Honourable Member knows that even if when an adopted son is there, a natural son is born, the adopted son continues to be a son, and both the natural born son and the adopted son are considered as two sons? Then, why should they not get passes? Will the Honourable Member consider the question from that point of view?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: The Honourable Member seems to be arguing. I have promised that the question will be re-examined.

Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: May I know whether there is any proposal with the Government of India for the abolition of passes altogether?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The abolition of passes is not under consideration at present.

Mr. Sri Prakasa: With reference to the reply to part (d) of the question, is it not a fact that plenty of Hindus have plenty of natural born legitimate step-children?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have never heard of a natural born legitimate step-child. (Laughter.)

PERCENTAGE RESERVED FOR MUSLIMS IN LABOUR AND INFERIOR SERVICE ON STATE RAILWAYS.

55. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether any percentage has been reserved for Muslim community in labour and inferior services on the Indian State Railways and particularly on the North Western Railway? If so, what is that percentage for each railway, separately?

(b) If the reply to the first portion of part (a) above be in the affirmative, will the Honourable Member please state under what rules or resolution of the Government of India percentages of services on the railways have been reserved for minority communities in inferior and labour services?

(c) Is it a fact that the percentage of subordinate services to which the principle of communal reservation in services applies is fixed at 60 per cent. for Muslims on the North Western Railway? If so, why does the North Western Railway administration apply the ratio of 70·1 per cent. or thereabouts for recruitment to the inferior and labour services?

(d) Does the Honourable Member propose to redress the inequalities? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Specific percentages of 29·7 and 61·3 have been reserved for the Muslim community in recruitment to inferior services, including labourers, on the Eastern Bengal and North Western Railways respectively. No such percentages have been prescribed for Muslims on the East Indian, and Great Indian Peninsula Railways.

(b) Under executive orders issued by the Railway Board.

(c) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the latter part, the percentage reserved for the Muslim community on the North Western Railway for recruitment to inferior services, including labourers, is 61·3 and not 70·1, as stated by the Honourable Member.

(d) As the answer to part (c) indicates there is no large difference between the percentages for subordinates and for inferior services, but the question of the percentages fixed for the latter will receive consideration in connection with the examination of Mr. D'Souza's report.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know why it is that on the North Western Railway 60 per cent. has been fixed, and elsewhere it is less?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: 60 per cent. is for subordinates. The percentages were fixed with a view to giving larger percentages in areas where there was a large Muslim population and smaller percentages in areas where their population was small.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Then, while there are more Muhammadans in the tract traversed by the Eastern Bengal Railway, why is it that the number there is less?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Honourable Member is, I think, confusing two things. He is now referring to inferior services. In the case of inferior services, the percentages were based on the actual representation of communities in the railway services at the time the orders were issued.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I, therefore, request the Honourable Member—I refer not to the superior services—that the question of distribution by means of this communal representation may be gone into now as enquiry will be made with regard to the report that has come?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The question will be examined in respect of the inferior services, but I am not myself convinced that there is any case for revision in the case of subordinates.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether the percentage of employees is equal to the percentage of the population between the two sections of the population or is in excess?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The actual numbers in employment—I have not got the figures with me, but I imagine that the percentage of Muslims is smaller than the percentage of the population.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask what is the reason for giving larger percentage in the employment?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The reason why the Hindus and others have a larger percentage of employment is that there was no communal reservation until very recently and therefore it did not have time to have full effect.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Is it maintained in the recruitment of the ordinary labour force?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: There is a percentage fixed only in the two railways I have mentioned.

COMMUNAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE PROMOTION OF GUARDS FROM GRADE II TO GRADE III ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

56. ***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the number of grade II guards recently promoted to grade III, on the North Western Railway, and the communities from which they were drawn giving separately the number for each?

(b) Were those persons promoted on the top of the seniority list of grade II guards for the whole of the North Western Railway?

(c) If the reply to part (b) above be in the negative, what was the individual position in the seniority list of guards grade II of each man so promoted?

(d) Is it a fact that the promotion of guards was made on communal considerations? If so, why is it at variance with the Honourable Member's speech printed on page 717 of the Legislative Assembly Debates for Monday, the 26th February, 1940?

(e) If the reply to part (d) be in the negative, what justification was there to deprive senior grade II guards of their promotion?

(f) What steps do Government propose to take to ensure that there be no communal discrimination in the matter of promotions? If not, why not?

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

REPRESENTATION FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A TRUNK ROAD FROM HYDERABAD (SIND) TO BOMBAY *via* BADIN AND VIRAMGAM.

57. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state whether Government received any representation for construction of a trunk road from Hyderabad (Sind) to Bombay *via* Badin and Viramgam? If so, how was the same disposed of?

(b) If the reply to part (a) above be in the negative, do Government propose to consider this question, specially, when the proposal of having the Sind Bombay direct railway connection has been suspended?

(c) Are Government aware that the Honorary Secretary of Sind Road Development Branch made a report that the State officials in Kathiawar, etc., appeared to be interested in the project? Do Government propose to ask the Central Road Traffic Board, or the authority responsible for road development, to take up this matter? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) and (b). No.

(c) I have seen the report. The answer to the second part of the question is in the negative. If the Provincial Governments or other authorities primarily responsible for road development wish to develop communications in this direction, it is open to them to do so, and if any Government desires to utilize any part of its share of the Road Fund on the project, the Government of India will consider such a proposal. Having regard to other and more urgent demands, I can hold out no prospect of allocations from the Central Reserve of that Fund for the purpose in present circumstances.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Has there been any communication with the Indian States in whose areas such a road would pass?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Government of India have not made proposals for such a road.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: With regard to the last part of my question, making an enquiry from the States through which the road is to pass is a Central business and not the Provincial Government's. Therefore, I ask, will the Honourable Member make an enquiry from those States, and if they give facilities, then the Government of India might help?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: As I have already explained, we are not in a position to help this project from the Central Reserve.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: At present it may be, but will the Honourable Member do it from the point of view I have put, so that the Provincial Government may do something?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has already replied. Next question.

APPOINTMENT OF CANDIDATES IN THE POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS SUBORDINATE SERVICE IN THE SIND AND BALUCHISTAN CIRCLE WITHOUT THE PRODUCTION OF VALID DOMICILE CERTIFICATES.

58. *Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state whether it is a fact that appointments in the subordinate Posts and Telegraphs service, are confined (i) to the inhabitants of the circle, or (ii) to persons domiciled in the circle in which vacancies are filled?

(b) Is it a fact that a domicile certificate attested by the Collector of the District, in case of candidates referred to in item (ii) of part (a) above, is to be attached with the application for appointment?

(c) Is it a fact that in certain divisions of Sind and Baluchistan circle, such as Baluchistan and Karachi General Post office, etc., certain candidates have been appointed without such domicile certificates having been produced? If so, why?

(d) Is it a fact that certain candidates in these or other divisions of this circle, have produced certificates from Justices of Peace or Honorary Magistrates only? If so, why have such certificates been accepted?

(e) Is it a fact that rules provide that the domicile of the son is the same as that of his father, and of no other relative, unless the old domicile is abandoned and a new one acquired by the candidate by residence for the prescribed period?

(f) If the answer to parts (b) and (c) above be in the affirmative, do Government propose to issue necessary orders to reject such certificates and declare the appointments invalid? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Candidates must as a general rule belong to the revenue division concerned, but sons and dependants of Posts and Telegraphs employees are eligible for the division where the employee is serving and Anglo-Indians are eligible throughout India.

(b) The certificate need not be attested by the Collector. A candidate is also permitted to produce a domicile certificate signed by any gazetted officer of the Central Government or the Provincial Government or a Justice of the Peace, provided these officers are able to say from their personal knowledge that having regard to the regulations existing in the Province with regard to domicile, the candidates for whom they are giving the certificates are domiciled in the particular area in which they are applying for employment.

(c) Yes; a certain number of Muslims who had qualified in the Punjab were appointed to reserved vacancies for which Sindhi Muslims were not available.

(d) No certificates produced from Honorary Magistrates were accepted. Certificates from Justices of the Peace were, however, accepted in view of the position explained in the reply to part (b).

(e) The rules of domicile prescribed by the Local Governments in that Circle do so provide.

(f) In view of the position explained in the replies to parts (b) and (c), Government do not propose to issue any such orders.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I ask if the Honourable Member is aware that many certificates of domicile are presented which are easily obtainable from the Justices of the Peace?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: Does the Honourable Member mean incorrect certificates?

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: Yes.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: No such case has come to my notice.

CATERING AS A SOURCE OF INCOME TO RAILWAY ADMINISTRATIONS.

59. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state whether it is not a fact that the Central Advisory Committee for Railways has advised Government that catering should not be used as a source of income by Railway administration?

(b) Was it not the intention that the Railway administration should charge nominal fees from vendors, tea-stalls and refreshment rooms to cover out-of-pocket expenses incurred by the Railways?

(c) Has the Railway Board fixed minimum and maximum charges to be levied on these vendors by different Railways? If so, what are the maximum and minimum charges?

(d) Are these fees charged from the hawkers and contractors in lump sums or according to the numbers of hawkers and bearers they employ?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) It is not a fact: the Honourable Member's attention is invited to page 2 of the Central Advisory Council's proceedings for the 16th September, 1939.

(b) No

(c) and (d). The fixation of charges and the method by which they are levied has been left to Railway Administrations acting in consultation with Local Advisory Committees. The practice varies on different Railways.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: May I know from the Honourable Member whether those rates have now been provided and fixed, or are enquiries still being made?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I am not sure what rates the Honourable Member is referring to.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: I mean, vendor's license fees.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: There was no question of their being fixed at the centre.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: According to certain rates the vendors have to pay so much for rent, so much for license fee. Have all that been uniformly fixed at least on the North Western Railway?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think there was any question of fixing them at all uniformly. I have here the rates on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, but there is no question of fixing uniform rates to be applied all over India.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Is it a fact that the Advisory Committee in 1937 definitely laid down that catering should not be considered to be a source of income to the administration, and, in the memorandum presented to the Railway Board in September, 1939, it advocated the reversal of the policy, but it was an expression of opinion by the Railway Board. In view of this established policy of the Railway administration, that catering should not be taken to be a source of income to the Railways, why has he issued instructions to the contrary?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think it was ever laid down that catering should not be a source of income. I would refer the Honourable Member to the last conclusion of the Central Advisory Council on the subject. Certain members added an opinion, to that regarding the making of catering a source of profit, not a source of income, but that was only their view and not of the Council as a whole.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Is it the opinion of the Honourable Member that catering should be taken as a source of income to the railways? I want an answer "Yes" or "No".

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think the Honourable Member is entitled to ask me my opinion at question time.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I am not asking for your opinion. I want to know whether the Government have issued instructions or is adopting the policy that catering should be taken as a source of income to the railways.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Honourable Member began by asking whether it was my opinion?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I did not ask for the opinion of the Honourable Member.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The Railway Board endorsed in their instructions the conclusions reached by the Central Advisory Council.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CHARGING RENT FOR USE OF RAILWAY REFRESHMENT ROOMS AND STALLS.

60. *Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state whether the Railway Board have issued instructions that rent should be charged for the use of refreshment rooms and stalls?

(b) If so, what is the basis of these charges?

(c) Is any differentiation made between Indian and European refreshment rooms? If so, why?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The Railway Board have prescribed that reasonable charges must be levied for refreshment rooms and for licenses from vendors.

(b) The basis of rent for refreshment rooms is that an economic rent be charged in all cases except when after consultation with the Local Advisory Committee the Administration concerned decides that it is necessary to charge a lower rent or even no rent to avoid the necessity of withdrawing an existing facility.

(c) The instructions make no such differentiation.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: What is the definition of reasonable rate? Does the definition of reasonable rate include a profit to the administration?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: "Reasonable" must depend on the circumstances of the time.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Does it include a profit to the administration or not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think it is possible to separate profit in a case like that. The idea is that they should be given on reasonable rates. I do not see how it is possible to say that so much is profit and so much is not.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Will the Honourable Member give a straight reply to my straight question. Is it the policy of the Government to derive benefit from the catering on railway platforms and make it a source of income.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The policy is to derive a reasonable income where it is possible.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The Railway Board's idea of reasonable is always expressed in lakhs and crores.

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

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: The Honourable Member said that in consultation with advisory committees the Railway Administration may charge refreshment rooms either nominal rents or no rent at all. May I know whether these exemptions have been generally exercised in favour of European refreshment rooms.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I do not think it is at all general.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: May I know why the Railway Administration has not exercised these exemptions in the case of Indian refreshment rooms?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I can think of one case where it has been.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: On the same station, while the Indian refreshment rooms are being charged for, English refreshment rooms are not being charged for. This is at one and the same railway station.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I said in reply to the previous question that there is a case.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Will the Honourable Member give the reason why the economic rent which is charged from the Indian refreshment rooms is not being charged from English refreshment rooms.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The question of economic rent differs in different cases. If you cannot get a contractor to carry on an amenity at the same rent, you have got to lower the rent or else close down the amenity altogether.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Is it because of the small number of customers that come to English refreshment rooms, as compared to Indian refreshment rooms, that no rent is charged?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I think that is very probably the explanation.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: In view of the fact that people going to the European refreshment rooms are generally well to do, will Government consider the advisability of giving no exemption in favour of European refreshment rooms?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I have no doubt that if the Honourable Member opposite or any other person would come forward and offer a substantial economic rent for carrying on that facility, the railways would be the first to welcome it.

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: You may abolish these European refreshment rooms, if they are not running economically?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: There is not much point in abolishing them, if they can continue without loss to the railways.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: In the case of Indian refreshment rooms which are running at a loss, will Government consider the desirability of not charging any rent from them?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: If the railway administration found that Indian caterers were not willing to come forward at the rates fixed, I have no doubt they would lower the rents or abolish them.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Have the Government ever applied a test of that kind in the case of English refreshment rooms?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: The question is very general. If the Honourable Member will put down a question regarding a specific case, I shall try to give him an answer.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXCESS RESERVATION FOR MUSLIMS IN THE VACANCIES OF WORKS MISTRIES BY THE GENERAL MANAGER, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

39. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the General Manager,

North Western Railway, has issued instructions to the Divisional Superintendents that 70·1 per cent. or two vacancies of Works Mistries in their respective divisions, should be given to Muslims and the remaining percentage or one vacancy be treated as unreserved?

(b) Is it a fact that it has further been ordered that this proportion be allotted for each year, and on the advent of the new year no balance of recruitment in the unreserved category be carried forward?

(c) Is it a fact that the number of Works Mistries' vacancies in each division generally does not exceed two per year, which is below 70·1 per cent., with the consequence that only Muslims are recruited in these posts, while members of other communities get no chance of appointment?

(d) Is it a fact that some Divisional Superintendents have protested against this procedure as being unfair to the members of other than Muslim community? If so, what action has been taken in the matter? If none, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) The instructions are of the character indicated by the Honourable Member but the percentage which he quotes refers only to the Karachi Division.

(b) No. A running account is maintained and any genuine deficiency in the recruitment of labourers and inferior services is carried forward for adjustment in the next year. This supplies equally to reserved and unreserved vacancies.

(c) No.

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

EXEMPTION OF THE EUROPEAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN GUARDS ON LAHORE DIVISION OF NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY FROM WORKING CERTAIN SHUNTING AND VAN TRAINS.

40. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether it is a fact that European and Anglo-Indian guards are exempted on the Lahore division of the North Western Railway from working shunting and van trains between Lahore and Wazirabad?

(b) Is the working of shunting and van goods trains a harder job than the working of through goods and other trains?

(c) Is it a fact that the Divisional Superintendent, North Western Railway, Lahore, had received complaints from Indian guards, requesting that this racial discrimination be abandoned? If so, what action was taken in the matter?

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

(c) Yes: no action was taken, as there is no running room for European and Anglo-Indian guards at Wazirabad.

REPRESENTATION FROM THE STATE-MANAGED RAILWAY ADMINISTRATIONS FOR ALLOWING SECOND CLASS PASSES TO INSPECTORS AND ASSISTANT INSPECTORS.

41. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether the Railway Board received a representation from the State-managed Railway administrations that Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors while travelling on duty be given second class passes, irrespective of their pay?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, how was the same disposed of?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: (a) Certain recommendations have been received from the State-managed Railways.

(b) These recommendations are still under consideration.

PAUCITY OF SINDHIS IN THE SUBORDINATE SERVICES ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

42. Mr. Lalchand Navalrai: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the number of employees recruited on the North Western Railway, in the following categories of staff from 1st April, 1939 to 30th September, 1940:

(i) Station Master's group,

(ii) Commercial group,

(iii) Relief Clerks,

(iv) Guards, grade II and III,

(v) Ticket Collectors,

(vi) Train Examiners,

(vii) Works subordinates—Inspectors as well as Assistants, and

(viii) Permanent Way staff Apprentice as well as Assistant Inspectors?

(b) How many in each category were Sindhis?

(c) If the number of Sindhi recruits was small or disproportionate to the total number of staff employed in Sind area, what steps does the Honourable Member propose to take to ensure adequate share of appointments to Sindhis in the North Western Railway subordinate service? If none, why not?

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

(b) Government have no information, recruitment is not made on a territorial basis.

(c) It is not proposed to allocate shares in recruitment to provinces. The acquisition of more appointments by candidates from any particular area must depend on their personal claims.

Statement showing the number of employees recruited on the North Western Railway in the various categories shown below during the period from 1st April, 1939 to 30th September, 1940.

No.	Category of Staff.	No. of employees recruited.	Remarks.
(i)	Station Masters Group	360	
(ii)	Commercial Group	172	
(iii)	Relief Clerks—		} The term " Relief Clerks " included Ticket Collectors and Trains Clerks. This term is not now in use. Recruitment is now made separately for Ticket Collectors and Trains Clerks.
	Ticket Collectors	30	
	Trains Clerks	15	
(iv)	Guards—		} Grades II and III for Guards are old grades. Recruitment is now made in the revised scales as shown.
	Class I, grade I	34	
	Class I, grade II	8	
(v)	Ticket Collectors, Class I, grade II	4	
(vi)	Train Examiners, Class I grade 2 .	4	Temporary.
(vii)	Works subordinates—		
	Inspectors of Works	5	(Three Apprentice Inspectors of Works recruited in 1938 were, on completion of their apprenticeship, appointed as Inspectors of Works in 1939 and two were appointed to the open line from construction work). Four Apprentice Inspectors of Works were recruited.
	Asstt. Inspectors of Works	Nil	but two Apprentice Assistant Inspectors of Works were appointed.
(viii)	Apprentice Permanent Way Inspectors.	Nil	
	Assistant Permanent Way Inspectors.	16	Apprentice Permanent Way Inspectors were, on completion of their course, appointed as Assistant Permanent Way Inspectors.

STATEMENTS LAID ON THE TABLE.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 492, asked by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad on behalf of Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, on the 21st March, 1940.

QUARANTINE STATION AT KAMARAN.

(a) and (b). The Kamaran Quarantine Station was first established in 1882 by the Ottoman Government for the protection of the holy places of Islam against the introduction of cholera by pilgrims from India and the East. It was taken over by the British Government in 1915.

(c) It is necessary to maintain the quarantine station at Kamaran under the provisions of the Anglo-Dutch Agreement and to levy a fee for this purpose.

(d) With the exception of the Government of the Yemen all the Governments either maintain quarantine stations or require their pilgrims to utilise quarantine stations on payment of fees.

Information promised in reply to starred question No. 530, asked by Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, on the 27th March, 1940.

AUTHORS OF DRAMAS BROADCASTED BY THE ALL-INDIA RADIO.

(a) and (d). During the year 1939, All-India Radio broadcast 58 Hindi and 311 Urdu plays. Rs. 510 were paid for the Hindi and Rs. 5,847 for the Urdu plays. If by Hindi authors and Urdu authors the Honourable Member means authors who write exclusively in one language or the other, the information asked for is not available.

(b) Hindustani dramas are broadcast from the Delhi, Lahore, Lucknow and Bombay Stations of All-India Radio. Out of the four Programme Assistants in charge of Hindustani drama at these Stations, three are Muslims and one is a Hindu. Three of them can read and write Hindi with facility and two of them have written plays in Hindi.

(c) Yes; eleven such plays were broadcast during 1939. All the actors taking part in these plays could render their parts in Hindi with sufficient facility; many of them could also read and write Hindi.

ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE COUNCIL OF THE INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have to inform the Assembly that Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad has been elected to represent the Assembly on the Council of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

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

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

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

B 1

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: General): Mr. President, I wish to start with the question of bombing. In common with the other Honourable speakers from my Party who have preceded me, I look upon bombing of civilian populations, whether that population may be German population or British population or any other population, with the utmost horror. But I want to remind this House that not long ago I protested several times on the floor of this House against the practice of bombing which was being frequently resorted to by the British Government and the Indian Government as against the tribes inhabiting the North-West Frontier Province. I am glad that the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie is here, and to my repeated questions he used to inform the House, the rest of this country, and I believe the rest of the world, that it was more humane and that it was in the interests of the tribes themselves that they should be bombed because fewer people would be killed and more people would be saved. In fact he took great pains to assure this House that it was something like the humane killing of animals which had been recently introduced. It was a scientific invention. . . .

(Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie rose in his seat.)

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: I am not giving way.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is the etiquette to give way when personal explanations are sought to be given.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: I shall never give way.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I cannot force the Honourable Member to give way. Mr. Ogilvie can give his explanation when the Honourable Member has finished his speech.

(Mr. Abdul Qaiyum kept standing.)

The Honourable Member ought to resume his seat when the President is speaking.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: I must apologise to the Chair. I am not giving way to any Member of this Government as the time at my disposal is very limited. I remember Mr. Ogilvie's words only too well, but the trouble that has now arisen is this. Britain still adheres to the principle laid down by the British Premier in the House of Commons when all the world was clamouring that the bombing of the civilian population should be stopped, it was the late lamented Mr. Chamberlain who stood up in the House of Commons and said that a certain exception should be made in the case of bombing which is resorted to for purely police purposes against the primitive tribes of the Frontier Province. Well, they are still adhering to those principles, but very unfortunately for them, that same principle has been adopted by Hitler's air squadrons as against the great City of London, and now they realize that the boot is on the other leg and now they understand what the bombing of the civilian population means. But the British Government and the Indian Government as usual have learnt very little and have forgotten very little. I was travelling near Waziristan only last month and I was told by reliable persons that the British Government still persisted in the bombing of those unfortunate people, and

that their air squadron had only recently visited various parts of the area to bomb people—of course, bent on this mission of mercy as described by the Honourable Mr. Ogilvie.

Mr. Manu Subedar (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): That may be training practice.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Of course, this is training practice as my Honourable friend, Mr. Manu Subedar, states.

Then, Sir, we were told when Great Britain joined the war that they had been forced into this war—"oh, Czecho-Slovakia has been over-run, Poland has been over-run, and Czecho-Slovakia and Poland were dear to the hearts of Great Britain, and, therefore, they must join this war; they had no alternative". It seems that they were prepared to shed the blood of the youth of their country in order to save the liberties of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. But I am amazed at this attitude of the British people and their Government! Why should they have joined this war? They say they went to war in order to restore the equilibrium which had been set up by that infamous Treaty of Versailles—which will go down in history as the greatest crime that has been committed against mankind; but may I ask from this Government and from the British Government under whom they function, "why go to war? You have got the four hundred million slaves in India under your own rule, and if your love for liberty is as genuine as you profess it to be, why not free these four hundred million Indians who are groaning under your yoke? This is a thing which you can do yourself without any war, without any bloodshed, without joining any conference of other nations". But as I have stated time and again, this war is not being fought for the freedom of small nations but for other purposes which are only too well-known to everybody in India.

Now to come to their policy in this country. Recently, Sir, there have been negotiations between this Government and the Leaders of the Congress Party and of the All-India Muslim League. People who had been following the course of those negotiations with great care have found out that the British policy aims at one thing and one thing only: it is to play off the Muslim against the Hindu and the Hindu against the Muslim. Those negotiations have all proved utterly useless. The British Government has no use for Hindus or Muslims as such but they merely want to use them as pawns in their Imperial chess-board, in order to retain as much of their power as they can and to part with as little of their power as they can help. Nobody who negotiated with this Government has returned with anything in his hands; everyone has returned empty-handed. This is a lesson which should not be lost on the people of this country. But let me warn this Government that just as they found themselves utterly stranded and helpless in the domain of international politics, similarly the time is not far off when they will find themselves friendless and utterly stranded in India. (Interruption.) The people standing by you will desert you. (Interruption.) The people's eyes have been opened. Just as in Europe this time you had to go to war alone, with all the blessings of America, of course, but with no active military help, similarly, in India you are going to be friendless and you will be utterly deserted. (Interruption.)

Sir, since the beginning of this war, a vigorous propaganda has been launched by this Government and its satellites to create a sort of feeling amongst the Muslims in this country that the British Government's

[Mr. Abdul Qaiyum.]

existence was necessary in order to safeguard the liberties of the Islamic countries of Western Asia; that the British Government was the real friend of the Turks, the Egyptians, the Syrians, the people of Iraq, Iran and Palestine, and that once Great Britain goes under, all these States will lose their liberty. Now, those who have been following the policy of successive British Governments as against Turkey during the last two or three centuries know that the greatest enemy of the Islamic States is Great Britain, and that for generation after generation Great Britain has tried to stab Turkey in the back and to lop off as much of her territories as it was possible for them to do; in fact, the downfall, the dismemberment of the Great Turkish Empire for which Muslims cherished a religious regard is due to the work of successive British statesmen. Nobody can shut his eyes to the facts of history, but in this game the British Government went a little too far; they, in spite of their promise to the Muslims of India in the last War to enlist their support, started with the dismemberment of the sacred land of Arabia into small, petty States which were parcelled out between Great Britain and France. But in this game, as I have stated, they went a little too far, viz., that they paved the way for the rise of the greater Italy in the Mediterranean, and that country is now proving a great menace to British Imperial interests there. We were told repeatedly that as soon as the first Italian soldier sets foot on the soil of Egypt, the Egyptian Government will declare war against Italy, but the Italians have advanced for about one hundred miles into Egyptian territory and in spite of the repeated visits of British statesmen, in spite of the pressure and presence of Mr. Anthony Eden, the Egyptian Government has refused to declare war against such an infamous country as the Fascist Italy of Signor Mussolini. Similarly, we were told—that as soon as Greece was invaded, Turkey would join headlong into this struggle, but we have seen that Greece has been invaded and Turkey is still neutral; and now another stunt has been started that if Bulgaria is invaded, Turkey will probably come in. But I hope and trust that Turkey will benefit from the last war and keep out of this dirty war in which people are fighting people not for the sake of any principle but for mere land-grabbing and other base motives which are only too clear to everybody, and I hope they will keep out of the war and will not make the position of Mussalmans difficult.

Sir, in this country there are people who are now engaged in propaganda that it is in the interest of Muslims that they should help the British Government. Now, those were the very people—I do not wish to name them—those were the very people who supplied recruits to the British Government to bring about the dismemberment of Arabia and the downfall of the Turkish Empire, those were the very people who supplied recruits to fight Afghanistan in 1919 when Amanullah struck out for the independence of his country. Then they did not care for Islam, just because it suited their British masters. Those very people are now making out that in the interests of Muslims we should help the British Government. Sir, the Muslims know the British policy only too well. We know what has happened in Palestine. In this twentieth century which is supposed to be a century of civilization—the British Government tried to efface the Arab race out of its existence by bringing in Jews from all parts of the world. I have got no hatred against Jews, I wish them well. But

why cannot they be accommodated in some empty space such as are available in South America? Must they come there to squeeze out the Arabs from Palestine and to threaten their very existence? I think the British policy in Palestine has been an eye-opener for all thinking Mussalmans and nobody will be taken in by promises which are only kept in the breach rather than in the observance. The Indian Mussalmans must remember that no country in this world contains as many Mussalmans as this country of ours, namely, India. I do not think that any country in the world contains about ten crores of Mussalmans that we find in India and, if India is free, the greatest number of Mussalmans will derive benefit from the freedom of their country. It is our bounden duty to stand by our countrymen and fight with them shoulder to shoulder against this Imperialism which holds them and us under a common subjection. Once we are free, then I think we can influence the policy of a free State in India. We can then be of real help to other Muslim States who are threatened by any foreign aggression. But as long as we are slaves, no amount of prayers, no amount of protests, no amount of propaganda and no amount of request on our part are going to help our Muslim brethren outside India.

Now, I want to say something about the repression which is going on in this country. The Honourable the Finance Member has declared to the world that 60,000 stalwarts have left this country to defend the principles of liberty and the outer bastions of this country. Of course, we cannot be deceived. We know that these unfortunate people have been taken out of this country to help in an Imperialist war out of which India can derive no possible benefit. If we are to die for Britain, if we are to shed our blood in the distant fields of the Middle East and the Far East, if we are to make sacrifices for their cause, would it not be much better to shed our blood for the freedom of our own country from the people who oppress us? Would it not be much more nobler for us to undergo the fiery ordeal of sacrifice for the freedom of our own country? Why should we die for you in the distant fields of Middle East and the Far East? What for? We know what happened at the end of last war. For a similar speech only the other day an elected Member of the Frontier Assembly, Arbab Abdul Ghafur Khan, and an ex-Parliamentary Secretary was arrested. The Honourable Mr. F. E. James remarked: "Oh, how can you make such a speech under Nazi domination?". Let me tell the House and let me inform my Honourable friend, Mr. F. E. James, that Arbab Abdul Ghafur Khan was arrested and marched off like a common felon in the streets of Peshawar. Is this the treatment that should be accorded to a patriot in his own country? Is this the way in which the representatives of people are to be treated? I think your Government is worse than any Nazi Government or any Fascist Government can be. I think this Government should be ashamed of itself.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): Wait till Hitler comes.

Mr. Abdul Qayyum: Hitler will knock your brains! Hitler, whom my Honourable friend, Sir Henry Gidney, seems to despise so much, and his people who have bombed innocent women and children in London, and Mussolini's men, when they are brought out to India, are treated with greater respect than the representatives of Indians in their own country. I do not think the Government which Sir Henry Gidney is prepared to support in season and out of season will handcuff a German prisoner of

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war or a Fascist prisoner of war in the way in which they did a respectable patriot in the Frontier, a representative of the people. Something is terribly wrong with this system of Government. Mr. James tried to convince me that his system of Government was much better than any other system of Government that was likely to be set up in this country. We are sick and tired of all alien systems of Government and, if we can help it, we will not allow this system to be substituted by any other system. But I do want to know whether a Government which arrests a true patriot like Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, a person who is respected all over India and who is loved by the millions in this country, and sends him to prison for four long years, has any moral right to exist?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European): On a point of order, Sir. Is the Honourable Member entitled to criticise a sentence passed by a Judicial Court?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Bill before the House which the Honourable Member is now debating is a Finance Bill and it has always been the practice in this House, which I have got to follow and have been following, to allow discussion on various matters in which the Members of this House may feel that the public have a grievance. I cannot say that his reference in this connection to Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and the sentence that has been passed on him by the Provincial Government is out of order.

The Honourable Sir Reginald Maxwell (Home Member): On a point of explanation. I would like to point out that the sentence was passed by the Court and not by the Provincial Government and that it is open to appeal in the ordinary course.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I accept the correction. I meant that the sentence was passed by a Judicial Court.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: The Honourable Mr. Griffiths was a Magistrate at one time, and I feel for the wretched people who came under his sway. I am glad that his days as a Magistrate are over.

Now, Sir, I was talking of the arrest of Pandit Jawahar Lal. I know it for a fact that he is held in the greatest esteem and regard by the Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province, because among the Indian leaders he pre-eminently stands out as a true patriot, who has understood the heart of the people of my province, and the heart of the people of my province goes out in sympathy to that brave man. The news of his arrest and his brutal incarceration by a Magistrate, God knows where he hails from, has kindled a fire which, I think, it will be very difficult for this Government to suppress.

Sir, the tale of the misdeeds of this Government is a long one, but I will just cite one more instance for the benefit of the Honourable the Foreign Secretary before I sit down. A businessman of Peshawar, Syed Zaman Shah, who has trading connections with Afghanistan, was arrested on the 16th of July, 1940. His house was searched throughout the night. Nothing incriminating was found. At first, he was detained under rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules for a period of two months. As was pointed out by my Honourable friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, yesterday, the way in which this rule is interpreted by the police and the subordinate magistracy is this. The accused is not even brought before a Magistrate and he

is detained by the Provincial Government for two months. Syed Zaman Shah is still in detention and there is absolutely no proof against him. He was merely suspected, and in spite of repeated requests on his part and on the part of his friends that he should be brought to trial before a court of law, in spite of the fact that I received about two months ago a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government that he would be soon brought before a court of law for trial, his trial has not begun so far. This unfortunate man and several others like him are being detained. He has a large family to support.

As regards people who are utter strangers to this land and who are well to do, this callous Provincial Government of ours and the equally callous Central Government are quite willing to make decent allowances for the upkeep of their families. In the case of Italian and German prisoners of war, this Government have fixed allowance, but they have not thought it fit to fix an allowance for the family of Aga Syed Zaman Shah, his sons are going without education, his family is in suspense and they have been altogether ignored. I want to show from this that the way in which this Defence of India Act and the infamous rules made thereunder are being administered in the country has really opened the eyes of all people, and a feeling of hatred has arisen against the Government which thinks that it is necessary for its existence that such black laws and such infamous rules should be used to suppress the freedom of speech, the freedom of association and the freedom of movement of its own citizens.

In conclusion, Sir, I want to say one thing. That far from supporting this Government by voting any of the supplies demanded from this side of the House I wish to state that we will not give a single pie to this Government. In fact we have decided to go out into this country to make a direct approach to the masses and tell them that this war is being fought not in the interests of India, not for the defence of India but for the defence of British imperialism, the infamous imperialism which we have learnt to hate after such a long period of close association. It is our bounden duty, as true patriots not to give a single pie, not to provide a single soldier to a Government which in spite of the wishes of the people has decided to rule this country by means of ordinances and black laws which deny the people of this country their birthright of having a free national Government of their own. I assure this Government that it is not on the floor of this House only that these words have been uttered, the time is not very far off when we are going to spread over the length and breadth of the country, we will obstruct to the utmost of our capacity your war efforts to extort money from this country, to exploit our man power and to enslave our country. We will then see who wins in the long run. With these words, Sir, I oppose the Bill.

Mr. C. M. G. Ogilvie (Defence Secretary): Sir, on a point of personal explanation. I wish to say with regard to the speech of the Honourable Member who has just closed his oration that he has completely misrepresented the Government's position as any Honourable Member of the House will be able to ascertain if he looks up the records of the Assembly Debates in this House in the summer Session of 1937. The Honourable Member's questions on this subject were, so far as I remember, asked and answered in August, 1937, and the purport of the detailed replies was not to the effect that Government considered bombing humane, but that

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Government held that in the circumstances the warning of a village which had more than usually distinguished itself by kidnapping, murder, plunder, and raiding that they would be bombed if they did not leave their village resulted, because of the fact that this warning was duly received and always obeyed, in the saving of life, both of our men and theirs, as otherwise punitive expeditions would have to be undertaken to enforce compliance with our terms.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Mr. President, let me begin by confessing that nothing but the respect which I have for your high office and for the dignity of the parliamentary tradition, would have enabled me to listen with patience and restraint to the speeches of my Honourable friends, Mr. Satyamurti and Mr. Abdul Qaiyum. For throughout those speeches I was conscious of the fact that at a time when many thousands of my countrymen and a considerable number of Indians too, are facing the stern realities of death and destruction, at that time the Congress Party was living in a world of make-believe—a wholly imaginary universe in which they were gaily disporting themselves, convinced that there existed no such things as totalitarian powers, no greedy and covetous people and no predatory nations anxious for the first possible opportunity of swooping down upon the weak and defenceless. And, I was conscious too, as I listened to those speeches, of a very curious combination, a combination of on the one hand a complete lack of any sense of reality and on the other hand a cold-blooded spirit of bargaining, a determination to drive the hardest possible bargain with that country which is fighting not only for its own life, but for the lives of those who seek to bargain with it. But whatever other deficiencies the Congress Party may suffer from, it has never been lacking in master tacticians and the master tacticians of the Congress Party have learnt from long experience that if a proposition on the face of it appears too sordid and too materialistic, it is to be wrapped up in fine words. On the strength of that principle, it has long been their practice, when they intend to embark on some particularly materialistic or selfish policy to try to give that policy the cloak of idealism. So we have the Congress Party, in this House and out of it, trying to pretend that the attitude which they adopt is not the result of a spirit of bargaining, but proceeds from the dictates of some mysterious high principle. That claim, Sir, is a pretence and a hollow mockery which will deceive no one. It does not deceive us who have to listen to it, it does not deceive the people of this great country whose heart, whose instinct and whose judgment in these matters is sounder than that of the Congress Party. It will not deceive the future historian when he comes to write his Chapter on the political suicide of the Congress Party and I very much question whether it deceives any considerable proportion of the members of the Congress Party itself. Least of all does it deceive the practical-minded Mr. Satyamurti. But I will remind Honourable Members that for 15 months, during a most critical period when deliberation and public counsel and widespread experience were more urgently needed than at any period of our history, that during this critical period, the great Congress Party has seen fit to absent itself from its post of duty in this House. I wonder what occurred to change that point of view. I wonder what has led them to abandon that great high principle which said that they must not be present in this House. (Interruptions.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member must be allowed to proceed with his speech without these interruptions.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I have not the least objection to these interruptions. I shall gladly answer them. I will repeat my question, I should like to know what change has justified this abandonment of the principle which was of such vital importance twelve months ago?

An Honourable Member: To make you uncomfortable.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: That you will never be able to do. I will not be so uncharitable as to suggest that it is out of fear of extra taxation that the Congress Party have attended this Session. I suggest rather that some political wisdom has begun to dawn upon them, that they have begun to realise that if there is one thing which leads to the extinction of a great political party, it is any lengthy period of silence in the parliamentary Assemblies.

Be that as it may. Far be it from me to interpret the tortuous motives which are responsible for the Congress policy. They have come here now, clamorous and clamant—they cry, “We are not prepared to pay for this war, it is not our war, let somebody else pay. We are prepared to sit back and let Britain, Canada, Australia and anybody else who likes to fight do so. This is not our war and we will not pay for it”. I want to suggest today, that of all the many injuries done to the name and reputation of India in the past by the Congress Party, there is none worse than this attempt to foist upon the people of India the pretence that this is not India’s war. So I take it that my main duty in my speech to day is to try and satisfy you, or if I cannot satisfy you to try and satisfy those people whose minds are less made up than yours, that this is in fact India’s war. (Interruption from the Congress Benches.) The voice of India is to be heard from the lips of those 60,000 men who are fighting overseas and not from those gentlemen.

It sometimes is not a bad thing in the sphere of politics to apply the same kind of test which one applies in ordinary practical life
 12 NOON. or in business. If a certain job has to be done and there begins to be a dispute as to whose job it is, there are several ways of settling that question. Of course, up will come the lawyers and they will devise many tests so that you can argue for years and years as to whose job it is. But the practical man will start off by asking one simple question, and that question will be, who stands to gain if this job is done well? Who stands to lose if it is done badly? I want every Honourable Member of this House to apply that test today to this issue of war and India’s part in the war. And I am going to assert that I do not believe there is a single Member of this House who can get up and say, seriously and sincerely, and not just as a debating point, that the issue of the present war is a matter of indifference to him, that he sincerely believes that victory for Germany or victory for Britain will make no difference to India’s position in the future.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, was anxious to give an impression of that kind, but in order to give that impression he had to go rather far a field, and so he told us very picturesque stories about

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some of his Afridi friends; and he told us that some of them said that they did not really mind whether Germany won the war or not. I am not interested in the views of Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's Afridi friends; I want to know Mr. Qaiyum's own views. Is Mr. Abdul Qaiyum prepared to say, on the floor of this House, that it is to him a matter of complete indifference whether Germany wins or whether Britain wins? Is he prepared to assert that in his considered judgment the victory of Britain or the victory of Germany would make no difference to the future condition of India?

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum: Absolutely none. It is a matter of indifference to me as to who wins. As they say in Persian:

"Ma ra che uz ein Qissa ke Gao amud-o-Khur ruft."

"Whether the cow comes or the donkey goes, it is a matter of complete indifference to me."

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I must congratulate my Honourable friend upon having given me yet another instance of the amazing disunion which prevails in the ranks over there. And I must remind my Honourable friend that in the extremely dangerous opinion to which he has just given utterance he finds himself completely at variance with Mr. Gandhi. May I remind him of that first pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi at the beginning of the war, in which Mr. Gandhi said that independence for India would mean nothing if Britain and France were defeated in this struggle? I want to remind him that half of those apprehensions of Mr. Gandhi have already been fulfilled, that France has been defeated in this struggle and that if as a result of the attitude adopted by my Honourable friend and those with him, Britain were to follow suit Mr. Gandhi at least has no doubt in his own mind that the result would be a disaster for India. Has anything happened in the last 12 months to affect the statement made by Mr. Gandhi at that time? Have the totalitarian powers become less predatory? Is the danger from Germany or Italy less now than it was 12 months ago? If it was true 12 months ago that India dared not contemplate the defeat of Britain and France, is it not doubly true now that India dare not contemplate the defeat of Britain? Let us get away from these debating pretences; let us get down to the bedrock fact that every Honourable Member of this House knows in his own heart that he would not sleep easily in his bed tonight, if he believed that a German victory lay ahead. After all what does this attitude of indifference mean? If you say that it is a matter of indifference to you as to who wins the war, you may mean one of two things. Honourable Members might mean that even after a German victory and an Italian victory there would be no danger whatsoever of India being attacked. They may believe it,—no one can compel the belief of any person,—but I have yet to see any single vestige of fact which would justify any reasonable man in arriving at that conclusion. Can one really believe that those nations, who at the moment are displaying in the fullest possible way their greed and their desire for more territory, will stop short of the frontiers of India? Is there something sacrosanct about this country which makes the foreign invader cry halt before he crosses its frontiers? Is not the whole history of India in the past a long record of foreign invaders tempted by the wealth of the country?

Several Honourable Members: "Which you have completely taken", "There is nothing left", etc.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I do not mind if I am included myself in the category for the purposes of this argument. Is it not a historical fact that the wealth of India has been one of the greatest temptations in the world to any predatory foreign power which has happened to move towards its confines? And is there any reasonable ground for supposing that Germany or Italy would exercise some curious self-restraint once they are nearer the borders of this great country? If then your indifference does not mean that you think it is impossible that India could ever be attacked, what can it mean? If might of course mean that you were perfectly willing to come under the German or the Italian sway.

An Honourable Member: No, not a bit of it.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: That is exactly my point. If it were your view that you did not mind being ruled by Germany or Italy, there would be some sense in adopting this attitude of assumed indifference. Whatever Honourable Members may have to say on the floor of this House or in meetings outside this House they know perfectly well that the rule of Germany or the rule of Italy would be harsher, more unreasonable and less considerate than anything which they have experienced in the last 150 years. (*Cries of "No."*)

Is there any Honourable Member of this House who believes that under German or Italian rule he would be allowed today to stand up in this Assembly and make a speech such as that made by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum just now? But let us get away from words; we are dealing with stern realities. If you assert that it is a matter of indifference to you whether Germany wins this war or Britain wins this war, you are asserting your faith in the fact that you will be just as comfortable and have just as much freedom as you have now. You are asserting your faith in the fact that life would be no more uncomfortable and no less bearable under the Nazi regime than it is under the regime which exists today. I do not propose to labour that point because I know perfectly well that nothing but the exigencies of debate would force my Honourable friends to take up any such attitude. But there is one form in which this argument has been cast which is so subtle as to be dangerous and with which, therefore, I shall try to deal briefly. It is an argument which was used in this House yesterday and it has been used in various parts of the country a good deal lately,—the argument that the war is a long way off, that it is not very likely that the tide of war will reach these shores and that we really need not bother very much about it; that it would be good business for us to sit back and let the other nations fight it out and then see what we can get in the scramble which we hope will take place at the end of the war. I will try to analyse this argument and I want to suggest that it could be repudiated on either of two sets of considerations.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Who is arguing that, may I know?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: It was said yesterday by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, besides many others in the country.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai (Bombay Northern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): You may imagine many things.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: If my Honourable friend proposes in due course to rise and deal with that argument and to demonstrate its hollowness, I shall accept his help with gratitude. It would not be difficult to dispose of the argument on purely materialistic grounds. It would not be difficult to suggest that when one talks about the war being a long way off, one has got to start first by analysing the meaning of one's words. You have to think not in terms of space but in terms of time. The question is not how many thousand miles from here the battle is taking place; the question that concerns us is, if that battle is lost how long is it going to take for the theatre of war to be transferred to this country. And, surely, if there is one lesson which emerges clearly from the history of the last 12 months it is of the amazingly rapid tempo of modern war. The war which, six months ago, was six thousand miles or five thousand miles away from us has now come to within two thousand miles, and if you will cast your minds back to the events of April, May and June of this year, you will not fail to remember the remarkable rapidity with which a successful army was able to over-run hundreds and hundreds of miles of not properly defended territory. When you talk about distances, when you say that we are a long way away from the war—two thousand miles away—what does it mean. It is very difficult to get a clear conception in one's own mind as to what distance really means in relation to war. We want a scale by which to measure—I would like to suggest in the first place a scale of measurement—I would like to remind you that the length of territory over which Germany exercises virtual control in Europe today, from the North-West to the South-East, is about thirteen hundred miles. Of that 1,300 miles, only three hundred miles belong to Germany itself, and the control now exercised over another one thousand miles has been achieved in the course of a comparatively few months, and I would like to go on to suggest, that measured by that scale, there is not very much comfort to be got from the thought that the war is at present two thousand miles away. Do not take comfort from the idea of distance.

But then there is another aspect of the same question. While the tempo of modern war has increased, the length of time required for preparation for war has increased beyond measure. In the old days, even in the last war, it was a comparatively simple and quick business to turn out a large army. You needed a certain number of men, you needed a certain number of uniforms and you needed some rifles and a certain amount of artillery and you did not need very much else. I can say from my own experience that in the battalion in which I served in the last war we were turning out trained soldiers in ten weeks. Those days have gone. The modern soldier is an amateur technician in every one of half a dozen different branches of mechanics: he has got to be a gas expert, he has got to be a bomb expert and he has to learn a dozen things which were not thought of before the beginning of the present war; and the result of all that is, that it takes a very long time to train a modern soldier. Moreover, however long it takes to train a modern soldier, it takes very much longer to equip him. The preparation

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Was not all these foreseen five years ago when we were telling you all about it?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am not concerned to discuss the failures of policy of Government or of politicians or whether these things could have been foreseen. I am discussing the plain facts of the present, and I want to remind my Honourable friend of the language used, I think, by Mr. Churchill, that if we go on thinking too much about the past, we shall lose the present and the future. To continue: I was saying that however long it may take to train a modern soldier it takes a very much longer time to equip him, and so in one way and another the preparation of a large modern mechanised army—the only kind of army which is of any use in these days—is a very lengthy business. It is no use waiting until the danger is imminent. My Honourable friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, said yesterday, that as long as Turkey stands, we are all right, and there is no need for India to spend a pie on defence measures as long as Turkey stands. Does my Honourable friend seriously believe that after the fall of Turkey there would still be time for India to prepare? Or, again, another Honourable Member, speaking yesterday, said: "Let India first be free: when India has attained freedom, we will then start to prepare for war."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammedan Urban): I do not think the Honourable Member is quite correct. I do not think the Maulana said so. What Maulana Zafar Ali Khan said was that we should be prepared to help the Moslem countries who form a sort of bulwark, and Turkey is the first, and, therefore, we should prepare ourselves to raise a large army in order to send them to the Moslem countries if necessary.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Mr. Jinnah is naturally in a better position than I can be to interpret the workings of the minds of his followers

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: He said so.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I assure the Honourable Member that I took down the words myself.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I would like you to see the official report.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am quite prepared to see it: but I can assure Mr. Jinnah that I took down the actual words of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan at the time: his words are "We are not prepared to spend a single pie on the defence of India until Turkey is gone".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: No; he never said that.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: If Mr. Jinnah on behalf of his Party repudiates that statement, I shall not press it.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I am not repudiating any statement. The Honourable Member is misrepresenting the speech of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan—he is not here—and if he will read the official report—let it be produced now—he will find that what I am saying is correct absolutely.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am not particularly concerned to bandy words, as to who said what. But I can assure my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, that in Mr. Boyle's presence yesterday I wrote down these words as they were said. I do not want to bandy words.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I am not challenging or doubting the *bona fides* of the Honourable Member: it is possible that he took down what he says he did take down; but if you will kindly read the whole of the speech, what I am saying is correct.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: What Mr. Jinnah says is undoubtedly the correct report of what should have been said. However I do not wish to waste the time of the House further, arguing as to whether a certain incorrect meaningless statement was or was not made. I will take the plain fact that the tempo of modern war is quick, that the time required for the preparation of modern armies is long, that it is no use waiting till danger is upon you, because it is extremely unlikely that when that danger comes you will be able to do anything about it at all. It is no use saying "when we are free we will start to prepare". Do Honourable Members suppose that when India attains what they call her freedom, the totalitarian powers will then kindly suspend operations to give India time to prepare? Or that they will have the sporting spirit to say: "These poor chaps have not had really a chance: they have just attained their freedom and we must allow them a reasonable time in which to get ready". I do beg of Honourable Members to get rid of this idea that there will be some opportunity at some time in the remote future to prepare for what you hope will not happen. It is far better for us to assume that the worst might happen and it is far better for us to get ready for that worst now, while there is still time. And so I say that on the purely materialistic considerations of self-preservation India cannot afford to disclaim her responsibility for this war. It would not be difficult to argue the case, not from material considerations but from spiritual considerations

An Honourable Member: The European Association is becoming spiritual now!

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: The Europeans have always played their part in the spiritual life of this country, and it would not be difficult to argue from spiritual considerations . . . (Interruptions.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should not be interrupted.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: . . . that the whole outlook of the Indian people, the whole philosophy of India, whether you speak of Hindus or Muslims or Christians or Parsis, is essentially repugnant to the philosophy which stands at the root of the Nazi campaign in Europe today; that you have built up in this country a tradition, a philosophy, a way of life and a way of thought and that those who are in charge of Germany and Italy today are sworn to destroy everything upon which that way of life and that way of thought rests. If any Honourable Member wants to be convinced of that, I would suggest, particularly if he is a Hindu, that he should perform an experiment which I myself performed recently—I read or rather re-read—for I have read that book of beauty and inspiration many times before—I re-read that great book, the Bhagavat Gita (interruption)—let Honourable Members listen—and I turned from that book to the sordid pages of Mein Kampf. Never in my life have I been so conscious of a complete contrast between two different national philosophies. In the

one, I find the worship of the spirit, the belief that there are things in the world that matter more than purely material objects. In the other, I find the worship of force, I find praise given to everything material, and I find the apotheosis of the doctrine that unto the weak ones of the earth nothing shall be given. A more striking antithesis you cannot find. I do suggest, in all seriousness, that the whole soul of India is full of abhorrence for everything for which the Nazi and the Fascist regime stands. But abhorrence is not by itself of any practical use in this cold, hard world. You have here two conflicting philosophies,—one is tolerant and the other is aggressive. If both philosophies were tolerant . . .

Mr. Manu Subedar: Have you read only the First Chapter?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am not so dull of soul that I could stop at the first Chapter of so great a book.

Mr. Sri Prakasa (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): How many Chapters are there in the Bhagvat Gita?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I can refer him to one of his friends to tell him that. At any rate, there are many more words of wisdom in that book than any of us here could understand in a lifetime. But I want to emphasize the essential opposition between the outlook of India and the outlook of the Nazis and the Italians. It is no use just saying you abhor these things, because in this cold, hard world, abhorrence or sympathy are both worth exactly the same. They are worth nothing unless they are translated into some form of action, and if the attitude of the Congress Party really comes to this, that we do abhor the things of Hitler and Mussolini, that our full sympathy is with Britain in her attempt to win this war, but that in spite of this abhorrence and sympathy we are not prepared to do anything about it, we are not prepared to undergo any suffering, we are not prepared to give up any of our hard earned cash,—if that is their attitude,—then I say with confidence, it is an attitude of which my friends will be deeply ashamed in the years to come.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Posterity will tell you.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: If this is so, if material considerations and spiritual considerations alike suggest that this is India's war, and that India must play its part in this war for the sake of its own safety, for the sake of its own soul—if that is indeed the fact, are not all the other questions which have been introduced either irrelevant or at any rate less urgent than the main issue of winning the war?

Then, Sir, my friends have made much of the fact that they were not consulted with regard to the declaration of the war, but it will not be difficult to show them that there are very few countries in the world in which the ordinary man has any practical say in the determining the issues . . .

An Honourable Member: What do you mean by ordinary man?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I mean a man like me. There are very few countries in which the ordinary man has any practical chance of determining the issues of war and peace. Very well, my friends may say—it is quite true

[Mr. P. J. Griffiths.]

that the ordinary man cannot do much about it, but at any rate the Parliaments, the Assemblies and similar bodies can deal with that matter. I am afraid the memory of my friends is very short. They seem to forget that when war broke out last year, the Congress Party was deliberately abstaining from attendance at the Assembly. Do my friends think that the Assembly as it stood at the beginning of last September was representative of the country? If it was not representative of the country, then what was the use of consulting it? Of course, my friends might suggest that it was up to the Defence Department to wire to the Home Government and say—"We cannot send out troops; we must give time for Mr. Satyamurti to come down from Madras or for my friend, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, to come down from the North-West Frontier Province and give them time first to call a meeting of the Congress Working Committee and then to seek instructions of that body whether to attend the Assembly or not, and then after they have sought the permission of that body, we shall be prepared to tell you whether India proposes to assist in this war or not

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar: Non-Muhammadan): Is the Honourable Member sure that the Government of India were at all consulted in this matter before taking all these steps?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I know no more than my friend, Mr. Aney, does. I have no access to the secret archives of the Home Government or of the Government of India.

Mr. S. Satyamurti (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Then, why talk about it?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: If the Government of India had been consulted, the only reasonable answer that could have been given would have been that in view of the attitude of the Congress Party—their refusal to attend the Assembly because troops had been sent to the outposts of India,—in view of that attitude, the Government of India would have had to say to the Home Government that it would be a meaningless mockery to summon the Assembly and to pretend to think that thereby you could get the views of India with regard to the prosecution of the war.

Then, Sir, I come to the next question. It was said—we are not prepared to do anything about this war, because we have not got freedom nor a right constitution,—Britain ought to have done something better for us. Suppose for the sake of argument this is true,—I do not admit it,—but suppose for the sake of argument that Britain should have done something which she has not done. Does that alter the fact that the winning of this war is of vital interest to you? Will the fact that Britain did not do what she ought to have done avail you, if you have to face an attack from the totalitarian States? Do you imagine that if Germany wins the war, she will have some kind of special sympathy with you merely because Britain had not done what she ought to have done? Surely, Sir, to argue that because Britain did not do what she ought to have done, we will not do what in our own interests we ought to do, is the essence of contradiction of logic. After all—and I must apologise for employing a metaphor which I have often used before and which perhaps

I shall use again,—if your house is being attacked by dacoits do you say—“I won't help the police to repel the dacoits until we have reformed the criminal law, until we have passed one of my friends, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai's Bills to that effect?” Will you not first help the police to repel the attack of the dacoits? There is only reason which would.—I will not say justify,—but which would make it intelligent for the householder to refuse to help the police pending the reform of the criminal law, and that would be if he were convinced that the police by themselves were quite strong enough to repel the dacoits without any assistance from him. That, of course, is the crux of the matter today. The Congress Party takes up its present attitude because it believes, rightly or wrongly, that Britain is capable of winning this war whether Congress helps or does not help,—Is that a sporting attitude to take up? What would my friends have to say if any other Party in this country adopted an attitude like that? I venture to suggest that they would then perceive the nature of the action in its true ignobility. I repeat, because it is of fundamental importance,—the question you have to ask yourself is, does it matter if Britain wins the war or not? Some Honourable Members say that they want Dominion Status, others want independence,—and I put a question to those Honourable Members,—do they imagine that for some occult reason either Dominion Status or independence would be attained much more quickly under German or Italian domination? After all, whatever my friends may have to say for purposes of debate, they know perfectly well that, as far as Britain is concerned, not only has the goal been declared, but considerable progress towards that goal has been made. You may say that the progress has not been enough; you may say that it should have gone further; but you cannot deny the fact that considerable progress has been made

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Supply Department particularly!

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I take it, it is at least a sign of progress that my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, is able to criticise the Supply Department. I am not trying to argue whether the present constitution is right or it is wrong. I am maintaining one simple fact that under the regime which at present exists some progress has been made towards the achievement of what Britain has declared to be the goal for India

An Honourable Member: No.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Does the Honourable Member who says “No” think that he will achieve that goal under German rule?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Who wants German rule? Nobody wants it.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My friend, Mr. Satyamurti, tells us that he does not want German rule. In that phrase you have in a nutshell the whole mentality of the Congress Party. The fact that Mr. Satyamurti does not want to be ruled by Germany and the fact that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan shares that view is not likely

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): We do not want German rule; we prefer British rule if it is just.

Another Honourable Member: We do not want your rule either.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: The fact that both these gentlemen share that view will not seriously deter the totalitarian powers from taking whatever view they like despite the vociferously expressed wishes of my friends, Mr. Satyamurti and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: If we can drive you out, we can drive them out also.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member (Mr. Satyamurti) has made his own speech and he should allow the Honourable Member to go on with his speech.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My Honourable friend has yet to learn the difference between practice and theory in many things. It is one thing to talk easily and bravely about driving out the Germans when they came, but the experience of the last twelve months is that every nation which has adopted the attitude of the Congress Party today, every nation which has said, "This is no war of ours, it is a long way off, it does not concern us, let Britain, Germany and Italy fight it out"—every nation which has adopted that attitude has suffered ruin in consequence. We do not want this country to suffer ruin. This country may suffer ruin, if it is not careful, because of the existence of divided counsels in it. Let the lessons of the last year be a warning to this country.

Let me finish by warning you against being led astray by the tyranny of speech. Indian politicians as a class have an amazing gift for speech and we Europeans, who from time to time have to become amateur politicians, often wish we had their ease of expression. But there is a danger, their very fluency, their ease of expression leads them too often to set up shibboleths. They are constantly complaining of being slaves. As my Honourable friend, Mr. James, said last year, they are slaves to the tyranny of their own words. One of those shibboleths which has exercised the worst dominion over them for some years is the shibboleth of Imperialism, and they have come to use the term Imperialism as if it were synonymous with something bad. (Laughter.) My Honourable friend may laugh, but for my own part I am proud to be an Imperialist. I am proud to be a small part of that great system which has enabled more hundreds and millions of people to live together in peace and amity than any other political system yet devised.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: So says Hitler today about the rest of Europe.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I have yet to learn that Hitler talks of peace and amity . . . (Interruption by Mr. M. Asaf Ali.) If my Honourable friend is going to interrupt me so often, it might be worth his while making a speech.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: If you want one, you will get it.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member ought not to interrupt like that.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I repeat. I for one am proud to be a humble member of that imperialist system which has provided the most practical approach to the League of Nations which the world has ever yet seen.

I am proud to be a member of that imperial system which alone is responsible for the fact that we, in this country, are sitting here in peace and tranquillity, carrying on our discussions in freedom from the fear of bomb and the machine gun. I want to remind my Honourable Members that they are very fond of talking about equal partnership in the Empire. They are very fond of saying

An Honourable Member: Not in the Empire.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am not thinking of the more extreme of my Honourable friends. Some of my Honourable friends are very fond of saying that under certain circumstances they might be content to come into the Empire, but that they want equal partnership and that their position today is that they are not willing to put up with inequality in the Empire. At present there is inequality in the Empire, and the inequality is in favour of India. It is inequality of suffering. In my country there is suffering, there is no peace, there is no tranquillity. In this country, thanks to that Imperial Navy, towards which you have so often grudging contributions,—thanks to that Imperial Navy, in this country there is peace

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Peace of the grave.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: If my Honourable friend had perhaps more experience of the falling of bombs and the rattle of machine guns

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: That is better than this kind of no existence of freedom, absence of freedom.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My Honourable friend deludes himself that people living in fear of bombs and of rattle of machine guns are free people. Does my Honourable friend delude himself that if he were living in Britain today he would be allowed to make any of the speeches which my Honourable friends have made in this House yesterday? My Honourable friend does not yet realise

Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): We would have turned out Governments.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My Honourable friend does not realise that freedom is a possession which is only possible under certain circumstances, and that the fundamental condition, the pre-requisite condition to existence of freedom is the existence of safety. Where there is no safety, there is no freedom. I want finally to emphasise this contrast between conditions in India today and conditions in England. In England hundreds and thousands of people are living lives of fear and because it is often said that the British people are a brave people, do not imagine that brave people do not feel fear. Hundreds and thousands of people are living lives warped by fear of bombs and machine guns. The lives of our children are being poisoned by that very same fear, and our womenfolk are living for a considerable portion of the day and night underground. Those are the conditions that prevail in England. What are the conditions that prevail in this country? Does any one go in fear of the machine gun or the bomb?

Mr. Mohan Lal Saxena: The tribes of the Frontier Province.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Is that immunity from danger the result of any superior inherent virtue in India herself? Is it the result of soul force? Or is it not the result of the fact that, in spite of everything that has happened, the British Navy is still the mistress of the seas—the Imperial Navy, the main pivot of that Imperial system which my Honourable friends of this House profess to detest. It is that very Navy which makes it possible for us to be living here in safety. And for the maintenance of that system, for the maintenance of our safety, Britain is paying some Rs. 14 crores a day. When Britain is paying Rs. 14 crores a day for a safety, of which you at least share a part, is it unreasonable to suggest that India should be prepared to pay not six crores of rupees a day but six crores a year?

Mr. Manu Subedar: Six crores in four months.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My Honourable friend is under a misapprehension, it is six crores in a full year. I shall make no further appeal to the Members of the Congress Party, but my last sentence will be to address an appeal through this House to those in the country who are following this debate today. I shall appeal to them, at a time like this, when civilisation is falling around us, when no man can say what will be the outcome of this war,—that at such a time they should not be niggardly, they should not be grudging, they should not be finicky about fine points, but they should show a gladness and readiness to take their part in bearing the burden of civilisation. Sir, I support the Bill.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): There is a lot of difference in the policy and in the views of the Muslim League and the Congress Party in this House. We may be seeing eye to eye on certain points, but on many points we are vitally different. The Congress Party has come to this House with the avowed object of opposing the Bill. That position has not been taken by the Muslim League

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Hear, hear.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Wait. Don't say "Hear, hear." We do not want to embarrass the Government in the prosecution of the war. That is not the policy of the Muslim League, but it is to help wherever reasonably we can do,—to help the Government in the prosecution of the war. The Muslim League has declared this by their Resolutions passed on different occasions and the whole House and the country is in possession of the views as expressed by the Muslim League and the Muslim League Party in this House is bound to carry out that policy which has been laid down by the All-India Muslim League.

Now, Sir, I find one thing which is not quite new. When the Congress Party criticise the Government they expect others to listen to them carefully and quietly but they are not doing the same thing when they hear criticism of their own action. Members may have different views. After all it is an expression of views. You have put forward one view before the House and if you want to convince the other side you must in your turn be ready to be convinced by the opposite side. If you do not want to be convinced, you can at least show this much respect that you will not

interrupt. You should not go on interrupting simply for the sake of interruption. Patience ought to be shown.

Sir, we have a lot of grievances against the Government and they cannot be minimised. We feel that the Government has not treated the Muslim League Party and the Muslim League and the Mussalmans of India in the manner in which they ought to be treated or, in the manner in which they expected to be treated. I do not want to develop this point or go into details because we will have some future occasions when we can give expression to our grievances in detail. I will first state what our grievances are as the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. We know that in the absence of the Congress Party, the Muslim League Party was in the Opposition, being the next biggest Party in the Legislature. This has been the Parliamentary practice that except in exceptional cases the Government always tries to carry the opposition with them. The Muslim League Party has got the grievance that it was not treated with the respect with which it should have been treated as an opposition. They were shown the greatest contempt simply because they did not happen to possess the number of votes which would keep the Government in their proper place and contempt or scant regard in this country is the last thing that pays. Many things can be achieved by showing a proper regard and a friendly manner. By making friends many things can be achieved, instead of showing your strength. If anybody thinks that he has got the majority and treats the minority with contempt, he must remember what will be the attitude of the majority, when the majority is turned into a minority.

The Congress Party has blamed the Government for not having the vision and for not having statesmen of the first class type. My friend, Mr. Satyamurti, laid great emphasis on this point when he said that England did not possess at this time a man with long vision and statesmanship who could have handled the situation properly and won over his Party to their side. That may be his view but I say, do not blame others when you lack in that respect yourself. Did you produce any men with long vision. Did you produce any statesman who could have produced circumstances in such a way that you would have made them uneasy in their chairs. You have come merely to make speeches for one day or for one occasion and throw out one Bill. That will not affect the Government. Your speeches will not go out of this room. They cannot be reported. The public cannot know what your speeches have been, excepting those who have been in the Visitors' Galleries. So, this does not serve you any purpose. Your object is to give vent to your feelings which has been subsiding for the last two years and you are inclined to show your anger and rage inspite of your non-violence. That does not help the country at all. Here the Government have been creating circumstances in the country in such a way that they can get proper help for the prosecution of the war. Why should we blame them. Why should not we improve ourselves. We have to improve ourselves. Last time, was not an offer made that we should have coalition ministries in the provinces, so that everybody may be satisfied and feel that it is a national government? Complaints have been made by my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, against the British Government. Your offer made by Mr. Rajagopalachari has not been accepted by the British Government. That offer was made to the correspondent of the *Daily Herald* and was probably meant for the Secretary of State. It was not taken up.

An Honourable Member: It was meant for Mr. Attlee.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: That may be. Has any serious attempt been made by the Congress which happens to be the biggest party in the country to bring about a national Government? An offer was made for a coalition ministry, as disclosed by the statement issued by Mr. Jinnah and this offer was renewed in February last but they did not accept this offer. Well, now to come forward and say that the British Government did not do this and did not do that and created the circumstances under which we find our country in the present state,—to throw the blame on others, I do not think that it is right. I, first of all, want to know the defect in me and to remove the defect which is in me and then I can come and blame my doctor and say, "you did not properly diagnose it", but first of all let me try to cure myself. What is the use now of saying that the Defence of India Rules are working so hard? Of course, I have great sympathy for my friend, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and my friend, Mr. Paliwal, who comes from the same constituency as myself and who is my next door neighbour and my friend, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, who is suffering, but whose fault is it that the Defence of India Act was passed in its present shape? Why did not the Congress Party come and give their help in not allowing the Defence of India Act to be passed as it has been passed? I know my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, through the columns of the Press has been pressing that the Congress Party should come in and must attend the meetings of the Legislature and I know that many friends of mine who are present here have been desiring that they should not shut their eyes to the responsibilities which they have taken upon themselves as the representatives of their constituencies, but their High Command did not think it proper to allow them to discharge their duties for which indeed that High Command had sent them out to the voters and got their votes and they now let them be downed. The voters for whom you came as the representatives in this Legislature, they, of course, cast a duty on the Members that they should be represented properly and that their rights should be safeguarded properly but that cannot be done by sitting inside your own house and not attending the Legislature. Naturally, the Government wanted all the powers they could get; naturally, they want to keep everybody gagged and to carry out the policy which they want, but if you did not want that the Government should have this power, it was for you to come up and attend the Legislature. It was a Bill before this House and this could be improved or altered, and Government could not be so unreasonable as to fight them and they could not certify the provisions of a Bill like that, which should have been passed with the common consent of all the Parties. The few people that were here put up the best fight they could and they did improve the Bill to the greatest possible extent but all that was ignored and we now see the present position in the country. What is the good of saying that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sent up? Of course this House had to pass the Bill and it was for the Government to make the rules. Now it is for the magistrates who are responsible for discharging their duties to administer the law. Now, may I ask—could the Magistrate of Gorakhpur pass this sentence on Jawaharlal Nehru if the Congress had agreed to have a coalition ministry in the United Provinces? If that ministry had been working and carrying on the work, would the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur have taken up the attitude which he did when he passed that order, or the Magistrate of Furruckabad would have passed that order in the case of Mr. Paliwal which he did? Certainly not. The whole responsibility lies for the situation that has been created not only

on the Government but on the biggest party which could carry on the government. You neither carry on your own duties nor do you let others carry on their duties. If my friends had resigned their seats and said, "we non-co-operate, let somebody else be elected to our seats," then the other people would have come and if they had behaved in such a way as not to carry out and safeguard their interests, then they would have been to blame, but certainly you are not making matters good for yourself nor making matters good for the country at large but you come here and complain that the British Government is to be blamed. No. There are two parties which are to be blamed, one for taking all the advantage that they can take and one for giving all the advantage that they can give. The position which we take is this, that this situation is the creation of the biggest party in India in the different legislatures which ought to have behaved quite differently and safeguarded their interests. Now, my friend, Mr. Satya-murti, says, that the Congress Party absented themselves. Then why did they absent themselves? What was the reason for their absence?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is dwelling too much on what the Congress Party did or did not do. He ought to address himself more to the Bill before the House.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I am saying whether I agree with those grievances put up by other Members or not. I am saying whether we are to accept those grievances as grievances of the country or not. My grievances I will put up.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): But the grievances which the Honourable Member can discuss are grievances against the Government—not against any particular party.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I know that the Government is to be blamed on account of the circumstances which have been created by the other party

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member has any grievance against any political party, this is not the forum for ventilating it, and so far the speech of the Honourable Member has been devoted solely to that.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: But, unfortunately, the debate has been going on those lines. If you have allowed certain grievances to be put in and now it is for the other side

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): If the Honourable Member has any grievance against the Government, he can ventilate it on the Supplementary Finance Bill.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: But I was taking only the example which was put up by Mr. Griffiths. He did not put up any grievance against the Government but he had all the grievance against the Congress Party. In any case I will not go too much in detail now. The only thing which I feel as a Member of this House is that if any Member absents himself from this House, whoever may be the Member, whether he belongs to the Congress Party or to the Muslim League Party or to the European Group

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

or to the Nationalist Party, then he is at fault. Now, Sir, I shall only now express my last hope that no Member henceforth will absent himself from this House on any such flimsy grounds in future.

Sir, my friend, the Finance Member, has come before us and is asking for money. We think that it is the duty of Government to convince the House that they have not squandered the money which was placed in their hands before. During the question time, Government have been repeatedly asked to satisfy this House that the money which has been spent so far has been spent properly. We, as the representatives of the people, have got certain knowledge as to how the money is being spent. We know the ways in which the money is being squandered. We come before the Government and tell them that the money is not being properly spent. We find that enormous increments have been given in certain cases. In certain cases, people who had been getting about Rs. 1,700 a month have been raised to Rs. 4,000 a month during this war period.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman (Finance Member): Will the Honourable Member kindly give me the information either now
1 P. M. or otherwise of the case which he has just referred?

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I do not think it will be fair to disclose the names. But if the Honourable Member wants to know the names, I can disclose them just now.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am anxious in any way whatsoever to obtain the information of the case mentioned by the Honourable Member.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: What was the salary of Colonel Wood the Secretary of the Supply Department before the war started?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: If Colonel Wood's was the case referred to, it was entirely misrepresented in the words used by the Honourable Member.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: What was his salary before the war started and what is his salary now? Please tell me this.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: I am not in a position to give the exact figures except that I do not know that Colonel Wood's previous pay was under-represented and the pay which he received was over-represented.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Is he not getting more now?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: He is getting more.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Why he is getting more?

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Because, having been a Lieut.-Colonel in a regiment, he is holding a post of much greater responsibility and arduousness.

Mr. S. Satyamurti: Nonsense.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: That is our grievance. The Honourable Member wanted to know the names and I have given him one example. The Honourable Member is not in a position even to tell me what was Colonel Wood's previous salary although he had been receiving any number of questions about this matter.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: A statement was laid on the table of the House.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: The Honourable Member was asked a supplementary question only two days ago as to what increments have been made in different Departments and the Honourable Member has not yet given that information. Of course, we, as the representatives of the people, get our information. We have to see that the money is not squandered in the manner in which it is being squandered. That is the charge which we have against the Government. We have seen that positions have been created which range between the Executive Councillor and the Secretary to the Government. An officer who was getting Rs. 4,000 a month as Secretary has now been given Rs. 5,000 a month. May I ask with whose consent was this money given? Was this case brought before the Standing Finance Committee? I can understand the case of a man who has been serving for two or three years and then gets his regular promotion. If a Secretary to the Government becomes the Executive Councillor, we have no grievance against him. Nor have we a grievance against a Deputy Secretary who in course of time becomes an Additional Secretary or a Joint Secretary. But you have now created so many Additional Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and various kinds of Secretaries and Liaison Officers which were never heard of before. You have never taken sanction for these posts from this House. Therefore, we say that you have been squandering the money. In fact, if Government had exercised proper control over their finances, this Bill would not have been before this House today. My Honourable friend would have found himself in a much happier position if he had not allowed these posts to be created. Then, we are told that a man is transferred as a patriot. Is this the patriotism? Your patriotism is to put in as much money in your pockets as you can. Sir, the House must be satisfied by the Honourable Member on all these points. We do not want that people should double their pay when they are transferred from one Department to another. Our information may be incorrect, it may be defective. But when the Government do not supply us the necessary information, then the only conclusion that we can draw is that the information which we have been given is correct. We have been telling the Government to come before the Standing Finance Committee and obtain their sanction for all these additional posts but the Honourable Member did not show even this courtesy to the Standing Finance Committee. It is likely that the Standing Finance Committee, composed as it is, would have given its sanction to all the proposals of the Government. Therefore, we say that you have failed in your duty to this House. You have been adopting this attitude

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because you knew that the House was weak and that is the reason why I blame the Congress Party for having absented itself and thus creating disruption in the country. I would like to know why in the Supply Department and in other Departments people like retired Superintendents have been given the posts of Superintendents or Under-Secretaries? Why have they been taken back in Government service? The result has been that the right claimants for these posts have been deprived of their chances of earning promotion. These people were looking forward for promotion and you have deprived them of it. Has not my Honourable friend, when he started as an Assistant Collector somewhere on Rs. 400 a month, looking forward to becoming an Executive Councillor in the Government of India on Rs. 6,600? Would he not have resented if his promotion had been stopped just as the promotion of these persons has been stopped? You have brought in those people who ought to have gone on the retired list and you have stopped the promotion of these people who were legitimately looking forward to it. Therefore, we, as the representatives of the people, think that in many cases a great injustice has been done to the Indian employees of the Government of India.

In this connection, I should like to say that I do not agree with the proposal of my Honourable friend, Mr. Buss, when he says that so far the burden has been borne by a select few and that this burden should be spread over others, that is on the whole population of India. Unfortunately, my Honourable friend is absent from the House just now and, therefore, it is not right that I should make any remarks in his absence. I only disagree with his suggestion. It is well-known that during this war only a select few have gained lots of money and it is, therefore, right and proper that only those select few should pay. I do not agree that the Government should have chosen the other way. My policy is different. If there is genuine necessity for getting money, then this money should be got only from people who can afford to pay. What I submit is that I must be convinced of the genuine necessity for money and then I would have given full support to the measure which has been presented by my Honourable friend, the Finance Member. In that case I would not have characterised his policy as wrong. I would suggest that those people ought to pay first before the general public is asked to pay as has been suggested by my Honourable friend, the Leader of the European Group.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Who are the select few.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: My Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, wants to know who are the select few. I may tell him they are the people who pay high rates of income-tax. Such people ought to be called upon to pay the surcharge and not the general public. It should not be something like the salt-tax which may affect everybody; the tax should be such as would affect only a select few. I would have gone one step further and suggested that those select few should be made to part with more money who have made a lot of profits on account of contracts received from the Government. They would not have benefited ordinarily if the war had not come something like a boon to them and they have begun to roll into the money on account of war. They would not have found themselves in such a happy position if the war had not been there. It is these select few that are prospering and these persons ought to be tackled first.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech after Lunch.

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

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

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: Sir, when the House rose for Lunch, I was dealing with the point that we want to be convinced by the Finance Member that he has really done his best to effect economy and has not let any department spend money unnecessarily in the name of war measures. Our attitude is not one of opposing or embarrassing Government but before we go into the lobby with him we want to be convinced that he has left no stone unturned to secure economy. Those Members of the House who are always ready to co-operate and assist Government in legislative measures and in the prosecution of the war deserve on account of their very presence here to be consulted from time to time. Eut, unfortunately, up till now we have not been in that happy position, and, of course, if Government can convince us we will be only too glad to support any measures that may be brought forward. But they cannot expect blind and unintelligent support from us, and for the friendship and co-operation that we give we expect the same co-operation from that side also. My Honourable friend, the Finance Member, asked me to give an example and I have given one. I have not investigated every case but many cases have come to the knowledge of Members of my Party and complaints have been received about the squandering of money. You may engage rooms in a hotel and pay Rs. 40 a day for a room instead of the usual Rs. 15, if it is for a special purpose. That of course is a trivial matter. But there are other major questions which should not be ignored and we want that every time sanction is obtained for expenditure of the kind I have mentioned, in the name of war measures, the Defence Committee should be consulted if it involves a substantial amount. I am saying all this because there may otherwise be a wrong impression in this House or outside and in this country or outside it that we are endorsing the policy of Government.

Some of my friends on that side said that they will not allow either money or men to help Great Britain in this war. I do not know whether it is their party creed or their individual opinion. But that is surely not our creed. The Muslim League permits people to join as recruits and the Muslim Leaguers have been supplying men and will continue to do so and they have given permission to co-operate in the prosecution of the war and to give subscriptions, etc. So the views offered on the Congress side should not be taken to be the views of the whole of India, I am not a military expert and the views of those who are not military experts should not count in these matters; but we sincerely believe that for the safety of India it is essential that those countries which stand as bulwarks between India and the German aggression should be helped to prevent Germans coming to India. It may be a coincidence that they happen to be Muslim countries, but if it were the other way it would

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make no difference to us. It increases our sympathy all the more because in the last 50 or 60 years these countries were not allowed breathing time to develop themselves; and one country has under its able leader been able to prove the best and strongest ally of Great Britain,—I mean Turkey. I will not refer to pass Turkish history because people have to carve out their destiny according to present circumstances and not their feelings for past history. My friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, said something yesterday which was misunderstood by Mr. Griffiths. He said quite plainly that among the countries which can to a great extent resist the invasion of Germany towards India, Turkey is one and we should be allowed to enlist ourselves. We Muslims are next to none in our patriotism and we will defend our country and our shores and frontiers even if the aggression comes from Muslim states: we will fight for our land. But here our sympathies are with them in wishing they may not be over-run. This doubles our sympathy and we should, therefore, be allowed to develop a big army which may go and fight if necessity arises to defend them and ourselves.

I hope I have made clear and plain to those Members who might have been led to think differently on account of Mr. Griffith's speech which was based entirely on a misunderstanding. Our sympathy is with all the countries east of Suez: if any aggressive party comes east of Suez we know our country will be in great danger; and though some of my friends might have been led in the heat of the moment and on account of some grievances to take an extreme attitude, they went to the very extreme in saying that they wanted a change of government in this country or involve the country in a war which will bring misery to us. Those of us who have read history know there was anarchism after the downfall of the Moghul Empire and people suffered terribly in those days and we know what war means just as the people in those countries involved in the present war know. I do not want my country to be involved in war. I do not want my country to be over-run by any country whatever; and I can assure this House that it was never the intention of the Congress Party either. Mr. Griffiths got an altogether wrong impression by the heat of the arguments adduced on this side or perhaps some other thing gave rise to this impression—I do not know how he got it: but when he said constantly: "Would you like Germans to come over here? Would you like to be governed by Germany rather than by England?", of course, there is no question of that. I do not think that by any kind of implication any one meant that kind of thing that he would like to be ruled by Germany, except for one unfortunate Persian saying quoted by Mr. Abdul Qaivum—

"Ma ra che uz ein Qissa ke Gao amud-o-Khur ruft."

which means "What does it matter to me that the cows come in and the donkeys go out?" Probably in reply to a certain question which was put from this side, he made this unfortunate assertion. But I do not think he meant seriously that Germans should come over as rulers of this country. If he did mean it, then I sincerely and thoroughly differ from him. If he thinks twice, probably he would say he never meant it. That brought from Mr. Griffiths a retort: "Would you like Germans to come over here?" I can assure him and I can assure everybody who wants to be assured that there is not a single Indian today who would like the Germans to

come and rule over us. Of course, there are many who do not like the English to remain here as rulers. I do not know if the Congress have changed their creed, but I think their creed is to remain within the British Empire. Even Mr. Gandhi says that; but I am not aware if they have changed their creed: independence has been visualised as remaining within the Empire but certainly managing our own affairs and having sovereign powers within our own country, the people having the full voice in all matters just as the people have in other countries; and after that we should of our own willingness join and become a part of the commonwealth of nations. That has been the Congress creed if I am not mistaken. But if Mr. Griffiths is under any wrong impression I can tell him that that is not the view of India at present. It was unfortunate that my friend, Mr. Satyamurti, when he was trying to speak on behalf of the whole of India, should have dragged in controversial matter—when he said that this theory of martial and non-martial classes is still predominant in India today. Unfortunately, martial and non-martial classes are the creation of the Indians themselves. My friend is a Brahmin, and there is the Brahmin—Non-Brahmin question. That is not the creation of the British Government. As long as there is the Brahmin—Non-Brahmin question, the high castes and the depressed classes question, and the Hindu Muslim question, in this country, as long as we have on railway platforms this cry of *Hindu Pari*, *Muslim Cha* and so on and particular people cannot touch particular things, so long these things will continue and there will be this question of martial and non-martial classes. This distinction is due to the caste system and until and unless India gets rid of the caste system this question will not be solved properly. When the martial races begin to marry the non-martial races and mix together, then we will find that there is only one class.

Whatever may be the ideals before my friends,—and I admit they have very high ideals before them,—one fact cannot be ignored, and that is that as long as India is divided into so many castes, creeds, and sects, as long as there is not one single nation in this country, as long as these distinctions remain, there can be no progress in the country, and, therefore, the best thing to do would be to create one single solid nation. Unfortunately we are not one nation today; we are divided into so many nations, and as long as the question of castes and creeds remains, India will remain divided. Therefore, I think it should be the duty of every patriotic man and woman in this country to try and get rid of these divisions so that the country as a whole may progress on right lines without adhering to the old notions which, however good they might have been in the past, are no longer suited to the present age. Sir, I do not want to take more time of the House

An Honourable Member: Thank you.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: I am glad somebody said "Thank you". I hope, Sir, the Government will in future take this House or those who will remain here into confidence, and that those responsible to advise His Excellency on vital matters affecting the interests of this country will advise him in time placing before him all possible materials so as to

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give him an opportunity to summon this House and take its advice on vital matters. If they find that His Excellency, in spite of their sincere advice is not willing to accept such advice, then the most honourable and proper course for these advisers to do would be to resign their seats without caring much either for their position or salary. If such advice is not accepted by His Excellency, then he will get the *badnami* if he does not summon a meeting of the Assembly even for two or three days to consult non-official opinion. Sir, till now there has been no lack of co-operation, Government have been getting help from all quarters. When the Government find that there are so many friends ready to give them help to defend this country realising the great danger that lies ahead to the peace and tranquillity of this country, unfortunately Government is ignoring their help, it does not want to consult them; it only wants to consult people who wish to create impediments in the way,—in fact Government enjoy when they have full opposition in this House, and not when they find a weak opposition. Probably they enjoy their time when they have a strong opposition in the House, and they have got it now. These are the views, Sir, which I wish to express on this Bill.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I do not wish to enter into any theoretical discussion about the likes or dislikes of any particular rule. I will come straight to the point. The Honourable the Finance Member has given us a truism which reads thus: "It is a truism that in time of war Finance is the hand-maiden of Defence",—but I shall present him with a better truism and that is, the contentment of a nation is the best hand-maiden of Defence. If the nation is contented, then only you can have a really efficient Army or Navy or Air Force. If the nation is discontented, then certainly you cannot have an efficient or reliable defence. It is not a question of pleasing any particular community or party. The question is whether the whole nation is really going to rally round you or not.

Well, Sir, yesterday we all heard about the deep discontent that exists over the administration of the Defence of India Act. My friend, Mr. Sri Prakasa, told us in detail as to what happened to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, how he was treated, and how other persons are being arrested and prosecuted under the Defence of India Act. I will leave that point aside for the moment, but the fact must be noted that there is grave discontent about the administration of the Defence of India Act. Is there any contentment either over the political status that has been conferred upon India? My friend, Mr. Griffiths, said this morning: 'we have made some progress and we ought to be satisfied with it'. Sir, I want to tell him that there is deep discontent throughout the whole nation about the status of this country. The whole nation is against the status that has been conferred upon it, and it wants something more. In order that there may be no dispute, no misinterpretation, no misunderstanding about the wording of what a particular Resolution is or what the Party intended to say, I am going to read some lines of portions of Resolutions that have been passed by several organizations, and I want to show that almost the whole of India is discontented over the political status of this country.

Sir, on the 29th December, 1939, there was a conference held at Allahabad of the National Liberal Federation, under the presidency of

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. His views are well known. He is a gentleman who wants to co-operate, and I suppose there are certain persons belonging to this body in this House like my friend. Sir Cowasji Jenangir, and if I mistake not, my friend, Mr. Joshi.....

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): No.

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Oh, you seem to disapprove of that Federation. Anyhow, I will start with this body which is known for its moderation of views. I will specially read only a few lines of the Resolution which that body passed. This is what it says:

"In order to enable India to give its wholehearted support the imagination of the whole people should be captured regarding the future status of India."

And then there is a definite Resolution about it, i.e., the Status of India which was moved by Mr. Chandavarkar. The Resolution runs thus:

"That the Federation having fully considered the statements issued by His Excellency the Viceroy and subsequent official statements both in England and India, is strongly of opinion that they are quite unsatisfactory inasmuch as (a) do not go beyond the position taken up in 1917",—*This is what was stated in the month of December, 1939, mind you*,—"and imply the postponement of the advent of Dominion Status to an indefinite and distant future, and do not envisage its achievement within a definite period in the near future."

So this body, as I stated in the very beginning, which holds very moderate views and which looks at things from all aspects, is also thoroughly discontented about the present political status of this country.

Then there is a resolution by the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha Working Committee, which reads thus:

"The Committee further reiterated its demand for a declaration by Government that Dominion Status under the Statute of Westminster will be granted to India immediately on the cessation of war, guaranteeing the indivisibility of India as a political unit."

After that, the Hindu League Conference also passed a resolution on the 27th July, 1940.

"The League asks Britain immediately to declare India a Dominion based on the Statute of Westminster with a view to securing her maximum support and co-operation in the task of defeating Nazism."

This body also wants the immediate declaration of India as a Dominion. After these resolutions which are really the expressions
3 P. M. of the discontent that is amongst these bodies were passed, a statement was made by the Secretary of State, Colonel Amery, on the 8th August, 1940. His promise of Dominion Status is contained in these words,—I am reading his words so that there may be no misunderstanding.

"We have repeatedly declared our resolve that India shall attain to the same freedom, to the same full and equal partnership in the Commonwealth as the other Dominions or for that matter as this country herself. There is no greater freedom, no higher status than that in the world today."

They say, India is to attain this freedom, such as England enjoys. But they themselves draw a distinction between the Dominion Status of other Dominions and England herself, and that of India. Colonel Amery proceeds:

"The principles of equality and similarity appropriate to status do not universally extend to function. And in respect of these the position of India differs from that of the Dominions."

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That is the distinction drawn. So, it is never their intention to give us Dominion Status of the Westminster type. After this statement was made the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution at Wardha on the 22nd August. It says:

"The Working Committee read into the statements of the Viceroy and the report of the speech of the Secretary of State the emptiness of their own promise to recognise India at an early date as a free and equal unit within the British Commonwealth."

And who can say that the conclusion is incorrect?

Then, I wish to read to the House a statement of the Council of the Western India Liberal Association which was issued on October 23rd, 1940. It is a very long statement but this is the concluding portion of it, and it deserves to be remembered very well by everybody:

"There is a widespread feeling all over the country even amongst those who do not approve of the Congress and the League attitude, that the Government have really no intention to part with power. In the interests of democracy itself and greater effort in the prosecution of the war it is essential to remove this impression."

Which has not been removed. I have quoted to you the resolutions which embody, as I said, the opinions of the several bodies in the country. There is also a statement of Mr. Arthur Moore who addressed a gathering at the Rotary Club of Calcutta on the 18th June, 1940. Our country has got to be prepared for defence and we have been told what is necessary for the defence. Mr. Arthur Moore says:

"Now what is the first flaw in our armour which must be immediately mended to get us ready for battle? It is that India, the very centre of the Empire's map, the home of four hundred million people, the potential source of unlimited supplies of men and materials is not in the British Commonwealth of Nations. She wants to help Britain, she wants to play her part along with others for the future of the whole world, and she wants to be able to defend herself. But she has not the status of a country, she has not the position of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. She ranks as a dependency whom Hitler and Mussolini and other robber pirates, who might succeed in imposing their will on Britain. . . . (that has also to be remembered). . . . on Britain, will have a legal right to apportion amongst themselves."

So, we are going to be a sort of prize. It is quite possible, according to him, that Britain may be influenced, and India may be divided among those pirates. Then these are remarkable words:

"That is intolerable and should be ended forthwith. Which means that her status as a dependency should be done away with immediately, and she should be granted the status of Canada, Australia and New Zealand."

I have said that immediately a declaration should be made and the least they can do according to the opinion of the moderate section in the country is to make a declaration that Dominion Status will be immediately conferred after the cessation of the war. Now, some people advance arguments and ask "how can this be done?". Those who are not interested in conferring this Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety say, "how can this be done? We are faced with the problem of our very existence, it is a question of life and death with us, how can we do all this now?" Now, let me remind them that when it comes to a person with the problem of life and death with him, it is then and then alone that he goes to the greatest length that is possible to save himself. You know that before France capitulated, the French Government became nervous. The British Government also became

nervous and in order to save Great Britain and strengthen the hands of the French Government, they made a declaration. This declaration was made when the British Government were faced with the question of life and death. I am reading from the *Times of India*, dated the 19th June, 1940:

“ Mr. Churchill said that His Majesty's Government have offered to conclude a solemn Act of Union between the two countries.”

The Act could only be passed by the Parliament and thus they were prepared to modify their constitution in the course of the war and when they were faced with the question of life and death. I will point out the terms in which they were going to modify this constitution. This they were prepared to do when the war was being carried on. Why, then, can't you make some declaration about the status of this country even under similar circumstances? You have not got to modify the constitution to do this but only to make a declaration. Now, what was the draft declaration of this Act of Union that was to be passed?

“At this most fateful moment in the history of the modern world the Government of the United Kingdom and the French Republic make this declaration of indissoluble union and unyielding resolution in their common defence of justice and freedom against subjection to a system which has reduced mankind to the life of robots and slaves.

The two Governments declare that France and Britain shall no longer be two but one Franco-British Union. The constitution of the Union will provide for joint organs of defence, foreign, financial and economic policy.

Every citizen of France will enjoy immediately citizenship of Great Britain. Every British subject will become a citizen of France.

Both countries will share the responsibility for the repair of the devastation of war wherever it occurs in their territories, and the resources of both shall be equally, and as one, applied to that purpose.

During the war, there shall be a single war cabinet, and all the forces of Britain and France whether on land, sea or air will be placed under its direction. It will be formally associated.”

The rest is about the army which I need not read. If somebody is to derive a lesson from it and I do not think there is nobody who will not derive this lesson from it, it is this that when Britain is faced with a question of life and death, then alone it surrenders. If there are persons who wish to create a situation like this, what is there to prevent it? This is the key to the Britisher's temperament. I am simply telling the House that this inference can be drawn: I do not wish to prophesy anything because one can never tell what is in store for us in the future.

I have stated that there is discontent in this country over the political status. Let us not forget that if these bodies would have been satisfied by a satisfactory declaration conferring upon India political status of the type of Canada and Australia and New Zealand with no reservations as to functions, India would certainly have co-operated. Let me read to you certain passages and certain statements which prove this to the hilt. The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the 28th July, 1940. It said:

“The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the sforesaid declaration is made—(that is, about the acknowledgment by Great Britain of complete independence of India)—and a national Government is accordingly formed at the Centre without delay, all efforts at organising the material and moral resources of the country for defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will therefore be ineffective.

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The Working Committee declare that if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country."

So, let it not be said that the Congress would not have co-operated in the defence of the country if there had been an immediate declaration acknowledging the independence of India by Great Britain.

Sir, I have shown how we are treated at present in India. We are not comfortable with the status that we have been enjoying in our own country. How are our nationals treated abroad? How are the Indians overseas treated? The Department of Education, Health and Lands is entrusted with the duty of looking after Indian nationals in all the Colonies and the Dominions. Instead of narrating so many details, because the subject has been referred to several times, I will read a Resolution of a body, which is again a very moderate body, about the Indians overseas. It is the National Liberal Federation which passed that resolution on the 29th December, 1939. The following Resolutions were passed from the Chair about the Indians overseas:

"The Federation strongly protests against the Ceylon Government's policy of discrimination against Indians and their decision to dismiss and repatriate Indians employed in Government Departments since April 1, 1940, and to retrench Indian employees of more than five but less than ten years of service on a racial basis, if they do not voluntarily retire by the end of 1939.

The Federation fully supports the decision of the Government of India to prohibit the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon and urges it to take necessary measures to secure justice to the Indian community.

This Federation expresses its indignation and resentment at the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa and the policy of segregation embodied in the Asiatic Land and Trading Act although there was no proof that Indians were violating any of the existing Statutes or were resorting to illegal practices and although the Union Government have undertaken under the Cape Town Agreement to treat the Indian community as an integral part of the population of the Union of South Africa and to take steps to raise their position."

I have specially studied the subject and I have always spoken on this subject and I had also introduced a Bill called the Reciprocity Bill. Unfortunately, not having attended the past Sessions of the House, it lapsed; but if it had been passed, the result would have been that those Colonials who are here today, Members of the Eastern Group conference could not have landed here. Those Colonials who deny us entry into their Colonies could not have landed here and also those who are against Indians carrying on their profession in their Colonies would not have been able to carry on any profession. The disqualifications to which the Indian nationals are subjected would have been enforced upon them in this country.

Sir, it was a very pathetic tale which a Member of this House told this House some time ago. I refer to Mrs. Subbarayan, a Member of this House. She told us that during the last war, when the war broke out, she was sailing in one of the ships and returning from England to India with her child. The ship touched the South African coast and every white person got out of the ship but she could not land on the shores. She wanted to get some milk for her child. The Captain said: 'No, you

cannot land under any circumstances. If these Colonials give our nationals very inhuman treatment, certainly we could have reciprocated that treatment. That is the best way to bring the Colonials round. We should treat them in the same way in which they are treating us. Our grievances cannot be redressed unless we take very strong steps. This is not my own advice. There is another gentleman in this country who is known for his very moderate views and as a result of sore disappointment, he gave this advice. I refer to the advice given by the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. When the White Paper on Kenya was published he said this :

"Not justice or truth but the amount of trouble that a party is able to cause prevails with His Majesty's Government today. Having had this lesson burnt into them Indians, let us hope, will not ever forget it again."—*and again*—"But I will say this once more, which I have said before that India has lost many a time because she had never shown that she can resent indignities in the only way in which a strong Western power understands resentment."

This is what a very moderate man in his old age has said. This is a very effective advice. I will say once again what I have said many times before that India has lost many a time because she had never shown that she can resent in the only way in which a Westerner will understand what resentment is. I want every Indian to express his resentment in the way in which the Westerner will understand what resentment means. Over the question of the administration of the Defence of India Act, Members of this House have expressed their dissatisfaction. They have expressed their dissatisfaction over the political status of India. They have expressed their dissatisfaction with the extravagant expenditure that is going on in the country, as was expressed by my friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan. There is dissatisfaction all round. How can the Honourable the Finance Member expect that he will get the money for the prosecution of this war or that he will get men to prosecute this war in the most effective manner? He has brought this Bill—to secure funds for war—at a time when the country is not satisfied with the way in which the Government is carried on. An advice was given to a person in England as to what is to be done when he is stranded in financial difficulties. I am not taking any responsibility about the morality or the immorality of it. This is the advice given by an Englishman to a friend of his who was stranded in difficulties. He said, "If you are stranded in financial difficulties, then beg, borrow or steal". I do not know whether it is "beg, borrow or steal" or "beg, borrow *and* steal", but I am going to put my case on this precept that was given, "beg, borrow or steal". Now, of course, in the case of a Government of a country it would not be a question of "beg, borrow and steal", but the same idea can be embodied in these words. First of all, appeal to the person from whom you want money; appeal to the country or the public from which you want money; appeal to their sentiments and emotions, the advantages that they are going to reap, so that they may part with their money. If that cannot be done, then the next step comes in. One has not to try all these steps together but step by step. One failing, then resort to the other measure. Supposing you are not in a position to appeal effectively to the nation to get money from it, then what will you do? You borrow loans. But even for that, you must put your case on a stronger basis. Failing strong appeals, you float war loans and then,—according to me, this is stealing, a legalized way of taking money out of the other people's pockets in a statutory way without the consent of the representatives of the people; because stealing merely means

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this that a person steals money without the owner's consent. Well, the Government resorts to the statutory method of depriving the people of their money according to me at the last stage. The Honourable the Finance Member has gone the wrong way round. He says at page 7 of his Statement:

"But a more important aspect of the matter is that we have entered into commitments."

With whose permission we do not know; the house was not taken into confidence, whom they had taken into confidence nobody knows, and they committed themselves to certain liabilities, and then they come before the House and say, "I have done this, please sanction the expenses for these commitments"; that certainly is not a business-like manner, I was going to say a gentleman-like manner—he says in his statement:

"We have entered into commitments in regard to defence measures involving a recurring increase of Rs. 16 crores in a full year and non-recurring expenditure of well over Rs. 30 crores to be spread over the next year or two."

Then, "while I do not propose that this should be met entirely from taxation, it is obvious that with defence expenditure now running at Rs. 20 lakhs a day, we must begin at once to raise extra revenue to cover a portion of the additional expenditure by means of defence loans". Why not try defence loans first before going to the stage of taxation? Do you think that the country is not with you and that your loans will not be subscribed to? What is the idea of approaching the stage of taxation first? Why not first of all try to raise defence loans? If you find—and you will find it to your cost—that the nation is not with you, if you find that the defence loans are not being subscribed, then you may go to the stage of taxation. But, as I have said, the Finance Member has gone really to the last stage first, because he knows very well, and they have the means to know it very well, that the country is not with them. They know also that if this Bill is thrown out by the House, His Excellency is there to certify it. That would be another way, as I said, of taking the money from the people without their consent. Taking the consent of some part of the House has got at least some appearance of some consent but it is not of the whole House but still it is a part of the whole House, but the certification procedure is, as I said, the last stage in the above precept for collecting money. I wish they would first of all appeal to the nation; we know that if the nation is on their side, they will find not only that men will come forward but money will come forward to help them in prosecuting or furthering their war efforts; they will get men, money and aeroplanes; and not only will they get all these but they will find that they can certainly be popular with the country. There is another thing to which I would like to refer. They have said that they have entered into commitments and in the House it was suggested that the war preparations must be carried on quickly and enthusiastically, but there is a section of opinion in this country which blames the Government for this that the war preparations are not up to their satisfaction and the procedure adopted in recruiting men is also not the proper procedure. Then certain references were made to martial and non-martial races. I do not wish to go into that, but I would certainly refer to what a European section says about the way the Government is preparing to carry on the war and the way they are wasting the money of the country. They are wanting money

but they have not done all, with the equipment they already possess, that they could have done.

There is a certain section of Anglo-Indians and Europeans who are dissatisfied. In this connection, I will quote from the letter to the *Times of India* Lieut.-Colonel Coote of Andheri, Bombay, dated the 28th August, 1940. It is a long letter but I will only quote a few passages. This is what he says:

"Every kind of official discouragement has been given in the past few years to Indian youth to get air-minded, take out a pilot A Licence or make themselves fit for any job connected with flying. No training college for air force was started in India and only a couple of vacancies at Cranwell were reserved for Indian youths.

The recent broadcast to Indian youths to come forward for the air force was to fill eight vacancies—after the war had been in progress eight months and India's air force consisted of one squadron, with three more in existence on paper. I know that eighteen thousand young Indians sent in their names in response to the call to expand, at long last, India's air force, but only by 350 pilots!"

If you refer to the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member, the same number still remains. No progress has been made since August till the end of October. It is still the scheme to train 300 pilots. The Government have not gone beyond the stage of schemes. To continue the letter:

"Some of these get a reply after a month or more; many never get reply at all. The official expansion of India's air force in the past year or so is about the slowest piece of work ever undertaken, even by the Government of India. You say 'Progress at present is hampered by insufficient equipment'. Whose fault is that? We should all like to know. Most of us do know, it is certainly not the fault of Indian politicians or Indian youths."

Another gentleman wrote in the *Times of India* saying that we really have facilities and equipments but we were not utilising them to the full. That was the purport of what he wrote and what he said was correct. As a matter of fact, he showed by calculation how many hours of training are lost. As the existing facilities were not utilised, nothing could be done. There were complaints about this. Sir, I have referred to several complaints. But I base my case of opposition to the motion of consideration on the question of the treatment of Indians in the country itself. Consider it from the point of view of India's political status or from the point of view of the administration of the several laws or from the point of view of the treatment Indians receive in other Dominions, you cannot but come to this conclusion. Apply your mind dispassionately to the facts, you will come to this conclusion. Sir, a contented country is the best hand-maid of war. You have to woo her, you have to win over this country to your side; or else the prospects are not promising.

Mr. K. Santhanam (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose the motion for the consideration of this Bill. Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, was good enough to tell the House that it was due to the consideration of the dignity of the Chair and of the House that he listened to the speeches on our side with some calm and patience. I wish to tell him that I greatly enjoyed his speech. I enjoyed his speech especially when he professed to speak not only for himself or for his Group but, for the inmost thoughts of ours which he knew, but which we dared not express. I enjoyed his speech most when he began to lecture

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us on the Bhagavat Gita. I feel sure that by a happy substitution of tea for stronger spirits, Mr. Griffiths has become more spiritual and the transition from the magistrate to the missionary has been completed.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Just the same thing.

Mr. K. Santhanam: But he forgets one thing, that a missionary must be content to preach and he must not descend to arguments. But Mr. Griffiths indulged both in preaching as well as arguments. So far as his preaching is concerned, I shall be content to say that while he was willing to swallow a camel, he was straining at a gnat, while he was anxious to point to the mote in other eyes, he was forgetting the beam in his own eyes.

Sir, I shall deal only with his arguments. He argued that because we had absented ourselves from the Assembly when we were not consulted on the despatch of troops abroad, it was not possible to consult us when the war was declared. Can fatuity go further? We absented ourselves from this House because we knew that we were being dragged into the war. We wanted to warn the Government that if they dragged us into the war, there will be trouble. Was it not then the duty of the Government to have taken the warning as soon as the war was about to be declared to have called the Assembly and consulted us? I am sure every one of us would have been present. But supposing we had not come, why did not the Government consult other Members of the Assembly? My Honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, seemed to argue that once the Congress Party was absent, the Government had no other parties to consult. Sir, if that was so, he should have advised the Government to shut up this House and carry on as best as they may. He went on further and argued that war came all of a sudden, and that the Government could not wait to ask the verdict of the Assembly. I suppose he has read the newspapers. Canada, South Africa and New Zealand, every one of them took many days, sometimes many weeks to call their parliaments, to discuss this question whether they should enter the war or not and then only they decided. I suppose, Sir, that it was only in the case of India that the declaration was urgent and that it could wait for all other countries except India. The House will judge the hollowness of this argument. I felt that he himself realised the weakness of his argument and went on to say:

"Why are you bothering about these procedural matters, go to the substance: is it India's war or not? If it is right that India should fight this war, why bother about some procedure, let us get to realities."

I do agree that it is a more important question. I am willing to answer him as best as I can. A few days back the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Churchill, said that he wanted to save Greece from the war as long as possible, that they did not put any pressure on Greece to enter the war. I think it is on the same consideration that in spite of specific treaty obligations, they willingly agreed to the wisdom of the Turks in staying out of this War. I suggest that on the same humanitarian grounds, the British Government is not forcing Egypt into the war. Are we to understand that if it is right for Greece not to enter the war as long as possible, if it is right for Turkey not to enter the war as long as it can, if it is right for Egypt not to enter the war till now, it is not right for India to hesitate to enter

the war? Is it not because England had the political power to declare war for us that we have been dragged into this war? I put to him another question. Is it the duty of Indians any more than that of Americans to fight Fascism or Nazism and why are not Americans entering this war? I say, Sir, it was wrong it was foolish and, I regret to say, it was almost criminal to have dragged this land, this poor country of poor peasants into this war of mechanical monsters. It would have been wise on the part of England to have said:

"We have power to declare war on behalf of India, but we shall not drag you into this war, but keep your benevolent neutrality and help us just as the United States of America is doing."

That would have been a proper and statesmanlike attitude. It would have saved this country from all troubles. Even now, as some of my Muslim friends have said, there are so many Islamic countries who will have to be crushed before any real danger can come to India and I hope they will keep out of this war, and that if they are forced into this war, they will all join together and fight it out with their customary bravery. If there is any chance of India being bombed or otherwise hurt in this war, then that is all due to one fact, that England in her own interests, without any foresight, without any wisdom or statesmanship dragged the poor people of India into the war which is waged far away from our land. There would have been some justification to say that we shall enter the Sino-Japanese war because it is near our doors, because China is an important part of Asia, and because Japan's imperialism is a greater danger against which India should be safeguarded. I say it was wise that England did not drag us into that war. But it was very foolish, it was wholly unstatesmanlike to have dragged us into this war.

Mr. Griffith's went on to say "anyhow we are in this war and so why not make the best of it? Why not get ready? This is a war of machines. It takes a long time to make machines and so let us get ready." Well, Sir, on that ground also I am prepared to argue. If we are to fight, it is necessary to get machines ready. Has the British Government or the Government of India taken any steps to see that this country is equipped to manufacture machines to fight any possible future danger? What are the most important things in this war? First and foremost are ships. Without ships you cannot get munitions, you cannot get any of our requirements from other countries. It has been one of our greatest complaints that India has never been allowed to build her own ships. Here was a great opportunity, if England were sincere in her pretence. Britain's need coincided with India's opportunity. Have the Government taken any single step to promote shipbuilding in this country? I understand that proposals were made that there should be shipbuilding industry in India and the Board of Trade in England have said definitely that they will not render any help in the promotion of shipbuilding in this country as a war effort. I ask the Honourable the Commerce Member who comes from my Province to stand up and say if this is not true. That is so far as ships are concerned.

What is the next thing that is needed? It is transport industry. Without transport industries, no war can be fought. The Honourable the Finance Member with a good deal of pride said that last year we got 5,000 motor vehicles, we will take 30,000 vehicles this year and next year we will

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take 60,000 and so on. I have got in my hand a book let by Sir M. Visvesvarayya in which he traces the various efforts made in India for the automobile industry. He quotes some telegrams of August 20, 1940, of the Associated Press and concludes as follows:

"This telegram says that Government have been placing two large orders with two prominent American Automobile companies. A request for such orders was made to the Government of India four years ago but there was no response. No reason, save their adherence to the old policy of discriminating protection, was given."

I would say this is discrimination in favour of white people and white people's industries, "for denying similar facilities to an indigenous enterprise".

That is so far as the automobile industry is concerned. Then what about locomotives? Probably the House knows that all non-official sections of the House have been crying hoarse about this manufacture of locomotives. Sir, in the Standing Finance Committee for Railways there was not one meeting in which we did not fight out this point, and at last by sheer dint of persistence and reasoning we brought the Government of India to a state in which they said that this was necessary, and they appointed a committee. Mr. Humphreys and Mr. K. C. Srinivasan were appointed and they have produced a report advocating the manufacture of locomotives in India and they have shown that for the next three years India requires 565 broad gauge locomotives and 306 metre gauge locomotives for our own replacements excluding additions. But what is going to happen? They are not going to build locomotives; they cannot get them now; they are going to allow the existing locomotives to become more and more over-age so that as soon as the war ends they will say that they want one thousand or two thousand locomotives at once which cannot be built here soon and they will place an order abroad for one or two thousand locomotives. When they arrive, they will last for 35 years and so there will be no need for an automobile industry. This is not a mere fancy; it is a trick which was played in the decade after the last war. Between 1924 and 1930 they ordered so many locomotives that all of them have been allowed to become over-age at the same time. They would not allow India to build ships, to build automobiles and to build locomotives. It is said that they could not get the plant; they could get the plant whenever they wanted. And if they cannot get the plant now do you think they will get it after the war? When the work of munitions is over how can they supply the plant which will compete with their own locomotive workshops? I am prepared to bet a hundred to one that they will not get the plant until some radical change happens in the Government of India and for the next 50 years to come India will not be allowed to build a single locomotive or motor car.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow (Member for Railways and Communications): We are building locomotives just now.

Mr. K. Santhanam: I know this joke. I know a little too much about this locomotive business. They have a small metre-gauge locomotive workshop at Ajmere where they simply assemble the parts after buying most things abroad and they call it locomotive building. I have not been a member of the Railway Standing Finance Committee for nothing. Let the Honourable Members not try to humbug us or hoodwink us. Let him say

frankly that they do not want us to manufacture locomotives. I say they are trying to treat India just as Hitler would like to treat Europe; he wants to de-industrialise all the other parts of Europe except Germany so that the German industries might flourish, and our Government here would not like us to build up our industries.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: We shall soon build our own locomotives.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Yes, your grandson will be asking for them.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: I must have a son first before I can have a grandson. But I am with you absolutely.

An Honourable Member: Half on that side and half on this.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member said that they are still considering the manufacture of aeroplanes. While they are still considering, Australia is manufacturing them. I wish to refer to a statement made by one of the members of the Eastern Group Conference. Sir Walter Massey-Greene, who said that one of the chief purposes of the Roger mission was to see that there was no duplication, that what one country was doing the other parts of this so-called Commonwealth should not do. I suppose that applies to the aircraft industry and because Australia is building aircraft India should not bother about it. She should only produce oil-seeds, jute bags etc, and must be content with such activities.

So far for the basic industries which are necessary for fighting the war, and now I will come to the financial measures. I will give the House certain facts. On the 30th August, 1939, the following were the assets in the issue department of the Reserve Bank, and I am also giving side by side the assets of the Reserve Bank according to the last weekly statement:

	<i>30th August, 1939</i>	<i>Last week.</i>
Total	216 crores	257 crores.
Gold	44 crores	44 crores.
Sterling	59·5 crores	131·5 crores.
Rupees	74·7 crores	31·4 crores.
Rupee securities	37·3 crores	49·6 crores.

That is to say, on the eve of the war 45 per cent. were in sterling securities and rupee securities which are naturally dependent upon sterling securities so long as the rupee is linked to sterling. Now it is about 70 per cent. Let us reflect on this position. I have no desire to question the solvency of the British Government or cast any doubts upon the soundness of sterling. But it will be easily admitted by any reasonable person that owing to the terrible strain caused by the war, even if Great Britain manages to get a complete victory, sterling will have to depreciate. It will be the only way by which Great Britain can pay her immense war debt. And why are the Government of India anxious that our assets should be depreciated and why should not some part of the immense gold reserve of the Bank of England be transferred as security with the Reserve

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Bank of India? After all what is the meaning of this increase of note issue by 41 crores? It means that England has been buying Indian goods on pro-note; and not being content even with paying in pro-notes, she insists that she should give pro-notes in a unit which is not likely to remain the same. Is that fair? I ask, why should we not make certain of our currency position by seeing that at least 50 per cent of the payments are in gold? What is the difficulty? Why should the Bank of England shape our financial policy? They want our financial dependance on sterling to become so great that we may become insolvent unless we truckle to everything that the Bank of England says. They want to make use of the war for making the financial dependance of India utterly complete—in fact to bring about our financial prostration at the end of the war.

I come from a rural constituency and for the past one year I have been living in my own village and have almost forgotten the existence of the big cities. So far as the agriculturists are concerned the war is very remote: their own problem of bread is very near; and what have this Government done for the agriculturists? We have heard that the British Government was good enough to buy up the entire crop of cotton in Egypt. I am glad of that, in the interests of the agriculturists of Egypt. I heard also in the case of some other colony they had bought up the whole crop of rubber or sugar. What is the position of Indian sugar? What is the position of Indian cotton and ground-nuts? Have the British Government undertaken to relieve us? By declaring us a belligerent country they have cut us off from the European countries. What have they given us in return? I say it is the duty of the Commerce Member to stand up and reply. Has he been able to secure for the Indian agriculturist any relief, the kind of relief that the British Government has given to the Egyptian agriculturist, to the Argentine agriculturist and to other agriculturists except those of India? Why this difference? Because India has no political status, because India is bound down to the chariot wheels of Britain, they do not care for our agriculturists; they will let our agriculturists die, they will let our industries die, but they come and say, "We want you to take part in the war."

I shall not go much into the question of economy. Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan has given some telling illustrations but he pointed out only a few cases: he said "Why should you pay people 4,000 and 5,000 who were getting only 1,500 and 2,000? I do suggest that it does not look fair that when people are dying in millions, when the war effort is taking so much money, any one in this country should get 4,000 and 5,000 a month. No. They should take only maintenance allowance and hand over the rest. If they have any decency in them, why should they draw these huge salaries? They disburse to themselves huge salaries but they want the poor agriculturist to pay a quarter anna more for his postal envelope. With the superfluous money they have been getting for generations they can pay for this war effort. Their people are dying in thousands in London and being bombed, and yet they want to draw 5,000 rupees a month here. Why should you not be content with 500 or 1,000 rupees to spend upon yourself? If, after doing that, you still want money from us, then come and ask for it. We can understand that. But here you draw these huge salaries and there are these astounding scandals about what is going on in the Government of India. Apparently there is only

industry that is in boom in this country and that is the Jobbery in the Government of India: officers are, it seems, created galore. For the Home Department they have got four secretaries: one secretary, one joint secretary and two on special duty: then you have four deputy secretaries—all simply for putting us in jail. Why do you want to have so many officers for merely sending us to jail? Then, there is the Information Bureau. Numerous people are appointed for what? To suppress information: that is the Public Information Bureau! Then to censor the press, every press must have a separate officer; and you go on creating officers in the name of the war. In the name of war, all this loot is being carried on and I say this loot must stop before you can come with any face to this House and ask for money.

I heard yesterday that in Madras you have raised 56 lakhs in the war fund and that a further two lakhs has been transmitted to London. The Finance Member has come down and said "We have no money for the war"; but he has never contended that England is short of money for war. England may be short of ships; she may be short of mechanical transport; she may be short of other things, but she is not short of money. Why do the Government of India permit the collection of money for the war funds to be transmitted to England? They say: "We have given the names of districts which have contributed to aeroplanes and fighters." Yes. That is what you are out for: you want to give us names and to take away our money; you give us a name and you take away our men and take away everything of substance. That is the way in which you want us to make a war effort. Was it not the proper thing to say: "We are lacking in defence, we are lacking in aeroplanes, we are lacking in other things; and let our provinces raise these squadrons of aeroplanes and anti-aircraft guns for ourselves." As my Honourable friend, Mr. Satyamurti, has said, they are spending huge amounts for air-raid precautions in Madras: they say aeroplanes will come and bomb us; but as he has pointed out, no protection for the day time has been given: they may come in day time and bomb us. You say they should not come at night. I suggest it is a big huge waste that is going on. We do not want air raid protection. I am a student of mathematics and I can tell the Government that the chance of any Indian dying in an air raid in Madras is as much less than the chance of his dying in a railway accident or a motor accident or accident of any other kind. Is it proper that for just this stray chance huge amounts of lakhs of rupees should be spent on air raid precautions? No, Sir. Some officials have been appointed and they must justify their appointments and in order to justify their appointments on 2,000 a month they must spend another two lakhs on blacking out the city lights and covering up the motor car lights. They have blackened the Marina in Madras and shut off the lights in other places and this has led to a great number of motor accidents. I say it is ridiculous that because some foolish official has been posted on 2,000 or 3,000 rupees, and he must do something to justify his salary; he should be making things difficult for motorists and passengers.

Then, in order to stimulate the war effort we are asked to pay a surcharge of 25 per cent. on Income-tax and of a quarter of an anna on the postal envelope. Another point about this curious Finance Bill is this: I want to ask the Finance Member, who is a student of finance, whether it is proper to do what he is doing. He says the amount required is 14 crores but he wants a taxation of only two crores. Why does he want it? If it

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is a question of making both ends meet, it is ridiculous. But I imagine there is a reason behind his appeal. This is a mere feeler. He wants to bring in the big Finance Bill next March and he is merely preparing the ground. Probably he is going to heap taxes on us—increase the salt duties, alter further postage rates and probably raise the fundamental basic rates of income-tax, and so he wants to get the minor things off in this Session: otherwise I cannot possibly find any justification for this Finance Bill. So I say it is more or less a fraud upon this House to bring in this Finance Bill which does not meet the deficit and which does not provide for the whole of the money required. But still he proposes to tax this country. I shall not go further into details.

We are not here to make minor criticisms about this Bill or about the activities of this Government of India. We are out only for the major issues and it will be time enough for us to look into details when we have satisfactorily solved the major issues. The Honourable Mr. Griffiths said: "Do you want fascism or nazism? If you do not want them, do fight against it." But why should it be argued that that was the only alternative? We could have been a benevolent non-belligerent like the United States or other nations. But even after Great Britain had dragged us, the Government of India could have taken steps to see that the people of India were consulted. Our Leaders have been patient; they have offered to forget the insult of being dragged into this war without their consent, if even at this stage a satisfactory solution of our political questions can be found. Referring to the suggestion—it is not proper to call it an offer—made by the great leader of my province, that the Congress would be glad if a national government can be formed under the leadership of the Leader of the Muslim League, some friends have said "This offer should have been made to the Muslim League." If they consider it a little, they will soon see their mistake. If the Congress had the power to form a National Government, it would have been proper to make the offer to other parties, but today neither the Indian National Congress nor the Muslim League is in a position to form a national Government; it is in the power only of the British Government to constitute a national Government, and as my leader said, if the Government were prepared to form a national Government, the Congress would have been glad to take a subordinate position, if necessary, in the national interests.

Sir Syed Raza Ali (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): The offer was not made to the British Government; it was made to the *Daily Herald*.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan: It was in the power of the Congress to make this offer to the Muslim League, and it could have easily made it, and then both the Congress and the Muslim League could have made a demand for national Government jointly.

Mr. K. Santhanam: Probably my friend has been only in the Assembly and has not been in outside politics, otherwise he would know that as long as we have no guarantee that our decisions will be carried out, it will only be a bone of contention. Then, as regards the charge that the offer was not formally made to the British Government I may say that;

if that suggestion had been seriously considered, the formal offer both to the British Government, and if they had agreed, to the Muslim League, would naturally have followed.

Sir Syed Raza Ali: The Congress and the Government understand each other, but I cannot.

Mr. K. Santhanam: However, as an individual Member I can say that if today the British Government decide to form a national Government and transfer real power over defence, over finance, Railways and other subjects, and if they also say they do not want congressmen in that Government, we are prepared to stand aside and assist the national Government, not as obstructors or critics but as real helpers

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: Would it in that case be a national Government?

Mr. K. Santhanam: We who will be in a majority would be quite prepared to accept their decisions. We alone can make it national, and nobody else. Sir, the Indian National Congress has never asked for anything for itself. It has asked everything for the country

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I know, Sir, for whom is the Honourable Member speaking?

Mr. K. Santhanam: I am speaking as a member of the Tamil Naidu Congress Committee, the All-India Congress Committee and as a member of the Congress Party in the Assembly.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: With the authority of the Working Committee?

Mr. K. Santhanam: My friend does not listen properly. I started by saying that I was speaking in my individual capacity.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Then, what value should we attach to the opinions coming from an individual member sitting on the back benches of this House?

Mr. S. Satyamurti: For whom is the Honourable Sir Cowasji Jehangir speaking?

Mr. K. Santhanam: I suppose the value of my statement is not in any way less than the importance that attaches to statements made by the Honourable Member. This is my individual opinion, and I have no doubt that the congress opinion will also be to the same effect. Sir, we are not going to be put off by mere verbal phrases. We are prepared to fight for the freedom of this country.

Now, Sir, I will conclude by referring to a question which was asked by my friend, Mr. James. He asked whether if Hitler came to India we shall have the same freedom to speak as we do today.

Mr. F. E. James (Madras: European): My friend, I am sure, does not quote me correctly. What I did ask was this. If Mr. Abdul Qaiyum had been in Denmark, Belgium or France under the domination of Hitler today, would he have had the freedom that he has been given here to speak as he did yesterday.

Mr. K. Santhanam: That is exactly what I am answering. All the time my friend forgot that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is in jail for making a speech which was probably more reasoned and much more considerate than those made here, that three Members of this Assembly are in jail for the same offence. I do not know if it would be much of a consolation to know that a few Members of the Assembly, on selected occasions, are allowed to speak, while if we speak in the same strain to our constituencies, we would be locked up. I will not be disclosing any secret if I say that we are all *en route* to the place where Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is lodged today.

Sir, I have tried not to hurt the feelings of anyone and I may tell my friend, Mr. James, that in spite of all our grievances, in spite of all our differences with the Government, I have nothing but goodwill for England. Sir, I admire the heroic manner in which the English nation is standing up to the dictators. I am, Sir, much moved by the heroic response of the people of London against the barbarous acts of the enemy, but you cannot play Jekyll and Hyde, play the democrat at Home and the dictator here. I suggest to Mr. James it is undignified, it is not worth the sacrifice they are making if they do not carry their principles abroad. If my friends over there feel that we being coloured people, we being Asiatic people, the same principles need not be alied here, then they will know to their cost that the coloured people are prepared to show the same heroism and the same amount of sacrifice which is displayed by the English people.

I am glad to hear that in aircraft production Great Britain is nearing parity with Germany, but there is another matter on which they are also trying to get near Germany, and that is in the number of people who will be lodged in concentration camps in this country, and you should not be surprised if the British Government in India succeed in shutting up in concentration camps a larger number of youngmen than Hitler has done, and that too much more quickly. I do not know if it will be a consolation to my friend, Mr. James, to know that thousands of people, including the representatives of the people, are shut up in jails today because they had the courage to express their opinions freely. If it is, I do not grudge it to him.

Sir, I make an appeal to the Government, to the European Members, not to rest content till a proper solution is reached, and that they should not waste their time over minor details, because it does not matter whether this Assembly functions or other formalities are gone through, so long as the main problem before us is not solved.

Probably the Honourable the Finance Member is considering his Bill as a mere constitutional formality, But he will be mistaken if he thinks so, because a certification of this Bill will mean that the moral basis of this taxation is no better than the moral basis of the taxes which Hitler is raising in France, Belgium and in every other country he has subjugated.

You have, perhaps, better manners. Probably, given another 100 years Hitler's successors will speak in the language of courtesy which you employ and display the same good manners as you are doing today. After all, he is in the days which Clives and Warren Hastings were enjoying

here, when crude force was the rule, but we do not want mere manners. If you want to rule us by subjection, rule us like Hitler. The alternatives for England are to convert herself, into a Hitler or to be a true democrat. I hope every well-wisher of Britain and of this country whether Indian or European, will help to persuade Britain to know her lot on the side of real democracy and real freedom.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I would like to divide my remarks into five parts. First, I will review the speech made by the Honourable the Finance Member which really forms part of the Finance Bill, and I will omit those portions which have already been reviewed by previous speakers; then I will come to the extravagance of the Government of India and make my own suggestions, and, later on, I will come to the wrong policy outlined in the Bill about taxation, and express my own opinion as to what the real policy ought to have been. Then I shall have some general observations about the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the British Government, and, lastly, I will review the points made out by some of the speakers on the floor of this House.

Let me first take the speech of my Honourable friend, the Finance Member. Some of my Honourable friends have already spoken about the delay of six months in convening this particular meeting. I wrote to the Finance Member some time ago that a delay of six months was unjustifiable and that he ought to convene at least a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee in the month of September. I admit that he did convene a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee at my request but the things that were laid before the Committee, according to the past traditions, were only the items included in votable expenditure. While we had discussions in the Finance Committee it really reminded me of a story of account keeping by an Oxford undergraduate. His father gave him £100, and after the term was over he asked his son to give an account of that amount. The son said a pair of socks 1s. 6d., tie 1s., miscellaneous £99-17-6d. We were asked in the Finance Committee to review and criticise the validity of the expenditure of 2s. 6d. but when I raised the question about the remaining £99-17-6d. we were told that they were non-votable and that they did not come within the purview of the Finance Committee. No doubt, our votes were not required in the Standing Finance Committee but we can review them on this occasion when we have to vote the supplies.

Mr. F. E. James. Then my Honourable friend should have voted in the last Session for the Estimates Committee, which he did not.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I may tell him that I never opposed an Estimates Committee, but I said that it should not be in place of the Finance Committee. I said that we should have both. It was my opinion then, and it is my opinion now.

The second point which I want to raise,—and perhaps I may require your ruling some day on this particular question—is this, namely, about the contribution from the railways to the general revenue. The Honourable the Finance Member said that he has got Rs. 463 lakhs based on one per cent. of the capital at large and also a further 79 lakhs as one-third of the excess over the first Rs. three crores transferred to the Railway

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Reserve Fund. I now remind him of the convention of 1924 which the Assembly sanctioned, and I think it is the duty of the Honourable the Finance Member as the custodian of the general revenues to see that the convention is fulfilled. Article 1 of the convention says:

"The railway finances shall be separated from the general finances of the country and the general revenues shall receive a definite annual contribution from railways which shall be the first charge on the net receipts of the railways."

Article 2 says:

"The contribution . . . shall be a sum equal to one per cent. on the capital at charge. . . . plus one-fifth of any surplus profits remaining after payment of this fixed return, subject to the condition that, if in any year railway revenues are insufficient to provide the percentage of one per cent. on the capital at charge surplus profits in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued for purposes of division until such deficiency has been made good."

This is very important. Whenever there is a deficit, it ought to be made good. Article 3 says.

"Any surplus remaining after this payment to general revenues shall be transferred to a railway reserve; provided that if the amount available for transfer to the railway reserve exceeds in any year three crores of rupees only two-thirds of the excess over three crores shall be transferred to the railway reserve and the remaining one-third shall accrue to general revenue."

The point that I want to raise here is that the railways are in debt to the extent of 37.74 crores to general revenues. The first railway budget separated from the general budget was presented in 1925, and during the last 15 years the contribution to the general revenues under the convention amounted to Rs. 106.49 crores of which Rs. 41.8 crores was paid direct to the general revenue, Rs. 28.94 crores on account of loss on strategic lines to the Military Department, and Rs. 37.74 crores are in arrears. The railways have to pay Rs. 37.74 crores to us and according to article 2 of the convention this amount must be paid first to the general revenues before any amount can be put in the railway reserve fund. I do not want to raise it today on the floor of the House. Another dodge which the railway administration is playing, because, I will raise it on the occasion of the Railway Budget, and that is, that we are treating the depreciation fund not purely as a depreciation fund but as a depreciation fund plus a reserve fund, so that this amount may be deposited before the debt to the general revenues is paid. So by this indirect method they get something for their reserve fund. I do not raise this point now; I will raise it later, but the point that I want to raise now is this. Three crores were deposited in the railway reserve fund, as pointed out by the Honourable the Finance Member, and I ask him, and I will ask you as the custodian of the privileges of the House, whether according to the convention of 1924 which I have just read out to the House, the railway administration is entitled to take this three crores before they pay their arrears to the general revenues. The article clearly says:

". . . in the next or subsequent years will not be deemed to have accrued for purposes of division until such deficiency has been made good."

These arrears amount to Rs. 37.74 crores and until they are paid, the railways are not entitled to put down any sum in their reserve fund, and these three crores ought to have been appropriated by the Honourable the Finance Member from his colleague the Communications Member. If there be any other interpretation of the article, I hope, the Honourable the Finance Member will lay it before us, but as far as I can see, he has proved himself in this transaction a very bad advocate of the taxpayers of this country. He has let out these three crores and has given a donation to his colleague, the Member for Communications, which I think, as custodian of the general taxpayers' money he should not have done. If there be any other interpretation of the article of the convention, then I will ask your ruling as to how far a convention which we had solemnly made in 1924 was ignored. When we pass a Resolution in this House, not in the shape of a recommendation,—but a solemn pledge with the consent of all Parties in the House it ought to be observed. Therefore, my first request to the Honourable the Finance Member is, if these Rs. three crores were taken back to the general revenues, the Finance Bill would hardly be necessary.

The next point that I want to raise is this. They raised the rates and fares—fares by one anna in the rupee and rates by two annas in the rupee. I thought that they were collecting this amount for general revenue in the same manner as they are collecting for the municipalities. The whole of this additional tax should be handed over to the general revenues to meet the war expenditure. No doubt there was no explicit mention in the budget about it. There was no definite understanding but it was a tacit understanding, though not explicitly said, that this additional sum was required to increase the revenue to meet the special emergencies that have arisen in connection with the war and, therefore, I concluded that the entire amount would be paid to the general revenues. To my great disappointment instead of paying this additional taxation to the general revenues they have not paid even the three crores of rupees which they ought to have paid and they really set it aside for the reserve fund against the article 2 of the Convention of 1924. Now, that was my first point in connection with the Honourable the Finance Member's speech.

My second point in connection with the speech of my friend is his statement that 'the scheme for establishing aeroplane factories in this country is by no means abandoned'. This is really a very poor consolation. We are now at the beginning of a war which may last five years or more and they are still contemplating in this country whether there should be a factory for the manufacture of aeroplanes or not. (At this stage the Honourable Sir Andrew Clow got up to leave the House) I see the Member for Communications is going away. I have something to say about this Department and should like him to remain in the House. I thought the easiest thing would have been instead of consulting Walchand Hirchand and others, to establish a pioneer factory in this country.

Mr. F. E. James: May I ask the Honourable Member one question? Is he going to refer to me? If he is not going to, then I will go.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I will miss jokes of high order. Instead of negotiating with the business men, I think that the Government should

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here started a pioneer factory of aeroplane manufacture in this country at their own expense and then leave to the business men to start second and third factory, if they choose to do so. We can't depend upon business men to start the pioneer factory, unless it is a business proposition, unless he sees sure income of ten per cent., a business man will not invest his money. We know that the first attempt may or may not be a business proposition and nobody will lend the money. Therefore Government should come forward and start a pioneer factory of aeroplane manufacture in this country and leave the business men to follow.

An Honourable Member: Where is the money?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: War loans. Now, the second point that was mentioned by my friend, Mr. Santhanam, is connected with the manufacture of locomotives. I quite admit that an attempt has been made to have locomotives of the metre gauge in the Ajmer workshop. They are practically ready to manufacture all the requirements of the metre gauge lines in this country but they are still far from manufacturing broad gauge locomotives. A number of patriotic arguments were advanced from this side of the House. I have got the practical argument and that is this. We do not know whether it will be possible for us during the war to import any engine from outside India, from America or England or any other country. So we have a great apprehension that our communications may be seriously interfered with if we do not take timely action and start the manufacture of locomotives. Now, my friend was saying that if we really want to have an army in 1942, we ought to make a beginning now. Otherwise we will take a long time to train them. If the war really proves to be a long war, then there is a danger of our communications coming to a dead stop and it is, therefore, very desirable that action should be taken now. Therefore, I do beseech the Treasury Benches that the recommendations made by the Humphreys Committee be given effect to at an early date. In this connection, action should be taken, if not to manufacture engines of a very elaborate type, at least of simple type.

Now, the third point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the amended Neimeyer's formula. I am one of those who agreed that the formula ought to have been amended, but it was very desirable that the Finance Committee and the Assembly ought to have been taken into confidence about the amendments to that particular formula. May I remind the Honourable the Finance Member that when Burma was separated, then the whole question was referred to the Finance Committee which appointed a sub-committee to go into the details about the separation of the finances? Now in the question of a change in the allocations of grants to the Provincial Governments, it is but fair that at least the Finance Committee ought to have been taken into confidence and they ought to have been told the reasons on account of which the Neimeyer's award was amended.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: It has not been amended so far as I know.

The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman: Not since there was a Standing Finance Committee.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: The Neimeyer award has been amended. I will quote the very words of the Finance Member. He says:

"Our revised estimate on the basis of the amended Neimeyer formula."

This means that it has been amended. If Finance Committee did not exist at the time of amendment the House existed. So far I have spoken about the observations the Honourable Member made in his speech.

Now, I take the second point and discuss the question of extravagance in the Supply Department. I start with this formula that all your services in the Supply Department should be considered to be services in connection with the war and we should set an example of self-sacrifice. We should really ask these people to show that they are patriotic and set a good example for the country to follow. Those who work for the war will win our thanks. They will win our good opinion and they will be compensated when the war is over. Every one who is doing work in the Supply Department should be assumed to be doing some work in connection with the war and should be ready to make some sacrifice. Now, this is the tradition which we want to establish in the Department of Supply. My friend, Mr. Santhanam, has referred to it as the department of loot. I leave Honourable Members to draw their own inferences from this but I will lay before you a few facts as to how far it is entitled to be called a department of loot. We ought to impress upon every one who comes to the Supply Department that he is doing national service, that he is doing service for the country, he is patriotic, he is willing to self-sacrifice, he is helping the prosecution of the war and we expect them to make some kind of sacrifice. They ought not to demand a salary higher than what they were drawing. We should not expect them to be out of pocket. Every one cannot do it. But at the same time they should not demand higher salaries that they were getting. Now as far as I can make out from the papers, Mr. Jenkins is the only officer in the whole of the Supply Department who refused to take any extra allowance though it was offered to him, and we have great respect for his sacrifice.

Mr. J. Ramsay Scott (United Provinces: European): I think Colonel Wood also.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: . . . and I wish to thank every officer in that Department, if he followed the noble example of Mr. Jenkins. I want that every officer, Indian and European, Hindu and Muhammadan, should follow this example and should show some kind of sacrifice to win our gratitude and the thanks of the country and give up war increments. I am not going to say on the floor of the House what salaries they were getting before and what they are getting now; the Honourable the Finance Member has got a very efficient Secretary and a very efficient Deputy Secretary, he has got very efficient staff under him and if he simply asks one of his subordinates to prepare a chart showing what salaries they were getting before they joined the Supply Department and what salaries they are getting now, he will judge for himself how far their salaries have been put up on account of their services for the war and how many of them are away from self-sacrifice. This is a thing which I suggest only for the satisfaction of the Finance Member himself, but what we want to press on this occasion is that all those persons who do the work of

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the Supply Department and do not demand any increase in their old salaries should be thanked for their sacrifice and for the services to the country which they are making and this is the example which we want to establish. Now this is the first point I want to take up.

The second point in connection with the war supply I want to take up is the manner of recruitment. I can understand that the Supply Department must have a very efficient staff, but they ought not to have been recruited through the 'National Service Committee'. We established a National Service Committee for an entirely different object in connection with the recruitment of Anglo-Indian soldiers but this was not intended to recruit persons for the Supply Department. I think their recruitment ought to have been, like recruitment in other offices, through the Public Service Commission and that Commission is the proper body to recruit such men. If these recruitments were made through the Public Service Commission according to the requirements of the Supply Department, then some of the complaints we now have and which I am going to explain further later on in my speech could have been avoided. Everything depends upon the Selection Committee. Whenever there is any appointment going in the Supply Department, every Indian, every Britisher, every Anglo-Indian has got an equal chance but what I want to press is that these chances are not of equivalent merit because the selection Committee is so selected that non Anglo-Indians here have little chance. Hence there chances are not of equivalent merit; certain people have a good advantage and others have none.

May I take another instance and draw attention of the Member for Communications to the case of the aeroplane committee. This question was raised before the Standing Finance Committee. I had a talk with the Secretary for Communications that there ought to be a Muslim on the Selection Committee, and every committee that is appointed by a Department other than the Communications Department has always a Muslim on the Selection Committee, but in this Selection Committee there was not a single Muslim, and I drew also the attention of the Honourable the Leader of the House to this particular drawback, but still no appointment was made though a promise was held out that this might perhaps be done. If you want that these privileges should be of equivalent value, it is absolutely necessary that on the Selection Committee for air pilots there should be fair representation of all interests. I do not mean to suggest, members of a committee will be partial or impartial, but I was told by the pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University that he sent out twelve candidates and one man was invited for interview and he was not one of the best candidates. Sir, I see no justification for ignoring this thing altogether. Now my friend, the Honourable the Communications Member, is anxious to attend to something else and so I think I had better take up those points which concern him and then I shall come back to the Supply Department later on.

Sir, the other day I moved a motion of adjournment on the floor of the House which, unfortunately, was badly worded and so you had no other alternative but rule it out of order. But I may refer to the points which I intended to bring out on the occasion of this motion for adjournment. Sir, I have got two grievances to make. One is that the person who should be the judge on a particular report has

now become a party to it. We know very well that the Governor General in Council really means, as far as railway matters are concerned, the Communications Member. So he will practically be the judge on the entire report, but when he commits himself to the issue, then I think it is not fair. He is perfectly right to express his own opinion which he did express on the floor of the House but the point which I do object to—and this was not very clearly brought out in my wording of the adjournment motion—is that he said, “and I feel sure that this Conference will agree with my view, etc.” Now, there he is practically giving an order to his subordinates to express their opinion in the manner he likes. That is unfair. Sir, I believe that there the Honourable Sir Andrew Clow’s opinion is based on misunderstanding. What right has he got to influence his subordinates to canvass and ask them to vote for and agree with his view? Both of us should have equal chance.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Because they are his subordinates.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: But the decision of the Government of India will be based on the opinion of these subordinates of his and therefore he now asks his subordinates to express their opinion in this particular way and on the opinion of the subordinates the Governor General in Council will issue his orders in the manner in which he has already formed his opinion and in the manner in which he has given his orders to his subordinates . . .

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Whom do you want to decide?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Since the Communications Member is a party, I have no other alternative but to request the Government to appoint somebody else to review this particular report—say the Home Member, or the Finance Member or the Secretary for Defence but certainly not a person who is already a party to it.

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

My second grievance is that he has not correctly represented the views of the Muslims. We never wanted that incompetent Muslims should ever be promoted; all that we wanted was that the promotion of Muslims should not be stopped because he is a Muslim.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member is now discussing a motion for adjournment which has been disallowed. A great deal of latitude is allowed in discussing a Finance Bill but the topic which the Honourable Member is now discussing really goes outside the limits even of such latitude.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Now, I say that the promotions are given on the consideration of seniority or of efficiency, then this principle is selected in such a manner that it affects Muslims always. I once said on the floor of the House, “call a spade a spade” and tell frankly that in promotion, the principles of seniority and efficiency are selected in a manner that Muslims may not be promoted. I said this on the floor of the House to his predecessor. However, I will seek some other opportunity to discuss this particular question.

I now come back to the manner of recruitment in the Supply Department which I had taken up. As the recruitments are not made through

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the Public Service Commission, what is the result? The result is what it ought to be. I have got before me a list of the officers of one section of this Department. There are 43 officers out of whom only five are Indians and the remaining 38 are Europeans. I think the manner of the recruitment in the Supply Department is chiefly responsible for it. They ought to recruit in the same manner as they recruit for the other Departments, namely, through the Public Service Commission. They should set forth their requirements, ask the candidates to interview and select the best men who may be found to be suitable for their purpose. If they adopt this method, then the present complaints that exist will probably disappear.

The next point that I wish to take up in this connection is the association of what we call the Liaison officer and the advisers. Now, this procedure is not very desirable and I am very strong on these points. I pressed this point on the last occasion and I will always press it whenever an opportunity arises that we should not associate in the Supply Department any business men. One successful business man in the presence of several Members of this House said the other day that all business men are selfish. Perhaps he used a stronger word. I have got his own words with me. He said: "A business man is never honest." He is always for himself: he does not care for war or peace or anything else. He really wants money for himself. Once I was travelling in a railway compartment and a business man from Cawnpore was telling in my presence: "Long live Hitler". I asked him: "Why are you saying this?" He said: "I pray for Hitler's life every day. Since he has started the war, our industries are flourishing and we are getting more and more money." I said that we are suffering from privations and more taxation, whereas these business men are getting more money on account of this war. So, these business men have a special mentality. They always care for themselves: they never care for anybody else. As long as their pockets are full, they do not mind if the country goes to dogs. That is not my view but that is the view of a business man.

Mr. M. S. Aney: What is your view?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I am coming to that.

Now, Sir, business men say that they are doing a great service to the Supply Department because they give their time and are helping them in making their purchases. The facts are just the reverse. In fact, we are showing them a great favour by placing orders in their hands: they are doing no service to us. The Supply Department may shelter their mistakes under the excuse: "We want the co-operation of the business men". The co-operation is always there. There is no dearth of co-operation. If you begin to place orders, every business man will begin to co-operate with you. There is no difficulty about that. But the dangers which I point out are these. If you have a business man associated with the Supply Department, then he will know the secrets of the other factories and other business men and as soon as the war is over, he will be placed in a position of very great advantage. I do not want to enlarge this point as we discussed it at the time of the Finance Bill and I then quoted from the paper *Economist* in support of my argument. My second argument is that whenever you ask a business man to give contracts, he is sure to give contracts

to all those firms in which he is interested and from which he gets commission either officially or unofficially, either openly or secretly, and he will vote for no other person. On this matter I have got practical experience of my own which I do not want to relate on the floor of the House.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Leader of the House): None of the alleged business men with the Supply Department have anything to do with the placing of contracts.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Then, what are these Liaison officers?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I have explained several times on the floor of the House what these Liaison officers are.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: Are you not purchasing your things on the advice of these Liaison officers?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: I have said that no business man associated with the Supply Department has anything to do with the placing of contracts.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: May I ask whether these Liaison officers and advisers are business men or not?

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: They are business men, and I pointed out that with the exception of two, who relate to industries in a special position, all of them had been selected on the advice of the industries concerned.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: You go in a round about way. Are they or are they not business men?

The Honourable Sir Zafrullah Khan: I have said they are.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: If they are business men, then you place your orders either on their advice or according to their choice, and this is just the thing to which I object.

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: Contracts are not placed under their advice.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: That is absolutely trying to deceive the opposition. We were told on the floor of the House repeatedly by the Leader of the House and in the other Chamber by . . .

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I ask the Honourable Member if he would rather have the advice of a Professor of Mathematics?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: I think a Professor of Mathematics will certainly give an honest advice, but a business man will always give an interested advice. I have no axe to grind but people like Sir Cowasji Jehangir and other business men have their personal interests to look after. Their advice is always for the industry in which they are interested. I can be exposed by any Member of the House. And I challenge any Member to tell me if I have ever derived any benefit in any transaction during the last ten years.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: There was no insinuation of that sort at all. I simply asked whether the Honourable Member would rather prefer to have a Professor to advise on these matters. Instead of recruiting business men, would you recruit a Professor?

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad: My reply is that he may be a professor or a representative of labour or he may be a civilian or anybody else, he must be an honest man. That is my only condition. He must have no axe of his own to grind. You have got expert men associated with the Indian Stores Department and they can give you enough help in connection with the purchases, the quality of the materials and the place from which you should purchase them. It is not necessary for the Supply Department to add Liaison officers and advisers.

As regards the point raised by the Leader of the House that these Liaison officers are selected or elected by the industries themselves, I have heard enough of it and I know how they are selected. There is one particular man who is already appointed and everybody knows that he will be the Liaison officer. So, everybody will have to bow before him in order to get orders in that particular industry. I know this definitely and if my friend will challenge me, I can even mention such names on the floor of the House. But I think it is not desirable to discuss the personalities on the floor of the House. I wish to confine myself only to principles.

The point which I wanted to press is that in the Supply Department for the purpose of purchases we should not have any Liaison officer; we should not have any adviser; and we should not have any representative of the industries whether elected or selected or nominated in any form whatsoever. There ought to be a simple method and that simple method is that there should be a Supply Department consisting of honest Civilians. Whatever other persons may say about these Civilians, I can say this about them that there is hardly a Civilian who does not jealously guard the good name of the brotherhood to which he belongs. They should employ permanent officials who cannot afford to be dishonest. They cannot afford to do a thing which will really expose them and ruin their career for ever.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member can continue his speech tomorrow.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 13th November, 1940.