

18th February 1943

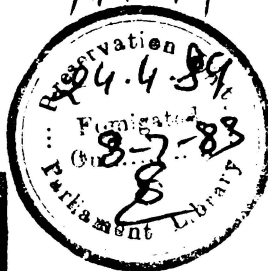
# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

## Official Report

Volumes I to II, 1943

(10th February to 2nd April, 1943)

### SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1943



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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Thursday, 18th February, 1943.

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.

## MEMBERS SWORN:

- Mr. John Ainslie Mackeown, C.I.E., M.L.A. (Government of India: Nominated Official);  
Mr. Samuel Harrison Yardley Oulsnam, C.I.E., M.C., M.L.A. (Government of India: Nominated Official);  
Mr. Ammebal Vittal Pai, O.B.E., M.L.A. (Government of India: Nominated Official); and  
Mr. Vishnu Sahay, M.L.A. (Government of India: Nominated Official).

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

### (a) ORAL ANSWERS.

#### REFRESHMENT-ROOMS CONTRACT ON THE OLD BENGAL AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

**132. \*Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state if it is a fact that the contract for the Hindu and Muslim Refreshment Rooms on the Bengal and North Western Railway (now called the Oudh and Tirhut Railway) is given to an association of individuals—Ganesh Lal and Sons?

(b) Is it not a fact that Ganesh Lal and his sons are all dead and the persons who have taken the contract are only using their names?

(c) Did the Railway Administration make an attempt to find a Muslim contractor for catering for the Muslim Refreshment Room?

(d) Are Government aware that some Mussalmans on account of their religious conviction would not take their food in a Refreshment Room managed by non-Muslims?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) I understand the Firm mentioned holds both the Hindu and Muslim Refreshment Room Contracts at certain stations, but not at all stations.

(b) The present proprietor is the grandson of the original proprietor of Messrs. Ganesh Lal and Co., and the son of the previous contractor. All have traded under the title of Messrs. Ganesh Lal and Co.

(c) No.

(d) I had hitherto understood that the objection was to food being cooked and served by non-Muslims.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** I know the conditions at Gorakhpur as it is the centre of my constituency. In view of the fact that there is a class of Muslims who would not like to eat any food which is not cooked by and under the supervision of Mussalmans, and in this particular case it is not so, and a Muslim can easily be appointed and contract given to him, I would like the Honourable Member to consider this question and intimate the Administration that it is the desire of the Assembly Members to see a separate contract given to a Muslim.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I had understood that this contractor was in possession of a number of testimonials from Muslims of standing

and that every satisfaction had been given; but I would suggest to the Honourable Member that, if he feels as he does, the best thing to do would be to bring the matter before the local Advisory Committee of the Oudh and Tirhut Railway and have the matter discussed there.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** With regard to part (c) of the question, I should like to know when Refreshment Rooms have been provided for why should it not be desirable or convenient for the Government to have the management of the Muslim Refreshment Room put in charge of a Muslim?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** In this case I understand that the contractor has given every satisfaction to the public in general and to Muslims, who had in fact submitted to him a number of testimonials.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** As the Honourable Member has made a reference to certificates, may I know whether the Honourable Member has ever tried to find out the number of complaints? Probably the number of complaints is ten times more than the number of certificates ever given to him.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** That is not my information.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** Has the Honourable Member taken the trouble of enquiring into the facts from the local administration, namely whether the number of complaints is greater than the testimonials?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I have already suggested that there exists a machinery—the local Advisory Committee—for ventilating these complaints, and I have suggested to the Honourable Member that that is the most convenient place to discuss this matter.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** But, unfortunately, none of us is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Oudh and Tirhut Railway. Gorakhpur is the centre of my constituency and I know the conditions there very well. I know very well that there are definite complaints. Whenever I go to my constituency I always receive these complaints and I have brought these to the notice of the administration without any avail.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** What is the question?

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** Sir, the Advisory Committee of the Oudh and Tirhut Railway had one solitary representation so long as I was there for two years, and there was no possibility of convincing the authorities on that issue, which we have now brought here.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** What is the question?

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** May I know from the Honourable Member whether the number of complaints against this firm are innumerable?

(No reply was given.)

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** May I ask the Honourable Member to send a copy of questions and answers to the General Manager of the Oudh and Tirhut Railway?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I will certainly send these questions and answers to the General Manager.

#### CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF STAFF OF THE OLD BENGAL AND NORTH WESTERN

##### RAILWAY.

133. \***Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways please state what arrangements Government have made with the Bengal and North Western Railway Company about the payment of gratuity, provident fund, bonus, etc., due to their servants on handing over the charge to Government?

(b) Will the servants of the Bengal and North Western Railway who have now become the State servants get the same privileges, concessions and facilities in service as are enjoyed by servants on other State Railways?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the desirability of having uniform scale of salaries and conditions of service of servants on all the State Railways and bring up the scale of salaries in the Oudh and Tirhut Railway to that of the East Indian Railway?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to Ordinance No. LXVII of 1942, a copy of which is already in the Library of the House.

(b) No; a statement of the terms and conditions under which they have been offered employment under Government is in the Library of the House.

(c) Government consider that complete uniformity in scales of pay is neither desirable nor practicable. Other conditions are generally uniform for State Railway servants except those who have been permitted to retain the conditions they had when serving under Railway Companies.

**LOSSES SUFFERED BY BENGAL AND NORTH WESTERN AND EAST INDIAN RAILWAYS DURING RECENT POLITICAL DISTURBANCES.**

**134. \*Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the losses which (i) the Bengal and North Western Railway, and (ii) the East Indian Railway have suffered during the recent political disturbances?

(b) On whom would these losses fall? Who will bear the losses—Indian taxpayers or Railway Administrations?

(c) From what funds will the track be repaired and fresh rolling stock be purchased for replacing the stock already destroyed?

(d) Will the charge be on the depreciation fund or will a fresh grant be given for such repairs and replacement? In case it is done by fresh grant, will the capital at charge be correspondingly increased?

(e) Is it a fact that a large amount of merchandise belonging to the Army and private individuals was destroyed in these disturbances?

(f) What is the value of such merchandise destroyed by rioters during the recent disturbances?

(g) Have the merchants owning the merchandise put in claims for the recovery of the value of the articles lost or destroyed? If so, what action have Government taken on such claims?

(h) What is the value of the claims the Government have already paid to consignees on (i) the Bengal and North Western Railway, and (ii) the East Indian Railway?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) Physical damage caused to railway assets on the Bengal and North Western Railway and East Indian Railway as a result of the recent political disturbances amounted, in round figures, to Rs. 16 lakhs, and Rs. 14 lakhs respectively. These figures do not include damage to goods in transit.

(b) The railway administrations will bear their own losses.

(c) and (d). Railway funds will be utilised for the purpose, and the expenditure will be debited to revenue or depreciation fund, as the case may be, in accordance with the existing rules of allocation given in the State Railway General Code, a copy of which is in the Library of the House.

(e) Yes.

(f) The Bengal and North Western Railway estimate that consignments looted at stations were valued at Rs. six lakhs, approximately. No estimate has yet been received from the East Indian Railway.

(g) It is believed that claims have been received by Railways for goods lost or damaged due to acts of sabotage. Railways have been instructed to deal with such claims in accordance with their obligations under the law as bailees.

(h) The information asked for is not readily available, and its collection would involve an amount of time and labour that would not be justifiable in war time.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Can the Honourable Member give a rough idea of the total amount of the claims? Not the details.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I have already answered that question.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** With reference to part (h).

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** The Bengal and North Western Railway have received claims amounting to Rs. 5,00,029.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE RAU COURT OF INQUIRY FOR DEARNESS ALLOWANCE.

†135. \***Mr. Lalchand Navalrai:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state whether the recommendations of the Rau Court of Enquiry in connection with payment of dearness allowance were accepted by the Railway Board (i) in full, (ii) with modifications, or (iii) whether they were rejected? If the recommendations were accepted with modifications, what was the nature of those modifications and reasons therefor?

(b) Is it a fact that one of the Terms of Reference to the Rau Court of Enquiry (1940) was "(4) how should the allowance, if any, be regulated in future, if the cost of living should rise or fall"? If so, what were the recommendations of the Court in this connection? Were these recommendations adopted? If not, why not?

(c) If the Rau Court's recommendations have not been adopted in reference to Term of Reference No. 4, what other orders have the Railway Board issued for automatic increase or decrease in the dearness allowance paid to railwaymen, on rise or fall in the cost of living? If none, why?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the Government of India, Railway Department (Railway Board), Resolution No. E40P.A.1116 of the 18th March, 1941.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, I would refer the Honourable Member to pages 58-63 and 118-120 of the Report, a copy of which is in the Library of the House. As regards the third and fourth parts, I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to Part (a) of this question.

(c) Government have issued no orders for the automatic increase or decrease of dearness allowance to railway servants. As regards the second part, Government prefer where possible to make adjustments through negotiations.

#### SHORTAGE OF COAL AND SOFT COKE.

†136. \***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Is the Honourable Member for War Transport aware that there has been a considerable dearth of domestic fuel throughout the country, and in some cases the price of soft coke went up to Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per maund recently?

(b) Is he aware that the average despatches of soft coke have of late been much below the normal requirements of the country?

(c) Is he aware that the situation has gone worse since the 1st of January, 1943, when the different Provincial Governments took over the distribution of coal and coke?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) I have no details of the prices for soft coke to which the Honourable Member refers but it is a fact that there was a shortage of domestic fuel in certain places during December and January.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) The Honourable Member is referred to my reply to part (a) of the question. I do not, however, accept the suggestion that any worsening of the situation which may have taken place is due to the provincial control scheme.

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

The scheme was in fact delayed in some Provinces owing to certain misunderstandings, but these have all been rectified and it is hoped that the provincial programmes will henceforward work smoothly within the available wagon supply.

**POLICY ABOUT ALLOTMENT OF WAGONS FOR DOMESTIC FUEL AND COAL FOR SMALL INDUSTRIES.**

†137. \*Mr. K. C. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable Member for War Transport be pleased to define Government's policy about the allotment of wagons for domestic fuel and for coal for small industries such as oil mills, flour mills, rice mills, etc., which provide the foodstuffs of the country?

(b) Are Government satisfied that the fuel requirements of these small industries have been and are being met adequately?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) Quotas of wagons have been given to provinces to provide for their minimum requirements of domestic fuel and for small industries such as oil mills, flour mills and rice mills. The quotas are as follows:

	Wagons per month.
Province of Bengal	3,600
Bihar	1,050
United Provinces	900
Delhi and Punjab	1,200
Bombay Presidency to be supplied from the Bengal and Bihar fields	600
Madras Presidency to be supplied from Bengal and Bihar fields	150
Orissa Province	150

In addition special programmes are issued for supplies from the Central Indian coalfields and the Pench Valley and Chanda fields on the recommendation of the Provincial Governments.

(b) This quota system has been in operation for less than a month but it is understood that the quotas allotted are considered adequate to cover the minimum requirements of small industries and domestic consumption.

**APPOINTMENT OF BANIANs, MONOPOLISTS AND SPECIAL AGENTS FOR COAL DISTRIBUTION.**

†138. \*Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is the Honourable Member for War Transport aware that some of the Provincial Governments have appointed banians, monopolists and special agents for the distribution of provincial quotas of coal and coke wagons, in direct contravention of the instructions of the Controller of Coal Distribution? If so, does the Honourable Member propose to state which Governments made such appointments and in what circumstances they were made? Are these appointments still continuing? If so, where and why?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** I am aware that the machinery for distribution of provincial coal quotas was not, in some cases, in conformity with the instructions of the Controller of Coal Distribution. It is the policy of Government that monopolies in the distribution of coal should be avoided and that existing trade channels should, so far as possible, be utilised, and wherever this has been departed from the Controller of Coal Distribution is taking steps to rectify matters in consultation with the provincial authorities concerned.

**GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS WORKING AS AGENTS FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM COMMERCIAL CORPORATION.**

139. \*Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani: Will the Honourable Member for Supply please state whether it is a fact that some of the Departments of Government work as purchasing or despatching agents for the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation? If so, are such Departments paid any commission or remuneration?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** The Supply Department is the only Department of the Government of India which has worked as a purchasing or despatching

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

agent for the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. It charges three per cent for departmental expenses on purchases made for the Corporation, but in the case of goods intended for Russia, this charge is only made when manufactured goods are supplied from stock.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** What kind of articles are purchased from the U. K. C. C. through the Government agency?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** I shall have to ask for notice of that question.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** May I ask whether the Government of India in the Supply Department charge any commission on the articles supplied in order to defray the expenses for the maintenance of the Supply Department?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** I have already stated in the answer that we charge three per cent. on the purchases made for the Corporation.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani:** May I know whether wheat and rice are purchased by the U. K. C. C. through the agency of the Government servants?

**Mr. J. A. Mackeown:** I should like notice of that question, but my impression is that they are not purchased by any Government of India agency.

### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

#### GRIEVANCES OF TRAINED CANDIDATES OF GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

25. **Mr. N. M. Joshi:** Will the Honourable the Railway Member be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the trained candidates in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway were being paid only Rs. 30 per mensem as salary, without any further increment till after their confirmation;
- (b) whether since 1930, the period before such confirmation was inordinately longer, varying upto ten or twelve years in large number of cases;
- (c) whether these employees were doing precisely the same work as the other employees who were confirmed in service and drawing the time-scale of pay;
- (d) whether the Union of the Railway Workers has since 1935 been representing the matter to the railway authorities for granting annual increments to these employees;
- (e) whether the General Manager of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway has only now revised the pay of these men from the fixed pay of Rs. 30 to Rs. 30—4—50, with effect from the 1st April, 1942;
- (f) whether the trained candidates with service of two or more years will have their pay fixed according to the years of service they have put in, and if not, the reasons for not doing so;
- (g) whether the result of this refusal is that the men from two to ten years of service will be treated on a par with those who have put in only one year of service; and
- (h) whether this question will receive sympathetic consideration and necessary action will be taken with a view to removing the injustice and financial loss to the trained candidates who have put in longer service?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) to (h). Information has been called for and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

#### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF CONTROLLER OF COAL DISTRIBUTION.

26. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for War Transport be pleased to state the functions and powers of the Controller of Coal Distribution?

(b) Were the coal trade organisations informed precisely about these functions?

(c) Has the Controller got any Advisory Committee to advise him on important matters?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) The functions and powers of the Controller of Coal Distribution are described in the press communique, dated 14th August 1942 of which I lay a copy on the table.

(b) The Controller of Coal Distribution keeps in close contact with the three associations and in view of the press communique issued on the subject, it was not considered necessary to repeat what was stated therein in separate communications to those bodies.

(c) No, Sir. But he has frequent meetings with the bodies referred to and consults them in regard to changes in distribution arrangements.

#### *Press Communiqué.*

1. In view of the difficulties experienced in obtaining transport for the supply of coal, the Government of India, appointed a Controller of Coal Distribution some four months ago with headquarters in Calcutta at No. 1, Council House Street, with the object of regulating the distribution of coal in the best interests of the country. His functions, as well as the manner in which he functions and the procedure to be observed when applying for his assistance are briefly stated below for public information.

2. The Controller is responsible for deciding the order of priority in which the coal has to be despatched, and his functions include the granting of priority for all Shipping Coal, Naval Coal, Loco. Coal for Railways, all Government requirements, requirement of public utility concerns, and of the iron and steel industries. The Controller is also responsible for the allotment and control of wagons normally classified under 'Public'.

3. Programmes of Loco coal for Railways, and coal purchased for Government requirements through the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, are referred to the Controller of Coal Distribution, by the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board. For priority in connection with shipment coal, bunker coal, and Government requirements, other than coal purchased through the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, applications should be made direct to the Controller of Coal Distribution. All applications for War Priorities received by the Supply Department should be forwarded to the Controller of Coal Distribution by that Department. Applications for priorities by public utility concerns, by iron and steel industries, for coke ovens, etc., previously addressed to the Coal Wagon Supply Committee should likewise be addressed by these concerns direct to the Controller of Coal Distribution, who will draw up the necessary programmes, and issue instructions to the Railways.

4. In the case of coal and coke required for domestic consumption and for local industries not directly engaged in war work, it has been arranged that the Director of Industries of the Provincial Governments of the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Assam will function as Provincial Coal Controllers. In Bengal the functions will be discharged by the Price Controllers, and in the United Provinces by the Provincial Transport Board. They will advise the Controller of Coal Distribution of the requirements of different centres in the order of urgency and will ensure that the coal received is used for the purpose for which it was ordered.

5. The Controller is generally able to draw up a programme of distribution under which a limited number of wagons is set aside daily for the miscellaneous day-to-day requirements of the public not covered by any priority. The number of wagons set apart under this system is expected to cover all demands for general use. Where, however, special assistance is required for, for any area, the Controller of Coal Distribution will at his discretion endeavour to give that assistance on information supplied by Provincial Coal Controllers.

6. In applying to the Provincial Controllers for assistance, parties concerned should state the names of collieries with whom orders for coal have been placed, the quantity covered by each order, and the period in which delivery has to be made. Normally all applicants will be expected to draw their supplies from the nearest field, and an explanation will be necessary in all cases where an order has not been placed in the nearest field.

#### WAGON SUPPLY COMMITTEE.

27. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will the Honourable Member for War Transport be pleased to state whether the Wagon Supply Committee is still functioning? If not, were the trade organisations concerned informed on this point before or after it ceased functioning?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Although the Coal Wagon Supply Committee continues in being, it has not functioned as a committee since the appointment of the Controller of Coal Distribution, who now deals with the allotment of wagons for essential industries. The three associations representing the coal trade were advised of the change. I may add that the Controller



of Coal Distribution has frequent meetings with the Committees of the three associations and consults them on any changes affecting the general policy of distribution of wagons.

**PURCHASE AND DELIVERY OF COAL FROM PUBLIC COLLIERIES FOR RAILWAYS.**

28. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state:

- (a) the total quantity of coal purchased from public collieries for the year 1942-43 for each of the State and Company-managed Railways; and
- (b) the percentage of deliveries upto the 31st December, 1942, made to each of the railways from public collieries as a whole?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** (a) and (b). A statement giving the required information is laid on the table of the House.

*Statement showing Quantities of Market Coal purchased by Railways for delivery during 1942-43 and the Quantities delivered up to the end of December, 1942.*

Railways	Total quantities contracted.	Total quantities despatched from April to December 1942	Percentages of Column 3 to Column 2
1	2	3	4
	Tons		
N. W. . . . .	13,39,500	7,54,392	56½
E. I. . . . .	10,18,500	5,81,390	57
B. & A. . . . .	6,72,500	3,57,060	53
G. I. P. . . . .	12,88,700	8,49,295	66
M. & S. M. . . . .	4,32,000	3,07,640	71
S. I. . . . .	4,43,000	2,05,586	46½
B. B. & C. . . . .	4,13,300	2,25,852	55
B. & N. W. . . . .	3,16,000	1,56,460	49½
R. & K. . . . .	60,000	33,765	56
B. N. . . . .	5,49,300	*	..
	65,32,800		

\* Information not available.

**WAGONS FOR LOADING COAL IN BENGAL AND BIHAR COAL-FIELDS.**

29. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will the Honourable Member for War Transport be pleased to state:

- (a) the total number of wagons allotted in each month for loading public coal during the year 1941, separately for up and down direction traffic in the Bengal coal-fields; and
- (b) the total number of wagons available for loading coal under all classes of supplies in the year 1941 in the Bengal and Bihar coal-fields?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** On the assumption that part (a) of the Honourable Member's question refers equally to the coal-fields in Bihar, the information required is contained in the statements laid on the table in reply to his unstarred question No. 1 of 10th February, 1943. If, however, the Honourable Member desires information regarding the Bengal Coal-fields, I am afraid this is not available.

**REFUSAL TO SUPPLY TO INDIAN MINING FEDERATION LISTS OF ACCEPTANCES OF INTERIM PURCHASES OF COAL.**

30. **Mr. K. C. Neogy:** Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state if it is a fact that Government refused to supply to the Indian

Mining Federation the lists of acceptances of their interim purchases of coal in 1942, made through the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board? If so, what were the reasons for such refusal?

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** A list of the acceptances in respect of the supplementary purchases of coal for Railways during 1942-43 was not issued as it was understood that this information was available to the Coal Trade through its own Organisations.

### MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

#### NECESSITY OF RELEASING THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There is an adjournment motion in the name of Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh for discussing the immediate necessity of releasing the members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress who are in jail or under detention to enable them to go to Poona with a view to have a consultation between them and Mahatma Gandhi whose condition has very much deteriorated on account of his fast.

**Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): I am not going to move that adjournment motion.

### THE RECIPROCITY BILL.

#### PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

**Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh** (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to make provisions in regard to entry, residence, the acquisition, holding or disposal of property, franchise, the holding of public office, or the carrying on of any occupation, trade, business or profession in British India by persons domiciled in the British Possessions on a basis of reciprocity.

### RESOLUTION *RE* COMMITTEE FOR ENQUIRY INTO THE ALLEGED MILITARY AND POLICE EXCESSES—*concl'd.*

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There will now be the further discussion on the Resolution of Mr. K. C. Neogy regarding enquiry into the excesses committed by the military and the police in dealing with the recent disturbances.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I gave a notice of an amendment that these words might be added, and I will just tell you the reasons.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): When did the Honourable Member give notice of the amendment?

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** On the 20th of September, 1942, and the motion was moved.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is the amendment before the House?

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Yes.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): All right.

(Pause.)

Why was it not moved earlier?

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** It was moved as will be seen from page 527 of Vol. III, No. 9. I will just read it.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes, yes. It is all right.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Sir, I moved an amendment on the 24th September, 1942, that the following words be added to the Resolution moved by Mr. Neogy that while making an inquiry on the points raised by him, the inquiry should also include some other matters. It should not be a one-sided inquiry but a complete inquiry, and the words that I wanted to add were:

"(1) That after the words 'enquire into' the following be inserted:

the nature of organization leading to dislocation of communication, murder, loot and forcible extortion of money under the threat of murder, the allegation that some factory owners helped hooligans by deliberately turning out their labourers after paying their full wages and',

(2) that after the word 'country' the words "in a manner that may not benefit the enemies" be inserted."

That was my amendment which I moved on the 24th September, 1942, but unfortunately I had no opportunity to explain the reasons on account of which I moved my amendment on that occasion.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It was in accordance with the ordinary practice.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Yes. I mean that we had a full debate on that day and we had another debate in this Session. I had no opportunity to speak on the original motion. The reasons on account of which I moved this amendment were already explained in detail in the speeches delivered by the Honourable the Home Member and by the Honourable the Leader of the House, not the then Leader. It is not necessary for me to repeat in greater detail all those points which have already been mentioned on the floor of the House. There is no doubt that we have had dislocation of traffic, and it had been so much, that in spite of the many months that have passed we are not yet back to normal. The number of trains has been cut down on account of a large number of trucks being destroyed or burnt. So the people are now suffering on account of this dislocation of traffic. The number of trains, even on the East Indian Railway main line, has been reduced by 50 per cent., and the same is the case on other railway lines. This has been due primarily to the number of trucks and wagons destroyed or disabled and engines put out of order necessitating their being sent to the repair shops. This is a serious state of affairs and we have not yet got over these difficulties. It is desirable that this fact ought to be included in the scope of the inquiry, so that we may be able to find out what were the reasons for such dislocation. The other thing that I would like to mention when this inquiry is made is that a number of pamphlets were distributed, printed on different coloured papers, but the general purport of these pamphlets was the same. They described the method which ought to be adopted in the case of such an emergency, and the method which was followed by the hooligans was exactly the same as that described long before the incidents occurred. One such pamphlet was sent to me. I read it. I did not take it seriously at the time, but when so many different incidents happened then I realized that it was a clear warning. There is no doubt that some District Magistrates were careful and took precautions in time and in those districts the loss was nominal. But some other District Magistrates did not take this warning seriously till the whole position deteriorated and then they came forward and attempted to restore order. Delhi was one such town where no timely action was taken. If the provincial authorities in Delhi had acted two days earlier, I am sure there would not have been this burning of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office and the Municipal Hall. Everywhere else also such things would not have happened. In addition, a number of persons received threatening letters—I think some Assembly Members also might have received these; it shows that they all belonged to the same organisation. Therefore, I repeat that if an inquiry is to be made it should be very comprehensive and it ought not to be one-sided, because one-sided inquiry will not give any definite result. To take a definite instance in my own district of Ballia, every organisation there was destroyed and they took possession of the treasury and of the armoury and everything else; and one person assumed

the office of one administrator and another assumed the office of another officer and they attempted to carry on the administration in their own way. When such serious things happen, somebody will have to restore order and peace. If you wish to ascertain whether the steps taken were commensurate to the situation, that can only be found out by investigating into the situation itself, about the damage and loss incurred and the property looted and the dislocation of trade and traffic, including damage to post offices and railway stations. I do not know if my Honourable friend, the Railway Member, has made any detailed inquiry about the burning of these railway stations—I wish he has a detailed report before him about the number and names of burnt stations and the personnel who were present at the time, because he will be able to draw very valuable inferences from those facts, if indeed they are supplied to him accurately. I know the conclusions myself, but I am not going to communicate my own conclusions or my opinions, but I would like him to draw his own conclusions from the facts supplied by his own department, and they will be an eye-opener to him and could be a guide for action if similar occurrences possibly happen in future.

As regards the burning of the Railway Clearing Accounts Office, I would not like to omit any mention of it though a reference was made to it before. No doubt inquiry has been made and I do not know the result of it or who made the inquiry. These things were not made public; but it is a characteristic fact that everybody knew sometime before that the Clearing Accounts Office will be burnt. They knew beforehand that this thing would occur. There were about ten or twenty times the number of clerks and peons present in the office. The head of the department was the head of the A. R. P. organisation and he could command the whole of the A. R. P. organisation and the pumping and fire engines to help on this particular occasion; but no action was taken and the people actually left the office without any resistance or hindrance. This fact ought not to be whitewashed by mere explanations, but one should go deep into the matter and find out the real cause of such occurrences in order to avoid similar incidents in future.

About Bihar, I have been reading this morning the speech of my Honourable friend the Leader of the House about the excesses committed there. I was also told by a number of persons who were stranded on that occasion. The damage done was so great that when a railway officer came to Aligarh and found the railways working normally, he was astounded to see it and asked "How is it possible for clerks and others to be working here without any police help at all? I see that people are getting everything they want and I could not imagine that things could be so normal". He could not believe that things could be like that, after his own experience in Bihar. There, things were so much dislocated that one must make inquiry about it, if this question is to be opened at all. I am therefore strongly of opinion that if any inquiry is to be made, it ought not to be one-sided, and every side of the question must be looked into before any definite conclusion is arrived at. If these matters are allowed to be shelved on account of some bigger problems, that is a different matter, but if an inquiry is held, it ought to be thorough and complete. With these words I move my amendment.

**Some Honourable Members:** The question may now be put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is: "That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I shall put first the amendment of Babu Baijnath Bajoria. The question is:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

"That this Assembly, while strongly condemning acts of murder, sabotage, arson, loot and other forms of violence committed by unruly mobs and hooligans in the country which

[Mr. President.]

have caused serious destruction and loss of life and property and while supporting Government in all legitimate measures taken or to be taken to suppress such mob violence and restore law and order, emphatically condemns the use of excessive force and frequent firing which have resulted in the deaths of and injury to innumerable innocent persons including women and children and recommends to the Governor General in Council that all complaints about excesses committed by the police and the military in quelling these disturbances should be investigated by judicial tribunals to be established in all the Provinces, for the purpose and those found guilty be suitably and condignly punished."

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The next is in the name of Pandit Nilakantha Das. The question is:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted :

"That while severely condemning all acts of violence and sabotage resulting in serious loss of life and destruction of property, and while recognizing that it is the duty of the Government to restore law and order and prevent the breach of public peace and to use legitimate force for that purpose, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that, with a view to ensure public confidence in the Government measures, immediate and effective steps be taken for the investigation of well supported allegations of the use of excessive force by tribunals consisting of high judicial officers, and that those found guilty thereof be suitably and condignly punished."

The motion was negatived.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The next is in the name of Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: The question is:

"(1) That after the words 'enquire into' the following be inserted:

'the nature of organization leading to dislocation of communication, murder, loot and forcible extortion of money under the threat of murder, the allegation that some factory owners helped hooligans by deliberately turning out their labourers after paying their full wages and',

(2) that after the word 'country' the words 'in a manner that may not benefit the enemies' be inserted."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—17

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Abdullah, Mr. H. M.  
Ahsan, Mr. Muhammad.  
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
Bhutto, Mr. Nabi Baksh Illahi Baksh.  
Choudhury, Mr. Abdur Rasheed.  
Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.  
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.

Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed  
Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik.  
Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.  
Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.  
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.  
Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.  
Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

NOES—40.

Abdul Hamid, Khan Bahadur Sir.  
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.  
Aiyar, Mr. T. S. Sankara.  
Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R.  
Anthony, Mr. Frank R.  
Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.  
Caroe, Mr. O. K.  
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.  
Daga, Seth Sunder Lall.  
Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.  
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.  
Dumasia, Mr. N. M.  
Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.  
Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.  
Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haidar.  
Ismail Alikhan, Kunwer Hajee.  
James, Sir F. E.  
Jawanar Singh, Sardar Bahadur, Sardar Sir.  
Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulema.  
Lawson, Mr. C. P.  
Mackeown, Mr. J. A.

Manavedan, Raja T.  
Miller, Mr. C. C.  
Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.  
Noon, The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan.  
Oulsnam, Mr. S. H. Y.  
Pai, Mr. A. V.  
Pillay, Mr. T. S.  
Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.  
Raper, Sir Hugh.  
Richardson, Sir Henry.  
Sahay, Mr. V.  
Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian. Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.  
Spear, Dr. T. G. P.  
Spence, Sir George.  
Stokes, Mr. H. G.  
Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir.  
Thakur Singh, Major.  
Trivedi, Mr. C. M.  
Wood, Major-General E.

The motion was negatived.

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

That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that a committee composed of nine Members of this House, with a majority of non-officials selected in consultation with the Leaders of the Parties be set up immediately to enquire into the allegations of excesses committed by the military and the police in dealing with the recent disturbances in the country, and to report thereon to the Governor General in Council."

The motion was negatived.

### RESOLUTION *RE* IMPLEMENTING THE FEDERATION OF INDIA.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das** (Orissa Division; Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps for implementing Part II (the part relating to Federation) of the Government of India Act, 1935."

Sir, at the outset, I may tell the House that I am not particularly enamoured of this Federation provided in the Act of 1935. Since the Act was passed, much water has flown under the bridge and we have now come definitely and distinctly to the idea of Indian independence, complete and full. All people on all sides including the British Government agree to it. We have all decided, even our masters have said and promised in so many words, that if certain conditions are fulfilled we shall get independence at the end of the war when the new order comes to be promulgated. I do not like to enter into any controversy. I do not want to tell the House at this stage how it is practically something unachievable as at present visualised. But whatever be the character of what you are going to have, the idea of independence, full and complete, is there and all sections of our politicians including the Rulers agree to it. That is a fact. But where are we at present, though we perhaps think of independence every moment of our life, all the time and all the 24 hours of the day and the night, during waking as well as sleeping time. I do not know what we are exactly doing now to achieve it. We have been offered several times several kinds of Governments within the constitution and unfortunately for us we have come to no agreement. There was the offer of August, 1940. It did not suit us. Then there was another one in 1941. Then last of all, Cripps came. Every time we thought we would come to some understanding and achieve something; but one party has sold itself to complete and absolute self abnegation expecting that the world will come to influence our rulers to give us what we want or the rulers out of pity will throw the entire Government on our shoulders and go back bag and baggage. Whatever be our idea, we sold ourselves to complete and absolute negation. We could not agree among ourselves, which is a condition precedent to our getting anything. One side talked of ideals; another side talked of impossible terms. We have not come to any practical understanding, and so we are where we were and the whole thing has ended in frustration. Such a thing as frustration always creates a void in the national life of the country. So, there is a deadlock. We do not know in the long history of our nation, when a deadlock like this existed before. We are now in the midst of a very serious calamity, so to say, and we cannot do anything, this way or that. We always expect other people to do things for us. That is a state of mentality in which no national life can progressively develop. We never like to take the responsibility on our shoulders, for this reason or that reason or for no reason whatever. So, we should arrive at some understanding among ourselves and our rulers are pledged to give effect to our agreed solution. We are told that everything will be done at the end of the war. We are told that measures will be taken to give independence to India after the cessation of hostilities. Many things are held out as hopes to be done after the war; but we must first think of shouldering the responsibility ourselves and doing things here and now. We are always wanting to do something but we are not doing anything, because we cannot agree upon anything.

But this Federation is a thing to which our Government, the British Government, is bound by a distinct and definite promise. It is in the Act, and the communal differences, which are the main obstacle and which are now the main

[Pandit Nilakantha Das.]

cause of the deadlock and because of which we visualise various difficulties in our achievement even after the war will not stand in the way of achieving this interim measure of Federation. When talking about communal settlements, we are giving this or taking that before we have actually achieved anything, before working any Constitution or working for anything with any outlook and before having anything that we can confidently call ours. We are always going to divide first. We have nothing to give and yet we promise to give. And that perhaps exhibits the character of our slavery all the more. We talk like people who have really no idea of what they are talking about. But here is something where there is no question of give and take and all the communities, if this thing is promulgated, will *ipso facto* have to lay their heads together and will have to work in collaboration for the working of this Constitution which is a statutory provision already.

Sir, it is by working together for the Government or for the people that we can achieve communal settlement. As I once said elsewhere, it is in coalition ministries in the provinces and composite Government in the Centre that we can develop and advance towards our independence or whatever our goal may be. By talking and negotiating in an atmosphere where we have really nothing as ours to deal with we cannot achieve anything. We have not achieved anything so far and we are simply going more and more asunder every day. If we look back at the history of our communal settlement, what have we achieved during the last ten years or more? We are simply going apart every day more and more. So, I think—and this is my definite opinion—that we should take advantage of every situation where we can work together, though some people may call it sham. I believe that in any working there is some substance, but if some people like to call it sham, let them do so. I firmly believe and I trust many of my friends will share this belief with me that we shall develop, we shall grow and we shall progress even in communal harmony when all the communities sit together in whatsoever proportion and run the Government themselves. In the measures they consider and adopt there will be no communal colour. If they want to decide some fiscal policy or some tariff or some dearness allowance, will there be anything communal in it, which a Hindu or a Mussalman or a Parsi or a Harijan should get or should not get? It is in these measures that we should now try to work together and collaborate from day to day and from hour to hour. This is the only constructive thing which should now be opened to us and we should always try to take advantage of these opportunities.

It is a fact that a large section of our politicians think of giving up everything. Sir, I have been a very strong Congressman in my life and a nationalist of the extreme wing and I believed for many long years of my life in this policy of self-abnegation. But when the war came and when this policy was going to be carried out to its extreme at such a critical time by giving up the Ministries, I was simply taken aback. Then I made a public statement and said, "For God's sake do not commit this mistake". "There may come a time", I said, "when, not to speak of aeroplanes, not even a single soldier will be able to come to this land from abroad, and our Masters, who have ruled over us for these six generations, and have not given us any opportunity to shoulder a gun will want us to join in the Defence forces without any distinction of colour or caste, martial or non-martial". "So", I said, "do not lose this opportunity. If you wish to be recognised as a nation, you must take this opportunity by the forelock". I then wrote to the then Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and said that, unless better sense prevailed, I was not with him. I am very sorry to say that after so many years of association I had to part company with the Congress. I believe that there should now be effectively pursued that policy which is called responsive co-operation and that is the only way to progress in our national advancement.

It is with this object in view that I am moving this Resolution, though it may seem very strange to many that I am proposing such a measure at this juncture, for even after the passing of this measure many important parties of politicians in this country said that they do not want it. Even those who put their seal of approval in England to this idea of Federation said after it was passed into law that they do not want it. They may or may not want it ultimately but as an interim measure it will be a much better thing to work than to live in an atmosphere of negation and frustration.

Sir, frustration always creates a vacuum which nature never likes. When you are not there, surely other people will come in, and your protest to influence the world opinion, if you have not a sanction behind your demand, will never come to be anything substantial; it will never be fulfilled. Suppose you demand something from inside the jail or outside it or wherever you may be, and if, your demand is not accepted by those from whom you demand it, you must have to look back upon something which is called sanction in the ordinary phraseology. For creating that sanction the working of some constitution has always been necessary. I have already said that for that sanction you should join in war measures. If you can successfully join in this war nation in future will say that India is unfit for its self-defence. Whatever be your communal difference, if you are practical you can create that sanction. Our rulers even will then feel and they will be convinced that we are fit for defending our own country. Negotiations, promises and every thing else will then change in colour and character.

We must now try to look at things in this really practical way. Now, we must face facts and not lose ourselves in lofty ideals. Philosophers think of ideals and Prophets speak of them. In this world all Prophets have preached ideals. Even Christ's ideal is claimed by Hitler to have been practised in action. That does not matter. In the ordinary spheres of the world's affairs practical men should always face facts. We have carried on in pursuit of an ideal for a long time and I have said it landed us in frustration. We are again thinking in the same line as if some miracle will happen which will lead us to a place of prosperity and achievement. It will not be so. So let us now sit down together in any form of Government where we can work together with some kind of responsibility for our people—work in collaboration and work in consultation. Let us not lose ourselves in empty negotiations of give and take when we have nothing to give and nothing to take.

In conclusion, I appeal to my friends in the Treasury Benches to think of the matter now seriously, if they are sincere in their efforts. Let the British Government now decide whether in spite of any opinion in the country it is not for them to take this usefully practical measure for the entire co-operation of India. I think they can put it in actual practice at once. I appeal to them again and again to do a thing to which they are already pledged and not to allow any people to scan and criticize it without practising it. It is the only usefully practical measure before us now and I submit that both the British Government and the Government of India should now practically think over the matter and introduce it as an interim measure till after the war. Before better things or other things come—before independence of India comes—till then we must work this most practical measure. Let us have it. Sir, I move:

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

“That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps for implementing Part II (the part relating to Federation) of the Government of India Act, 1935.”

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed** (Law Member): At the earliest stage I should like to make the position of Government quite clear on this Resolution. The House will realise that this is primarily a matter for His Majesty's Government to consider, but Government will welcome a discussion and



[Sir Sultan Ahmed.]

debate on this resolution, because the suggestion which has been made may be one of the solutions of the recent political deadlock. It will, however, be remembered that there are various parties who have to agree to a settlement which is suggested. Primarily, Princes are there who have to come and accede to the Federation. There are other very important parties who have to be considered. And while Government would welcome a debate on this Resolution for an expression of opinion, they hope that the debate will be carried on with a certain amount of cordiality and good-will and nothing will be said on the floor of the House which will in any way prejudice the issue. Government have therefore, decided to be absolutely neutral and I hope that the contribution which will be made by this House will be useful for solving this most difficult problem.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): My Honourable friend the Mover of this Resolution considers this as the only practical measure which could be brought before this House. I am sorry I differ from him. I say there could be no more impracticable measure which could be brought before the House at this juncture than the one which has been brought, by my Honourable friend the Mover of the Resolution. It is not only inopportune and ill-conceived, but it is the one which wants to throw away the declared policy and the declared wishes of the vast majority of the people living in this country. As far as this Part II of the Government of India Act is concerned i.e., Federation, that has been practically denounced from the outset in the country: and I am surprised that a veteran member like my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das, should have chosen this moment to bring up such a Resolution for discussion in this House. He knows fully well that the Princes were very much afraid of this scheme by the bitter experiences which they had in 1937, and they were very reluctant to join in the Federation. They wanted many safeguards and their case was not a secret one. Then the big party to which he had the honour to belong, and from which, I am glad, he has severed his connection lately, that is the Congress party, that has not only denounced Federation, but they have gone to that extent that they find themselves now shut up in other places.

**An Honourable Member:** Is it a better place?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Yes, it is much better. They are much better fed there than they would feed themselves in their own homes. Surely you cannot say that Mahatma Gandhi is not well looked after. They are not jails.

**An Honourable Member:** Would you like to go to that place?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** We do not deserve that treatment. Now, Sir, my Honourable friend knows that the Congress has passed a resolution that this scheme is not acceptable to them. Now, I will tell him that the other big party in the country, the second biggest party in the country, the Muslim League has also denounced it absolutely. In the very beginning when this scheme was passed, it was debated on here after the Government of India Act came into force. This House had given its vote that they do not agree with the second part of the Federation. Only the first Part, relating to Provincial autonomy, was accepted by this House. The second part was rejected *in toto*. I do not know, nor do I remember whether my Honourable friend, Pandit Nilakantha Das, was a Member of this House or not at that time.

**An Honourable Member:** He was a Member of this House at that time.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Then, if he was a Member of this House, it means that he also voted against the second Part. Now, he brings forward this Resolution to give effect to the very thing which he rejected then. Probably he will find himself the solitary man to support this Resolution. I do not think it is a desirable thing to do so. The Muslim League has been

opposing this on many considerations which are not secret, which are not hidden from any Honourable Member of the House or from the public as a whole. We cannot accept the Federation envisaged in the scheme of the Government of India Act, or any kind of Federation which is not acceptable to the Muslim League. My Honourable friend knows full well that the politicians in England have said very often, not once, but many times that it is the concern of the people of India to come to a conclusion and to decide among themselves and then lay the scheme before the British Parliament, which I am sure will accept the same. They have said so in clear terms. Mr. Churchill and the Secretary of State for India have made no secret of this. What is here wanting is the common consent among the people of India. Have we taken any steps towards coming to a final conclusion among ourselves? I am sure my Honourable friend will say, none. I think the speech which he made in this House ought to have been made on a public platform. He should go out into the country and tell the people to come to a settlement, to create the atmosphere, create the spirit of give and take, listen to the views of the other side also . . .

**Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi** (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural): You go along with him.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I wish my Honourable friend does not interrupt. I can answer him. I know that my Honourable friend is only one of the offshoots of the Congress and it is not for him to come here and interrupt like this.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi is not in his seat. If he wishes to make any remarks, he must go back to his seat.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** What is wanting is the proper atmosphere. The spirit is not there, the hand of co-operation is never raised, and unless this is done, it is useless to come before this House or to appeal to the Treasury Benches. The case of the Treasury Benches has been clearly put by the Honourable the Law Member. They are powerless, it is not in their hands, it is not in the hands of somebody else to grant you what you want. They have said so many times that they are not going to interfere unless the people of India come to an agreement among themselves and put a joint scheme before them. Federation has been shelved for all times, I hope Federation will never find a day here in this country. It is not to be supported by anybody. Now, what is going to be started will be negotiated and accepted by all parties. It is no use coming to this House or trying to ignore the other side absolutely and say this, that we want to force this scheme or that scheme, without agreement among ourselves. Mahatma Gandhi may be fasting to enforce one kind of system, my Honourable friend wants through the back door to enforce another scheme which has been rejected, in the hope that it will be accepted by the Treasury Benches. What is the use of appealing to the Treasury Benches? I say, don't appeal to the Treasury Benches, appeal to me. Why don't you come to me and appeal? Why don't you convince me? I mean the Muslim League. Go and ask your big organisations, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Congress and other bodies to join hands with the Muslim League and come to terms. Be convinced by them or convince them. So long as this policy remains, namely that whatever you desire should be carried out, I say that will never be carried out. My Honourable friends say that India will remain a slave and they do not like it. But I can assure my friends that unless and until a settlement is arrived at between the two big communities in India, India's fate is doomed and India will remain a slave for ever. India can never progress unless everybody feels that whatever is given in the shape of reforms is beneficial for all, and that all will prosper by the freedom of India. If anybody feels that freedom of India means eternal slavery for him, then he will never join to get that kind of freedom. If on the other hand freedom for India means the rule of one party or the other, that will never be accepted. If it is

[Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan.]

the rule of all parties where every community will have a voice, then it will be accepted.

**Bhai Parma Nand** (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Will the Honourable Member kindly tell me whether this scheme of Federation was not the decided view of the Round Table Conference? Is not the Honourable Member taking advantage of the very constitution in the Provinces, I mean Provincial autonomy, which is also a part of the Federation scheme outlined by the Round Table Conference?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: It is no use my Honourable friend going into this sort of discussion. It has been very clearly stated on many occasions by different people, I do not want to take up the precious time of the House in repeating those arguments which have been advanced both inside the House and outside. I want to make it clear that this is the most inopportune moment for my Honourable friend to bring this motion before the House because he will find that a vast majority, as I said, is opposed to Federation. They do not want Federation. At this hour when war is going on, to think of a scheme like this during war can be nothing short of ruin for the safety and progress of the country. We can never prosper until we get security of the country. The first thing is that India must remain secure, and then, after the war, prosperity will come and schemes will be put in. If my friend had suggested for different parties to join their heads together, and come to some conclusion and then take over charge of the administration it would have been different, but changing the constitution during the war is not desirable.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das**: But it is not changing the constitution.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: That will mean changing the present constitution. At the present time even municipal elections have been postponed, and my Honourable friend wants to create uncertain conditions and turmoil in the country by bringing in federation. Once this question is accepted, there is bound to be elections. And you know the result: The whole country will be rushing up in different directions instead of concentrating their mind on one goal. It is not the time to think of these things. Under the present constitution if any change is suggested and can be brought in with the consent of all parties together, I may tell this Honourable House—and this has been repeated by many speakers on this side of the House—that we are quite open to talk over and negotiate. We have never said that we do not want a compromise; we have never said that we are not willing to join the Government and take the responsibility on our shoulders. But we know that the Congress is not willing. If other parties are willing they must take the responsibility on their shoulders and everybody else is willing to take up the responsibility. If my Honourable friend concentrates on these questions it will be beneficial, but to talk of a scheme which has been rejected and is nowhere will not help. I am quite prepared to reiterate on behalf of the Muslim League that we are opposed to this Resolution and we are opposed to the Federation. But I do not understand why the Honourable the Law Member wants discussion on this to go on. Is he not in possession of the views of this House? I say that discussion on this Resolution should be stopped . . . .

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin** (Punjab Landholders): Under what law can the Law Member stop the discussion on any Resolution?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: The Honourable Member ought to have listened to what I have said . . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: I conclude by saying that we are opposed, and I hope that the time of the House will not be wasted any more.

**Mr. M. Ghiasuddin**: By special powers of the Honourable Member.

**Sir F. E. James** (Madras European): Sir, my intervention in this debate is on my personal responsibility, for my Party does not, as a party, propose to take any part in this discussion and indeed will not vote on the motion if it is put to the vote of the House. As far as I am concerned, I turn my back upon the Treasury Benches and would like, in the friendliest way possible, to address myself principally to the only large and substantial party which is represented in this House today—the Muslim League. And I think many others, not only in my own community but in other communities, would like to have some clarification upon the Muslim League attitude, not so much to Pakistan, but to the future constitutional development of the Continent of India as we know it today.

Everybody who has examined in the past the Indian problem and has thought about the political evolution of this country has inevitably come to the conclusion that some form of federal system is the only solution. See the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Nehru Committee Report, the Simon Commission Report, the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee . . . .

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang** (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Ancient documents.

**Sir F. E. James:** They are ancient documents, but, at any rate, they are important constitutional documents, and we have still to see constitutional documents of a similar character which are to take their place . . . .

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): The resolutions of the Muslim League.

**Sir F. E. James:** Those are important also and if my Honourable friend will let me go on I will also develop that point.

The result of these various discussions as far as the federal system is concerned is embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. Today, as everyone knows, the Federal provisions of that Act are in suspense, and, as my Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan has said, the Muslim League is violently opposed to their application, whether now or in the future.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** All the other parties.

**Sir F. E. James:** The Congress Party also opposes, for other reasons, the provisions of the Federal scheme of the Act, and I am not aware the Rulers of the Indian States are particularly enamoured of it. The Congress has, in its last declaration of policy, supported the idea of Federation, with residuary powers in the constituent units. As I understand the Muslim League point of view, it is crystallized in the demand for Pakistan, which, if I may summarize their resolution of March 1940, the Charter of their political goal, means:

“Geographically contiguous units demarcated into regions and grouped to constitute independent states in which the constitute units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

In these units the Muslim League has guaranteed protection for the minorities as far as they are concerned. If I may quote famous words used by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain many years ago, the Muslim League has said that within the limits of Pakistan “there is nothing that the other communities may ask which they may not hope to attain—there will be equal laws, equal justice, equal opportunities, equal prosperity; their wishes will be our guide, their prejudices will be by us respected, their interests will be our interests”.

I have always recognized that the Muslim League have offered the fullest possible protection to the interests and susceptibilities of other communities within the limits of Pakistan. My Honourable friend may question me, but I am speaking only for myself. I am trying to interpret what the Muslim League has declared in resolutions laid down in recent years, and it is for the Muslim League, if I am incorrect, to contradict me and to put me right.

[Sir F. E. James.]

The position of an outside observer, who has been brought up to believe in the constitutional unity of India,—as many Britishers have, who have looked upon their task in India as mainly a task to bring about a constitutional unity which will give this country good government and independence,—is this, that he is bound to say to my Honourable friends in the Muslim League, “we quite see your point about Pakistan, but does not nature, does not the geographical position of the various communities forge links between the peoples in India which cannot be sundered without possible grave consequences to the political and economic integrity of the continent which we know as India?” Now the ideal of Pakistan, although its area and constitution have not been precisely defined so far, . . . . .

(At this stage, a lot of conversation was going on.)

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I am asking my friend to raise a point of order as to what is the relevance of Pakistan.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What is the point of order?

**Sir F. E. James:** The ideal of Pakistan, although its area and constitution have not been precisely defined as yet, does not necessarily rule out some kind of federal objective. When people talk of Federation they are usually thinking of . . . . .

(At this stage, there was a lot of noise in the Chamber.)

May I claim the protection of the Chair? There are several conversations going on in the House and it is difficult to pursue the thread of thought which I am anxious to pursue.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There must be no loud conversations.

**Sir F. E. James:** People who talk of Federation are usually thinking of Federation as enshrined in the Government of India Act, 1935.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** That is the Resolution.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order. Let the Honourable Member proceed.

**Sir F. E. James:** But I think it is quite legitimate to discuss on this Resolution the general objective of the federal idea which is to bring together certain units or states for a common purpose. I want to put it to my friends, that the tendency in the world today is in the direction of the closer association of autonomous groups. The League of Nations foundered on the rock of sovereignty and complete autonomy. The British Commonwealth of Nations, although it is founded on the voluntary cooperation of sovereign units, has survived, but it was quite unable to prevent war, and indeed the present war has imperilled its very existence. The main reason why the British Commonwealth has stood when all the other organizations have failed is because it has largely depended for the strength of its defence upon the hegemony of Great Britain. Now the point I want to put to the Muslim League is this. Granted Pakistan and other homelands in India as autonomous states, are those states to be completely separate?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Sir, has this anything to do with this Resolution?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I suppose Part II of the Act covers the entire ground of Central Government.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Pakistan was not even known, not even born. He is simply encouraging it in an indirect manner.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I suppose what the Honourable Member means is that Pakistan purports to be a scheme of Government for India.

**Sir F. E. James:** Who can deny that if the Union of America had years ago dissolved into a series of sovereign states the result might well have been that the continent of America would have been ravaged by the kind of wars and distress that have swept Europe. I have not yet found in my study of the resolutions of the Muslim League any very precise guidance as to what is to be the form of cooperation between the autonomous states in India once they are established. Let us for a moment imagine the establishment of a proud Pakistan, the happy Hindustan and a thoroughly depressed Dravidistan—separate units in the continent of India. Are they going to be completely separate, following their own policies in regard to defence, foreign affairs, and international relations generally? Does not the history of Europe, indeed of Asia and America show that independence or sovereignty is not enough in a world of today: that the tendency in all parts of the world is for the units, though politically sovereign, to come together, to join, for purposes which are common to their interests—at least for defence and foreign affairs. It is there that I have not yet been able to ascertain, with any precision, the point of view of the Muslim League. It is of course present in the minds of a number of distinguished Muslims who have spoken. I have been looking at a speech delivered by Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan in a presidential address to the U. P. Muslim League Conference of December 1940, in which he says, referring to the resolution relating to Pakistan: "There is nothing in the resolution to prevent these sovereign states confederating with other sovereign states." I have looked also at a speech which was delivered by Mr. Suhrawardy in Bengal in November 1941, I believe at a Muslim League Conference, in which he said that the first political aim of the Muslims was to ensure that the Central Federal Government was not established until the consent of the individual units had been obtained. Provinces had to be developed and given greater powers until they had become fully autonomous and independent. "That was the crux of the Pakistan scheme. The Pakistan scheme paved the way for a lasting Federation dependent on the will of the people on mutual respect. The Muslim League resolution made provision for a transitional stage. In the striking speech delivered by Syed Abdul Aziz at the Aligarh University the other day, he definitely speaks of unity. He said:

"It might appear strange to some that I should expect strength and solidarity resulting from division and separation. But a little reflection will show that the relationship of Hindus and Muslims in India is like that of two brothers who, living under one roof, find themselves at variance in regard to different matters and on the verge of hostility, but who, once they have independent establishments of their own, find their relationship more cordial, as a result of which they unite together in the common bond of affection for their parents and other members of the family."

That is a picturesque way of putting this question which I am addressing now to my Honourable friends of the Muslim League. Assuming their goal is achieved, assuming the principle of home lands for the various communities in this country is carried out, as is suggested in the resolution relating to Pakistan, what then? Once you have your sovereign units, will there not come upon these units the dire necessity of drawing together again in some form of union for common purposes, whatever you call it—whether you call it a confederation or whether you call it a federation, or whether you call it by some other name. What have my Honourable friends in mind? They must have thought about these matters. They are experienced statesmen and they must know, when they are working for the establishment of Pakistan, that sooner or later the impelling forces of history, geography, and economic development will bring in those sovereign units into some federal system which will give them protection not only against military aggression, but also against that form of economic aggression in the face of which not even the politically independent sovereign

[Sir F. E. James.]

state can always stand secure. Sir, I hope my Honourable friends will understand that these questions are asked in all sincerity and friendliness, because as with many others I am groping in the dark at present. I want more light, and from whom can we look at present in this House for light on the constitutional future of India except from my friends of the Muslim League?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my friend, Pandit Nilakantha Das. It is the first real constructive effort made during the last two years, amidst turmoil, prejudice and demagogy. I am glad that my friend was inspired to move this Resolution as a solution of a temporary situation during the war, because I take it that he does not consider his Resolution as a settlement for all time; and who can deny that this is the only real solution, better than the present one? If you compare it with a golden age to come, if you compare it with something which you have at the back of your mind, it will fail; nor do I consider his proposition as a final solution of the political problems of this country. What I do consider is that today, where eleven Members of the Executive Council are sitting as nominees of His Excellency the Governor General, they will sit in their own right, in the rights of the people who elect them. My friend, Sir Yamin Khan, will find that there will be no solution or attempted solution of Pakistan through this Resolution. There is no intention to anticipate what may be the result of the post-war political constitution making; but there can be no doubt that as against the present situation, where the Governor General nominates eleven people, the right to appoint these must be vested in this House if this Resolution is carried out. Will that not be better? It must be better.

**An Honourable Member:** "How"?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Because you will elect your own men. You have today three or four men, you will get as many as you want by your election. Therefore, you cannot consider that this is in the least prejudicial to any preconceived notions about Pakistan that you may have and oppose this.

My friend, Sir F. E. James, showed the unfortunate position of the European in this country. Even at this late hour, he stood up as if he was a detached person and made a most poisonous speech, insidiously suggesting that the divisions in India were natural, that they were the solution of the disputes between two brothers, and went on in that very clever way, so that the Muslim Leaguers might find that he was their good friend; he can pretend that he is neutral and yet he can work poison into the minds of the people of this country. Sir Frederick James has many sins to answer for against the public of Madras; he knows some of them, particularly the workers of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, but today he has simply exceeded himself. It is to my mind a very very sad exhibition of the European mentality, if that represents the latest view of the European community about India's political future. I will not say anything more. I will only say that I did not expect better from him. Now, why will this operate as a better thing? My friend, Sir Yamin Khan, knows that the number of members of the Federal Assembly put down in the Government of India Act is 250; out of which 80 are Muslims . . . .

**Some Honourable Members:** No, no.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** 100 are from the Indian States.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban): I said, what a large number! 80 out of 250!

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

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** What are you today? What is your number today? It is better than the present. It may be 80 out of 250, but the Hindu's number is only 112. Government has taken care to see that the Hindus' nails are taken off in advance, that his numbers will not be effective, that he will have a fourth class citizenship in his own country—of that the Parliament has taken care.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** That is why you want Federation! (Laughter.)

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** You are laughing at yourself. Shall I stop till you have completed laughing, because it is a silly laugh when I agree that this proposition is not a final solution. Subject to that I am saying that, under this the Hindu is not getting anything better, therefore you should not be afraid, that is what I mean.

**Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang:** We are not afraid of anybody.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** You were afraid that this was some insidious attempt round about to do something wrong to you. No. People forget, but I may tell Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan that the Government of India Act, 1935, was specially devised to harm the Hindu community. But what is happening now is worse. You would have got, I would have got under the Government of India Act elected representatives and therefore have elected Councillors or Ministers. Why not accept a place of honourable and self-respecting composition of the future Government instead of leaving it to the Governor General to nominate such as it pleases him. Sometimes he may not understand much, sometimes he may be pressed too much, and when a number of people go to the Government House for getting jobs that must be enough to tire him out. So he will be relieved of that unpleasant situation and you will get a better type of people who will be responsible to you. To-day the Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed is not responsible to you. To-morrow, if Pandit Nilakantha Das's Resolution is accepted, he will be responsible. We may elect him because I see no reason why he should not be elected. Same is the case with the Honourable Sir J. P. Srivastava. You will have to be responsible to us. To-day they are not responsible to us at all. They can snap their fingers at anything we do.

**The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon** (Defence Member): No, no. Never.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I can say that Sir Feroz Khan Noon's politeness is ideal, but his action has not been corresponding. That is my fear, but I still remember that there was no lack of sympathy on your part when you were in charge of the Labour Department. That I can agree, but you will be more responsible, you will be directly responsible and that is . . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** What about Dr. Ambedkar?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** The same thing.

**An Honourable Member:** To whom will he be responsible? Himself?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Why? It ought to be obvious to you. He won't be in a different category from the rest.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better address the Chair.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Very well, Sir. There is no distinction between one member and another. I simply was illustrating the position of my Honourable friends to Honourable Members. A great deal of point was made on account of the absence of the Princes. I am sorry that the Princes lingered, lingered and lingered and never came to a decision. The Princes are a liability on India and not an asset. (Interruption.) That is my view. If in 1857 Lord Dalhousie had finished them all, to-day we would have been fighting the British without any division, but we ourselves fought for them and now we find that the Princes are the greatest impediment in the progress of India. They stand out for their treaty rights. What treaty rights have they got?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Why do you want Federation with them?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I say I do not want. I am coming to that.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Don't have them with you.



**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I am sorry you do not follow the sense of my argument. The Government of India Act, 1935 is entirely unfamiliar to you from what you are saying off and on. But let me say that the Princes have delayed the measure more than anybody else, and it can be put into force without the accession of the Princes. My Honourable friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, ought to know that the Act is not absolutely dependent on the coming in of the Princes, or if it is, that Act can be amended. British India cannot wait indefinitely, that is a day's work, that is nothing. The point is, are we going to have this absurdly wretched, day to day, hand to mouth kind of Government in which there is no principle of representative membership? Why not take what is a matter of your own choice, a matter in your own hands, a matter which will be to your self-respect? That is the only thing. There are no other points that have been raised which need any argument to support. But I am quite satisfied that the present position is the worst of all. It is neither logical nor sensible. It is a monstrosity to all intents and purposes, and for a temporary release from that position my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das's Resolution offers the best solution. Sir I support.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, has hauled Sir Frederick James over the coals for having the audacity to mention Pakistan in his hearing. I do not think that there was anything irrelevant in the speech of my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James. We are considering now as to what is best for the Government of this country. The object of moving this Resolution is to provide something which, according to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, would be a better arrangement for the Government of India. Sir Frederick James pointed out that there were the hundred millions of Mussalmans who consider some other proposition as the best means of governing India more successfully and happily. I must say that Mr. Jamnadas Mehta who as a rule is very eloquent, on this occasion did not have his heart while he was supporting the Resolution. I feel that he himself is not convinced of either the desirability or the feasibility of the Federal Part of the Government of India Act.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Not as a permanent measure.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** He says, let us have this as a temporary measure: Why? Because he feels that the Indian Members, all the Members of the Executive Council will be representative of the Members of this Honourable House. But may I point out to him that there are other direct ways of achieving that object, more wholesome and happy way of achieving that object than by enforcing this part of the Government of India Act which is dead and buried and that is agreement between the parties in the country. Why introduce something which you yourself do not believe in and which the hundred millions of Mussalmans are opposed to? Why create some situation which instead of improving the state of affairs is likely to make things worse than what they are today? Sir, as is well-known to every Honourable

**1 P.M.** Member of this House and the world at large, the Mussalmans of India will never accept any form of Central Government which will place them at the mercy of the majority community. Much has been made by the Honourable Members who have spoken before me, and one interruption was made by Bhai Parma Nand, that this portion of the Government of India Act is what everybody had accepted at the Round Table Conference. May I point out to him that Mr. Jinnah, who is the leader of the Mussalmans of India today, never accepted the Federal Part of the Act.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): He was nobody then.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** My friend, Bhai Parma Nand, says that he was nobody then. Then I would like to know who was somebody at this Round Table Conference.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** I can mention Sir Zafrullah Khan was there.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Bhai Parina Nand recognises that there were some people who were "somebodies" in his opinion.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Not in my opinion but in the Government's opinion.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** In the few minutes which are at my disposal I do not want to be dragged into this dialogue with my friend, Bhai Parina Nand.

Some very pertinent questions have been asked by Sir F. E. James and I feel I must say something in general terms just as he has put the questions in general terms. The scheme of Pakistan, as laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League proposes the partition of India into two or three or four independent and sovereign States. The meaning is quite clear. They are to be independent and sovereign in every respect. I quite agree with him that the tendency at present in the world is for co-operation between the various independent States of the world. Surely our differences with our Hindu friends are not greater than the differences between the other nations of the world. Therefore, there is no reason why these sovereign and independent States are not to be friendly to each other and work as good neighbours and as good friends and if ultimately they decide to have some sort of co-operative body for certain purposes, who am I or anybody else to stop them from doing so. That opportunity can only arise when there are established completely independent and sovereign states. Today no one can speak on behalf of those independent States. It would be for the independent States themselves to decide as to what method and machinery, if any, they would like to have for any matters that may be of common concern to them. I need not go into the scheme of Pakistan because it is well known. I have not got the time at my disposal to place the reasons before the House as to why we want Pakistan. It is recognised that the Musalmans have got very cogent and very good reasons for making that demand, but I find from the speech of my Honourable friend, Sir F. E. James, that he is worried about the defence of the country. He feels that if there are more than one State in India, the defence of the country as a whole will be weakened. I hope and believe that after the war, the United Nations and such other nations that believe in the future of humanity would devise some method, some means by which the defence of a country would not assume such an important position as it does today. I believe that if the world is to progress, if humanity is to survive, this repetition of man-slaughter every twenty years must be stopped, and if the United Nations are fighting this war only to defeat the present aggression and not to make any future aggression impossible, then I would say that all these precious lives that are being lost are being sacrificed in vain. I have no doubt in my mind that India, as a whole—by India as a whole I mean the free and independent States of India—will not desire to exploit any other country. They will be satisfied with what resources India provides them and I hope, as I have stated just now, that the United Nations who are acting together today will act together in the future for the safety of humanity and civilisation and, therefore, to me the question of defence does not seem to be such a problem that we should forget everything else; and even if the United Nations fail in their mission regarding the future, the interest of the two States of Pakistan and Hindustan would bring them together to defend their territories against any foreign aggression; because if one is gone you may rest assured the other will not survive for long whether it be Pakistan or whether it be Hindustan. Therefore, Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that once these two great nations inhabiting this sub-continent feel or are made to feel that they have a real stake in the country, they will see that no outsider can enter the borders of India.

Sir, the conception of Pakistan is complete freedom for the two major communities or nationalities or whatever you may like to call them, the Hindus and the Mussalmans, to live their own lives, to develop their own culture and to

[Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan.]

follow their own ideals. We are convinced that any scheme which would force one nation or one nationality to live under the other is bound to fail. And this Federal scheme which is proposed to be enforced under this Resolution would mean the domination of Hindus over everybody else, and a situation like that, I assure you, Mr. President, will create more trouble in the country than anything else has ever done or is likely to do. I am glad my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, has referred to that portion of the Resolution which guarantees everything that any civilized government can guarantee to its minorities in the zones that are popularly known as Pakistan. We do believe and firmly believe that unless a Government can satisfy its minorities, it has no right to be called a civilized Government. In its own interests it must keep them satisfied because nowadays we have found what havoc fifth columnists can play in a time of crisis. Therefore, those who believe or think that that part of the Resolution is only a pious wish are greatly mistaken. We know, everybody knows, that even now under the present defective scheme that is being worked in all these provinces, in those provinces where the Mussalmans are in a majority, the minorities have been treated fairly and justly. Sir, our religion, our culture, our ideals all teach us that we must treat those who are dependent upon us—and the minorities are dependent upon the majority for their safety and their rights—not only with justice but with magnanimity. I was saying that this Resolution is a means to get something which the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha have not succeeded in getting by means of various methods that they have adopted outside this House. This Resolution is meant for the purpose of imposing the domination of the Hindus over the Mussalmans and everybody else.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Can't you trust them?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** My friend says, "Can't you trust them?" I did try to trust them and this is the result. If Pakistan has not been so popularly known before 1940, it is due to the fact that I tried to trust them and I did my utmost to trust them and to work with them. We have been forced by the treatment which was meted out to the Mussalmans in those provinces where the Hindus were in the majority to adopt this scheme.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Why should we trust you now?

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** My Honourable friend says, "Why should we trust you?" Well, he is trusting us. We are ruling in those provinces where we are in the majority and I have said just now that the minorities there have no just cause for any grievance.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Little do you know.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** My friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, says, "Little do I know". In that case, he strengthens my argument for the partition of India.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** You are always stronger: you do not realise.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Order, order: The Honourable Member had his speech.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I was saying, Sir, that we are opposed not only to this scheme of Federation but to any scheme of Federation of any kind which is for the establishment of one Central Government for the whole of India and which would mean the domination of one community over everybody else. I would request the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that if they try to enforce this scheme in this country under some pressure or other, they will be making the greatest mistake. The only solution is Pakistan. Let the Hindus be free and independent and happy in their homeland and let us be free and independent and happy in our homelands.

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. Jamnadas M. Mehta (One of the Panel of Chairmen) in the Chair.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Mr. Chairman, for reasons that must be quite apparent, I wish to intervene in this debate. It has been said with the greatest force possible that the Muslim League is opposed to Federation and that it would stick to its views at every cost. Muslim League represents one hundred million Muslims in India. They are for independence. They are a separate nation. They cannot tolerate to be under the rule of the majority. Well, that is the position of the Muslim League.

My Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, was putting certain questions to our friends on the Muslim League Benches. So far as Sir Frederick James' views about Pakistan are concerned I entirely agree with him. His position with regard to Pakistan is quite sound and in a way represents the views of the Government of India and other impartial persons.

In the first place, I should like the Honourable Members of this House to judge the question on its merits. Let us suppose that there are two nations—Hindus and Mussalmans—in India, but at the same time they have to frame a constitution for this country. Well, one view is that this constitution should be framed by the joint consent of the two people. This is a view that is defended and in a way stressed by the Government which is ruling at present. The British Government believe that they have done one very great thing during their domination in this country and it is that they have united so many various scattered and opposing elements into one people. There is one law for all people. The desires of all are similar and their ambition also is of a similar nature. Thus having created such a political unity in this country, Government's view naturally would be that there should be one constitution for the people and they should all remain united under one constitution. But our friends of the Muslim League Party opposite hold a different view altogether. Their view is that they cannot remain under the majority, because the majority rule means domination of the Hindus in this country and they cannot tolerate that.

I should like to put one simple question to them. How is it that they are tolerating a non-muslim Government in the country? The British Rule is not a Muslim Government, in a way a third party Government, which can be said to quite impartial being neither Hindu nor Muslim. They are tolerating it and I believe they will continue to tolerate it for a long time to come, if the country is not given a free constitution? They can say that they have no other alternative but to do so, because they cannot help it. I would ask why is it that they hold those views? If they really wanted freedom and the development of their culture and religion on particular lines, may I ask why they have been sitting quiet and what have they done to get their independence? For well over a century they have not been able to do anything and, as a matter of fact, they have not made any move or any sacrifice. I would naturally tell them they have no right at this time when Government themselves are going to give us a free constitution, to demand a separate Government for themselves, and to say that they cannot tolerate the rule of the majority in this country? They have been tolerating foreign rule and they have not done anything to over-throw this rule for at least one hundred years. Simply because they think that free constitution means majority domination in this country, does not appear to me to be a sound reason for opposing the Resolution before the House.

My second point is this. Supposing we cannot agree among ourselves. The Hindus have got their own point of view, and the Mussalmans have got their own and there can be no possible agreement between them. I put it to my

[Bhai Parma Nand.]

Muslim friends what do they think of the British Statesmen, British people and of my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James? What do they think of their views and of their opinion? If two parties cannot reconcile themselves on account of their differences the only solution is that they should look at least to a third party to act as referee and accept the views which that party hold on the question. I think the British Government in a way is the third party, as it is called in India, and they have a perfect right to guide us, as they have done in various other things, in the matter of framing a constitution for India. Their guidance is very simple. They have proposed this constitution which my Honourable friend, Pandit Nilakantha Das, has suggested in his Resolution: I mean Federation. Federation was the decision of the Government as well. They agreed to it and at that time representatives of Mussalmans as well as of Hindus and other minorities agreed to have Federation in India. I cannot now see why, if a constitution is approved and decided by the Government, *i.e.*, the third party, for this country, should the Muslim League come forward to oppose it and say that they are not prepared to accept it but they are ready to make every kind of sacrifice they are called upon to make to oppose it in case this constitution is imposed on them?

The Muslims claim to be a separate entity. So far as our views are concerned we think just the other way. Our position is that at the time when these Round Table Conferences were held in London, the British Statesmen were more favourable to the Muslim representatives and when they gave the communal award we thought and even the Congress leaders thought that this communal award was a sort of pact between the Mussalmans and the British Government. Since that time this communal award has been working safely in the interest of Muslims, and all this time, we, of the Hindu Mahasabha, have been agitating against the injustice done to the Hindus by this communal award. What I submit is that this communal award was a definite evidence to show that the attitude of the Government was in no way unfavourable to the Muslim community. The Government wanted to please them, and they pleased them by this communal award. Again, when the Government approved this system of Federation, they in no way intended to go against the interests of the Muslim community in this country.

It has been urged on the floor of this House that the Muslim League is opposed to Federation, that they had no part in the Round Table Conference. I wish to say that the Muslim League in those days was quite a different body from the one which it has developed to be now. I was somewhat surprised to hear from Sir Frederick James when he was asking the Muslim League statesmen to reply to his questions. How can the Muslim League statesmen reply to his questions? The present Muslim League is only a growth of four or five years. Mr. Jinnah has organised the Muslim League on altogether a new basis. The Muslim League move is advocating Pakistan and that is opposing the unity of India. This League, however, is only a growth of five years, from 1938 to 1942. It has not yet passed the state of childhood. How can a child think seriously about the question of the future of India or about the future constitution of India? They know only one thing, and that is Pakistan. Somebody put this idea of Pakistan into their head, may be, Mr. Jinnah himself, or Chaudhri Rahimtullah or Sir Muhammad Iqbal, whoever he may be, this idea of Pakistan had been put into the ears of Muslims telling them that Pakistan ought to be their goal, ought to be the Muslim ideal. Only for the last four or five years, we hear of this cry. The Muslim League has taken up this slogan and has been carrying on propaganda in its favour. I do not say that the Muslims have no right to do so, they have got every right. At the same time I say that they cannot think of important questions that lie before the country. My Honourable friend, Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan, said that defence was no matter for them, that when the country would

be free, there would be world federation and that that world federation would defend India, and that they would fight for us and that we need not have any army or any provision for our defence.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): He never said that.

**Bhai Parma Nand**: Yes, you will have your army only for Pakistan. I say you should have an army for the defence of the whole country. The question was put by Sir Frederick James, how are you going to defend your own country. Federation is the only way for Common Defence and it is the only method of constitution by which the countries of the world are thinking of defending themselves. But Muslim League is just on the way of dividing the country into so many parts. I say, please do not imagine for one moment that this will be the only division. If this Pakistan is granted, if this Hindu-Muslim division is accepted, then there will be other people coming forward, may be the Sikhs, or may be, the community of my Honourable friend, Dr. Ambedkar—the Scheduled classes—who may put their demand for having their own homeland for propagating their own culture. This demand for Pakistan is not going to end here, it will be extended and all the country will be divided into many different parts, with the result that it would be impossible for it to defend the country from foreign aggressors. I submit this is altogether a novel demand. While all the countries of the world are going to unite themselves for common ends, for common purposes, for their economic and political ideals, we find here that on account of religious differences or cultural differences, we are going to divide the whole country into two and perhaps more divisions.

Lastly, my Honourable friend, Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan, said that wherever there was Muslim rule, the minorities were quite happy. I must protest against this statement, and contradict that view. Take the case of the Punjab. For the last five years, there has been the Muslim majority rule. All these five years, the Hindus have been agitating against the communal rule. They held meetings which were attended by thousands of people. First there was the urban and rural agitation, then the agriculturist and non-agriculturist agitation and then there was the Traders' Association carrying on agitation. All these agitations were against the Muslim Government and against the Muslim communalism in the Province. Therefore, I submit that that view of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is not based on facts and is quite contrary to reality.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan**: Sir, I should like to say a few words on this important question which has been discussed on the floor of the House. Although the discussion has been ample, and the issue has been discussed from every angle of view, there is one thing left for me to add. I take this opportunity to do that. We, the Muslim community, have once for all taken our start on the path from which there is no going back. We are fully convinced that our salvation lies in Pakistan which those gentlemen who have not studied this question dispassionately look upon as vivisection of India. They call it partition of India, they call it by similar other names.

**Raja T. Manavedan** (Madras: Landholders): May I know, Sir, whether we are discussing this Resolution about Federation or we are discussing Pakistan?

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta): The Chair has already given a ruling in favour of it.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan**: The idea of Pakistan has got hold of ten crores of Muslims, and our Hindu friends and others in this country had begun to think that Pakistan must be taken for granted and their opposition was weakening. Unfortunately, however, after Sir Stafford Cripps' arrival and after the offer he made to us, the Viceroy of India in reply to an address presented by the Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, spoke in support of *Akhanda-Hindustan*, and

[Maulana Zafar Ali Khan.]

stressed the geographical unity of India. That statement put life into those gentlemen who are of the way of thinking of Pandit Nilakantha Das and Bhai Parma Nand. They are now on their legs and they tell us that we, the Muslims, have no right to talk of Pakistan, that we have no right of establishing on the North-Western zone and on the North-Eastern zone of India sovereign states where we shall have our own laws of justice, and equity and where we shall be able to develop all our life and rise to the full height and full status of an independent people.

Well, Sir, let me open the eyes of Bhai Parma Nand who asks us what right have we to talk of separation from Hindus and what right have we not to admit that we must be governed by the majority being in a minority. I have to remind him that he has admitted himself on occasions that in this land of India there are two people—Hindus and Muslims—and they have got separate cultures, and separate ideals, and now he calls upon us to follow the commands of the Imperial Government in India, and be led by them, as the Imperial Government is very impartial and just and all that sort of thing. Bhai Parma Nand perhaps speaks for himself, and Pandit Nilakantha Das also speaks for himself, when they say that the Government of India Act—the second part of it relating to Federation—must be implemented, and immediate steps should be taken to implement it. They have perhaps forgotten that the Government of India is in the melting pot, and has been kept in a state of suspended animation only by the war. The Government themselves have declared from the house-tops that after the war is over the right of self-determination and the right of self-Government will be conceded to India and it will be open to India to remain within the four-corners of the British Commonwealth or to get out of it. So, when the Government of India is gone, when the Federation has gone, when the Congress—which is the real representative of the Hindus of India—has refused to have anything to do with the idea of Federation, and calls upon the Government for a Constituent Assembly which shall draw up the constitution of India; and when even the Hindu Mahasabha does not think in terms of Federation, I am surprised to find that this question was brought up here and we are called upon to agree to Pandit Nilakantha Das's view about implementation.

Sir, I have one word to say with regard to a question which my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, has put to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, when he says: "What right have you to expect us to trust you", The Nawabzada's reply was: "Because you are trusting us in the Punjab, where the Mussalmans are in a majority and the Government there is functioning unlike those provinces where the administration has been taken over by the Governors in their own hands." I should like to add to this that in the Punjab Cabinet there are two Hindu Ministers and one Sikh Minister, whereas being in a majority the Muslim Premier could have acted in the same way in which the Orissa Cabinet had acted when the Mussalmans called upon the Governor asking him to interfere because the rights and privileges of the Mussalmans were not protected there. He said: "Go to the Prime Minister", and the Minister . . . . .

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** To which incident does the Honourable Member refer? Is it published somewhere. I do not know.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Sir, it is a public property now. Everybody knows that the rights of the Mussalmans were denied to them. There was no representation in the Orissa Cabinet for the Mussalmans and when they asked for it, the Governor said, "I am not going to interfere. Go to the Prime Minister." and the Minister said, "We will take pretty good care of protecting the rights of Mussalmans." Adjournment of the House was moved here, but the Viceroy did not allow me to move it . . . . .

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I was not in the House.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** You perhaps do not remember.

Sir, in the Punjab we could have acted in the same way. The late lamented Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan or his successors may have told the Hindus and Sikhs, "Well, we are in the majority, we will rule; we will have our own Ministers and one Minister shall be taken from the Sikhs and one from the Hindus, but we shall have four Ministers." No. That was not done. There is equality of Ministers there, and the minorities are fully protected. If there is any real grievance it is on the part of the Mussalmans and not on the part of Hindus and Sikhs.

Let that alone. Look at the history of India for the past one thousand years. The Mussalmans have governed this country for a thousand years and during that nine hundred or one thousand years—for all that Mr. Munshi of Bombay may have to say to the contrary—the Mussalmans earned the love and the confidence and the goodwill of their Hindu subjects, I should say Hindu fellow countrymen. Could you point out any date in the British history of India when there was an Indian Commander-in-Chief or an Indian General? But during the ascendancy of the Mussalmans in India, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal Army was a Hindu. Similarly, many great offices were filled by the Hindus. And go to Ajmere now and study the history of Khwaja Mueenuddin Chishti's Dargah—one of the most sacred shrines of the Mussalmans in India. From the time of Akbar down to the present time there have been five or six Hindu *Mutawalees* there which shows the benevolent attitude of Mussalmans towards Hindus. The Mussalman when he gets power, uses it for the protection of the weak whereas when the Hindu gets the power he usually tries to crush the weak. There is historical testimony for it. Mussalmans in the words of the Quran say: "Let not the fact that your adversary happens to be a non-Muslim persuade you to do injustice to him; you must do justice because without justice and without equity the Muslim has no right to govern." So if we establish Pakistan and have full sovereign powers there, let me assure you that the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Parsis and all the other smaller communities will receive adequate protection. Let me repeat that full justice shall be done to them and they shall have no cause of grievance whatsoever.

**Bhai Parma Nand:** Why should the Hindus depend on the mercy of a minority?

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Bhai Parma Nand, let me tell the House, does not belong to the advanced section of the Hindu Mahasabha. He is ploughing his own lonely furrow and he is one of those who think that without the aid and support of the British bayonets there will be no Hinduism left. So he wants Britishers to remain as an impartial power to dispense justice as between the Hindus and Mussalmans, and remain here till eternity. Gandhiji may say "Quit India", Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru may say "Let the British transfer their power", but Bhai Parma Nand says: "Let the British remain here till doomsday". To him England is more than what it is to English people. The Britisher says "We will give away the power; we shall allow you the right of self-determination and the right of self-Government; we shall permit you to remain within the four-corners of the British Commonwealth or leave it", but Bhai Parma Nand says: "You remain here because you are impartial and we bow down before you as we would before a Goddess". (Interruption.) You need not lecture us on the evils of Pakistan and you need not ask us not to have anything to do with the Pakistan. We know what we think good for ourselves.

Finally, Sir, let me tell you, and that is in answer to a point raised by Sir F. E. James, that if Pakistan is established, and it is a full-fledged power, a time might come when there might be danger from abroad: and if India should be invaded, Pakistan shall have to find some support from



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somewhere. There will be a sort of confederacy then. But I say, look at the situation of the world at the present moment, when this war is going on. Is there not a confederation between England and America? Is there not an understanding between Russia and England? Is there not a pact between Germany and Italy? Those powers for military and economic purposes have come into a sort of confederacy. What prevents Pakistan joining hands with Hindu-India in order to defend India? What prevents us from entering into a pact with regard to our economic requirements and necessities? Nothing whatever. So looking at the world as it is, and looking at the morals of the world when there is a doubt on the part of certain Americans with regard to post-war problems, and there is a talk of Russia being wiped off the face of the world after England and America have gained its mastery, Muslims and Hindus will have to arrive at some sort of understanding to defend themselves against the aggression of a new power that shall come into the field. So unless we pool our resources and join our hands and put our heads together, there is no likelihood of our ever coming out of the trouble. Let me assure Sir F. E. James . . . . .

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta): The Honourable Member must bring his observations to a close.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** My time is up. So also is the time up of those against Pakistan!

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam** (Surma Valley cum Shillong Non-Muhammadan): I want to tell the Members of this House that we have been elected by our people to have a responsible Government at the Centre. It is no use quarrelling with past history and telling the people that we cannot come to a solution when a solution was given to us by the astute politicians of England, who discussed the problem threadbare with the politicians of India. This war has been an eye-opener to us, and we Hindus and Muslims both think that the time has come when we shall have to take charge of our own country, defend it, govern it and look to the interests of the people and work for the future development of the country. I think there is not a single Member of this House who does not think on these lines. Now, there is some difference about these small things which we can settle easily.

My friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, was just telling us that after the war there will be a new constitution for India. I also agree with him that a new constitution will be there, but for the interim period, let us come to a settlement and work the Government of the country, so that we can say that our people are governed by us and that the Members of the Treasury Benches are responsible to the people through the Legislature. This is the completion which we are all aiming at.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Not all!

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** Yes, we are all aiming at. I do not think there is any elected Member in this House who does not want freedom for India. There may be differences of opinion with regard to the constitution, but about the freedom of India, about a Government for India by the people and for the people, there is no difference of opinion among us. So I request my Muslim League friends to revise their position and to reconsider their decision in view of the great future of India. The Hindus, though they are in a majority, do not stand in the way of the cultural freedom of their Muslim countrymen. The Muslims abide by their own laws; they have their own educational institutions; they have the freedom of practising their religion even under the present Government, and I think they need be under no apprehension of these liberties being curtailed under the joint Government that will be formed by Hindus and Muslims and other elements in India.

The past is passed. Gandhi is not here to regulate your position. It is we people who can come to an agreement and form an interim Government. We

have been elected by the people for this purpose. I must say to my Honourable friends that the time has come when we should think very seriously at this time of stress and trouble. We want to make our decision now or never.

Sir, it is really a matter of regret that my Muslim friends referred to their past history of India and to the superiority of Muslims over the Hindus. I shall only ask them to revise the history which they have read so long. I think they will be disillusioned. Power was not in the hands of the Muslims when the Britishers came here and made their position permanent. It was from the Hindus that it was taken. The Mogul Emperors were only puppets in the hands of the Hindus at that time. Of course, I need not quarrel over that. The thing is that we have to build the Government anew and the country anew, and we should come to an interim settlement. If my friends of the Muslim League find that the interim arrangement does not suit them, we may all agree to change the constitution, but for the time being let us agree to the solution which has already come to us. I do not think it will be in any way detrimental to their interests nor to anyone else's. But if, after working it for some time, we find—as we are agreeing now to change after the war—that it does not suit our conveniences and it does not give us what we want, then we can change it. I think this is the time to come to a settlement and establish the freedom of India and have a free Government responsible to the people through the Legislature.

With these few words, Sir, I make my suggestion.

**Major Nawab Sir Ahmad Nawaz Khan** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I do not wish to add any more heat to the debate, nor I am going to discuss the merits or demerits of this Resolution. But my only submission is that this is not the proper time for such big and controversial questions and we must postpone such big communal or controversial questions in India till a year after the war, when both the Government and all political parties in the whole country will have a better time, and more time, to think over these questions calmly and coolly. Therefore, I again request the Mover of the Resolution to think over what I have said and postpone such question not to divert the attention of the Government of India or other political parties when we are at the moment engaged to win the war, as it will not be possible for the Government to give the matter their full attention for any amicable settlement.

With these words, I resume my seat.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** Sir, I have to confess to a feeling of great embarrassment throughout practically the whole of the debate: perhaps if the intention of the Resolution is interpreted and studied in association with the speech of the Mover, he might have got more support for it. I was very careful all through never to enter into any controversy.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** But the subject matter is controversial.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** As for Pakistan or Bakistan as I may call it—because the remaining land will not then be Hindustan as there will be other people also in it and, therefore, it will be Bakistan, i.e., the rest of the land—I do not stand in the way of that controversy or any negotiations or demand. You have been quarrelling and negotiating; you have been doing that so long and so far fruitlessly and nobody wants to prevent all that, if you so desire. But my feeling is that today you are practically in a vacuum you negotiate and quarrel and it leads you nowhere and you go more and more asunder. Where are you today after these negotiations and these quarrels for four years, may I ask?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Where shall we be after this Resolution?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I am coming to that. My object is, if according to this Resolution, a constitution is established, to which all parties agreed and the Government of Britain stands pledged. . . .

**Honourable Members:** All parties will never agree.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I deliberately used the past tense. I said 'agreed'. even Mahatma Gandhi, agreed there.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** No, no. He did not at any time; he never attended when the final shape came.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** So far as I can say, all parties generally agreed and the British Government stands pledged. I stand on it still; and such a constitution will give us at least a government responsible, not to the Viceroy, not to the Secretary of State, but to the people of this country, directly or indirectly, in some way. On those Benches there will be people—who will represent interests in the country and will be responsible to their constituencies. The constitution may not be ideal, for I said I am not much enamoured of this thing and I do not also want that it should last once and for all time—and as perhaps my friend, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, interpreted or misinterpreted Bhai Parma Nand we never want that these foreigners will always rule over us; nor do we want to prevent any negotiation. But now all negotiation is idle gossip, having to do nothing, and accepting no responsibility. Now do we really feel that we are affected in any way in any matter? Those people are doing all things for us. We say, "let them do their work." But if we had in those Benches some representatives of the people, people who represented some electorate, if, for instance, they felt that Japan is coming or Germany collapsing or things like that are happening in the world about us it would have some meaning in India. It would create a real stir in an atmosphere of reality. I say we must have some responsibility, and when we act upon it, we shall be actually deliberating and devising measures for either protecting ourselves or in shaping our fiscal policy and planning our industrial organisation and development. We shall do things like that and in doing that we shall be coming in touch with one another and we shall also be in practical touch with things, for we shall then be running our own government. After doing that, if you want to have Pakistan and Bakistan, and you come to some agreement on that, you can do that by all means. But now you have no experience; you do not come to anything; you do not come to any action. . . .

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Why did not your province allow this opportunity to the Muslims?

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta):** Order, order: there cannot be any conversation.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** My intention is not to allow or disallow. I do not stand in the way of anybody. My position is clear and I expected that the debate would have been directed in this spirit, but somehow unfortunately, some of my friends, deliberately or without knowing it, put in some poisonous lance into the sore. I am very sorry for it.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I knew it; I told you.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** But still I believed I knew my friends on these Benches. I thought the debate could be conducted in such a manner that my Honourable and generous friends will be satisfied that we are not going into any controversial matters; this Resolution does not stand in the way of any controversy or of any negotiations being carried on.

Something was said about the Orissa Ministry, perhaps under a misapprehension. The ministry is still working in Orissa and many of my friends might know that personally and directly I am responsible—I wrote to the President of the Congress that I do not like that we should withdraw any ministry and that if they withdrew, I would see to it that other ministries function; and so I have been directly and definitely responsible for the Ministry now working there and I can tell my Honourable friends that though the Muslim population in my province is only 1.7 per cent.—less than 2 per cent.—in the Ministry their percentage is 33-1/3 per cent.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** But how many?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** One out of three.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Did you want to cut that one man in half?

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** If it had been demanded I would have liked that all three or even two out of three to be Muslims. But that demand has not been made: why, I do not know. In my province, again, in the services the Muslims are not less than 20 per cent. and nobody ever grumbled. I have never heard of any demand in this poor province, in that corner, which is simply a land of the evacuees and a land of coming famine,—there is no question of Pakistan or Bakistan coming into prominence anywhere. Nobody thinks of it: We are up to now living peacefully, Hindus and Muhammadans together. I do not know what my Honourable friends will think of what I say and how it will direct their future activities. But I can assure them that in the province there is no feeling of Pakistan or Bakistan, Hindu or Muslim,—. I have never heard of any such thing. I go to my Mussalman neighbours, I know my Mussalman Minister, we are all friends. (Interruption) Mr. Gandhi is not there.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan:** Give up the rule by majority, because 200 donkeys cannot think like one man.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I am not in a position to accept that Hindus are donkeys and Mussalmans are men. If that is so, I am ready, quite prepared, if I am convinced that in any particular area the majority are donkeys,—I have no objection.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta):** Order, order. Why do you refer to it? No Honourable Member can belong to the 'asinine community.

**Pandit Nilakantha Das:** I am sure no Honourable Member in this House is that, neither in those Benches nor in the opposite Benches, that I know of—they are quite safe in my hands. But if there are any outside, I am quite prepared to adapt things to their ways to introduce democratic or non-democratic methods of evolving a constitution for them. But that is after, after the cessation of hostilities. For the present,—I may tell you that I have not spoken about the Princes in order to avoid controversy. I send out my appeal from here even to the Princes, to my friends on those Benches and to those on these Benches who are now governing the country, and those in England,—to see and face the realities of the situation and to put the Indian people in touch with those realities, and that can be done only by implementing Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935. With these few words I commend my Resolution to all sections of the House.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta):** The question is:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps for implementing Part II (the part relating to Federation) of the Government of India, Act, 1935."

The motion was negatived.

#### RESOLUTION RE PROHIBITION OF EXPORT OF TEXTILE GOODS.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan):** Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to prohibit the export of textile goods from India till such time, as the needs of the people of the country are fully met with."

Sir everybody is aware that the situation in the country so far as cloth is concerned is becoming acute day by day, and in a very short time we may have to face a revolution if the situation is not tackled betimes. We find that the needs of this country were fulfilled through imports of cloth from different countries, but in these days, whatever cloth is produced in the mills here—the fair portion of such goods is exported outside. It has been estimated that during 1942-43 the needs of the country will be, for the civil population only, 600 crore yards out of which the mills here are expected to produce 390 crore yards, and imports of five crores are expected—a total of 395 crore yards. Out of these 395 crore yards, 120 crores are estimated to be exported, 120 crores are estimated to be purchased by the Supply Department for the purposes of the U. K. C. C. and other similar agencies for purposes of needs of other countries. Then there remains only 155 crores. If we add the production of handlooms in

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this country which has been estimated to be 180 crores, it comes to 355 crore yards. I have already pointed out that the needs of the civil population in matters of cloth come up to 600 crore yards. Thus, there is a deficit of 265 crore yards. You may imagine what the condition of the people of this country will be when the deficit is about 265 crore yards, and consider whether in such a case export is desirable or not.

Now, cloth which was being sold for about 2 annas a yard is being sold at about Re. 1-2-0 or 1-3-0, and judge the condition of the people with such a price. I find that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has issued an appeal to the wealthier classes of the country to purchase less cloth so that the poorer section may be in a position to get cloth. But this appeal will have no effect as the cloths are exported outside. During the period 1st September, 1939 to 30th November, 1942, there has been an export of 13,59,70,00,000 yards out of this country, and the needs of other countries have up till now been fulfilled at the cost of people of this country. You will be surprised to learn that cloths are exported to such countries which have inimical attitude towards us, for instance, 10,93,10,615 yards have been exported to Ceylon from this country during the pendency of the war. There are other countries similarly situated. So, a fair proportion of the production of this country in matters of textile goods is exported outside the country. I, therefore, thought it proper to bring this motion and I will appeal to all the Honourable Members here, particularly the Treasury Benches, to accept this motion. It is a very innocent one and it will help the people of this country to a great extent in protecting themselves. The cloth here, as Mr. Griffiths says, is not an ornament to the persons of the Indian people. It is a bare necessity and to such people, to remain naked is a sin. With these few words I move my motion.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta): Resolution moved:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to prohibit the export of textile goods from India till such time as the needs of the people of the country are fully met with."

**Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt** (Bombay: European): Sir, I have very little to say on this. I oppose the motion on the grounds that owing to the tightening up of export quotas, a considerable amount of cloth has accumulated in Bombay, and such of it has been specially manufactured for export will be of no use in the country, unless Government wishes to commandeer it. In any event, there are many cases of special types, not necessarily suitable for local markets, and subject only to the difficulty of providing shipping space, it seems to be, in the interests of India, that the quota for export should be placed as high as possible, at any rate, until the special stocks awaiting export have been shipped. The standard cloth scheme should in itself help a great deal in solving the shortage of low-priced textiles for use in India and I understand too that an Advisory Panel is about to be appointed to assist the Export Trade Controller.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): What is the quality of that cloth which the Honourable Member thinks will not suit this country.

**Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt**: Any cloth which has been specially manufactured for export will presumably not be of any great value in the country.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan**: What is that quality. Will the Honourable Member enlighten the House on that?

**Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt**: I cannot say more on that. If a standard of cloth has been manufactured for export, presumably it is not required in the country.

**Mr. T. S. Pillay** (Government of India: Nominated Official): The Mover of this motion has made a case that there has been shortage of cloth. We do not contend that there is no shortage. There is some shortage, though the Mover had gone wrong in the figures which he had given. But I wish to submit, Sir,

that a case has not been made, under present conditions, for an absolute prohibition of export. Sir, it is common ground, I take it, on the floor of the House at any rate that we are now fighting a war and that we are fighting it in company with the United Nations. It is incumbent on us I suggest that we come to the rescue of other nations in supplying the necessaries of life, as we expect them to come to our rescue in supplying to us our needs. Sir, it is within the knowledge of this House that at a time when the United Kingdom is finding great difficulty in finding shipping for her own food and at a time when she is rationing food on a scale much higher and much stricter than, I hope, will ever be done in this country, they have found ships to import wheat into India from Australia. It is also common ground that we must all pull together and help each other. After Japan joined the war, certain markets very near this country, stand in danger of going completely naked. It is only to clothe these countries that the Government of India have been compelled to permit certain export of cloth. We admit that in recent months there has been, what one might say on genuine supply and demand considerations in this country, somewhat an excessive export of cloth but the situation has been brought under control. We are now working to a figure somewhat nearer to above 5 hundred million yards a year. Further, we are constantly examining the supply and demand position here. The Government of India have not committed themselves to this figure and they will examine it constantly and if the situation demands it, they will restrict exports further. But I wish to contend that it is our duty to supply the markets which do depend upon us at this time, as we expect others to come to our rescue, by supplying some of our necessaries.

Sir, I have only a word to add. The Government of India are taking steps to increase the production of cloth in this country. The very introduction of standard cloth and standardised specifications have made it possible for the total yardage provided to be increased. We also contemplate going into the question of increasing the production of that type of cloth which will be used by the poor. We confidently expect that, combined with the production of standard cloth, this scheme will increase the production of cloth as such in this country.

There is one final consideration not as important as one mentioned at the outset but a relevant one. Now, as usual in this country in particular, one should endeavour to meet the needs of one's customers who have been depending on us in previous times and of those who came to our aid when we were in trouble. The cotton textile industry depends, to a certain extent, upon exports. Bombay in particular have been supplying certain markets all these years and it is not reasonable to say to them, "I will not supply you, because I am finding myself in certain difficulties". Therefore, it is very important for this section of the industry to keep in touch with those markets to which they have been always supplying cloth. For these reasons, it is not possible for the Government of India to accept the Resolution to prohibit the export of textile goods from India. Sir, I oppose the motion.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** It is a rather difficult now to speak and go into the question of figures after they have been quoted by the two Honourable Members who have studied this question thoroughly. I am speaking only as a layman and confess that I have not gone into these figures previously which have been quoted in this House. But as a layman I am concerned only with one point and which is really the concern of everybody in this country, namely, that everybody should have an opportunity to purchase cloth that he needs and at a proper price. What has been stressed by the Mover of this Resolution is that sufficient quantity of cloth is not available and that is the reason why the price has gone up so high which is pinching everybody's pocket, be he rich or poor. If the arguments of my Honourable friend who spoke on behalf of Government are correct and the supply of cloth is quite sufficient in this country and can meet the requirements of the people, then he ought to have given the reason why the price of cloth has gone up so high. If the price

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of cloth has gone up, it must be due to the ordinary principle of economics, namely, the supply is not enough to meet the demand. If the supply is less than the demand, the prices are bound to go high; but if the supply is more than the requirement, then the prices must go down. As the prices are going high, naturally we conclude that the supply is less than the demand. And if the supply and demand are not equal to each other, then bad results must follow. Therefore, it is obvious that some kind of action should be taken in this respect by the Government. The only one remedy which my friend, the Mover of the Resolution, proposed is that the export of cloth should be stopped and the Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of the Government ought to have understood very clearly what his motive was. The underlying motive is to make the cloth cheap so that it may be available to the poor people. He does not want to get into the controversy whether his figures are right or wrong or what the economic causes are. Just as we talked the other day about the question of food supply, similarly the supply of cloth is also the concern of the people. Poorer people are finding it difficult to purchase cloth because the cloth which used to be sold at 2 annas a yard is now being sold at one rupee or even more than one rupee a yard. We expected some kind of elucidation as to the reasons which have led to this emergency and the public cannot know unless they are enlightened by the experts who deal with such questions. The man in the street knows this much that the man who is selling the cloth is selling it at a higher price because he is bringing it bit by bit. He does not want to dump the whole cloth. When a thing is dumped into the country, the price goes down at once because there is lot of competition, but if the man who has got the stock brings it out bit by bit, there is not sufficient quantity in the market, and if there is not sufficient quantity in the market, the prices must go high. We want the reasons for this. Government ought to explain why the price has gone up so high.

If there is any other cause for these high prices, it ought to have been mentioned by the Government. The Government should explain why they do not want to take any action in that direction. Of course, I am not a cloth manufacturer and have never dealt with any cloth mill nor have I got any shares in any cloth mills. Therefore, I do not know anything about the cloth. My Honourable friend who spoke on behalf of Government said that some cloth is being manufactured for foreign countries and it will not be suitable for this country. This is a new thing for me because I know that in India we have all sorts of climates, as cold as that of Europe and as hot as that of Africa. In some parts of this country the temperature goes up to 120 degrees in summer whereas in other parts it is several degrees below the freezing point in winter. So any cloth which is manufactured for any foreign country can suit us in this sub-continent of ours. It is wrong to think that India is only a small country; it is a big sub-continent and in this sub-continent we have got all sorts of climates and all kinds of cloth can suit us here. So, if this cloth is not exported to other countries, it is sure to be consumed in this country. The only suggestion which the Honourable the Mover of the Resolution has made is that the export of cloth should be so handled that it may not affect the people of this country adversely. That is the crux of the whole speech. What he wants is that the cloth should be available to the public at a cheap rate. Now, he is not the expert on the subject and some other economic factors may be at work. They ought to be explained and the action which the Government is taking should be explained to the House and through this House to the public. We shall be obliged to the Government if they may not stick to the words only but the spirit of the Resolution which underlies the suggestion that has come. Whether this object can be achieved by the export, by stopping the export or by manufacturing more or by getting the stock from outside is not our look out. If there is not sufficient quantity of

cotton here, it is for the Honourable the Government Member to devise any of the methods mentioned by me or some other method. I do not want to worry so much. Any how, I believe if these methods are adopted cloth which the public is purchasing at higher prices today, will certainly come down and there will be sufficient quantity available for the poor people. That is a natural thing. Sir, the suggestion which is made in the Resolution is the only remedy and which we want the Government to adopt. Of course, to go into economic prices and academic discussions and to obtain figures to which an ordinary man can have no access, is not our concern. That is the concern of the people who do this work from day to day and from the morning till evening. We are concerned with our own professions and in our own limited sphere, we scarcely have a Secretariat to hunt out all these figures for us. We are handicapped in this matter to a great extent. Of course, if we had sufficient staff to search out these figures, we could have placed before the House a long and detailed list. Sir, I have carried on so far. With these few remarks, I support the Resolution.

**Maulana Zafar Ali Khan** (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I now carry on. Sir, Man, as Shakespeare has said, is what tailor has made him and the tailor in order to make him man wants cloth and the cloth has vanished. The condition of the market has been fully explained by my Honourable friend, Maulvi Abdul Ghani. Sir, the cloth which used to be sold at 3 annas a yard has now gone upto Rs. 1-2-0 a yard. I can tell you by my personal experience that he is perfectly right. I wanted three shirts and went to the market to buy the cloth. Last year I purchased a type of cloth—ordinary cloth—for six annas a yard, but this time three shirts have cost me Rs. 32. Now, so long as I am a Member of the Legislative Assembly getting daily allowance it will be possible for me to carry on, but once the Session is over and every pice is spent on shirts and *pajamas* what shall I do? What shall the poor man do? The poor man says *Sarkar* is his *mai bap*—father and mother—both of them; and Government should provide him with cloth. Government says purchase it from the market, there is ample quantity of cloth in stocks in India and the rise in cost of cloth is not due to export. I am afraid, we cannot agree with the gentleman who made that statement. Cloth must have gone out of India. According to my Honourable friend, Maulvi Abdul Ghani, the law of supply and demand requires that if there is very large quantity of cloth in the stocks in this country, the price should go down. I fully agree with him and hold that the shortage of cloth in the country is due to export. Cloth has gone out of India. Cloth has been supplied to Africa and Arabia and other neighbouring countries. Sir, I suggest that in the first instance stop must be put to the export of cloth and the export of textiles must be banned and this ban should be strictly observed. That is one remedy. The other remedy is suggested by the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, who requires the people to use as little cloth as possible. I am not sure that the people will mind this advice. It reminds me of the old advice given by the Railway Department to the general travelling public that before travelling put one question to yourself and that question is, will your journey help in the successful prosecution of the war and if the reply is in the negative don't travel in spite of the fact that going on travel gives some money to the Government. I feel that something will have to be done. If the Government can furnish us with statistics proving that the stock of cloth in the country is more than the requirements of the people of this country we shall have nothing to say. So long as there are no statistics given through official source we are bound to stick to our conviction that the cloth has gone out of the country and there is not sufficient quantity of cloth here. I think, Sir, the Honourable the President is coming. Therefore, I resume my seat.

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



**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa : Muhammadan): Sir, I do not want to detain the House for a very long time as the Resolution is very simple and does not entail any matter of very great change in the policy of the Government of India. I only just want to make a few remarks about the statement which has been made on behalf of the Government. Government say because of shipping difficulties they cannot arrange to import cotton goods and other materials and that is why we find difficulty in this country. The point is, if Government feel difficulty in importing goods why should they offer facilities for exporting commodities from this part of the country. We never emphasised that we want to improve our import from outside so far as cotton goods are concerned or even silk goods are concerned; what we have been stressing is that our industries should develop for the people of this country and by the people of this country: and if we can develop our industries for the benefit of only the industrialist that would not be of much use. When the normal times revert probably by world competition, these very industries will have to suffer and then at that time these industrialists will not have any ground to ask for the general support of the people of this country for giving them any particular protection by raising tariff walls against import so that they may save their position and maintain themselves and their industries in a better position. At this time, certain industrialists may feel that they are making better profits by exporting their products and commodities outside India, but a time will come when they may ask for raising the tariff wall in their own interest and thereby ask more or less the population of this country to contribute for their very existence. They will have no ground for that, if they are not prepared at this time to maintain themselves on a legitimate profit and if they are now anxious to maintain themselves on a high margin of profit. That is the only point we have got to stress. You can only export if there is surplus produce but if the capacity of Indian industry is only to produce as much or even less than the needs of this country, there is no sense in allowing those industries to maintain any export trade at the cost of the entire population of this country. That is all the submission which I wish to make to this House. I support the Resolution.

4 P.M.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to support this Resolution, and I am somewhat surprised that my Honourable friend Mr. Pillay opposed it on behalf of Government. This seems to me to be rather a strange reply when the people of this country are going naked, when prices have gone up not twice or thrice or four times, but eight times, and the Government have not imposed any control on these millowners, when fortunes are made in a day, and the only reason why they do not control seems to be that Government want to have excess profits tax from them out of the blood money which they earn from the pockets of the poor.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): That is a libel.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta**: I will prove that it is thoroughly justified. Now, tell me why did you not control cloth, when you controlled rice and wheat and other things by turns, but you have not controlled cloth. The next vital requirement of the people after food is cloth and India is a country of such divergent climes, that this country is as cold as England for some part of the year, as hot as the tropics for other parts of the year and it has temperate climate for the rest of the year. I remember once the late Sir Alexander Muddiman, during cold weather, was shivering in cold when we were taking a photograph of the Assembly Members and he told me, "Jamnadas, this country is much colder than England". Now, Sir, this city has now got four or five lakhs of people. What have you done when prices were rising to an extent which is inconceivable? Is there any Government in the country, or were the millowners let loose to rob the poor? Apparently the wolves of profit are let loose

on the poor people and the Government seem to be totally indifferent to their fortunes. My Honourable friend, Mr. Pillay, was not able to describe what steps he took in the Bombay City. The capitalists themselves have admitted, the great mill magnate, Sir Ness Wadia admitted that what was costing Rs. 2-8-0 to manufacture is passed out of the mill at Rs. 6-8-0. That means Rs. 4 are added simply because it passes out of the mill. What other prices are added in the process of transit to the final consumer, he could not say. Why? Why should the Government allow such a thing to be perpetrated in a time of war when the contentment of the masses ought to be their most serious consideration. Do you want the masses to take the law into their own hands. There are limits to the patience even of the weakest, even the worm may turn. I am speaking this not as one who wants to make any capital against the Government for political purposes. This, I may tell them. But others are making capital, who do not care for the nakedness of the people. They use it for exploiting the miseries of the poor to extend their own political ends. In between the two, forty crores of people have no one to look to for their protection. I at least must expect Honourable Members who belong to the Indian community, I must also expect my Honourable friends from the European Group, because I am sure they have as much human consciousness as we have, I expect the Indian Members of the Executive Council to make a stand for the poor in the matter of the absolutely essential clothing. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar promised standard cloth in April, 1941. Today we are in February, 1943, yet it is as much beyond the reach of the poor as it was in 1941. Therefore the original position of unlimited exploitation by the millowners and making unlimited profit out of the miseries of the poor continues unabated under the very eyes and nose of the Government who seem to be supremely indifferent to the results. Do they realise that the masses of the people of this country already enfeebled by a very low standard even before the war, harassed by lack of food supplies during the last 2½ years, are now virtually turned into naked people for want of decent cloth to cover their nudity. In the last war, it was said that such was the shortage of cloth and such were the high prices of cloth that two Bengali ladies, one a mother and the other a daughter, or one a mother-in-law and the other a daughter-in-law, they had only one sari between themselves and when the one went out, the other had to remain indoors because she had no means of showing herself outside the house.

**The Honourable Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon** (Defence Member): That is due to lack of money and not clothing.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** If I have money I cannot buy cloth because it has become dearer, it is dearness of cloth. Cloth, you may give, and I will never become nude. I will pay, but everybody cannot pay at such a colossal rate as eight times or four times which the present conditions require. I therefore earnestly request to remind the Honourable Members that they have got many enemies. They seem to be completely oblivious that they are surrounded by a population which is unfriendly, that that population has a sufficiently well developed sense of patriotism that they will stand up to the last when the question of national security is concerned. The workers have to. The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall paid a very high compliment to them the other day when introducing the Railway Budget, and what is true of railway workers is true of all workers. They are not interested in any of the disruptive movement until you throw them in the arms of disruptive element because for want of food or clothing. What is their interest in supplying cloth to the foreigners to the extent of eliminating the ordinary loyalty of the poorer people in this country. I do not understand. Do you know there are other requirements? There is so much shortage of cloth. By three months of strike of workers at Ahmedabad—they enforced lock-out by political elements—they have starved the workers there of food and the country of cloth for three

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

months. And what are the Ahmedabad millowners now doing? They were bound by some contracts into which they had entered with the dealers. but because the Mills were closed they say: "No, these contracts are invalid. If you want the cloth we will charge the November price". Government knows that Sir Jeremy Raisman has got a telegram from Ahmedabad from an institution which says that the dealers are determined to have it at the old rate, the manufacturers refuse to give it at the August rate, because the difference is three and a half crores, and ultimately there will be a compromise between these two exploiters and the worker will have to pay at least two crores extra, although the prices in August were not so high as now. Some social organisation had offered Government to purchase the whole of that cloth for distribution among the poor at the fixed rates if only Government would put their hand in the matter, but my informant tells me that Sir Jeremy Raisman has not yet given any hope.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Since my name has been brought in and I do not intend to make a speech, may I say that I have not got the slightest knowledge of what the Honourable Member has been talking about.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** That means that the correspondence addressed to him does not reach him.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** It may mean that the information given to the Honourable Member was incorrect.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** No. Copies of telegrams are sent to me. If you are simply short of the information I shall tell you that the gentleman saw me in Bombay and came here to see me and he is a President of the Rural Organization of many years standing, and he says in so many words that he addressed that telegram to the Finance Member pointing out that the Ahmedabad Millowners and cloth dealers were each trying to get the cloth at August prices so far as the dealers were concerned and November prices so far as the manufacturers were concerned, and they will ultimately make up and share the loot half and half and the poor people will get the pinch. If you want to know the name I may tell you that he is Mr. Ram Rai Munshi. He has not received any response from the Government. If you want more information I shall be glad to supply you if you can do anything before this scandalous deal is completed by the millowners and the dealers. If you scratch them you will find these capitalists to be devoted to love of non-violence—the people who profiteer, the people who starve the poor people, who leave the masses nude, people who do not care for the wives and children of their fellow-countrymen, these people are those people who want power for themselves . . .

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** These are also the people who blame the Excess Profits Tax, and I am sorry to see that my Honourable friend has subscribed to the same vicious plea. . . .

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I shall be very happy to correct myself, but I do not believe in telling a fiction and sticking to it. But when news reaches me repeatedly from quarters which are undoubtedly very sincere, whatever may be their source of information, it is my duty to bring it to your notice.

I have nothing more to say on this question except that Government should revise their opinion. How is the foreigner entitled to any priority when one woman or child in this country is waiting for a piece of cloth. Tell me. Government stands arraigned before the bar of public opinion in this country as being absolutely indifferent to the cloth supply. I do hope they will vindicate themselves and disprove this charge which is made against them.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the question of the supply of cheap cloth for the poor is of second importance to the supply of foodstuffs. We know very well that in the Bombay Presidency they grow more cotton than foodstuffs because it pays better, and the Bombay Presidency has specialized in the production of

textiles, so much so that the whole of the textile industry is now being gravitated to Bombay side and shifted from the United Provinces and the Punjab. In this case if we have to equalize the consumption, the Government ought to take some steps in this matter. I am not concerned with any correspondence or any action which the Finance Member may have taken in this matter, but what I am most concerned with is that we should have some kind of standard cloth for the poor people.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, raised the question of profiteering to which the Finance Member retorted that he gets the money back in the form of Excess Profits Tax. Now, this money is collected from the poor people because as soon as you raise the price the burden falls on the poor people. So, in other words, it means that he is collecting, in an indirect manner, the excess profit from the poor people and not from the rich. It seems desirable to my mind that the Legislature should step in and request the Government to take action on our behalf, that is to go carefully through their cost of production and give them only four per cent. profit for the benefit of the poor people, and whatever prices could be obtained by calculation after conceding them a profit of four per cent. we should compel them to produce cloth at that for the benefit of the poor people. We do not say that they should concentrate their attention entirely to this class of cloth but, at any rate, we ought to press that at least 15 per cent. of their production should be set aside for the poorer people, for the production of standard cloth, on which their margin of profit should only be 4 per cent. This calculation of their profit can be done by a small committee under the guidance of a Member of the Government of India with which the representatives of the consumers should also be associated. The price should not be fixed only by the producers, but also by the representatives of the consumers, and when we are satisfied at what price it should be sold we should press them first directly and afterwards by ordinance and law that they must set aside at least 15 per cent. of their production for standard cloth at a price in which the margin of profit may only be 4 per cent. and not more. If this is done, then I do not mind in what way the cloth is being consumed otherwise, and I may tell you that the feeling in the United Provinces and the Punjab is very acute on this particular point and they accuse the Government for helping the Bombay Presidency by taking the food from these two provinces to Bombay. I think this is right.

I think they should compel these Bombay textile owners to help the people who supply them with food. If you follow the policy of reciprocal help, i.e., give to the other provinces where they are short, there will be a feeling of mutual sympathy, which is exceedingly desirable. I therefore press once more that the Government of India ought to compel every textile industry to produce standard cloth to the extent of 15 per cent. of their total production, and the prices should be fixed by a special committee in which the consumers are represented as well as the merchants, and the profit should not be more than 4 per cent.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon** (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): The question be now put.

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

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani**: Sir, when I tabled this Resolution I expected that the Government Members should be well armed with figures on the subject, but it is very disappointing indeed that neither does he accept the figures given by the Mover nor does he give any figures of his own. He is in a better position than I am to know the exact figures. I can assure him that I have utilised the figures given to my reply by the Government on my starred question No. 98, dated 16th February, and also on the figures given in

[Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani.]

the table of Supplies Demand and Net Supplies as indicated by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in a recent communication. These figures have been utilised by the President of the Indian Merchants Chamber Bombay in his last presidential address in January, 1943, and up till now the Government are not in a position to challenge those figures.

It has been said that there is difficulty in importing goods from outside on account of shipping difficulties: but I may in the same way say that there must be also shipping difficulty in exporting cloth from this country to foreign countries. As regards the plea that foreign markets should be maintained in the hope that good relations should continue, I do not think this has any force, when the needs of the people of the country are not fulfilled. How can then the export of textile goods to foreign countries be justified?

It has been said that standard cloth is going to be made. I heard about it in December last, and on behalf of the Government the Commerce Member said that the poor people would have their standard cloth by the middle of January. When January came it was said that the cloth would be available in February. Early in February we were told that the cloth would be in the market by the middle of March, and now we are told that it will be by the middle of April. I cannot say how many middle-months will have to pass before, or within what period, this fabulous standard cloth will be available for the poorer sections of the population.

In moving the Resolution, I said that appeal after appeal had been made by the various Chambers to the various sections of the people to purchase less cloth, but the purchases made by the Supply Department are increasing every year. You will find that during 1939-40 the quantity purchased by the Supply Department was 90 crores yards: in 1940-41 it went up to 60 crores yards: in 1941-42 it was 100 crores yards: and for 1942-43 the estimated purchases by the said Department come up to 120 crores yards. So while the poorer sections of the people of this country are feeling the pinch of the paucity of cloth, the Department of Supply is raising their purchases. At the same time Government is allowing exports. I have pointed out that there is a deficit of 265 crores yards in this country and that statement has not been rebutted. Again I should say that in the face of such a great deficit, exports should not be allowed.

The Honourable Member has said that it is very difficult for the Government to have total prohibition. I do not want that he should impose total prohibition: but why not partial prohibition so that the poorer sections may get some relief. Besides, you have already imposed restrictions on the mills. They cannot prepare fine cloth or fine threads. You should try and remove those restrictions so that the mills may get facilities and produce larger quantities of cloth and it is time that the Government should stop exports and that the purchases made by the Supply Department for certain agencies outside the country should be decreased, or at least limited. I find that imports have decreased; in 1939-40, the import of foreign cloth was 579.1 millions; in 1940-41, it came down to 447 million yards and in 1941-42, to 181.3 million yards and now it is estimated to come down to 50 millions, but on the contrary export is increasing by far. It was in 1939-40, 359 millions; it went up to 554.6 million yards in 1940-41 and 985.6 millions in 1941-42 and now it is estimated to come to 1200 millions yards in 1942-43.

Sir, I think I have established my case and I do not think that the Honourable Member should object to the correctness of figures when he does not give any figures at all. In view of this serious shortage of cloth in the country, I would urge upon the Government to reconsider their position and help the people of this country in the bare necessities for covering their persons.

**Mr. T. S. Pillay:** Sir, may I have your permission to give one or two words of explanation?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Yes.

**Mr. T. S. Pillay:** When the Honourable the Mover and one member on behalf of the European Group made some comments on this Resolution, I waited for a second or two so that I might know whether other speakers wanted to say anything. I noticed there were none and so I tried to explain the Government's point of view on the speeches made so far. I had necessarily to confine myself to the wording of the Resolution, which runs:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to prohibit the export of textile goods from India till such time as the needs of the people of the country are fully met with."

I confess I did not go into the further extensions of it as my Honourable friend, Sir Yamin Khan, wanted me to do. Sir, as you are aware, two full days and one additional day have been allotted to discuss problems connected with the supply of the necessaries of life, including cloth. The several questions that have been raised will be answered on behalf of Government, in so far as they relate to cloth, by the Commerce Department on Monday. So, I do not consider it absolutely relevant to the issue to go into explanations of the prices of cloth and other matters raised by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and others. Sir, one or two points were made by me, which apparently have not been heard properly on the other side of the House. I did not say that there was no shortage of cloth. I only said there were some differences of opinion as to the statistics quoted, but Government did admit that there was shortage of cloth; and I ventured to proceed to argue that on that ground you cannot completely prohibit the export of cloth; and I thought I gave the reasons that have influenced Government to allow exports of cloth in limited quantities. There is no question at all of Government not trying to restrict exports. I want to emphasise that we have been restricting exports, and we propose to restrict them progressively, and I do contend—and I thought I made out a fairly convincing case to show—that India cannot at this stage refuse cloth to those people who have been dependent on her for such a long time and others of United Nations also must be served on humanitarian grounds, if nothing else. It was mentioned that I pleaded shipping shortage for importing cloth. I never referred to import at all. I only quoted the example of taking wheat from Australia and assistance in other matters from the United Kingdom, at a time when things are in great shortage there, just to illustrate my argument that even when they are in shortage they are not arguing that they must look to themselves first—they are coming to our help in a spirit of co-operative manner: in the same manner, I tried to argue that we should help others at a time when we are fighting a common enemy.

Upon other points I do not wish to tire the patience of the House—I shall reserve the right to reply to deal with the points raised by Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad and other Honourable Members when dealing with the supply position as regards food stuffs and cloth on Monday next.

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

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to prohibit the export of textile goods from India till such time as the needs of the people of the country are fully met with."

The Assembly divided.

AYES—18.

Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
Abdullah, Mr. H. M.  
Ahsan, Mr. Muhammad.  
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
Bhutto, Mr. Navi Baksh Illahi Baksh.  
Das, Pandit Nilkantha.  
Essak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
Fazl-i-Haq Piracha, Khan. Bahadur  
Shaikh.  
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.

Liquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad.  
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.  
Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.  
Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik.  
Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.  
Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.  
Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.  
Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.  
Zia Uddin Ahmad, Dr. Sir.

## NOES—37.

Abdul Hamid Khan Bahadur Sir.	Mackeown, Mr. J. A.
Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.	Miller, Mr. C. C.
Aiyar, Mr. T. S. Sankara.	Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.
Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R.	Oulnam, Mr. S. H. Y.
Anthony, Mr. Frank R.	Pai, Mr. A. V.
Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.	Pillay, Mr. T. S.
Caroe, Mr. O. K.	Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.	Raper, Sir Hugh.
Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.	Richardson, Sir Henry.
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.	Sahay, Mr. V.
Dumasia, Mr. N. M.	Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam
Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.	Kadir Muhammad.
Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.	Spear, Dr. T. G. P.
Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haidar.	Spence, Sir George.
Ismail Alikhan, Kunwer Hajee	Stokes, Mr. H. G.
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar	Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir.
Sir.	Thakur Singh, Major.
Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulema	Trivedi, Mr. C. M.
Kushal Pal Singh, Raja Bahadur.	Wood, Major-General E.
Lawson, Mr. C. P.	

The motion was negatived.

### RESOLUTION *RE* GRIEVANCES OF OFFICIALS AND SECRETARIAT ASSISTANTS EMPLOYED IN RAILWAYS.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly is satisfied that the remedies now open to Railway officials and Secretariat assistants employed in railways against supersessions, discriminations, discharges and dismissals are illusory and ineffective, and recommends to the Governor General in Council to devise suitable machinery for the effective redressal of the aforesaid grievances, e.g., by entrusting the investigation and disposal of such grievances to an independent body like the Public Service Commission."

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

"That this Assembly is satisfied that the remedies now open to Railway officials and Secretariat assistants employed in railways against supersessions, discriminations, discharges and dismissals are illusory and ineffective, and recommends to the Governor General in Council to devise suitable machinery for the effective redressal of the aforesaid grievances, e.g., by entrusting the investigation and disposal of such grievances to an independent body like the Public Service Commission."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): There are two amendments given notice of. The first one is in the name of Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali.

**Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali**: I do not move it, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What about the second one?

**Nawab Siddique Ali Khan** (Central Provinces and Berar: Muhammadan): I move it, Sir. I move:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:  
"on which, the Muslims are adequately represented'."

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

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:  
"on which the Muslims are adequately represented'."

Now, discussion will take place on both the Resolution and the amendment.  
**Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.**

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta**: Sir, this Resolution represents the experience of 13 years of railwaymen's grievances and hardships. They were not picked up at random. They have been impressed on my mind through the closest and most intimate association with railway workers of all types, from the humblest gangman to a very high officer who is an Indian, sometimes an Anglo-Indian, and sometimes even a European. And I have not brought this Resolution so long because I had hoped that in the several cases which I have represented to the different General Managers and sometimes to the Railway Board and sometimes to the Honourable the Railway Member—I had not brought it before the House in the hope that their sense of right and wrong will

assert itself, that they will not consider that action taken is sacrosanct and cannot be challenged, that it shall be thoroughly examined when a grievance is made of any action of the railways, whether the railway administrations or the Railway Board. But I cannot say that I am satisfied with the machinery provided by the Government for the redressal of these grievances about supersessions. The most loudly complained of are supersessions, which cause a serious sense of injustice among those who are affected, and those men are highly educated sometimes and they feel it like a thorn in their flesh that the whole decision taken about them was outrageous, utterly false, wholly unjust, and yet although there was a show of a machinery, in actual fact it came to very little. I can give you cases in any number. My office of the Railway-men's Federation is choking, absolutely choking with palpable cases of gross injustice, but when I approach the Railway Board these gentlemen tell me, "Mr. Jamnadas, we are not superhuman beings, we are not super-men, we apply our Christian conscience to every case that is placed before us and we arrive at a fair decision". When the Railway Board pleads a religious defence against injustice I cannot challenge because I am sure they have a conscience and a Christian conscience. But the Christian conscience does not prevent Hitler from being a marauder and a slaughterer of the human race over three continents, all in the name of Christianity. And the British Empire consists of, I do not know, one third or one fourth of the surface of the globe, all acquired according to Christian conscience. The only trouble is that people do not believe that. When in Kenya the Christian conscience of the white settlers compelled them to whip the natives as they were called or to levy one pound of tax plus labour where was the Christian conscience?

Similarly, in India you find that in the railways at any rate these officers and secretariat assistants have certain formal prescribed remedies against injustice. They are told that they can appeal to the Governor General in Council. Now, I ask the Honourable the Railway Member to tell me whether the Governor General can ever get time to bring to bear his fresh mind on a serious case of injustice when the case has to be reported upon by the men who have done injustice themselves or who are the accused, so that, when the Governor General might sit down to consider any application, if he ever gets time, the men who are there in front of him have already prepared a case, one sided, to which this man is never allowed to reply and as a matter of course in ninety cases out of a hundred, what has been done by the lowest foreman or even a little higher officer stands good and true, till His Excellency the Governor General has passed his own version of it. This is not a fanciful picture. I will give you a case of an Anglo Indian at Jhansi in the G. I. P. This man was Superintendent of Stores at Jhansi. On a certain date he was asked to give delivery of certain old stocks, according to the usual method. The procedure prescribed for this was followed by this man literally and it turned out, I do not know how, that there was some *gadbad* in the officer issuing that order and in order that he may not suffer, this officer said 'You have acted improperly and irregularly. You are suspended and your case will be examined shortly'. A *prima facie* inquiry was made and before he could give his statement, he was called to Bombay and there is a wire saying 'Come to Bombay' where he was told 'You are going to be dismissed. Better resign. We shall see that you suffer the least'. He said 'No. I am absolutely innocent. I have obeyed the orders which were issued'. Ultimately he was absolutely terrorised and coerced into resignation. His poor wife was threatened with all sorts of consequences, if the husband did not resign. I can give the names and the details. The man was thus made to resign and then it was said that he was conscious of his guilt and, therefore, he resigned and there is no claim.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall** (Member for Railways and War Transport): What sort of date?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta**: This took place about six years ago. It is the case of an Anglo Indian and his wife. For six years, they had to live in



[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

Bombay in ignominy as rogues who had stolen public property, when the real rogues according to him escaped. He tried in every possible way to get justice but the usual reply was 'We have already gone through it and nothing can be done'. Why was he called, before his evidence was taken, to Bombay—Matunga from Jhansi. There is nobody able to reply. I have got the telegram which he received. It was practically an order that he must come down and when he came down his evidence was not taken. He was told that he wantonly resigned because he was guilty. This poor employee was getting Rs. 600 and his wife and children were living in a state of disgrace for several years in Bombay society. Thank God, that poor man has now got some employment, but it is as much to the interest of the Railway Administration that they should provide this man an effective and absolutely safe and certain machinery which is above board. A superficial inquiry by the Governor General in Council can never be effective. I do not mind retaining the Governor General's ultimate control. The Federal Public Service Commission might make a report. I do not mind if the Governor General in Council takes the last step about it on his own responsibility but there will be a machinery competent, organised and permanent machinery which is specifically devoted to such work and which alone can inspire confidence. Therefore, I ask that these people must get that kind of relief.

There is one more case which I shall refer to before closing my observations this evening. A European lady was travelling with a maid servant in a first class compartment. The Travelling Ticket Inspector warned her that during day it was not permissible. So, the lady got down. The next day, sometime later, he again found the woman servant closeted in the first class compartment. So, at the next station, he called the Station Master and in his presence he asked this lady either to remove this woman or she would be exceded. She was not removed and so, with the consent of the Station Master, she was exceded. There was a hue and cry raised by this lady that this Travelling Ticket Inspector insulted the modesty of the woman and he was immediately suspended by the Railway Administration. This was on the North Western Railway.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Can you give me the date?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** This happened about seven years ago. I will come to more modern ones. I want to show that this iniquity is one of long standing and has been going on for the last ten years. It has been a continuous sink of iniquity, according to this harassed railway servant. This man was suspended and he was discharged. The Station Master said that he had done nothing of the kind and the Court acquitted him. So, he was reappointed and next day he was given a notice of discharge with one month's salary. In the meantime, the lady was not quite satisfied and her father who was a military officer in Rawalpindi, I am told, consulted some local lawyers. They advised him to prosecute this man for insulting the modesty of a woman. So, he was actually prosecuted in a common court of law. The magistrate convicted him. This man was so sure of his innocence that he sold his wife's ornaments and with Rs. 4,000 he pursued his quest for justice and went to the High Court which quashed the proceedings and severely criticised the magistrate for convicting an honest servant. But he is no longer in the railway service. All his life's savings and all his wife's ornaments were frittered away in an attempt to get justice; but by the time he got justice, the Railway had made up their mind not to keep him.

The third case which I would like to give to the Honourable Member . . .

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is now 5 o'clock and I must adjourn the House.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 19th February, 1943.

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Friday, 19th February, 1943.

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.

#### COMMITTEES AND CONFERENCES CONVENED BY COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

**140. \*Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Honourable the Commerce Member please lay a statement on the table showing the purpose, the names of members and the cost of all Committees and Conferences convened by his Department between October, 1941 and January 1943?

(b) Will he place a copy each of the proceedings of all such Committees and Conferences in the library of the House?

**Mr. T. S. Pillay:** (a) A statement giving the required information is laid on the table of the House.

(b) Copies of the proceedings have been placed in the Library, except those of the Sixth Price Control Conference which have not yet been printed and which will be placed in the Library when ready.

*Statement showing the purpose, the Names of Members and the cost of Committees and Conferences convened by the Department of Commerce between October 1941 and January 1943.*

#### 1. POWER ALCOHOL CONFERENCE.—21st July, 1942.

(To discuss the question of increasing production of power alcohol in India.)

1. The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. Mr. A. Q. Waugh, C.I.E., I.C.S., War Production Commissioner (U. P. Government). 3. Mr. B. R. Tandon, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Home Department. 4. Mr. Karan Chand Thapar, Chairman, Indian Sugar Syndicate, Calcutta. 5. Mr. G. D. Grant, c/o Beggs Sutherland and Co., Cawnpore. 6. Mr. Sri A. S. V. N. Appanna Naidu Garu, Vizag Commercial Corporation, Vizagapatam. 7. Mr. Jewanlal Chotalal, Kesar Sugar Works, Behari. 8. Mr. K. K. Birla, c/o Birla Brothers, Calcutta. 9. Mr. S. G. Nevatia, c/o Birla Brothers, Calcutta. 10. Mr. T. V. A. Iswaran, Chairman, Mysore Sugar Co., Ltd., Mysore. 11. Mr. H. G. Russell, Government of India. 12. Mr. N. C. Mehta, Sugar Controller, Government of India. 13. Mr. Laik Ali, General Director, Hyderabad Construction Company, Hyderabad. 14. Mr. S. L. Malhotra, c/o Motilal Padampal Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., Champaran. 15. Mr. P. D. Singhania, c/o Motilal Padampal Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., Champaran. 16. Lala Shaunkaral, Curzon Road, New Delhi. 17. Mr. R. N. B. Brunt, Burmah Shell Co., New Delhi. 18. Lt.-Genl. T. J. Hutton, Secretary, War Resources Committee, New Delhi.—Cost—Nil.

#### 2. PAPER CONFERENCE.—24th September, 1942.

(To discuss measures for augmenting the production of paper in India.)

1. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce). 2. Lt.-Gen. T. J. Hutton, Secretary, War Resources Committee. 3. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Joint Secretary, Commerce Department. 4. Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary, Labour Department. 5. Mr. S. H. Zaheer, I.C.S., Additional Dy. Secretary. 6. Mr. R. K. Mitra, I.C.S., Controller of Printing and Stationery. 7. Sir L. Mason, C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C., Supply Commissioner. 8. Mr. A. E. Hampson, Director, Miscellaneous Stores, Supply Department. 9. Col. L. Rayneau, of the M. G. O. 10. Mr. M. P. Bhargava of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. 11. Mr. R. W. Mellor, Chairman of the Indian Paper Makers Association. 12. Mr. Toddman of the Indian Paper Makers Association. 13. Mr. Shanti Prasad Jain and Messrs. Sastri Narain Kapur, Baldeo Das Bajoria, G. P. Birla and L. S. Bisht. 14. Dr. M. M. Junaid, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Research Officer.—Cost—Nil.

#### 3. SECOND COFFEE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—20th October, 1942.

(To consider the question whether the Coffee Control Scheme should be continued by statutory legislation and, if so, in what form.)

1. The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce. 3. Mr. H. M. Hood, I.C.S. (Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras). 4. Mr. J. W. Pritchard, I.C.S. (Chief Commissioner, Coorg). 5. Sir F. E. James, M. L. A. (Madras). 6. Mr. T. G. Rama Iyer (Mysore State). 7. Dr. W. Burns, Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India. 8. Mr. P. H. Rama Reddi, Director of Agriculture, Government of Madras. 9. Mr. W. K. M. Langloy, Calicut. 10. Mr. N. G. B. Kirwan (Mysore). 11. Diwan Bahadur K. Chengappa (Coorg). 12. Mr. Sylvester Pais (Chikmagalur). 13. Mr. M. L. Nagappa Setty (Chikmagalur). 14. Captain A. R. Hill (New Delhi). 15. Mr. Periasam Nadar (Mangalore).

#### 4. FIRST RUBBER CONTROL CONFERENCE.—27th January, 1942.

(To consider measures for (1) increasing the production of raw rubber and (2) regulating the production of various classes of rubber manufactures.)

1. The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. The Honourable Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary, Commerce Department. 3. Dr. T. E. Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, Commerce Department. 4. T. S. Pillay, Esq., O.B.E., M.A., B.L., Dy. Secretary, Commerce Department. 5. S. R. Zaman, Esq., I.C.S., Additional Dy. Secretary, Commerce Department. 6. G. Swaminathan, Esq., Under Secretary, Commerce Department. 7. Raj Sahib P. M. Mukerji, M.A., Assistant Secretary, Commerce Department. 8. L. Mason, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C., I.F.S., Dy. Director Genl. Supply. 9. A. P. Hume, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary. 10. Lt.-Col. E. Bader, R.E., Director, Vehicles. 11. Sir Kenneth Mitchell, C.I.E., I.S.E., Consulting Engineer to the Government of India (Roads). 12. Mr. P. Kurian John (Controller, Indian Rubber Licensing Committee). 13. T. M. S. Mani, Esq., I.C.S. 14. Sir Frederick E. James, M.L.A. 15. Mr. J. E. Pitcairn. 16. Mr. L. J. T. Polgreen. 17. Mr. F. F. M. Ferguson (Dunlop Rubber Company). 18. Mr. H. K. Hirth (Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company of India, Limited). 19. Mr. A. Roy Craven (India Rubber Manufacturers, Limited). 20. Mr. V. Kivac, Bata Shoe Company. 21. Mr. J. Bartos, Bata Shoe Company. 22. Mr. S. K. Pathak (Bengal Waterproof Works (1940) Limited). 23. Mr. I. P. Anderson (Dunlop Rubber Company). 24. Mr. F. R. Bunker (India Tyre and Rubber Company). 25. Mr. R. D. Thomson (Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company).—Cost—Nil.

## 5. SECOND RUBBER CONTROL CONFERENCE.—28th September, 1942.

(To discuss (1) a scheme of Government purchase of all rubber produced in India and (2) stimulation of rubber production and constitution of a Central Rubber Production Board.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce). 2. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Jt. Secy., Commerce Department. 3. Sir F. E. James, O.B.E., Rubber Adviser. 4. Rai Sahib P. M. Mukerji, M.A., Asstt. Secy., Commerce Department. 5. Lieut.-General T. J. Hutton, Secy., War Resources Committee. 6. Mr. J. P. Anderson, Controller of Rubber Manufactures, D. G. Supply. 7. Mr. S. Boothalingam, I.C.S., Dy. Secy., Supply Department. 8. Mr. L. A. Chapman, I.C.S., Jt. Financial Adviser (Supply), Supply Deptt. 9. Mr. A. A. Hilary, I.C.S., Under Secretary, E. H. and L. Department. 10. Mr. Kurian John, Controller, Indian Rubber Licensing and Control Committees. 11. Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai, Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Travancore. 12. Mr. K. R. Narayana Iyer, Director of Agriculture, Travancore. 13. Mr. J. E. Pitauro, Chairman of Rubber Section of the United Planters' Association of Southern India. 14. Mr. A. V. Thomas, Chairman, Rubber Growers' Association. 15. Mr. G. P. White. 16. Mr. F. F. M. Ferguson, Chairman of the Rubber Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta. 17. Mr. A. W. Gillespie, Secretary, Rubber Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta.—Cost—Rs. 651-5-0.

## 6. THIRD COFFEE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—2nd October, 1942.

(To discuss certain matters connected with working of Coffee Control Scheme and amendments needed to the Coffee Market Expansion Act, 1942.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce). 2. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Jt. Secy., Department of Commerce. 3. Rai Sahib P. M. Mukerji, M.A., Asstt. Secy., Department of Commerce. 4. Mr. V. Sahay, I.C.S., Secy., Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. 5. Sir F. E. James, O.B.E., M.L.A., Coffee Controller. 6. Rao Sahib M. R. Bangara, B.A., Deputy Coffee Controller. 7. Mr. M. Gopala Menon, Chief Assistant, Coffee Controller. 8. Dr. F. X. DeSouza, M.L.A. (Mangalore). 9. Mr. Sylvester Pais (Chicknagalur). 10. Mr. N. G. B. Kirwan, (Mysore). 11. Dewan Bahadur K. Chengappa (Coorg). 12. Col. H. F. Murland, O.B.E. (Coorg). Mr. K.E. Narayana Iyer, a member of the Indian Coffee Market Expansion Board, also attended.—Cost—Nil.

## 7. THIRD PRICE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—16th and 17th October, 1941.

(Prices and Supplies Control.)

1. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member (Finance). 3. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce. 4. Mr. E. M. Jenkins, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department. 5. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department. 6. The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Labour Department. 7. The Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Roy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Communications. 8. Mr. J. D. Tyson, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Education, Health and Lands Department. 9. Sir P. Raghavendra Rau, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department. 10. Mr. R. Pillai, C.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department. 11. Dr. T. E. Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India. 12. Mr. M. W. M. Yeatts, C.I.E., I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Supply. 13. Mr. S. E. L. West, O.B.E., V.D., Director of Traffic, Railway Board. 14. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department. 15. Mr. Vishnu Sahay, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. 16. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Director General, Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. 17. Mr. L. J. Wakely, I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Defence Co-ordination Department. 18. Mr. M. K. Kirpalani, I.C.S., Joint Secretary in the Department of Commerce and Labour and Chief Controller of Prices, Bengal. 19. Mr. A. V. Askwith, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Commissioner, Delhi. 20. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh Haji Mohammad Umar, O.B.E., Premier of Sind. 21. Mr. I. H. Taunton, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary, Revenue Department, Sind. 22. Mr. Y. A. Godbole, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary (Adviser Designate), Bihar. 23. Mr. R. A. E. Williams, I.C.S., Chief Controller of Prices and Supplies, Bihar. 24. Mr. P. W. Marsh, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor, United Provinces. 25. Mr. M. W. Abbasi, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary, Price Control Department, United Provinces. 26. Rai Rahib B. K. Ghosal, Assistant Director of Industries, United Provinces. 27. Mr. S. Solomon, I.C.S., Secretary, Development Department, Orissa. 28. Mr. H. M. Hood, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Madras. 29. Mr. L. B. Green, O.B.E., Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras. 30. Mr. H. G. Dennehy, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government, Assam. 31. The Hon'ble Sir Chhotu Ram (Minister of Revenue), Punjab. 32. The Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal (Finance Minister), Punjab. 33. Mr. J. D. Anderson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government, Punjab. 34. Mr. Aminuddin, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Punjab, Electricity and Industries Department, Punjab. 35. Sir Geoffrey Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Central Provinces. 36. Mr. K. D. Guha, Director of Industries, Central Provinces. 37. Mr. L. W. Jardine, C.I.E., I.P.S., Revenue and Divisional Commissioner, N. W. F. P. 38. Mr. K. L. Panjabi, I. C. S., Secretary to Government, General Department, Bombay. 39. Mr. P. B. Advani, M.Sc., Tech. M.I.E., Director of Industries, Bombay. 40. Sir Theodor Tasker, Revenue Member, Hyderabad. 41. Mr. Ahmad Mohiuddin, Director, Commerce and Industries, Hyderabad. 42. Mr. T. G. Ramaiyar, Director of Agriculture, Mysore. 43. Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, Naib Dewan, Baroda. 44. Dr. H. Parameswar, Controller of Yarn and War Supply, Travancore. 45. Prof. N. K. Padanmabha Pillai, Travancore. 46. Sir Manubhai Mehta, Gwalior. 47. Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners' Association). 48. Mr. Javantlal Amritlal (Ahmedabad Millowners' Association). 49. Dewan Bahadur C. S. Rathnasabpathy Mudaliar (South Indian Millowners' Association). 50. Mr. R. A. Menzies (Upper India Chamber of Commerce). 51. Rai Sahib S. C. Ghose (Bengal Millowners' Association). 52. Mr. Mohammad Shaghi, Research Officer to the Economic Adviser was also present.—Cost—Cost of Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Price Control Conferences and the Meeting with the Representatives of Trade and Industry is approximately Rs. 4,500.

## 8. FOURTH PRICE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—6th and 7th February, 1942.

(Prices and Supplies Control.)

1. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce. 3. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Finance. 4. The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Labour. 5. The Hon'ble Mr. A. De C. Williams, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Defence Co-ordination Department. 6. Mr. N. B. Pillai, C.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce. 7. Mr. T. E. Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India. 8. Mr. J. D. Tyson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Education, Health and Lands Department. 9. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, C.I.E., Additional Secretary, Supply Department. 10. Mr. Ikrumullah, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary, Supply Department. 11. Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Member, Railway Board. 12. Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, C.I.E., I.C.S., Wheat Commissioner, Government of India. 13. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Commerce. 14. Mr. Kenneth Mitchell, C.B.E., I.S.E., Consulting Engineer (Roads). 15. Mr. M. D. Bhansali, I.C.S., Deputy Secretary, Communications Deptt. 16. Mr. T. M. S. Mani, I.C.S., Under Secretary, Communications Deptt. 17. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Director General, Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. 18. Mr. V. Sahay, I.C.S., Secretary, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. 19. Mr. H. F. Knight, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor, Bombay. 20. Mr. K. L. Panjabi, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, Bombay. 21. Mr. K. Kirpalani, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of Bengal and Controller of Prices, Bengal. 22. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Chaudhuri Sir Chhotu Ram, Minister of Revenue, Punjab. 23. Mr. M. R. Sachdev, I.C.S., Price Controller and Additional Deputy Secretary, Home Department, Punjab. 24. Mr. M. R. Sachdev, Director of Development, Orissa. 25. Mr. K. Gopalan, M.A., B.Com. (Man.), Senior Marketing Officer, Orissa. 26. Mr. R. E. Russell, C.S.I., G.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Bihar. 27. Mr. R. A. E. Williams, I.C.S., Secretary to Government and Controller of Prices and Supplies, Bihar. 28. Mr. B. N. Sarkar, Senior Marketing Officer and Assistant Controller of Prices, Bihar. 29. Mr. P. W. Marsh, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor of U. P. 31. Mr. T. M. Lyle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary Price Control Department, U. P. 32. Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., U. P. 33. Mr. J. K. Pande, M.A., Under Secretary, Price Control Dept., United Provinces. 34. Mr. H. M. Hood, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor, C. P. 35. Sir Geoffrey Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Adviser to H. E. the Governor, C. P. 36. Mr. C. C. Desai, I.C.S., Secretary (Commerce and Industry) to Government, C. P. 37. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh Haji Mohammad Umar, O.B.E., Premier of Sind. 38. Mr. Mulchand Rupechand Punjwani, Chief Controller of Prices, Sind. 39. Mr. L. W. Jardine, C.I.E., I.C.S., Revenue and Divisional Commissioner, N.-W. F. P. 40. Mr. A. Whittaker, C.I.E., M. L. A. (Assam), Assam. 41. Mr. H. J. Evans, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Delhi. 42. Mr. J. G. Acheson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Baluchistan. 43. Secretary to H. H. the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes. 44. Rai Bahadur P. G. Mogha, Revenue Minister, Kashmir. 45. Mr. B. T. Kesavaiahgar, Chief Secretary to Government, Mysore. 46. Lala Ramjidas Vaishya, Secretary, Commerce and Industry Department, Gwalior. 47. Sir Theodore Tasker, Revenue and Police Member, Hyderabad. 48. Mr. Crofton, Director-General, Revenue Department, Hyderabad. 49. Mr. Ghulam Mahmood Quraishi, Additional Revenue Secretary, Hyderabad. 50. Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, Baroda. 51. Mr. Mohammad Shaghil, Research Officer under the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, was also present.

9. FIFTH PRICE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—7th and 8th April, 1942.  
(Prices and Supplies Control.)

1. The Hon'ble Dewau Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. The Hon'ble Sir A. Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member (Finance). 3. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 4. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 5. The Hon'ble Mr. C. M. Trivedi, C.S.I., C.I.E., B.E., I.C.S. 6. The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S. 7. Mr. A. De C. Williams, C.I.E., I.C.S. 8. Mr. A. W. Ibbotson, C.I.E., M.B.E., M.C., I.C.S. 9. Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. 10. Dr. T. E. Gregory, D.Sc. 11. Mr. J. D. Tyson, C.B.E., I.C.S. 12. Mr. E. T. Coates, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 13. Mr. J. H. F. Raper. 14. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, C.I.E. 15. Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, C.I.E., I.C.S. 16. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E. 17. Mr. M. Ekramullah, I.C.S. 18. Sir Kenneth Mitchell, C.I.E., I.S.E. 19. Mr. P. M. Kharegat, C.I.E., I.C.S. 20. Mr. T. M. S. Mani, I.C.S. 21. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab). 22. Mr. S. A. Venkataraman, I.C.S. 23. Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S. 24. Mr. M. K. Vellodi, I.C.S. 25. Mr. A. A. Phillips, V. D. 26. Capt. A. M. Thompson. 27. Rai Bahadur H. Mukherjee. 28. Mr. R. C. Srivastava. 29. Mr. B. N. Adarkar, M.A. (Cantab). 30. Mr. H. F. Knight, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor (Finance), Bombay. 31. Mr. K. L. Panjabi, I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Bombay (General Department), Bombay. 32. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Chaudhuri Sir Chhotu Ram, Minister of Revenue, Punjab. 33. Mr. R. Sachdev, I.C.S., Addl. Dy. Secy. to the Govt., Punjab. 34. Mr. E. N. Mangat Rai, I.C.S., Assistant Price Controller to Govt., Punjab. 35. Sardar Sahib Sardar Kartar Singh, Marketing Officer, Punjab. 36. Mr. H. M. Hood, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor of U. P. 37. Mr. P. W. Marsh, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser to H. E. the Governor of Madras. 38. Mr. T. M. Lyle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary, Price Control Department, U. P. 39. Mr. S. S. Khera, I.C.S., Director of Industries, U. P. 40. Mr. J. E. Pedley, C.I.E., M.C., U. P. 41. Mr. R. A. E. Williams, I.C.S., Secretary to Government and Controller of Prices and Supplies, Bihar. 42. Mr. B. N. Sarkar, Senior Marketing Officer and Assistant Controller of Prices, Bihar. 43. Mr. E. R. J. R. Cousins, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Adviser, Development, Bihar. 44. Sir Geoffrey Burton, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Adviser to H. E. the Governor, C. P. 45. Mr. C. C. Desai, I.C.S., Secretary (Commerce and Industry) to Government, C. P. 46. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh Haji Mohammad Umar, O.B.E., Premier of Sind. 47. Mr. J. C. Bolton, I.C.S., Sind. 48. Mr. C. A. Humphrey, I.C.S., Chief Controller of Prices, Assam. 49. Mr. L. W. Jardine, C.I.E., Revenue and Divisional Commissioner, N.-W. F. P. 50. The Hon'ble Pandit Godavari Misra, Orissa. 51. Mr. K. T. Uthappa, B.A., Assistant Commissioner, Coorg. 52. Rai Bahadur Thakur Onkar Singh, Addl. Assistant Commissioner, Ajmer and Merwara. 53. Mr. W. F. G. Le Bailly, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, Delhi. 54. Mr. J. G. Acheson, C.I.E., I.C.S., Baluchistan. 55. Sardar Attar Singh, Revenue Commissioner, Kashmir. 56. Major Shams-ud-Din Muhammad, B.A., Bahawalpur. 57. Mr. Satya Vrata Mukerjee, B.A. (Oxon.), Naib Dewan, Baroda. 58. Raja Mantrapravina Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, Minister, Finance and Revenue, Mysore. 59. Rajasevasaksa Mr. T. V. A. Isvaran, Chairman, Mysore Sugar Company, Mysore. 60. Lala Ramjidas Vaishya, Secretary, Industries, Commerce, Communications Dept., Gwalior. 61. Mr. Ghulam Mahmood Qureshi, Addl. Revenue Secretary, Hyderabad. 62. Mr. A. Madhava Prabhhu, B.A., B.L., Dewan Peishkar, Cochin. 63. Mr. Zaidi, Prime Minister, Rampur State Rampur. 64. Dr. B. G. Ghate and Mr. Mohammad Shaghil were also present.

10. SIXTH PRICE CONTROL CONFERENCE.—7th and 8th September, 1942.  
(Prices and Supplies Control.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce). 2. The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Member (Finance). 3. The Hon'ble Sir Homi Mody, K.B.E., Member (Supply). 4. The Hon'ble Sir Joginder Singh, Member (E. & L.). 5. The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, D.Sc., Bar-at-Law, Member (Labour). 6. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 7. The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 8. The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Nath Roy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 9. The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S. 10. Mr. J. D. Tyson, C.B.E., I.C.S. 11. Mr. A. W. Ibbotson, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S. 12. Mr. E. T. Coates, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. 13. Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. 14. Mr. A. C. Turner, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S. 15. Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, C.I.E., I.C.S. 16. Mr. Y. N. Sukthankar, C.I.E., I.C.S. 17. Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S. 18. Mr. S. K. Kirpalani, I.C.S. 19. Mr. P. M. Kharegat, C.I.E., I.C.S. 20. Sir Kenneth Mitchell, C.I.E., I.S.E. 21. Sir Hugh Raper. 22. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E. 23. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab). 24. Lt-Gen. T. J. Hutton. 25. Mr. T. M. S. Mani, I.C.S. 26. Mr. A. A. Phillips, V. D. 27. Mr. M. K. Vellodi, I.C.S. 28. Captain A. M. Thompson, A.I.E.O. 29. Rai Bahadur H. Mookerjee. 30. Mr. B. N. Adarkar, M.A. (Cantab). 31. Mr. Mohd. Shaghil, M.A., LL.B. 32. The Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Bengal. 33. Mr. L. G. Pinnel, I.C.S., Bengal. 34. Mr. D. L. Mazumdar, I.C.S., Bengal. 35. Mr. H. F. Knight, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Bombay. 36. Dr. T. G. Shirname, Ph.D., F.S.S., F. R. Econ. S., Bombay. 37. Mr. P. B. Advani, M.Sc. (Tech.), M.I.E., J.P., Bombay. 38. Mr. E. E. Russell, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Bihar. 39. Mr. R. A. E. Williams, I.C.S., Bihar. 40. Mr. S. Solomon, I.C.S., Orissa. 41. Mr. P. N. Mahanti, Orissa. 42. Mr. C. A. Humphrey, I.C.S., Assam. 43. Mr. R. F. Mudie, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., U. P. 44. Professor S. K. Rudra, M.A. (Cantab), U. P. 45. Mr. A. D. Pandit, I.C.S., U. P. 46. The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh, Punjab. 47. Sir William Roberts, C.I.E., Punjab. 48. Mr. E. N. Mangat Rai, I.C.S., Punjab. 49. Mr. L. W. Jardine, C.I.E., I.P., N.-W. F. P. 50. Rai Bahadur Thakur Onkar Singh, Ajmer-Merwara. 51. Mr. W. F. G. Le Bailly, I.C.S., Delhi. 52. Mr. Parmanand, I.C.S., C. P. 53. Mr. H. S. Kamath, I.C.S., C. P. 54. Mr. G. B. Priestley, I.C.S., Madras. 55. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhs Haji Mohammad Umar, O.B.E., Sind. 56. Mr. J. C. Bolton, I.C.S., Sind. 57. Wazir Feroz Chand, Kashmir. 58. Mr. S. V. Mukerjee, Baroda. 59. Colonel Slaughter, Hyderabad. 60. Mr. A. Madhava Prabhhu, B.A., B.L., Cochin. 61. Sir F. E. James, Travancore. 62. Director of Civil Supplies, Mysore. 63. Thakur Uttam Singh Gwalior. 64. Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Kapurthala. 65. Sardar Mir Magbool Mahmood, Secretary to H. H. the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes. 66. The Chief Minister, Indore. 67. A Representative of Bahawalpur State.

11. MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY.—11th September, 1942.  
(Prices and Supplies Control.)

1. G. L. Mehta, Esq., President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 3, Loudon Street, Calcutta. 2. Sir M. G. Deshpande, K.B.E., 'Mahal', Nagpur. 3. Sir Datar Singh, Montgomery. 4. Lala Padampat Singhania, President, Employers' Association of North India, Kamla Tower, Cawnpore. 5. Kedarnath Aggarwal, Esq., c/o Messrs. Banarasis Prahladar, Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Bombay. 6. Mr. Satya Paul Virmani, Jwala Flour Mills, Amritsar. 7. Ashutosh Bhattacharya, Esq., Bengal Rice Mills and Merchants' Association, 28, Galiff Street, Calcutta. 8. Rao Sahib C. Subbiah Chetty, Nellore (Madras). 9. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, C.I.E., M.B.E., Navasari Chambers, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay. 10. Mr. A. L. Lyell, Calcutta Flour Mills' Association, Calcutta. 11. Madhusudan Dayal Esq., Hapur, U. P. 12. The Hon'ble Mr. R. H. Haddow, Chairman of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta. 13. Hansraj Gokaldar, Bikaner, Wallace Flour Mills, Bombay. 14. Sardar Santokh Singh, c/o Messrs. Gopalsingh Hirasingh, Grain Merchants, Amritsar.

## 12. TEA BLOCK PURCHASE CONFERENCE.—16th October, 1942.

(To consider certain domestic details connected with the Tea Block Purchase Scheme under which all exportable surplus of Indian tea are to be purchased by the Tea Controller for India on behalf of His Majesty's Government for equitable distribution to all Allied and Neutral countries.)

1. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., Joint Secretary, Commerce Department. 2. Mr. J. Jones, C.I.E. 3. Mr. Debes C. Ghose. 4. Mr. E. C. Ghose. 5. Mr. M. A. Isphahani. 6. Mr. R. Brown. 7. Rao Bahadur H. B. Ari. 8. Gowder, M.L.A., Madras. 9. Mr. R. Bhide, I.C.S., Dy. Secy., Supply Department. 10. Lt.-Col. Boughton (Dy. Chief Controller of Purchase). 11. Major Sullivan (Dy. Controller of Purchase). 12. Capt. J. Khan (Dy. Director, Foodstuffs). 13. Mr. J. C. Surrey. 14. Mr. B. C. Studd. 15. Sir P. E. James, O.B.E., M.L.A., Central. 16. Rai Sahib P. M. Mukerji, Asstt. Secretary, Commerce Deptt.—No costs to be borne by the Central Government as any travelling and halting allowances which may have to be paid to any invitee, if claimed, will be met from the Tea Controller's budget which is debitable to His Majesty's Government.

## 13. TEA CONTROL CONFERENCE.—6th and 7th November, 1942.

To consider the question of the continuance of the International Tea Agreement (1938-43) which is due to expire on the 31st March, 1943, for the period of hostilities and during two complete quota years thereafter.

1. Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., M.A., B.L., Joint Secretary, Commerce Deptt. 2. Mr. J. Jones, C.I.E. 3. Mr. D. Gomme. 4. Mr. G. C. Whyte. 5. Mr. J. L. H. Williams. 6. Mr. J. E. Sampson. 7. Mr. A. B. Roy. 8. Mr. B. C. Ghose. 9. Mr. H. N. Sarma. 10. Mr. P. Barooah. 11. Mr. S. C. Datta. 12. Mr. B. Bhattacharjee. 13. Mr. A. V. Thomas. 14. Mr. Debes C. Ghose. 15. Mr. J. S. Graham. 16. Mr. J. C. Surrey. 17. Sir P. E. James, O.B.E., M.L.A. 18. Mr. I. B. Sep. 19. Mr. L. B. Green, O.B.E., Tea Controller for India. 20. Colonel J. N. Sonden. Q. M. G.'s Branch. 21. P. M. Kharegat, C.I.E., I.C.S. 22. Rao Bahadur Ari Gowder. 23. Rai Sahib P. M. Mukerji, M.A., Asstt. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Commerce Department. 24. Mr. Ram Chandra, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Chief Controller of Imports.—Cost—Nil.

## 14. RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE (TRADE, INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY).—22nd and 23rd May, 1942.

(To draw up a programme of work.)

1. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department. 2. The Hon'ble Sir Jeremy Raisman, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. I.C.S., Member (Finance), H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council. 3. J. D. Tyson, Esquire, C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands. 4. Dr. T. E. Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India. 5. A. C. Turner, Esquire, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department. 6. J. H. F. Raper, Esquire, Member, Railway Board. 7. J. F. Sheehy, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Member, Central Board of Revenue. 8. C. W. Ayers, Esq., C.I.E., Excess Profits Tax Adviser, Central Board of Revenue. 9. T. S. Pillay, Esquire, O.B.E., M.A., B.L., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department. 10. P. B. Advani, Esquire, M.Sc (Tech.), M.I.E., J.P., Director of Industries, Bombay. 11. H. M. Mahmood, Esq., Director of Industries, Punjab. 12. Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary to H. H. the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes. 13. V. Vedavyasacharya, Esquire, Secretary, Development Department, Mysore. 14. P. M. Kharegat, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S., Vice-Chairman. 15. Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, O.B.E., Director. 16. G. L. Mehta, Esq., President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi. 17. The Hon'ble Mr. B. R. Haddow, President, Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta. 18. B. S. Dabke, Esquire, Bombay. 19. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A., Calcutta. 20. The Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam, Gaya. 21. Sir Frederic Jamies, M.L.A., New Delhi. 22. Sir Tracy Gavin Jones, Director, Muir Mills Company Limited, Cawnpore. 23. Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Bombay. 24. Sir George Morton, O.B.E., M. C., President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. 25. K. C. Neogy, Esquire, M.L.A., New Delhi. 26. The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Sappu, Allahabad. 27. Sir Zia-Uddin, Ahmad, M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh. 28. B. N. Adarkar, Esquire, M.A. (Cantab.), Secretary, Reconstruction Committees.—Cost—Rs. 2,765 approximately.

## 15. WHEAT CONFERENCE.—20th August, 1942.

(To review the wheat situation.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member (Commerce). 2. The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, Secretary, Commerce Department. 3. Mr. Y. N. Sukhtankar, Wheat Commissioner for India. 4. Captain A. M. Thompson, Deputy Wheat Commissioner for India. 5. Mr. B. N. Adarkar, Additional Under Secretary, Government of India. 6. Mr. R. W. Targett, C.I.E., Director General of Supply. 7. Mr. A. P. Hume, I.C.S., Deputy Director General of Supply. 8. Lt. Genl. Hutton, Secretary, War Resources Committee, Supply Department. 9. Major Lee, Deputy Controller of Railway Priorities. 10. Sir William Roberts, C.I.E., Price Controller, Punjab. 11. Mr. Mangat Rai, Assistant Price Controller, Punjab. 12. Sardar Santok Singh (Messrs. Gopal Singh Hira Singh, Amritsar). 13. Sardar Ujjal Singh, M.L.A. 14. Bhai Chuharmal, Okara. 15. Mr. Mason (Messrs. Owen Roberts and Company, Lahore). 16. Mr. Satya Paul Virmani, Northern India Flour Mills Association. 17. Mr. Gauri Shankar, Central Bank of India, Lahore.—Cost—Rs. 595 approximately.

## 16. FIFTH MEETING OF THE EXPORT ADVISORY COUNCIL.—31st January, 1942.

1. The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member (Commerce). 2. Seth Khimji Shamji, Bombay Grain Merchants' Association. 3. M. Haridas Madhavdas, Esq., East India, Cotton Association. 4. Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, Bombay Millowners' Association. 5. Mr. Issardas Virandmal, M.L.A., Karachi Indian Merchants' Association. 6. Moulvi Mohammad Amin, Calcutta Hides and Skins Shippers' Association. 7. Mr. M. Ahmed Badsha, B.A., M.L.A., Southern India Skins and Hides Merchants' Association. 8. Mr. J. H. Burder, Indian Jute Mills Association. 9. Seth Chandulal P. Parikh, Ahmedabad Millowners' Association. 10. The Hon'ble Sir J. H. S. Richardson, Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. 11. Mr. J. M. B. Gibbons, Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. 12. Mr. Chunilal B. Mehta, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. 13. Mr. Sankalchand G. Shah, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. 14. Mr. C. J. Damala (Messrs. Balli Bros.). 15. Mr. L. B. Mosse (Messrs. Lewis Drefus & Co.). 16. Mr. V. V. Ramaswami (Madras). 17. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, Calcutta. 18. Kumararajah Sir M. A. Muthiah Chettiar (Madras). 19. Dewan Bahadur Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, C.S.I., C.I.E. 20. Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, Bar-at-Law. 21. Mr. A. Boxall (attended as observer for the Govt. of Hyderabad.) The Hon'ble Sir Alan Lloyd, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secy., Commerce Deptt., Mr. N. B. Pillai, C.E.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary, Commerce Deptt., Dr. T. E. Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. T. S. Pillay, O.B.E., M.A., B.L., Deputy Secretary, Commerce Deptt. and Mr. G. Swaminathan, Under Secy., Commerce Deptt., were also present.—Cost—Rs. 4,938 approximately.

## 17. ADVISORY PANEL ON DRUGS AND MEDICINES.—10th December, 1942.

(To discuss as to which proprietary and patent medicines it is essential to import into India.)

1. Lt.-Col. Sir R. N. Chopra, C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retd.). 2. Dr. B. N. Ghosh, M.B.E., F.R.F.P. and S. (Glas.), I. M. (Dublin), F.S.M.F. (Bengal), F.R.S. (Edin.). 3. Dr. W. B. Aykroyd, M.D. 4. E. W. Fairrass, Esq., M.P.S. 5. Dr. B. Mukerjee, D.Sc., M.D., F.A.Ph.S.—Cost—Rs. 22,000 approximately.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Sir Zia Uddin.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad**: No. 141.

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed**: Sir, we are sorry that the Honourable Member is absent.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question will be answered on Monday.

(Major General E. Wood entered the Chamber.)

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** Sir, he has come.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member should have been in his seat at the proper time.

**Major General E. Wood:** I apologize, Sir.

• WHEAT POSITION.

**141. \*Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Will the Honourable the Food Member please state what was the estimated surplus of wheat in the country on the 31st March, 1941?

(b) What was the estimated production of wheat in 1942?

(c) What quantity has been estimated to have been consumed during the period from April 1942 to January 1943?

(d) What is the estimated quantity of wheat now in the country?

**Major General E. Wood:** (a) Statistics are not available of the estimated surplus of wheat in the country on any particular date.

(b) 100·7 lac tons.

(c) and (d). Information on which to base such estimates is not available.

• COMPLAINTS ABOUT CONTROL OF WHEAT IN DELHI.

**142. \*Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** (a) Has the Honourable the Food Member drawn the attention of the Delhi Administration to the definite complaints about the control of wheat in Delhi brought to notice during the debates and by questions in the Autumn Session 1942?

(b) What action has the Delhi Administration taken against such complaints?

(c) Is the Honourable Member prepared to hand over the enquiry to the Intelligence Department of the Government of India to find out whether the complaints were justified?

**Major General E. Wood:** (a) and (b). The Honourable Member doubtless refers to certain statements made in the course of the debate on the adjournment motion on the 11th March, 1942. The complaints were brought to the notice of the Delhi Administration. The gravamen of the complaints was that for ulterior motives the official who was then most closely concerned with the distribution of wheat supplies in Delhi had not taken effective action to discover stocks hidden by merchants in the town. In actual fact, a number of raids were made in Delhi last spring, resulting in the production of some 14,500 bags of wheat and wheat flour. While it is doubtless true that a considerable number of persons in Delhi of the upper and middle classes still hold stocks of wheat for their personal use, it does not appear at all likely that at this stage any considerable stocks still remain concealed with the dealers.

As regards the allegations against the particular official, the reply is, firstly, that ever since the first wheat shortage occurred in Delhi twelve months ago the authorities have been using the services of the police and the magistrates to trace the hidden stocks, in addition to the services of the official mentioned. Secondly, much of the information which led to the successful raids of last spring was obtained by the very official who was criticized in the debate.

(c) There is no occasion for such inquiry as the Honourable Member seems to contemplate in the last part of his question.

• HIGH RATES FOR CONTRACTS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF AERODROMES AT GAYA AND NAWADIH.

**\*143. \*Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether it is a fact that contracts for the construction of certain aerodromes were sanctioned by the Chief Engineer, Central Public Works Department, originally at very high rates against which the Provincial Public Works Department was compelled to lodge protests?

(b) Is it a fact that as a result of such protests a committee was appointed to examine these rates, and the committee reduced the rates to about one-third of what were agreed upon by the Chief Engineer?

(c) Is it a fact that the contractors also agreed to reduce the rates correspondingly proving thereby that the rates originally awarded were abnormally high?

(d) If the answer to (c) above be in the affirmative, what action do Government propose to take against the Chief Engineer who was responsible for sanctioning the original rates?

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:** (a) Rates for the construction of the aerodromes in question were accepted by Chief Engineer on proposals put forward by the Executive Engineer through the Superintending Engineer. The rates were high but reliable contractors were not obtainable for work of the dimensions required at lower rates at the time the work was started. A report was received through the Divisional Commissioner complaining that these rates were unduly high.

(b) and (c). Almost a month before the receipt of any protests from the local officers the Chief Engineer had instructed the Superintending Engineer to make an enquiry and subsequently deputed his Personal Assistant and Financial Adviser to make a further enquiry. By that time conditions had become easier and it was possible to enforce reductions in the rates previously accepted. As a result some rates were considerably reduced, but no rate was reduced to one-third of the previous rates. The reductions accepted by the contractors were nil in respect of certain works, 15 per cent. in respect of main runway, 50 per cent. in respect of ordinary buildings, and between 30 per cent. and 60 per cent. in the case of special buildings. The contractor has, however, refused to accept the reduced rates proposed in the case of domestic buildings which have therefore been taken away from him and given to another contractor at reduced rates.

(d) There is no case for taking any action against the Chief Engineer.

#### HIGH RATES FOR WORKS OF LANDING GROUNDS IN NEW DELHI CANTONMENT.

†144. \***Mr. K. G. Neogy:** (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member please state whether it is a fact that the rates for works of Landing Grounds in the new Cantonment, New Delhi, were sanctioned and awarded at high levels originally, but later on they had to be reduced, and the contractors are now doing the works at these reduced rates?

(b) If the answer to (a) above be in the affirmative, why were the higher rates sanctioned in the beginning, and under whose authority?

(c) What action do Government propose to take against the officers who are responsible for this state of affairs?

(d) What precautions have been, or are going to be, taken by the Government of India to prevent a recurrence of such instances to ensure rigid economy in the execution of all such works?

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:** (a) and (b). Three items of works, viz., (1) Landing Ground, (2) Domestic Buildings and (3) Technical Buildings, were carried out in connection with the construction of the New Cantonment, New Delhi Landing Ground. As regards (1) and (2) the answer is in the negative.

As regards (3) some reduction in rates was effected owing to change of specification.

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

#### CENTRAL FOOD ADVISORY COUNCIL.

145. \***Sir F. E. James:** Will the Honourable the Food Member be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Central Food Advisory Council has been transferred to the Food Department and is still in existence;

(b) what progress it has made in planning on an all-India basis a food and fodder production programme and in tendering advice with regard to its execution; and

- (c) if any steps have been taken to make the Council a clearing house of information and advice for all matters relating to food production throughout the Provinces and Indian States?

**Major General E. Wood:** (a) Yes.

(b) Following on recommendations made by the Council through its sub-committee and at its plenary sittings, Government of India addressed all the provinces to increase the food, fodder and vegetable production in the coming *kharij* and *rabi* seasons.

Specific production targets have been prescribed for each province in respect of the principal *kharij* crops for adoption. The Council also made proposals for converting town refuse into manure by municipalities of over 50,000 population; recommended steps to correct classification and utilisation of large areas of land described as "culturable but not cultivated"; suggested improvement of machinery for collecting agricultural statistics with particular reference to the permanently settled areas.

(c) Yes. Arrangements are under consideration for the Departments of the Central Government concerned to advise the Secretary of the Food Council, on all important matters concerning the terms of reference of the Council, and the recommendations made by the Council so as to enable the Secretary to send to all the members a monthly letter of information and progress.

**Sir F. E. James:** May I take it that the Honourable Member at present is using this Council for the purpose for which it was set up?

**Major General E. Wood:** That is the intention.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** What steps Government propose to take to make this Central Food Advisory Council a more representative body?

**Major General E. Wood:** The Council, as constituted, represent the interests of the consumers, traders, bankers and the cultivators.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** May I ask whether the Indian labour is represented on that body?

**Major General E. Wood:** The answer is in the negative.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** In view of the fact that a large number of consumers consists of labour, whether Government will ask the authorities to make the Council more representative of labour and of the consumers.

**Major General E. Wood:** The matter will be considered.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Is it not a fact that only one sided opinion is expressed in this Council and the consumers are very poorly represented?

(No answer was given.)

**Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt:** On a point arising from the reply, will the Honourable Member say whether the valuable manure of activated sludge will be distributed throughout the country?

**Major General E. Wood:** The Council has put forward a proposal which is being considered by the proper Department for the training of at least one officer for each Province and State to be trained in the proper utilisation of town refuse. The proposition further goes on to suggest that when the first officer for each Province and State has been trained, they should continue to train officers until each Province and State can make use of town refuse of towns with 50,000 population and over.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** What is the nature of the training which the Honourable Member is contemplating to impart?

**Major General E. Wood:** I am not aware of the details of the training, but the process is what is called the Bangalore process and the training will take place near Bombay. The first training class will consist of about 20 students.

**Mr. E. L. C. Gwilt:** May I know whether the term "town refuse" covers activated sludge, because as an agricultural manure activated sludge is probably very much better than town refuse.

**Major General E. Wood:** I regret I am unable to answer that question.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** May I ask whether the Honourable Member will



hold training class near a place where food is available or near a place where food is not available?

**Major General E. Wood:** The proposal is that when these new sources of manure become available, they will be distributed under the direction and control of Provincial Directors of Agriculture, and if necessary at a price within the reach of the cultivator.

**Sir F. E. James:** May I know if the Honourable Member's Department will look into the matter of activated sludge?

**Major General E. Wood:** Yes, Sir.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** May I ask whether the Honourable Member will consider the advisability of making Delhi as the training centre, because there is scarcity of food in Delhi itself, while there is plenty of food round about within a distance of ten miles? Delhi is the ideal place for this training centre. Will the Honourable Member give up the idea of having this training centre in Bombay and open one in Delhi?

**Major General E. Wood:** The scarcity of food in any place is not necessarily related to the need of manure in that place.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** In view of the fact that these next two questions are of public importance from the point of view of labour, may I have your permission to put them?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): You can put those questions.

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:** I have no objection.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Very well, the Honourable Member may put those questions.

#### IRREGULARITIES IN CONNECTION WITH APPLICATION OF CHAPTER VI-A OF THE INDIAN RAILWAYS ACT.

146. \***Mr. N. M. Joshi** (on behalf of **Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**): (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state when the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act XIV of 1930 came into force?

(b) Is it a fact that in the annual reports of the Conciliation Officer (Railways) and the Supervisor of Railway Labour, who is an Inspector under the Act, it has been noted that the same irregularities have continued to be noticed on the Railways in connection with the application of Chapter VI-A of the Indian Railways Act?

(c) If the reply to part (b) above be in the affirmative, has the Conciliation Officer (Railways) and the Supervisor of Railway Labour at any time invoked the aid of penalty provisions of the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act, 1930, to stop these irregularities? If so, will the Honourable Member please lay a statement on the table of the House giving instances?

(d) If the reply to first portion of part (c) above be in the negative, will the Honourable Member please give reasons for not enforcing the penalty clauses of the law?

(e) Is it proposed to do so now? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:** (a) Section 1 of the Indian Railways (Amendment) Act of 1930 came into force on the 26th March, 1930. Section 2 came into force on different Railways on the dates given below:

North Western and East Indian Railways—1st April, 1931.

Great Indian Peninsula and Eastern Bengal (now Bengal and Assam) Railways—1st April, 1932.

Bombay, Baroda and Central India and Madras and Southern Mahratta Railways—1st November, 1935.

Bengal and North Western (now Oudh and Tirhut) Railway—1st October, 1937.

South Indian and Rohilkund and Kumaon (now part of Oudh and Tirhut) Railways—1st April, 1940.

Bengal Nagpur and Assam Bengal (now part of Bengal and Assam) Railways—1st January, 1941.

(b) Yes. (c) No.

(d) and (e). It has not been necessary to invoke the aid of penalty provisions of the law as it has always been possible to rectify irregularities by administrative action.

**FIELD OF ACTIVITIES OF THE CONCILIATION OFFICER (RAILWAYS).**

147. \***Mr. N. M. Joshi** (on behalf of **Mr. Lalchand Navalrai**): (a) Will the Honourable the Labour Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that on the creation of his post the Conciliation Officer (Railways) was posted to Calcutta, to carry on his conciliation activities amongst the group of railways with headquarters at Calcutta?

(b) Is it a fact that the office of the Conciliation Officer (Railways) and the Supervisor of Railway Labour has now been transferred to Lahore? Will the field of his conciliation activities be confined to the group of railways with headquarters at Calcutta, or to the North Western Railway at Lahore or to railways with headquarters at both these places, Lahore and Calcutta?

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar**: (a) Yes.

(b) The headquarters of the Conciliation Officer (Railways) and the Supervisor of Railway Labour was transferred to Lahore purely as a temporary measure as a new incumbent to the post was being appointed and the Deputy Supervisor of Railway Labour whose headquarters are at Lahore was holding additional charge of the post of Conciliation Officer (Railways) and the Supervisor of Railway Labour. The headquarters have now been transferred back to Calcutta after the appointment of a new incumbent to the post.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi**: May I ask whether the Government will consider the question of extending the function of the Conciliation Officer to Railways other than those whose headquarters are in Calcutta?

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar**: Yes, I will consider that.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have allowed these two questions to be put by Mr. N. M. Joshi, though the Honourable Member, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, who gave notice of these questions had not authorised Mr. Joshi. It is ordinarily the practice that no other Member can put a question unless the Honourable Member in whose name a question stands has authorised him to do so. But in the special circumstances of this case, I have allowed Mr. Joshi to put the questions.

**LOOTING OF GRAIN SHOPS BY MILL-HANDS AT DHARLIA.**

148. \***Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad**: (a) Will the Honourable the Food Member please state if it is a fact that the mill hands in Dharlia (Bombay Presidency) looted the grain shops about the 2nd January, 1943?

(b) What was the cause of looting the bazaar?

(c) Was it not due to the starvation caused by the absence of food grains in the market?

(d) Does this danger exist in all places where foodstuff is not available?

(e) Is the Honourable Member prepared to press on his colleagues to take immediate steps for easing the situation?

**Major General E. Wood**: (a) to (e). The Government of India are not aware whether the facts are as stated in the question. Responsibility for law and order and for rendering the civil population such assistance as is possible in the way of foodstuffs rests on the Provincial Government. The Government of India are aware that there is scarcity in some parts of the Bombay Presidency and have already made arrangements for substantial quantities of grain to be despatched to Bombay from surplus Provinces.

**RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES.**

149. \***Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh**: Will the Honourable Member for Commerce be pleased to state:

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

- (a) the names of persons serving on the various Reconstruction Committees;
- (b) the names of the economic investigators; and
- (c) if any final or preliminary reports of these Committees are ready; and if so, whether these will be laid on the table?

**Major General E. Wood:** (a) A list of members serving on the fourth Reconstruction Committee *viz.*, Trade, International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy is placed on the table.

The first three Reconstruction Committees dealing with (i) Labour and Demobilisation, (ii) Disposals and Contracts and (iii) Public Works and Government Purchases are being constituted and the proposed lists of representatives are placed on the table.

- (b) 1. Mr. M. A. Mulky, M.A., LL.B., M.Sc. (Econ.), (London);  
 2. Dr. S. Ganpati Rao, M.A. (Hons.), D.Litt. (Madras).  
 3. Dr. Natarajan, M.A., D.Litt. (Madras).  
 4. Mr. V. K. Chopra, M.A.  
 5. Mr. S. M. Huda, B.A., Dip. in Rural Economics (Oxford).
- (c) Preliminary conclusions on one or two topics have been reached, but no decision has yet been taken as to publication of Reports when ready.

*Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee I. (Labour and Demobilisation).*

*Representatives of the Government of India.*

1. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce): *Chairman.*
2. The Honourable Mr. C. MacI. G. Ogilvie, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Defence Department.
3. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.
4. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
5. Major-General H. V. Lewis, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.C., Defence Department.
6. Sir Guthrie Russell, Director-General, Munitions Production, Calcutta.
7. Mr. E. T. Coates, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Financial Adviser, Military Finance.
8. Mr. L. T. Gholap, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
9. The Honourable Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Labour Department.
10. Colonel H. W. Wagstaff, M.C., Member, Railway Board.
11. Mr. J. Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Government of India.
12. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

*Representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.*

13. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, C.I.E., M.B.E., Navsari Chambers, Outram Road, Fort, Bombay.

*Representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.*

14. Mr. E. S. Millar, Attock Oil Company, Ltd., Rawalpindi.

*Representatives of—*

15. The Bombay Millowners' Association, Bombay.
16. The Indian Jute Mills Association, Calcutta.
17. The Employers' Association of Northern India, Cawnpore.
18. The Indian Engineering Association, Calcutta.
19. The Hindustan Construction Company, Limited, Bombay.
20. The Tata Iron & Steel, Co., Ltd.

*Labour Representatives of Provincial Governments.*

21. Commissioner of Labour, Madras.
22. Commissioner of Labour, Bombay.

*Labour Representatives approved of by Labour Department.*

23. Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A., Model House, 1st Floor, Flat No. A/4, Proctor Road, Bombay, No. 4.
24. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, M.L.A., 40-C., Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

*Representative of Indian States.*

25. One Labour representative of the States.

*Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee II. (Disposals and Contracts).*

*Representatives of the Government of India.*

1. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce): *Chairman.*
2. Mr. E. M. Jenkins, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department.
3. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.
4. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

5. Sir Guthrie Russell, Director-General, Munitions Production, Calcutta.
6. Mr. L. N. Flatt, V.D., Director, Mechanical Engineering, Railway Board.
7. Mr. Zahid Hussain, C.I.E., Additional Financial Adviser, Supply Finance.
8. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

*Representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.*

9. Sir Shri Ram, 20, Curzon, Road, New Delhi.  
*Representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.*
10. Sir Bernard Pratt, Imperial Chemical Industries (India), Ltd., 18, Strand Road.  
Calcutta.

*Representatives of the Provincial Governments & Indian States.*

11. Director of Industries, Central Provinces and Berar.
12. Director of Industries, Bengal.
13. Director of Industries, Punjab.
14. One Director of Industries of any State.

*Representatives of—*

15. The Bombay Millowners' Association, Bombay.
16. The Indian Jute Mills Association, Calcutta.
17. The Employers' Association of Northern India, Cawnpore.
18. The Indian Engineering Association, Calcutta.
19. The Hindustan Construction Company, Limited, Bombay.
20. The Tata Iron & Steel, Co., Ltd.
21. The Tanners' Federation of India.

*Proposed Personnel of Reconstruction Committee III. (Public Works and Government Purchases).*

*Representatives of the Government of India.*

1. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce): *Chairman.*
2. The Honourable Mr. H. C. Prior, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Labour Department.
3. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.
4. Mr. S. K. Kirpalani, I.C.S., Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Supply Department.
5. Mr. A. W. H. Dean, C.I.E., M.C., I.S.E., Chief Engineer and Rent Controller, C. P. W. D., Labour Department.
6. Mr. T. S. Sankara Aiyer, C.I.E., Financial Commissioner, Railways.
7. Brigadier R. M. W. Marsden, M.C., Deputy Engineer-in-Chief, Engineer-in-Chief's Branch.
8. Mr. A. C. Turner, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
9. Mr. A. R. Thomas, B.Sc., (Eng.), I.S.E., Secretary, Central Board of Irrigation.
10. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

*Representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.*

11. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Pankore's Naka, Ahmedabad.  
*Representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India.*
12. Sir Henry Birkmyre, Bart., Messrs. Birkmyre Brothers, 8, Clive Row, Calcutta.  
*Representative of the Indian Institute of Engineers, Calcutta.*

13. Mr. B. R. Kagal, B.E., M.I.E., M.R. San. I., Land & Development Officer, Delhi.

*Representative of the Irrigation or the Public Works or the Electricity Departments of*

14. Sind.
15. Bihar.
16. Orissa.
17. Assam.
18. United Provinces.

*Representatives of—*

19. The Indian Engineering Association, Calcutta.
20. The Hindustan Construction Company, Limited, Bombay.
21. The Tata Iron & Steel Company, Limited.
22. The Associated Cement Companies, Ltd., Bombay.
23. The Delhi Improvement Trust, Delhi

*Other Representatives.*

24. A representative of the Public Works Contractors.
25. A representative of any State.

*Constitution of Reconstruction Committee IV. (As at Present Composed)—(Trade, International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy).*

*Representatives of the Government of India.*

1. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member (Commerce): *Chairman.*
2. The Honourable Mr. N. R. Pillai, C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Commerce Department.
3. The Honourable Mr. C. E. Jones, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
4. Mr. J. D. Tyson, C.B.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health & Lands.
5. Sir Theodore Gregory, D.Sc., Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

6. Mr. A. C. Turner, C.I.E., M.B.E., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.
7. Sir Hugh Raper, Member, Railway Board.
8. Mr. J. V. Joshi, M.A. (Cantab.), Deputy Economic Adviser to the Government of India.

*Representatives of the Provincial Governments.*

9. Director of Industries, Bombay.
10. Director of Industries, Punjab.
11. Director of Industries, Madras.
12. Director of Industries, United Provinces.

*Representatives of States.*

13. Secretary to H. H. the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes
  14. A representative of Hyderabad.
  15. Secretary, Development Department, Mysore.
- Representative of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.*
16. Mr. P. M. Kharegat, C.I.E., I.C.S., Vice-Chairman.
- Representative of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research.*
17. Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, O.B.E., Director.

*Representatives of the Chambers of Commerce.*

18. Mr. G. L. Mehta, President, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, New Delhi.
19. Mr. G. D. Birla, Member of the Committee, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, New Delhi.
20. The Honourable Mr. R. R. Haddow, President, Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta.
21. Mr. W. K. M. Langley, Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta.

*Other Representatives.*

22. Sir Swetachalapati Rana Krishna Ranga Row Bahadur Varu, K.C.I.E., Rajah or Bobbili, Bobbili, District Vizagapatam.
23. Kumararajah Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Madras.
24. Mr. B. S. Dabke, Bombay.
25. Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M.L.A., Calcutta.
26. The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam, Gaya.
27. Sir Frederick James, M.L.A., New Delhi.
28. Sir Tracy Gavin Jones, Director, Muir Mills Co., Ltd., Cawnpore.
29. Sir Chunilal B. Mehta, Bombay.
30. Sir George Morton, O.B.E., M.C., President, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.
31. Mr. K. C. Neogy, M.L.A., New Delhi.
32. The Honourable Mr. P. N. Sapru, Allahabad.
33. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, M.L.A., Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.

**PLANS FOR PROTECTION OF AGRICULTURISTS FROM SLUMP IN PRICES AFTER THE WAR**

150. \*Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh: Will the Honourable Member for Commerce please state if Government have thought out plans to see that the agriculturists get a fair return for their produce after the war and have not to suffer on account of slump in prices?

**Major General E. Wood:** This subject was considered at the first meeting of the Reconstruction Committee IV—Trade, International Trade Policy and Agricultural Policy—held in May 1942 and a Sub-Committee on Agriculture has been set up to consider the post-war problems of agriculture. The Agricultural Sub-Committee of the Consultative Committee of Economists is also examining the question:

**DESIRABILITY OF TRANSFER OF INDIAN APPEALS FROM HIS MAJESTY IN COUNCIL TO FEDERAL COURT.**

151. \*Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: (a) Will the Honourable the Law Member please state if it is or it is not a fact that due to war conditions litigants are feeling considerable difficulties in instituting and prosecuting appeals to His Majesty in Council?

(b) Is it or is it not a fact that among other reasons, due to the great distance of India from the Courts of His Majesty in Council, the expenses of appeals to that Court are much greater than they are or can be in any Courts in India?

(c) Is it or is it not a fact that the Courts of His Majesty in Council are overworked and the normal period for the decision of appeals there is from four to five years?

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

(d) Is it or is it not a fact that there is not sufficient work in the Federal Court of India to keep the Honourable Judges of that Court busy during the normal working days of the year?

(e) In view of the expenses and delay in the decision of appeals by His Majesty in Council, do Government propose to consider the advisability of bringing to the notice of His Majesty in Council the necessity for putting section 206 of the Government of India Act, 1935 into force? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** (a) to (d). The estimate of the normal period in part (c) is, I think, excessive, but I have no general desire to controvert the suggestions which the Honourable Member evidently intends to convey.

(e) The question is under correspondence with the Secretary of State and I am not in a position to make any further statement at this stage.

**Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi:** How long is this correspondence going to last? Can the Honourable Member give me some idea?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** I would suggest my Honourable friend to go to the nearest astrologer.

**Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi:** Is it likely to finish before the end of the war or will it continue even after the war?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** The answer is the same.

#### DESIRABILITY OF INTRODUCING LEGISLATION REGARDING SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURTS.

152. **\*Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi:** (a) Is the Honourable the Law Member aware of the contents of the Ordinance No. II of 1942 creating Special Criminal Courts, issued by the Governor General?

(b) In view of the provisions of section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1919, regarding the duration of such an Ordinance being only six months, do Government propose to consider the advisability of bringing legislation on the basis of that Ordinance before this House?

**The Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmed:** (a) Yes.

(b) Ordinance XII of 1942, was made during the period specified in section 3 of the Indian and Burma (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1940, and by virtue of sub-section (3) of section 1 thereof, section 72 of the Government of India Act, as set out in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, has effect in respect of Ordinances made during that period as if the words imposing the six-month limitation were omitted. The question, therefore, does not arise.

#### MATERNITY WELFARE AND CHILDREN'S HEALTH ARRANGEMENTS.

†153. **\*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands be pleased to state the number of children born every day in India? Have the Government of India any arrangement to look after their health?

(b) Will he be pleased to state the number of deaths of children every day in India? Have Government made any arrangement for checking this death rate? If so, what?

(c) How many maternity institutions are there in India, province by province, in which free lying-in accommodation is provided? How many doctors and nurses are employed simply to look after the expectant mothers and newly-born children?

(d) What arrangements are there for maternity welfare and children's health in rural areas?

**Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam:** (a) to (d). Such information as is readily available to the Central Government is contained in the annual reports of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India which are in the library of the House. Public Health, hospitals and registration of births and deaths are the responsibility of Provincial Governments.

#### QUININE POSITION.

†154. **\*Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya:** (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education, Health and Lands, please state if it is a fact that

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

India produces 100,000 pounds of quinine yearly? If so, is this quantity sufficient for the use of Indian populace? If not, what is the general deficit? How much quinine is imported annually for use in India and what was the quantity imported in 1939, 1940, 1941 and 1942?

(b) Is it a fact that Government had some quantity of quinine in stock at the end of 1939? If so, what was the total quantity and how was this extra stock distributed and utilised?

(c) Is it not a fact that the supply of quinine has fallen short and has been causing great hardship in treating malarial fever in India?

(d) What was the rate of death per 1,000 per year due to malaria in 1941 and 1942 and what was the rate before the war?

(e) Have the Government of India tried to find out any substitute for quinine? If not, have they approached any *Ayurvedic* or *Yunani* physicians for finding out any proper substitute? Is there any research work in hand to find out a proper substitute?

(f) Did the Honourable Member get any offer from any *Ayurvedic* physician for any such substitute? If so, does the Honourable Member propose to accept the offer to get a substitute at the earliest opportunity? If not, what are the reasons?

**Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam:** (a) The annual production of quinine in India is about 90,000 lbs. The normal annual consumption is about 210,000 lbs. A statement showing the imports of quinine from 1938-39 to 1941-42 is laid on the table.

(b) The amount of quinine in the possession of the Government of India at the end of 1939 was 90,000 lbs. The stocks have been included in the common pool of Central and Provincial stocks from which allotments are made to Provincial Governments.

(c) It is a fact that quinine supplies are insufficient to meet requirements for the treatment of all cases of malaria in the country.

(d) Deaths from malaria are separately recorded only in six Provinces and the 1941 figures are available for only five Provinces. The reported death rate in those Provinces in 1941 was 3.1 per thousand of population in urban areas and 8.9 in rural areas. Statistics for 1942 are not yet available. The corresponding rates for 1938 were 3.2 and 10.6.

(e) I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the answer to his question No. 105 of the 24th September, 1942 and to the Supplementary Questions and answers arising from it. Government have not approached any *Ayurvedic* or *Unani* physician and have not instituted any new research work but they have made arrangements for supplies of atabrin, a drug which is recognised by the medical profession as a remedy for the treatment of malaria.

(f) Yes Government are prepared to investigate the properties of the alleged remedy if samples are supplied or the formula is given.

<i>Statement Showing Imports of Quinine.</i>		
1938-39	.	100,208 lbs.
1939-40	.	83,023 lbs.*
1940-41	.	293,724 lbs.*
1941-42	.	283,877 lbs.†

### THE RAILWAY BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): General Discussion of the Railway Budget: Under Rule 46, I direct that the time limit for speeches on this occasion should be twenty minutes, according to the usual practice, but the Government Member will have forty-five minutes or more, if necessary.

**Mr. T. Chapman-Mortimer** (Bengal: European): Sir, in the beginning of my remarks, I should like to refer to what the Honourable the Member for War

\* includes 190,000 lbs. imported by Government.

† includes 110,000 lbs. imported by Government.

Transport had to say on the subject of the splendid work done by all grades of railway servants during the last extremely difficult year. I should like to pay a tribute on behalf of this Group to what these men have done for India and India's war effort. During July to December, it was my misfortune to have to travel a good deal on business. Now, Sir, we all know that these months were the most difficult months of last year. I can say from my own personal experience which was shared also by Indian friends of mine with whom I made these journeys that we received the most unfailing consideration and assistance from the railway service officials. In that connection, Sir, we heard a great deal about the delays that have occurred in railway travel and more especially the delays that occurred at that time. I should like to quote one or two instances from my own personal experience. One was on an occasion when, owing to the breakdown of an electrical machine in Calcutta, the signal apparatus at Howrah Station was out of action for a couple of hours and our train started, in consequence, one hour late. On the way to Bihar where we were going we made up time and arrived only about half an hour late. Sir, I suggest that is a remarkable tribute to the way in which the Railway employees are doing their work in these difficult times.

Coming to the Budget itself and to the financial proposals which are related to it, I am sure that to the much harassed tax-payer the news of this Budget will come with a sense of feeling of great relief—relief that such considerable aid will be forthcoming to general revenues and relief also that rates and fares have not had to be enhanced. Dare we hope that this may mean that these have now reached a war-time peak and that in post-war years early attempts will be made to revise these in a downward direction for the relief of industry and of the passengers who use the Railways?

Secondly, Sir, the impression you inevitably draw from the study of this Budget is the encouragement it must afford to the general financial policy of Government and in particular to its Defence Loan policy. It is one more proof to my mind of the soundness of that policy and of how easily the Honourable the Finance Member is going to get all the money he requires at the very cheap rates he has offered for his loans, and I am sure that Defence Loan Committees all over the country will take heart from this Budget.

Thirdly, we welcome the very large contribution that is forthcoming for the general revenues and the judicious balance that the Honourable the War Transport Member and his financial advisers have secured. In their allocation of the balance they have adopted a fair division of the enormous surplus as between the needs of the revenue, the needs of the tax-payer and the needs of the Railways themselves.

With regard, Sir, to more detailed points in the Budget I should like to draw the attention of the House to the capital position of the Railways. I find that in 1935-36 the Capital-at-charge was 754.11 crores. In 1942-43 it is 770.24 crores notwithstanding the addition to capital during the current year of some 15 crores, on account mainly of the purchase of various Railways. Now, Sir, I am sure that the House will agree that these are most remarkable figures and show the extraordinary sound position in which the Railways find themselves at this time. In a period of some seven years to have increased the capital-at-charge by no more than 15 crores and at the same time to have acquired major railway systems is, I suggest, a very remarkable achievement. The Reserve fund which according to the explanatory memorandum of 1939-40, the last pre-war budget, was shown to be nil, will by the end of the coming year amount to no less than nine and a half crores. We on these Benches are very glad that the Honourable Member for War Transport has decided to allocate so large an amount as eight crores odd to the Reserve Fund. And this figure of nine and a half crores, it should be noted, is arrived at after the transfer from the Reserve Fund of Rs. 6.30 crores to the Depreciation Fund. Then, Sir, in the Depreciation Fund account, which



[Mr. T. Chapman-Mortimer.]

was circulated to Honourable Members, I find that the opening balance of 1941-42 was Rs. 36,60,72,000. The closing balance of the current year according to the revised estimate would be Rs. 82,19,93,000. Thus the outstanding loan which was due to the Depreciation Fund will have been fully repaid by the end of the current year and an extra sum of 8 crores added to the fund. That is despite the moratorium which had relieved the Railways from having to refund their debt in this respect.

Fourthly, the Railways during the current year have finally paid off the unpaid contributions to General Revenues which under the old 1924 Convention they were bound to pay. Again taking the pre-war figures available to this House, we find that the amount of these unpaid contributions in 1939-40 was 34.70 crores. Today it is nil; while with regard to the current year, in addition to the repayment of these old outstanding debts, the Railways will have made a further contribution which, together with the debt payment, amounts to 20.13 crores. In the coming year out of the estimated surplus of 36 crores, it is proposed, under the suggested revision of the Convention, that general revenues should receive no less than 27 crores and that approximately 9 crores will be placed in reserve. Sir, we on these Benches thoroughly approve of this proposal but reserve a more detailed comment for a later stage.

It will be evident, Sir, from what I have said that we have moved a very long way from the days when Sir Otto Niemeyer wrote: "the position of the Railways is frankly disquieting"—he was writing on the 6th of April, 1936—"The position is frankly disquieting. It is not enough to contemplate that within five years time the Railways may merely cease to be in deficit." We have moved, as I say, a long way from a time when so distinguished a financial expert as Sir Otto Niemeyer could write in these terms of the Indian Railways; so that today, so far from merely clearing their deficit, they are contributing 36 crores by way of surplus, part of which will go to General Revenues and part to Reserve. From what I have said, I think it will be clear to Honourable Members that I consider the financial position of the Railways extraordinarily satisfactory and I feel sure that Government themselves must be very happy and the Honourable Member in charge in particular must count himself an extraordinarily lucky man that he is able at a time of high prices due to the war to present so favourable a budget to this House.

But, Sir, while congratulating the Honourable Member on the satisfactory results which the Railways show I should not like it to be thought that we on these Benches are necessarily completely satisfied. We hope he will "keep it up," to use the popular advertising phrase we see so often today, and that he will continue to contribute 8 crores to Reserves and continue to make a generous contribution to general revenues. For to the extent that he is able to do these two things, he will secure future benefit, as well as immediate benefit, both to the general taxpayer and to industry. Industry will benefit because if substantial reserves are there, they will be ready to meet the large replacement costs that will inevitably arise in the post-war years. Secondly, reserves will make it possible, or may make it possible, for the railways in the difficult post-war years to lower freights and fares; and thirdly, these reserves provide in a sense a cushion against post-war depression. By that I mean this: that in so far as the railways have cash available, they are able to assist the heavy industries and more particularly those most affected by a period of post-war depression. Whereas if they do not have strong reserves, they would be forced to repeat the appalling policy that followed the last Great War and the depression of 1929 to 1931, by which policy the railways only increased the difficulties with which industry was already faced. Sir, that is why we on these benches very strongly feel that Government must do all that they can to strengthen railway reserves in these prosperous years. We should also like to say that in our view the policy of Government with regard to dearness allow-

ance and grain shops,—which will provide not merely grain but also other essential commodities at reasonable rates to their workers,—is a policy which we wholeheartedly support and endorse. We also support the policy of charging so large a proportion of the expenditure that results from cyclone damage, flood damage and sabotage, to general revenues rather than draw substantially on reserves for such purposes. It is only right that in the case of damage done by sabotage and floods the present should bear the greater part of the cost so incurred.

The wagon position, Sir, we feel is disquieting. We appreciate what the Honourable Member has said with regard to what is being done to improve matters and we do recognise that a very great deal has been done to improve the wagon position. At the same time, Sir, we are not altogether satisfied that the figures which show increased mileage per wagon—per ton mile—is of necessity a matter upon which the Honourable Member can congratulate himself. For example, is it a desirable thing that, at a time when the pressure for wagons and locomotives is so great as it is today, piece-goods should be taken hundreds of miles from Ahmedabad to Indian States and kept there until a convenient time arrives to send them out and realise higher prices for the goods so held up in Native State? Sir, that is the sort of thing that has led to your increased mileage, and I am not at all sure that it is a matter upon which we can offer you any congratulation. The same remark also applies to sugar, salt and to foodstuffs generally. At the same time, we do realise that the railways have done a very great deal to catch hold of people who are doing that sort of thing, and we hope you will, again “keep it up” and catch a few more and stop them from such unsocial practices, which are, partly at least, the cause of the very serious rise in prices, for which the poor in this country are suffering so much today.

It has been suggested by some of our Members, and most of us agree with it, that where wagons have been held up by consumers, more severe penalties should be imposed. In that connection, Sir, I should like to inform the Honourable Member of a case which came to my own knowledge in the course of business in the last few months, where a certain firm in Calcutta which received wagons kept them for over a month before the coal was discharged into storage places. So that kind of thing should be stopped, and whether it is best stopped by forcing them to unload their coal within a certain specified period after arrival in their sidings, or whether it is best done by increasing penalties, is a matter that we should like you to consider.

Finally, Sir, I should like to say a word very briefly about the rolling stock programme. We on these Benches agree wholeheartedly with the programme which Government has set before it. The programme involves an expenditure of some eight crores on locomotives and boilers,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores on wagons, and so on. We consider that these replacements of rolling stock and locomotive power at this time are extremely necessary, both with a view to maintaining the efficiency of the railways and to preventing a very acute situation arising in the subsequent years. We therefore support the programme which Government have outlined in their capital programme for the coming year.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad** (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I congratulate my Honourable friend, the War Transport Member on the lucid manner in which he has presented the most prosperous budget ever since the separation of railway finance from general finance. The prosperity no doubt is mostly due to war conditions, but it is very gratifying that the railway administration in spite of enormous demands on its resources, and the difficulties of renewal and supply, has discharged its obligations in a most admirable manner. The responsibilities of railway transport have immensely increased on account of the shortage of petrol, and I confidently hope that our Indian railways, of which we are so proud, will cope with the continuous increasing demands during war time.

[Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad.]

Sir, I want to discuss two problems during the Budget debates. The first is the financial policy and the second is the administrative machinery for Indian railways.

Now the present situation is exceedingly helpful. As my Honourable friend is an expert business man, he will probably be able to appreciate the financial difficulties and administrative problems which I shall lay before him. The issue before us—and I think we ought to decide it is whether the railways should be run as a business concern or as a service of public utility. The Honourable Member's predecessors were all I. C. S. officials and they treated the railways as an administrative Department of the Government of India and vested even their subordinate servants with powers of arrest, which nobody would contemplate doing in a business concern; but when it came to treatment of the subordinate staff, they treated them as if they were employed in a business concern and the right of appeal was practically denied to them. So this Department was treated sometimes as a State Department and sometimes as a business concern, just as it suited the administration. It is now high time that we have a clear understanding in our own mind as to how the Railways should be treated.

If we are to treat it as a business concern, then the Railways should be deemed to be owned by the Government of India and the Railway Board may be regarded as a Board of managing directors: the capital here is not subscribed by the shareholders, but it is borrowed by the Finance Member on the security of the Government of India; the Finance Member acting as a broker charges one per cent. commission, and thus Railways pay one per cent. more than the bank rate of interest; and this is fixed by the Convention of 1924. It therefore follows from this that the Railway Board should pay ordinary income-tax, super-tax and excess profits tax; but they are exempted from these taxes and they have made negotiation under the Convention of 1924, handing over a certain portion of their surplus profit to the general revenues, and they keep their accounts in a manner which as I shall show later on is an evasion of income-tax.

If, on the other hand, we treat this as a concern of public utility, maintained for the public benefit, then it is not a money-making concern for enriching shareholders and managing directors. In this case, the railways may be deemed to be owned by the people, administered by the people and run for the benefit of the people. The losses or profits must be borne by the people of India and should consequently be debited and credited to the general revenues. The separation is only a matter of convenience and is of great help in the fixing of the rates and fares. In the South African Railways, rates and fares are so fixed that the railways do not show large surpluses or abnormal deficits. Our Railways, although they exist for public utility, increase the rates and fares under the old dictum "Charge what the traffic can bear". We must judge the Indian railway administration on the theory that it is a service of public utility. Is it desirable to build up a reserve to an unjustifiable extent at a time when every penny should be utilised for the successful prosecution of the war? According to the Budget now before us, a reserve of Rs. 93.53 crores has been accumulated under the heads of what might be called ordinary and depreciation reserves. There are two reserves, which I shall discuss later on. These two reserves amounted to Rs. 58.73 crores two years ago, and only Rs. 25.15 crores before the war; so that during the war they have increased their reserves from 25.15 to 93.53 crores.

About this depreciation reserve fund, I have been repeatedly drawing attention that this present system of depreciation reserve should be abolished as early as possible; and my reasons, which I have given previously and some of which I shall repeat now, are as follow. One is, and I quote from my book: "the Depreciation Reserve Fund should now be abolished, for the reasons given

in 1875 itself for abolishing depreciation: it is unfair to the railway administration and to railway employees, as by including contributions to the reserve fund under the working expenses under the false name of depreciation, we show an artificial deficit. The operating ratio is increased, which is a slur on the administration, and it results in retrenchment and reduction and cut in salaries, not because there is a real deficit but an artificial deficit created by wrong higher finance". That is one of the reasons I have given, that if you set aside under the depreciation fund, a fund under the name of depreciation reserve fund, it is rather unfair.

Secondly, there is no country in the world that has adopted this system. We are the only country in the whole world, isolated, who have adopted this practice of building up a depreciation reserve fund. I am speaking with authority and with knowledge. I may tell you that I have before me all the figures for the last twenty years, since the separation of railway finance from general finances. During these twenty years we have put down Rs. 251 crores under the head of depreciation reserve fund. Out of this we have spent about 167 crores for renewals and replacements, and have a reserve of about 84 crores still. From the experience of these twenty years, we see that we have been depositing at the rate of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  crores in this particular fund, while our expenditure for renewals and replacement is only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  crores; it therefore seems desirable that only this  $8\frac{1}{2}$  crores should have been provided under this heading, and the remaining 4 crores ought to have been under the head of Reserve. I see no advantage in maintaining two reserves—one under the name of ordinary reserve, and another as depreciation reserve.

The next thing is, how is the depreciation to be calculated? They have adopted a novel formula, that depreciation is equivalent to one-sixtieth of the capital at charge. There must be some common sense in figures also. The word 'common sense' is a peculiarly English word—there is no corresponding word for it in German, French or any other European language. I attended lectures in Germany and there they called it 'Englisches common sense' but there is no word in German language for it: similarly in French there exists no word and the French express the idea by the word 'common sense des Anglaises'; sometimes people have asked me to define common sense and I have said that its definition can be of the same manner as the definition of mind and matter: what is the definition of mind? No matter. What is the definition of matter? Never mind. This is the best definition which our philosopher the Finance Member would give. The same thing applies to common sense. But we understand what it means, never mind for its definition. The depreciation is taken as  $1/60$ th. Why not  $1/59$ th? Is it because sexagesime scale was used by the Greeks and Arabs in all calculations or for any other reason? Why not  $1/61$ . I love a prime number. My Honourable friend may like a composite number, but this is exceedingly artificial and there must be some basis of calculation.

I looked into the basis of calculation carefully about two years ago when I was writing my book, and they said that they took up the life of the engines, the life of this part, the life of that part, and so on, but they omitted the fact that after the life of the engine is finished its value is not reduced to zero, it will still have some value left, but that value has been omitted. Now, our experience of 20 years during which we have had good time and bad time, has shown that we require about Rs.  $8\frac{1}{2}$  crores per annum for replacement and renewal, and this sum only ought to be provided and not one-sixtieth of the capital at charge. This reminds me of another calculation about the price of a boot. If, you put the depreciation at  $1/60$ th of the capital at charge, what would be the depreciation of a pair of boots which I purchased for Rs. 20 and resoled it about four times and each time I spent Rs. 5 for resoling? I will now have to deposit in the depreciation fund  $1/60$ th of not Rs. 20 but of Rs. 40, which is unfair. This method of calculation at  $1/60$ th of the

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capital-at-charge is exceedingly arbitrary. I request the Honourable Member to consult the Auditor General and his colleague, the philosopher and financier, and he will find that the basis of calculation of his depreciation is wrong and peculiar only to this country. Provide in the Budget only the actual amount which is required for renewal and replacement which will be about 8½ crores. This sum may slightly fluctuate.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Would not the Honourable Member's argument lead to the conclusion, because for the first six months he would not have to re-sole his shoes, there was no necessity to make any provision for shoes?

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** I am sorry that this is not the finance of the Railway Department. They put in the depreciation fund from the moment the money is advanced by them, not from the moment when they begin to use it. I should like the Honourable Member to consider this particular aspect, whether we should not follow the practice of other countries and keep for renewal and replacement only that amount which is actually required. I can understand one particular thing, namely, that during war time it may not be possible to get all these engines and various other material from Europe. In that case you keep this amount of replacement which ought to have been spent in the year 1942-43, to be spent in future years. This can be done as has been done in many institutions—namely, that the expenditure which was really voted for this year has been carried on to be spent after the war.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall** (Member for Railways and War Transport): Should not that policy apply to other assets besides locos and wagons?

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** Yes. I am talking only about replacement and renewal. Whatever replacement which you wanted to have now but could not be got this current year—it seems desirable that that amount should be set aside for the particular year when these things become available. That is all I want.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): That is what is being done now.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad:** I am given to understand by a member of the Railway Standing Finance Committee that this practice is being followed. If that is so, that is all what is required and nothing more.

Again, we should set aside in the reserve fund only the amount which is necessary and not build up indefinite reserve. What is the amount required? The Wedgewood Committee recommended a sum of Rs. 50 crores and thought that that would probably be enough for the reserve fund. I go a little bit further and say that reserve should be equal to the expenditure of one year, that is, from Rs. 75 crores to even 90 crores. After this amount has been set aside, whatever surplus is made, it should be transferred to the general revenues. When we are contemplating a reconsideration of the convention of 1924 we should note that railways are not mere business concerns. They are public utility services. We should set aside only a certain amount of reserve, and any sum that accrues over and above that maximum reserve should go entirely to the general revenues for the prosecution of the war. It is not right to accumulate an amount which is more than necessary, because, after all, the Honourable Member has received the money on account of war conditions. The money has been earned on account of the privations which we are suffering, and it seems desirable that the Railway Department should hand it over to the war funds, and if this is done, our taxes would be proportionately diminished, and in that way it comes back practically to us.

Before I turn to the second question of administration let me again appeal to the Honourable Member to seriously consider the question of the position of the depreciation and reserve funds and examine what other countries are doing and follow their practice, because, after all, every other country is not

lacking in financial vision and why should we follow a practice which has not been followed so far anywhere else. I will give you a book on what is called the statistics of International Railways where all these particulars are given.

Now, let me take up the question of administration. Unfortunately this has been mixed up with the question of Federation, and I do not like that the question of railway administration should be mixed up with the question of Federation. I do not like that the authority which will administer the railways should be responsible to Parliament; I think it should be responsible to the Indian Legislature, and the authority which will administer the railways on our behalf as a public utility service should be created by the Indian Legislature and it should be responsible to the Indian Legislature.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim). The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad**. I will take up this question on another occasion.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta** (Bombay Central Division. Non-Muhammadan Rural). If huge profits were a matter on which we should congratulate the transport service of the country, then certainly the Railway Department deserved those congratulations. But I am afraid those profits are unhealthy. They are taken out of the poverty of the people, and entirely belie what Sir William Acworth said that a tax on transport is vicious. That you should, after making a provision for every outgoing, make a profit of Rs. 36 crores is an unhealthy sign and not a matter for congratulation, and it is definitely due to the burden on the poor to a very great extent. The House knows that in 1936 rates and fares were raised quite unnecessarily. Again they were raised, again they were raised, and for four times in the last six years rates and fares have been more or less increased once in two years, and it is at least the income of Rs. 10 crores from these increased rates and fares which is responsible for this surplus. Why do they want it? If they do not want it for running the railways, then why do they go on taxing the people,—Rs. 10 crores which is entirely unjustified by the state of the railway finances?

Of course, being a monopolist, there being nobody here to check them and

**12 Noon.** Members generally being more anxious to bother themselves about third class passengers' grievances than about anything else, the Railway Board has been able quietly to take whatever it wants to the great detriment of the poorer people. In this huge food crisis, what should have been the duty of the Railway Board? When food was not easy to get and, if you got, it was too costly to buy, as it still is, in a crisis like this nothing should have stood in the way of the Railway Board coming forward to transport certain articles of food free. That is the kind of service to which my Honourable friend, Sir Edward Benthall, should have referred but although he agrees to the principle that it is not money but service that counts, there is no service but there is money only. If service counted, this ten crores of extra revenue from the poor passengers and those who use the railways for transporting goods is an entirely unwarranted burden which the Railways should never have placed on the public. In addition they should have carried the main articles of food entirely free. What does it matter? After all, we are one. We are a State organisation. We are working for the people and for the State and when you have plethora of money and the food situation is so extraordinarily difficult, the Railway Board should have been the first to come forward and say that certain articles of food. I don't say all, will be conveyed free. What a magnificent impression it would have created? What positive proof would it have supplied to the people of the consideration which the Railway Board feel for them! My Honourable friend, Sir Edward Benthall, rightly described that service ought to be the goal and not profits but quite the reverse is being pursued. I would very much welcome even now a change in the policy in the matter of rates and fares and that the increases of 1936-37 should be abolished and certain articles of food should be carried from one end of the country to the other free. Some people will try to show that this is a very crazy idea but in a crisis like this, when the people are

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the backbone of the war effort, there is nothing crazy which you do in their interest. I know all these so-called financial and business considerations but there is no need for applying them in the circumstances which I have stated. On the other hand the extreme socialistic Russian principle should apply. The food of the people shall be carried free. Nothing would have been lost. The Railways would not have become bankrupt. To that extent, therefore, there is not so much scope for congratulations as for regrets and I think that an entirely different policy should have been pursued in the matter of railway policy.

Very rightly compliment has been paid to Sir Leonard Wilson and his officers and men for the splendid service they are rendering to the war and to the trade and the public during this time of extraordinary strain. I can bear testimony and I can honestly say that every word of that compliment is fully deserved. I have seen the Chief Commissioner working at night till very late hours, coming to his office very early in the morning and there is hardly any hour of the day and few hours of the night when he is not dealing with one or the other of the important railway problems which are crowding day after day and multiplying beyond anything that was ever expected. Sir Leonard has been carrying this burden over his shoulders during the war in a magnificent manner and therefore we echo the compliment which the War Transport Member has paid to him. The compliments paid to the men are also very warm and sincere and I thank the Railway Member for that unequivocal testimony to the loyalty and devotion to duty which six or seven lakhs of railway men have shown during these three years of strain and which, we hope, they will continue to show in an increasing manner till the end of the chapter. He will permit me to say that with such a compliment he should at least have satisfied himself that these six lakhs of men get their food and that they do not go hungry, that their wives and children do not wait for food which never comes and that the railway system does not become a huge organisation of slave labour at the point of the bayonet under the various legal provisions during the war. He cannot leave the job, he cannot get enough food and that, with 36 crores lying about! Have you ever seen so much starvation in the midst of so much plenty? The Railway Board have got 36 crores of rupees but they cannot feed their men. In fact, they have ceased to think about it. I am very sorry to say that they fired the last shot in August and since then they seem to feel that everything has been done and nothing remains to be done and all the representations that we have made since August till the last week have received no response. In fact the tactics of the Railway Board are dilatory and they have exasperated the starving millions who constitute the railway employees and their families. That the people in the Transport service, who are second in importance only to the soldiers, should be considered so lightly when their food is concerned, is baffling to me both on the grounds of humanity and self-interest.

Why are the Railway Board inviting trouble when their labour has been so content even with the very small modicum of the dearness allowance they have got? Let it not be imagined by the Railway Board that what they have given represents anything more than bare 25 per cent. or even less than the actual cost of living. The August cost of living was 168; since then it has increased to 205. Let me tell the House that the Bombay *Labour Gazette* index numbers are no longer reliable because it is stated in the body of these figures that so far as rice and one or two other articles are concerned, no market rates are available. Therefore, they only contain the actual reported market cost in July. Therefore, 205 is not the real figure, as the cost of rice is not reflected in the index number of the cost of living of the Bombay *Labour Gazette*, and the Bombay *Labour Gazette* figures have been admitted to be 25 per cent. wide of the mark in the wrong sense, which means that they are lower than the real rise in the cost of living. Therefore, the real rise in the cost of living today must be somewhere near 250 and not 205. Now, if 150 is the number of points

by which the cost of living has arisen, just see what we have got. We get Rs. 10-8-0 highest. Against 150, Rs. 10-8-0 is the amount we get, which means that if I was getting a salary of Rs. 4, I am getting completely compensated because Rs. 10 represents 150 rise, that is, 250 as distinct from 4. So, it comes to 102 and 150 and 4 and 10. So, unless the man is getting a salary of Rs. 4, he cannot get adequate compensation under this scheme of dearness allowance, and the higher my salary the lower is my compensation of Rs. 10-8-0. Supposing I am earning Rs. 50, then Rs. 10-8-0 is 20 per cent., as against 75 which should be the rise. And this bogey of inflation where the poorest are concerned is entirely unscientific. Why should these learned gentlemen try to mislead a very well disposed House, I would say, into a state of mind where they are threatened that if the worker is given food there will be inflation? That is a very strange thing, that if the worker gets food, there will be inflation. Therefore, in order to honour the theory of inflation, the worker should starve. This is an extraordinary state of mind which they know is not justified, but they use it with tiresome reiteration. The Honourable the Finance Member made it fashionable last year and I thought it would at least in some degrees receive the quietus, but I find that its recrudescence is even more violent now. I am simply saying that today's dearness allowance, according to the rise in the cost of living, is fully justified and no inflation will arise so far as those who are living on the margin of starvation are concerned. That has been spoken *ad nauseam* in London by the *Economist*, has been quoted in that Journal and has been supported by the High Court Judges that so far as the humblest are concerned nobody should be pulled down the abyss of starvation in the name of inflation.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Does not the Honourable Member admit that in so far as the goods cease to become available or become available in smaller quantities, the cost of living index is vitiated?

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** It is not at least so far as the people who are living on the border-land. It ceases to be a problem of human regulation of social life as against the supposed economic theory. If you tell me that my economic theory must survive even if the workers starve, then I am pointing out that that is not necessary. I entirely agree that a man, who is buying two *saries* for his wife and is now only able to buy one because of the rise in the cost of living, should not get compensation. I am entirely of opinion that a man who is having two journeys to the hills in the course of the year should not be compensated for not being able to go to the hills at all, but if a man cannot get rice or if his children cannot get even rags to wear and you say that if you give him dearness allowance inflation shall set into motion, I cannot agree. That is all I am saying. I am not disposed to challenge the whole doctrine of inflation. In fact, I do agree with it but with this reservation. I now hope that the Honourable the War Transport Member will make a statement of what his intentions are, about the dearness allowance because the workers have got so exasperated.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has exceeded his time-limit.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Shall I finish in two minutes, Sir?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): No. The Honourable Member must conclude his speech now.

**Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** I have nothing else to say except that I hope the Honourable the War Transport Member will make a statement on the Government attitude as to the course of action they will take about the dearness allowance.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi** (Dacca *cum* Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, Sir, I offer my warm congratulations to my esteemed friend Sir Edward Benthall. I have known him for at least 15 years. Honourable Members of this House may not be aware of the fact that he was one of the biggest commercial magnates of Clive Street in Calcutta. He has sacrificed much to serve us and to serve this country by accepting the post which he is



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holding now; a right man has been selected, if I may say so, for the right place. The Honourable Member for War Transport has, according to the tradition of his predecessors, presented a Budget which is characterised as a 'prosperous Budget'. Prosperous it is, with a spectacular surplus; but at what cost? As Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has said, at the cost of the sufferings and sacrifices of millions of people, that follow in the train of a war of this dimension. I do not for a moment suggest that the Honourable Member is responsible for this war: but I should make it clear that the prosperity of his Budget is due entirely to the war. I am glad that he had the frankness to admit that the prosperity is only illusory.

Now, Sir, I want to place before this Honourable House three points that were made out by the Honourable Sir Leonard Wilson in the Council of State. The Honourable the Member for War Transport did not give us in his speech anything about these three points which were raised by Sir Leonard in the Council of State.

Sir, the first point that he made out in his speech in the Council of State is this: He said that while charges for transportation have been increased in respect of certain commodities, charges for military traffic have remained unaltered. Sir, the military traffic constitutes about fifteen million tons and is about 15 per cent. of the total traffic. It is difficult to conceive why charges for military traffic should not be increased corresponding to the increase in the charges of other commodities. In war finance the cost of military traffic borne by Indian Railways is part and parcel of the contribution that India makes towards the war. By charging less in the book-entry for such military traffic India's contribution is misrepresented by concealment of a certain expenditure on military transport to the extent they are undercharged now.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** We do not charge less.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** You have increased the charges for other commodities but you have not so increased for military transport. That is how you are charging less for military transport than the others. This, I am afraid, will affect India adversely when the question of the allocation of war expenses between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is finally taken up. That is the point which I want to make out. You have got tremendous transport of commodities other than military commodities and military transport. You are giving the benefit of lower charges to the military which will ultimately tell against India's contribution towards the war in terms of cash. There you are deceiving us in this respect.

Now, Sir, the second point is this, and this is more important than the first. Sir Leonard has stated in his speech in the Council of State that there has been a reduction in capital by 160 lakhs as a result of rolling-stock sent abroad, and 42 lakhs as a result of 42 miles of Branch Lines dismantled. We have had that reduction in the capital of 160 lakhs on account of rolling-stock sent out and 42 lakhs on account of 42 miles of branch lines dismantled which also has been sent abroad. Now, Sir, while India has given away this rolling-stock and lines at the original cost of these less the corresponding depreciation—what is the result?—India is now called upon to replace these by importation at costs which are entirely disproportionate to the old costs owing to the exigencies of the present situation.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi** (Nominated Non-Official): There you are right.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Look at the trick. We are selling these things when we should not sell,—when Government themselves need them and when we want them ourselves—at a cost which prevailed 20 years ago less depreciation of the ten or twenty years. Sir, is this fair to India? Equity demands that the price charged for such rolling-stock and other incidentals exported or sold should bear relation to the cost of replacement that India has to bear now.

Now, I come to the third point. The Honourable Sir Leonard Wilson disclosed in his speech in the Council of State that militarization of the Bengal

and Assam and certain sections of the East Indian, Bengal Nagpur, Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railways involves an expenditure of less than a crore, which sum represents only half the cost of militarization, the other half being borne by the War Department. Now, Sir, equity demands that this allocation of militarization expenditure shall be borne entirely by the War Department, because it constitutes an expenditure which is India's contribution to the Defence expenditure. What is the idea behind allocating it arbitrarily between the Railways and the War Department on a fifty: fifty basis? I will now turn to certain vagaries of the East Indian Railway Management in dealing with caterers and granting monopolistic catering contracts. At a meeting of the Central Advisory Council for Railways held at Delhi on the 18th March, 1940, the Council made certain recommendations in regard to the granting of catering contracts and licences to caterers. The primary recommendation was that the railway authorities should always act in consultation with the Local Advisory Committee. Another recommendation was that where new contractors or vending licensees have to be selected, preference should be shown to those resident within the area to which the contract relates. This recommendation will be found on page 5 of the Advisory Council Report of 1940. Early in February that year a Resolution was tabled by Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad. Many Honourable Members condemned the E. I. R. General Manager for his arbitrarily dealing with caterers. I should like to draw the pointed attention of the Honourable the Member for War Transport to the statements made on the floor of the House by my Honourable friend, Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, and by myself contained in the Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, Vol. I-1940, pages 179 and 180 and 181 respectively. In that speech, I pointed out that the General Manager of E. I. R. seemed to be having a great fancy for Ballabhdas Eshwardas. I would also like to draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the assurance in this respect given by his predecessor on that occasion contained on page 197 of the same Volume.

Now, Sir, during the December air-raids on Calcutta, the Hindu Refreshment Contractor at the Howrah station suffered the same fate as that of any other restaurant in that city when some of their labourers fled. The General Manager took that opportunity to straightaway throw him out and to appoint in his stead, quite arbitrarily, of his own sweet will and pleasure, Messrs. Ballabhdas Eshwardas.

**Mr. N. M. Joshi:** What else can the General Manager do if the Contractor had fled away?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** The Contractor did not run away. The refreshment room was there, but the hotel servants had run away. The Local Advisory Committee was not consulted, nor did the General Manager care to see that the other recommendation of the Central Advisory Committee for Railways, that local men should be given preference, was observed. The contract was not given to a Bengalee. The Contractor prayed and appealed and said that his shop was all through open and that he was only short of labour, but that nevertheless he carried on. He also submitted that if he had committed any mistake, he might be forgiven for once. But nothing doing.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Did Messrs Ballabhdas Eshwardas supply labour to carry on, when they took over?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** No, they have not yet taken over. The order is that the present contractor should quit by the end of February. There is no question of Messrs. Ballabhdas Eshwardas being able to procure labour. My Honourable friend, the Member for War Transport, if he reads the debate, will find who this Ballabhdas Eshwardas is. He will learn what the facts are. He will learn the whole history. This man is the favourite of the General Manager, E. I. Railway.

Now, Sir, I should like to say a few words about the punishment that is meted out to us for travelling by E. I. Railway to Delhi. Travel I must,

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because I happen to be a Member of various Committees and for that there is a special punishment meted out by E. I. R. Since the recent political disturbances in the country started on 9th August, practically all railways, except the E. I. R., have published their time table, owing to the changes that have been necessary in the running of trains. The last published time table of the E. I. R. is May 1942 which I possess here. Not after that. Very well, I have no grouse about that. The running hours cause the maximum inconvenience to passengers. I will deal with two of their most important trains which run to Delhi. According to the last published time table, after the cancellation of the Restaurant car attachment, the Toofan Express left Howrah at 13-32 hours arriving Delhi at 16-30 hours the following afternoon and Delhi Mail left Howrah at 18-05 hours arriving Delhi at 21-30 hours the following day, thus doing the journey in 27 hours and 27½ hours respectively. After the dislocation of traffic owing to sabotage etc., the trains had necessarily to slow down and according to advertised timings, the Toofan Express was to leave Howrah at 20-30 hours arriving Delhi at 6-15 hours on the third day and the Delhi Mail to leave Howrah at 21-00 hours arriving Delhi at 6-50 hours on the third day, thus doing the journey in 33-45 hours and 33-50 hours respectively. But since the recent air-raids on Calcutta, the Toofan Express and the Delhi Mail take 37-15 hours and 36-20 hours respectively. The Toofan Express leaves Howrah at 17-00 hours instead of 20-30 hours and just fancy, where are the passengers kept all these 3½ hours without even amenities for food. These 3½ hours are wasted on the way to Burdwan. From Calcutta to Burdwan it is 67 miles and this journey used to be done previously in 1½ hours. Now, it takes 3½ hours because it is only from Asansol the previous scheduled timing is to be taken up. This is the punishment to the passengers on account of the air raids on Calcutta. The railway authorities cannot adjust themselves to this. The same thing happens to the Delhi Mail.

**Sir Hugh Raper** (Government of India: Nominated Official): Did the Honourable Member say they could not adjust?

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** They do not adjust. They will not adjust. It is absolutely foolish to keep the train waiting 3½ hours and take the old timing from Asansol. I have just brought this to the notice of the Honourable Member for War Transport. If he likes, I can explain it to him further. They can easily run the train to proper timings suited to the passengers, but they do not do it; they are callous as regards passenger service. The General Manager of the E. I. R. has no respect for Indian public opinion.

Sir, I have received a telegram from the Indian Mining Federation which I desire to bring to the notice of the Honourable Member. The telegram says:

"Honourable Member's statements in reply to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question show average five hundred wagons daily short supplied 1942, compared with 1941, resulting over thirty-six lakhs tons less coal despatch. Stop. Coal wagon position still worse current months reacting adversely on large number small collieries stop. Committee strongly urges Government to take immediate steps to increase number of available wagons for coal loading and also to earmark daily before other allotments at least three hundred wagons for loading domestic fuel and coal for small industries not on war works such as flour oil rice mills etc., supplied mostly by second class collieries stop coal output already dangerously low committee apprehends if steps not taken at once further drop would necessarily follow with disastrous results due to forced restriction of output and closing down large number second class collieries for nonsupply of wagons resulting coal production much below country's requirements."

Then, Sir, Seth Sunderlal Daga, who is unfortunately not here today, and who is the President of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce has asked me to place one matter before the House.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi:** Sir, I will take one minute more.

The Marwari Chamber of Commerce has drawn my attention to section 77 of the Indian Railways Act. They want to amend section 77 in order that the

period of limitation shall run from the date the claimant is informed of loss or damage or overcharge instead of from the date of consignment. Sir, I close my speech.

**Mr. Frank R. Anthony** (Nominated Non-official): Sir, I have very many questions and grievances to submit to the Honourable the Member for War Transport. In the comparatively short time at my disposal I shall have to squeeze as many of these problems as possible, and I would ask the indulgence of House if I seem to double my speed of speech.

I would like, first of all, to congratulate the Honourable Member on his Budget speech in which he paid a tribute to the wonderful response of the railway workers throughout the country and I feel that this tribute and the gratitude of Government to railwaymen throughout the country cannot be over-emphasised. I do not exaggerate when I say that but for the loyalty and the devotion to service of the railwaymen throughout the country the wheels of the war machinery and of the war industry in this country would definitely and inevitably have come to stop. I would also like to endorse the opinion of Honourable Member who just paid a tribute to the Honourable the Member for War Transport. In Sir Edward Benthall, I believe, we have the right Member in the right place, and, I also believe that in him we have a real friend of the railwaymen, one who is doing his best and his sympathetic best to help and assist them wherever possible. And that is why I feel sure that the appeal I intend to make to the Honourable the Member for War Transport will not fall on deaf ears.

I have recently concluded a very extensive tour, Sir, of Bihar, Bengal and Southern India, and I have visited practically every railway centre in these provinces. The points I am raising are grievances, substantial and real grievances, against the railway administration which I hope the Honourable Member will meet and redress. They are points and grievances which I have collected not as the result of isolated instances but they are grievances based on the general desire of the men and needs based on the general needs of the railwaymen.

The first point with which I shall deal is the unfortunate and the unusual classification of certain persons on the G. I. P. Railway: They are known as temporary-permanent drivers. Allow me to assure the House that this unusual classification is not of my making. It is a classification which seems to have no meaning at all and it is, I believe, peculiar to the G. I. P. Railway. An analysis of the conditions of these temporary-permanent drivers cannot but lead to the conclusion that not only is it an unhappy classification but the conditions under which these persons are living are equally unhappy. It seems to be a classification,—a meaningless and self-contradictory classification,—specially evolved in order to secure the maximum of work for the minimum of remuneration. I should like to enforce my point by an illustration. For instance, we have what is known as temporary-permanent goods drivers on the G. I. P. Railway. These men are usually required to work for many years in a temporary capacity working on passengers and mail trains. They are not confirmed as passenger or mail drivers. They are not given the allowances and the wage of passenger or mail drivers. They are only given the wage of a goods driver in spite of the added responsibility and the more onerous type of work that they are required to do. I cannot conceive, Sir, of a more dubious and a more torturous procedure for extracting the maximum of work and responsibility from people and at the same time of denying to them the allowances and the wages which they have earned and to which they should be entitled, both in law and in morality.

The next point I wish to emphasise is the invidious and the erroneous system of ranking which is adopted by the South Indian Railway with regard to those employees who have volunteered for and are enrolled in the Indian Corps of Engineers. This system of ranking is entirely different from the system prevailing in all the other Railways and I might mention for the reassurance of the

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Honourable the Transport Member that it will not cost the Railways a single penny more if this system, adopted on the South Indian Railway, is brought into line with the system obtaining on the other Railways. I shall enforce my point by an illustration. For instance, you have men like the Locomotive Drivers and the Station Masters on the South Indian Railway, who are classified as ordinary sappers. Their contemporaries and equals on the other Railways are given Warrant Officer ranks and in many cases they are given Officer ranks. For instance, on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway a Station Master is often ranked as a Captain. He is invariably ranked at least as a Lieutenant. His brother on the South Indian Railway is an ordinary Sapper. I am not basing my plea on notions of false pride or prestige but the position, to say the least, is highly anomalous and invidious. These two Railways are physically contiguous. You have got a man on the running staff of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, he meets a man of equal status, perhaps a man of superior status on the South Indian Railway, and the man on the South Indian railway has to click his heels whenever he meets him, and the system on the South Indian Railway is also destructive both of discipline and efficiency. These men, like the locomotive drivers and the Station Masters, particularly the Station Masters, have to control large staffs: they have to enforce efficiency but when they knock about, as they do today, in uniform as ordinary Sappers, ranked as equals with their most menial subordinates how can you expect them to maintain the efficiency, and command the respect which they would have commanded but for the present militarisation.

The next problem, Sir, and it is a burning problem, is the problem of over-work. It is a problem which is particularly noticeable on the East Indian and the G. I. P. Railways. I quite appreciate the fact that under emergent war conditions there is bound to be an inevitable dislocation of railway work and of railway time of work. And may I say, Sir, on behalf of the subordinate staff that these men are not in any way inclined to shirk their work. They are prepared to do their bit and to do more than their bit, and to do that with more devotion even than the railway officials. But, Sir, when a man is required to work for more than a maximum period of 12 hours a day you are asking him to do what is physically impossible. The rules and the provisions governing railway work lay down that the maximum period of duty should be up to 12 hours. And when a man has stoked or driven an engine for 12 hours, I submit, he has reached the saturation point of physical exhaustion. A railway official sitting in his office, driving a quill and closed behind *klas tattis* may not be able to appreciate this fact and that is why inspite of representations made by me, the administration is still enforcing over-work on a very wide scale. The men are being compelled to work above the maximum period of duty. They would do it willingly if they could, but they are being compelled to work 20 to 22 hours, and in one case on the East Indian Railway, a man was compelled to work for 34 hours. And when these men, because they were completely exhausted in mind, body and soul, asked for their rest, to which they are entitled by the rules, they were punished. Yes, Sir, I can cite instances of men who have been charge-sheeted to show cause why they should not be dismissed because they have asked for rest after doing 16 to 20 hours work. I cannot conceive of any more ungrateful, any more humiliating and any more soul provoking way of dealing with your most loyal workers—workers who have stood by the administration in season and out of season: workers who have given you the maximum of work not only in their civilian capacity, but who have given you the most onerous and the most dangerous military service. Then are you being fair to the public when you ask these men to work beyond the limits of physical endurance? Are you fair to them and to the passengers, whose lives are entrusted to their care? Again, Sir, although these men voluntarily, and in many cases they are driven to, work beyond the maximum period of duty prescribed, there is no provision in many instances for giving them a single anna extra for the work

that they are doing. Take the case of goods drivers on the G. I. P. Railway. These men are paid according to the mileage system. Owing to the dislocation of traffic it takes on an average for a goods driver of the G. I. P. twice or three times as long to perform a journey as compared with pre-war timing. So that, instead let us say of doing 100 miles in 12 hours, he performs that in 24 or 30 hours. He either does that voluntarily or he is driven to do it. He is still paid according to the mileage he has done. I would appeal to the Railway Member to evolve some system to compensate these men for the tremendous burdens that are imposed on them.

Another most urgent and vital need of the railway man on all the Railways today is the need for a dearness allowance. I know, Sir, that this request will be resisted on the ground of financial impracticability. But the Honourable Member has told us that railway earnings have risen beyond all expectations. In the last war when conditions were, I believe, comparatively not more difficult than today, there was an all round increase of wages. I know, Sir, the Railway Member will reply that there has been the grant of a dearness allowance, but this has been restricted to the very low paid staff. I make a plea for those who are getting Rs. 100 and Rs. 500 a month. When you look at my figures you may say that these people will be able to manage if they tighten their belts. But this plea to tighten one's belt is in many instances not only a thoughtless but a fatuous plea made by people who are earning between Rs. 1,000 and 3,000 a month. They do not know what that involves. For them the tightening of one's belt merely means the reducing by one hole of the size of the wrapper around their monthly deposit.

**Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Ghani** (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): If the Honourable Member speaks with such speed, how is the reporter to report his speech?

**Mr. Frank R. Anthony**: I am trying to put in twice as much in the time allotted to me.

As I was saying, Sir, to speak of people tightening their belts is not only dangerously facile but is futile. If you analyse conditions, you will find that a man earning Rs. 200 to 250 a month on the railway is comparatively worse off than those styled as menial employees. The menial employee used to get, let us say, Rs. 16 before the war. With the dearness allowance and other allowances now granted to him, he has probably doubled his wage. But these people in the lower wage brackets to whom I refer get absolutely no allowance. On the other hand what are they faced with? They are faced with increased income-tax, with surtax, and surcharge increased conservancy and water taxes, and they are in addition being asked by an unsympathetic railway administration on some of the Railways to pay increased house rent. These people have on an average three or four children to educate. They are having to meet an increasingly high cost of educational expenditure, in addition to meeting the minimum expenditure for their families on food, clothing and toilet requisites. These people, who are earning Rs. 200 to 250 a month are, in the face of a tremendously increased cost of living, finding it difficult, if not impossible, to make both ends meet.

And yet, Sir, in spite of these financial burdens which are oppressing the railwaymen, we find the railway administration steps in and while refusing to give them a dearness allowance, adds to their burdens. I refer, Sir, to the increase of house rent imposed on the running staff of the B. B. & C. I. Railway as from 1st October, 1942. These people are occupying bungalows whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. These houses were built when labour was perhaps paid in terms of *cowries*. The railway administration has re-imbursed itself over and over again for capital outlay from the rents it has charged railway employees for the past many years. Yet for some inscrutable and quite unjustifiable reason the railway administration has increased these people's house rent. You deny to these people, who are entitled to it, a dearness allowance,

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and by these obvious methods you extract a dearness allowance, so to speak, on behalf of the railway administration. There can never be any justification for this.

Another point which is causing the most intense heart-burning and justifiable resentment is the blocking of promotions by the system of extending the service of those who have reached the age of superannuation. Sir, if the railway wants particularly to supply a haven for its "old crocks" why not superannuate them and re-employ them as additional staff, instead of giving them extensions of service and thereby blocking the promotion of those who have been working for many years and who are thereby entitled, as a matter of right, to ask the railway for their legitimate promotion. Some of these men on whose behalf I speak have given you 20/25 years service. Some have only two or three years more of service to do. They expect their promotion and the emoluments consequent on that promotion. But what do you give them? You deliberately put before them a blank wall beyond which they cannot go. Instead of giving them the promotion and encouragement, they have earned you offer them a cup of gall. You have extended the service of these old crocks for the duration of the war and what is to happen to those who have only two or three years more of service to do? You deliberately make them stagnate in their present positions without a hope of any increase of emoluments. While you plead you cannot incur commitments financially in extending the dearness allowance, yet by extending the service of these crocks in the higher wage brackets, what do you do? You are deliberately incurring unjustifiable financial commitments because for the next two or three years you will be paying these men the railway contributions to their provident fund: you will be paying them thousands of rupees by way of these contributions to provident fund and you will also be paying compound interest on these contributions. The whole position is not only unjustifiable but really quite indefensible.

Finally, Sir, I shall deal very briefly with the question of appeals from railway men. I hope to elaborate this position at some future date on the particular Resolution which is to come before the House. May I say here that while there may be provisions in the Railways for appeals, these provisions tend to remain illusory? And I do not care who argues it, you cannot argue your way out of it. The officials do this because they believe they are maintaining the *izzat* and prestige of their administration. And so while you have these provisions for appeal, may I say that the railway administration definitely frowns on, and discourages, any attempt on the part of the men to secure redress? If the men attempt it, they are immediately branded as insubordinate, they are immediately singled out for victimisation. This is the curse of the

1 P.M. Railways throughout India—victimisation. Men are afraid to appeal because they know that if they appeal, even if their appeal succeeds because they have an unanswerable case, they will be branded, they will be victimised, they will be hounded by the railway administration. I can give you not one but scores of cases where the men are suffering silently rather than court the danger of appealing, because they know that if they appeal they will be victimised, branded for the rest of their career, even hounded out of service or kept down permanently.

I make an earnest appeal to the Honourable Member and the Railway administration. These grievances that I have put forward are real grievances: they are grievances that you can, if you will, redress; and I appeal for the redress of these grievances on behalf of the railwaymen not only as their friend, but also as a friend of the administration because by redressing their grievances and fulfilling their needs, you will be establishing more satisfying conditions of service. And the best workers are the satisfied workers.

**Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban** (Sind Jagirdars and Zamindars; Landholders): Sir, Gandhiji may fast or cease to fast. Honourable Members may come or go. But the Government of India goes on

for ever in its old old traditions. Much was expected of Sir Edward Benthall, but his surroundings have proved too much for him and he has simply followed in the wake of former Members in charge of his portfolio; another surplus budget has been presented for railways and still the same old handicaps and lack of common amenities for passengers persist. We have been told to thank our stars that the situation is not worse than it is today and that our fate probably is not worse than that prevailing in the great United States of America. In spite of a fat surplus—fat according to the Government of India themselves—not only has there been no improvement or amelioration of the lot of passengers they have been put to still greater disadvantages and difficulties. Reduction in passenger train service, we are told, amounts to a saving in train mileage of approximately 37 per cent. of the pre-war figure. That is that. The Honourable Member has told us categorically that he can offer no hope at all of any improvement in comfort or speed in passenger travel. Thank God he has not at least told us that it would be well nigh impossible to have any passenger traffic at all in the near future. I would like to enter a caveat against the systematic under-estimation of the revenues of the railways. Even at the risk of my being styled a bore, I have to give some figures in this connection.

The estimated surplus in 1939-40 was 2.13 crores, the revised estimates were 3.16 crores, while the actuals came to 4.33 crores. For the year 1940-41, the estimates of surplus were computed at 8.29 crores, the revised estimates at 14.59 crores, while the actuals came to 18.46 crores. For the year 1941-42, the estimates of surplus were arrived at 11.38 crores, the revised estimates at Rs. 26.20 crores, while the actuals amounted to 28.08 crores. The estimates of surplus for the year 1942-43 were put at 27.59 crores, and we are now told that according to the revised estimates it would be 36.8 crores. The Transport Member has estimated for the coming year a surplus of 36.04 crores. If tradition favours Sir Edward Benthall, he might indeed be called a happy man. But apart from individual happiness, this serious lacuna in estimating receipts and expenditure should be put an end to. Further the recent surpluses are not indeed real surpluses in the proper sense of the term. To a large extent this is a book entry; from one pocket of the government, funds are transferred to another pocket. We are told that serious maldistribution of food is the chief cause of the present food situation rather than any substantial shortage of food grains. If this be so, I am afraid, neither the Honourable Member in charge nor the railways could be very much complimented on the efficiency of their services.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Sir, we are not responsible for the distribution, only for the transport.

**Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad Shahban:** The boast about the high priority said to have been given to transport of food stuffs is not in keeping with that statement.

I welcome the opportunity for the reduction of the huge accumulation of our sterling resources in the United Kingdom. It is now taken for granted that the Government are shortly purchasing the Bengal and Nagpur and Madras and Southern Mahratta and the South Indian Railways. I trust this would ease to a considerable extent the sterling situation.

Sir, I would like to put a question to the Honourable Sir Edward Benthall and the high authorities ruling the destinies of our transport system. Eighteen years ago, the Lee Commission reported and the 25 per cent. reservation for Europeans came into existence. Now, that we are marching on the onward path of self-government and dominion status, is it not time that this old and obsolete system of reservation is scrapped? There must be complete Indianisation of our transport system.

While presenting the Railway Budget for 1940-41, Sir Andrew Clow stated that it is high time that the railway reserve is built strongly and placed on a secure footing. We are now told that out of 36 crores surplus, 8.94 crores



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is to be transferred to railway reserve fund and 27.8 crores is to go to general revenues next year. I am afraid that Sir Edward Benthall has gone away from his surroundings and has reversed the policy of his predecessor. I wonder why there has been this quick reversal of that policy. If I remember aright, the predecessor of the present Member, Sir Andrew Clow, commented in the Central Advisory Council that the pay of the staff of the B. & N. W. R. suffered by comparison with that of the other systems. Now that this railway has been brought under the orbit of State-run railways, I hope that this defect has been made good and the employees are on an equal footing with those on the other systems.

Sir Edward Benthall has given us the assurance that the dismantling of branch lines has practically come to an end. I am glad that for once the railway authorities have been able to accede to the request of the public. In this huge country, transport facilities are very meagre, and we can ill afford to curtail them still further. In this connection, I take it for granted that what the Transport Member has said is true—that the proposal for dismantling the Matli-Badin and Tharushah-Mahrabpur railways has also been dropped. This railway line is of considerable importance to the people of Sind, a province economically backward even in this backward country of ours. As regards his proposals for modifying the present Convention in the interests of the taxpayers I hope that no hasty action is contemplated in the immediate future. Proposals, if there be, have to be carefully considered and public opinion, I mean informed public opinion of business men and economists, should be consulted and taken note of before any final decision is arrived at.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** I join other Members who have spoken before me, in paying great tribute to the Transportation Member, the Financial Commissioner for Railways and the railway administration as a whole, for doing great service to the country during the current year and during very trying circumstances, and for presenting this good surplus Budget. As a member of the Standing Finance Committee, I came in close contact with the Financial Commissioner for Railways. I found him a very amiable person and always ready to meet any proposals put up by the non-official members before him. I include in this respect other officials whom we wanted for elucidation and who came readily to the Committee and helped it to come to proper conclusions. I do not view this surplus as a real surplus, as has been pointed out by several speakers. The chief contributor is, instead of the travelling public or people who send their goods,—they used to be real customers of the railways, the real customer of the railways is the taxpayer himself, because whatever has been paid is paid by the Government, which means the tax-payer. So, we have to see that the taxpayer does not suffer more than what is necessary and that no heavier burden is placed on him than what is essential. I am very glad that in the present Budget a substantial amount has been placed at the disposal of the general finances, which means relieving the taxpayer to the extent of that amount. If this were otherwise, there would be heavier taxation. In this respect I am wholeheartedly with the Railway Budget that has been presented here. We are glad that a big item has been shown for the purchase of locomotives this year which were not available for several years in the past. I agree with what Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad has said, that we should not go on unnecessarily paying money after money for one purpose. I would like to point out to the House that it is not always possible, according to my experience for several years,—you cannot go on accumulating amount after amount in the depreciation fund when you have not purchased. For instance, if we could not utilise five crores of rupees which may be provided for locomotives in this year, we should not go on adding another five crores next year, another similar amount the third year and so on, accumulating up to 15 crores, while we know that the necessity which may arise after the war may not be to that extent. The finance depart-

ment of the railway administration, takes good care that an unnecessary amount is not put up for a purpose, which may not in due course of time become necessary to spend on the purpose, and that is the right policy especially under the present circumstances when the taxpayer is being heavily burdened.

I should like to say one or two words about the railway administration. When we cannot find it easy to get men from England, the old policy of reserving 25 per cent. for recruitment in England should be given up, because we do not know how long the war will go on and how far India and the railway administration will be obliged to take anybody from England. Though that policy may have been right in the past, now it is out of date and should be given up. First of all, an attempt should be made to get every possible job filled by Indians in India, and if there is any job which cannot be filled by a suitable Indian on account of special training and if the man has to be recruited from England, even then that man should be recruited in India and told that he should not consider himself as having been recruited in England. There is one thing which I do not like in the services—the distinction between a man who has been recruited in England and a man recruited in India. In the former case the man wants overseas allowance over and above what men recruited in India get. I want Englishmen being recruited in India on the same terms and conditions, the same advantages and disadvantages that Indians have here. The policy was wrong, and to continue it now is a greater mistake, especially in these days. All these distinctions,—overseas allowance, and other advantages of leave and other privileges, travelling expenses, travelling facilities, Lee concessions—all these cause a great deal of heart burning among the Indian employees of the railway administration. As we are aiming at, as Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons, and it has been repeated many times,—soon after the war Dominion Status will be given to India,—I do not think that in Dominion Status any such anomaly can exist, and nobody will be willing to keep on to this anomalous position.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Would the Honourable Member not allow an Indian going to the United Kingdom or to America an overseas pay?

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Ordinarily there is no fixation of proportion of services in England for Indians. If an Indian goes to England he goes at the expense and cost of India. He does not go at the expense and cost of England to serve England. If he goes there, as there is no reservation of services for Indians in the services of England, he goes only to serve India at the expense of India. Therefore, that question does not arise. If an Indian will go, he chooses whether he wants to go there or not but here you say that an Indian will not be taken but Englishmen will be taken to the extent of 25 per cent and if this man has to be recruited, then why should he not be recruited on the same pay and salary as an Indian would get? It is not right and though it may have been an inducement in the past, circumstances have changed now and we should adapt ourselves to the changing circumstances. Many things were right 25 years ago but they have become dead letter now and I think the sooner this question is taken up, the better.

Then, I do not like that the salary of a man recruited by the Secretary of State should not be votable. Why should this not be votable, when we are voting the whole Budget. I have never agreed to this in the past and I think the times have changed and before it is too late, the Railway Administration should take up this question.

The second thing which I want to bring to the notice of the Railway Administration is this. We have got a surplus Budget and I am very glad that the Railway Administration is giving a good and substantial amount for the relief of their poor employees but one thing has been ignored. The rise in prices has been very high but the relief you have given is not proportionate to the rise in prices. The value of the rupee has gone down to less than 8

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annas and the man who used to get Rs. 200 is now really getting Rs. 100 only, so far as the purchasing power of the rupee is concerned and you have given the relief only to the very poor people who had only few requirements but can you imagine that the man who gets Rs. 200 in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore and Delhi, with wife and children can hardly make both ends meet, because the prices of foodstuffs and cloth and other things have gone up so high. I think the maximum limit of salary for the allowances you have fixed is rather small. The maximum relief for the people in the bigger cities should be at least Rs. 200 a month and Rs. 150 a month in the smaller towns.

When you praise a man for the very good work he has done, you should not think that mere praise will satisfy him. It may satisfy some people but to people whose stomachs are hungry and who cannot get anything to eat, mere empty words mean nothing. If you sincerely and honestly say that you appreciate the services of your employees who have rendered good service under exceptional circumstances, then you must make substantial addition to their salary and not simply say 'I give you a good certificate or chit'. You have got ample funds in your hands. If you did not have plenty of money in your hands, then I would not say 'Be generous and give this man so much'. I would say 'I am sorry I cannot contribute anything, because I have got nothing.' But here you have got 36 crores of rupees and that is all got from your labouring population who have done good work for you and who have suffered a lot and done their work in conditions of great personal danger. Unless you give them some money in return, mere words cannot satisfy them. That is the only criterion for us to judge. Ordinary labourers in Delhi such as masons and carpenters get double of what they were getting before. The man who was laying bricks used to get 7 annas and now he gets 14 annas a day. The ordinary cooly woman used to get 5 annas a day. She now gets 10 annas. The carpenter used to get one rupee a day. Now he wants Rs. 2, because he cannot purchase his necessaries with less than that. You must give your employees generous treatment so that they may have attachment for you. Mere empty words of praise will not help them. I would not like the Railway Administration to keep these men in a state of discontent. This essential service must be paid for, in a reasonable manner and up to a reasonable amount. These are the suggestions I want to make for the consideration of the Honourable the Railway Member and I trust that the policy we carry out now will be appreciated in future.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (one of the Panel of Chairmen) in the Chair.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall:** Sir, I am grateful to the House for the kind reception which they have given to the Railway Budget, a reception which has come from all sides of the House. It is, of course, the lot of one who has been fortunate enough to present a record Budget and I can only hope that, when the time comes for me, or my successor who is performing this function, to present a Budget which is not so satisfactory, the House will take into account that there are factors over which the Railway Board and the Railway Member and the Administrations have no control. I am sure I am speaking the mind of the Railway Board when I say that we appreciate the tributes which have been paid to Sir Leonard Wilson. I was particularly glad too to hear tributes paid to the Financial Commissioner and his officers, people who do not always come into the public eye even at the time of the Railway Budget but who, I can assure you, do an immense amount of most valuable work. It might also be appropriate at this stage to mention also the Member of the Railway Board in charge of staff and his officers. These are people who are

continually dealing with problems of railway staffs and dealing with them in a most sympathetic manner and not in the manner which certain Members of the House have attributed to them. The care of the staff has their constant attention and their constant sympathy.

There is, if I may say so, sometimes a tendency on the part of the House and other critics of the railways to forget the good work of the railwaymen when things are going smoothly. We hear invariably as soon as things go wrong, but we do not always get the tribute which the House has so generously given on this occasion when things go right. Take, for instance, my Honourable friend, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, and his complaints about the East Indian Railway trains from Calcutta to Delhi. He is apt, I think, to forget that the trains might not be running at all were it not for the willing service of the railwaymen. At the time of the bombing in Calcutta the railwaymen serving the main stations there and the suburban stations were expected without question by the public to stand fast. They did so; but it is very rarely that anybody comes forward to thank the railwaymen for what they do on such occasions. As I mentioned to the House in answer to a question, I was very glad to have a generous measure of thanks paid to the railwaymen serving in and around Calcutta by the Premier of Bengal himself.

Sir, the House has ranged over a very large number of subjects. Some of them are very important subjects and I must confess that I find a little difficulty in trying to get them into order to give a coherent reply. I will, however, attempt to deal with the principal points made by the speakers and those with which I cannot deal will be carefully examined and taken up subsequently.

I will, first of all, deal with Mr. Anthony's points. Mr. Anthony in the time at his disposal endeavoured to squeeze as many points as possible into his speech. He spoke with great speed, with great eloquence and a picturesqueness of language which, I feel, savoured of exaggeration. If the railways were actually run on the principles which Mr. Anthony described in his speech, they would very soon come to a stop. They are not run on those principles at all. Mr. Anthony appealed to me to approach the subjects which he raised with the sympathy which he believed I possessed. I can assure him, and I can assure the House, that it is not only I but it is the Railway Administration as a whole which possesses the sympathy towards the staff for which he asks, and it is not confined merely to words. We endeavour to carry that sympathy into action. I will try to answer Mr. Anthony's point *seriatim* and I am sure the House will forgive me if I do it with rather less speed and rather less eloquence.

The first point that he raised was with regard to a certain classification of workers on the G. I. P. Railway who are called temporary-permanent drivers. He expressed the view that the term was meaningless. I am quite sure that it is not meaningless and that the staff of the G. I. P. Railway fully understand it although, I am afraid, at short notice I am not in a position to expound exactly what it means to the House. Mr. Anthony said that the policy of the Railway in regard to these men was to extract the maximum amount of work at the minimum amount of pay. I can assure the House that that is not the case. I do not, however, think I could profitably go into the case of these men at the moment and will take an opportunity of getting into touch with Mr. Anthony to discuss their case after the sitting.

As regards the South Indian Railway, the complaint that volunteers of the Defence of India Force in the South Indian Railway Corps of Engineers are not receiving Commissions whereas station masters and Loco-drivers on other railways are doing so is, I think, correctly described. I think there are some station masters who have been granted a Commission on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway and that it is true to say that the senior station masters on the South Indian Railway have not yet been granted Commission. The position is that the whole of the South Indian Railway is in the Defence of India area. The number of staff which have been enlisted in the South Indian Railway so far as the Defence of India unit is some 13000, whereas the Madras and South-

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ern Mahratta Railway, only a part of which is in the Defence of India area, has enlisted a larger number of men, namely, 17000. The number of railway servants granted Commission on the South Indian Railway is 175, whereas on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway is 174. It will, therefore, seem that the South Indian Railway are organizing their units more slowly, possibly laying great emphasis on the proper organisation than on enrolling every one who offers. I have, however, no information on this point. The question of commissioning the Defence of India Officers in the railway units as well as the question of commissioning particular individuals is one which is settled between the railways themselves and General Headquarters, and is not, generally speaking, a matter over which the Railway Board would like to exercise control, unless there is important questions of principle involved. It should also be remembered that the South Indian Railway is a Company-managed railway.

Then, Mr. Anthony complained that some of the running staff were required to work an unconscionable number of hours, 20 or 22 hours. He also quoted the case of a driver being out for 34 hours at a stretch. This particular driver's case has, I believe, been investigated and I am not certain whether the facts are correct. However, if Mr. Anthony or anybody else brings to the notice of the Administrations such cases, they will be most carefully enquired into. We received from Mr. Anthony at a meeting of the National Defence Council a complaint to this effect that running staff were being worked unduly long hours. We made enquiries of the different railways and we have received some replies, but we have not yet got replies from all railways. Those railways which looked into the case carefully and have replied have informed us that the running staff are not as a whole working extra long hours. The complaint obviously referred to goods train drivers who are likely to be affected by the large increase in traffic. When there is difficulty in moving all the traffic it results in trains moving slow, and, consequently, men being hung up on the line. That, I submit, in times like this is unfortunately unavoidable from time to time. After all the men who are dealing with war conditions will appreciate that it is impossible to work entirely to schedule. But we have examined the statistics and we find that taken over all the speed of the goods trains has not fallen unduly and, therefore, taken over all it does not look as if men have habitually been kept for long hours on railways.

In the case of running staff the Hours of Employment Regulations do not apply. A suggestion has been made that they should be made to apply. That question has been taken up with the Railwaymen's Federation and it has been decided that the regulations should not be brought into operation during the war, but that the whole question should be deferred until the war is over, owing to obvious difficulties which arise on account of the war. But Railways have been instructed to pay particular attention to the point that the hours of work of running staff should be reasonable and they have also been instructed, where necessary, to engage additional running staff to relieve persons who may be over worked and also to build temporary quarters for them where the situation requires it.

As to the suggestion that cases of long hours are not sympathetically treated by the senior staff, I do not think that it could be justified. It is most unlikely to say the least. At a time like this all staff, particularly the senior staff, are doing their best to operate railways at the maximum capacity, and it is particularly unlikely that during these times the attitude of the senior staff would be harsh towards their men, because it is in the interest of senior staff that the men are properly treated. But if it is found not to be so when we look into this question again and if there is an unduly large number of cases of hardship then we will take further steps to put the matter right. I should like at this point to assure my Honourable friend, Mr. Anthony, that it is totally against the policy of the Railway Board and of myself to countenance any suggestion of victimisation of people who register complaints. We do not stand for that. I am quite certain

that that attitude is very well understood throughout the Railways and have no reason to suppose that there does in fact exist any serious victimisation of people who make complaints. I shall be very glad, of course, to have brought to my notice any specific example.

Mr. Anthony mentioned the question of extensions of service. He asked why did we keep on a number of old crocks who had finished their time. It has already been explained in the course of questions that in the case of extensions, each case is most carefully considered on its merits. We do not keep old crocks. One of the conditions of an extension is that the man should be fit to carry out his work, nor do I think it is correct to suggest that the junior staff are very seriously set back by these extensions. We are of course extending a fair number of senior officers, and the reason is clear, we have to carry on the Railways. We are extremely short of officers. We want more. The younger men whom we can take on may have excellent qualifications, but they have not got the experience which we need, and experience at a time like this is most valuable. There are also a large number of officers who have left the Railways to go on active service and their absence does create a number of officiating posts which the staff who consider themselves held back are in fact enjoying. It is only proper to say how very grateful we are to these senior men, men who have done their time, but who have expressed their willingness to stay on, some of whom, to my certain knowledge, are only too anxious to get away and take their pension and enjoy their rest. We have in many cases pressed them to stay on, because their services are necessary. An older man, who has his heart in the right place and is out to win the war, may be better than a young man, who possibly may be more concerned with seeing how little he can do for his pay. So I should like to express our appreciation to these men who have stayed on and are doing admirable service to help us through the present crisis.

Mr. Anthony also referred to the question of appeals. I do not propose to deal with that today because it is the subject of a Resolution moved yesterday by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and we shall have an opportunity to discuss that fully when the Resolution is taken up again.

One or two Honourable Members, Khan Bahadur Shahban and Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan referred to the question of Indianisation. In this connection, the House might be interested to know that the Indian element in the superior services has risen from 43·40 per cent. on the State-managed railways to 61·14 per cent. between the years 1934 to 1941, so that it is quite clear from this that as the old corps of European officers are retired, Indianisation is in fact proceeding at a very rapid pace. Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan also suggested that recruitment from England should be stopped. It will interest him to know that in fact recruitment from England has been in abeyance for the last two years.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta spoke on the subject of rates and fares. He used the phrase that the rates and fares enforced on the railways were a tax on transport and as such they were vicious. He also said that the present rates and fares were a burden on the poor. Well, Sir, I would point out once again that the total average increase in rates on railways made since the beginning of the war amounts only to 6½ per cent. and that is a very small percentage indeed and compares astoundingly well with the percentages of increased charges of other industries. He also indicated I think that the present rates and fares on food were a handicap to the poor agriculturists. Actually, I think it is well known to the House that since the war began, we have not increased the rates on foodstuffs in full wagon loads at all, so that we are actually charging precisely the same rates on foodstuffs as we were before the war. Generally speaking railway transport in India is the cheapest in the world. There may be a possible exception in the case of Japan, but I have not had recent information as to what their rates and fares are! Mr. Jamnadas Mehta also suggested that we should transport foodstuffs free at the present time. Well, I am sure Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, if he were here, would agree that the labourer is worthy of his hire and

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the railways are equally worthy of their freights. I am not at all convinced that if we were to transport foodstuffs free the benefit would go to the consumer. After all we have seen in the last few weeks a rise in the price of foodstuffs which does not show that the agriculturist who grows food or the dealer who deals in food is disposed at the present time to pass on that food unduly cheap to the consumer. But in comparison with their action, we are carrying that food precisely at the same price as we did before the war. He asked in this respect that we should change our policy. There have, of course, been rises in rates and fares in the past, and this year we are changing the policy. There are no increases in rates and fares this year. As regards transport of food, we are proposing to carry the food at precisely the same rates as before and to make special efforts to give food priority of movement to wherever it is required, and not only to give it priority but to see that while it is in transit it moves as expeditiously as it possibly can over the railways so that no time is lost in transit.

Mr. Chapman-Mortimer said that the tax-payers would be greatly relieved by the fact that there was no increase in rates and fares. He expressed the hope that we have now reached a wartime peak and he added the hope that after the war there might be a revision downwards. Well, I share that hope and indeed it may be very necessary for the Railways to re-impose the cuts in passenger fares and goods freights to meet road competition after the war, but this is a very large question indeed and one concerning which it is obviously impossible, and I am sure he does not expect me, to give any undertaking at the present time. The whole question of road and rail competition, the post-war level of freights and so forth will have to be the subject of most careful consideration. Some of that we hope to be able to carry through in the course of the war but I will remind the House that all railway staff from the Railway Board downwards are extremely busy and it may be difficult to come to any conclusions at all until we get very much closer to the end of the war.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi made the point that the charges for military traffic were not altered. It seems to me that he is a little out-of-date in this matter. My predecessor, Sir Andrew Clow, so long ago as 1940-41 stated that military traffic would be exempted from the increased charges. I believe I am correct too in saying that neither in 1941 nor in 1942 did my Honourable friend make any reference to this fact and I rather fail to appreciate why he should now accuse us; for it did sound like an accusation, of not disclosing the proper state of affairs. It was perfectly open and I think perfectly well understood to the House, and, after all, these charges for military traffic are to a very large extent indeed merely payments out of one pocket of Government into another.

Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi also questioned the rate at which rolling stock and Branch Lines had been disposed of to the War Department, some of it for shipment abroad. This matter was very carefully gone into at the time. He suggested that the Railways did not make sufficient recoveries on account of rolling stock supplied overseas by railways and that railways made recoveries only on the basis of the original cost on the books. That, in fact, is not correct. The recoveries were made on the basis of the price which prevailed just before the commencement of the war, after making due allowance for the depreciation which had occurred in the assets use on the Railways. This was considered by Government—I think it went before Committees of this House—and it was agreed on as an equitable arrangement between the parties concerned.

The Honourable Member also suggested that it was unreasonable that the Railways should bear 50 per cent. of the cost of militarization in the Defence of India areas. He thought that should be borne entirely by the War Department. This matter was, of course, also carefully discussed at the time when an agreement was reached between the departments concerned, and the Railways have benefited from this arrangement. It is very much the duty and

the interest of the Railways that their staff should stand firm in times of difficulty and the Defence of India Scheme was introduced in order to stiffen the railway services in the danger areas. For that reason, since we have had the benefit of the stiffening and since the railway services have stood firm in times of danger, I personally am well content that the Railways should bear their share of this. The Army, of course, are dependent on the transport service and it is in their interest also that the railwaymen should stand firm and the railways operate, so that between the two it seems to be an equitable arrangement that the expense should be borne fifty-fifty.

Sir Abdul Halim raised a very important point. He read out a telegram from the Indian Mining Federation which dwelt on the short supply of wagons to the collieries. This is a matter which has been giving us a great deal of thought. It always does. About 40 per cent. of the ton mileage of the Railways consists of coal traffic. In 1941-42 it was as high as 46 per cent. In regard to the transport of coal, interest very naturally attaches to the number of wagons of coal loaded per day or over a given period. If there is a reduction in the number and this, I regret to say, has occurred during the current year, it is naturally supposed that there is a shortage of supply. That there has been a shortage of supply in certain directions cannot be denied. A reduction in the number of wagons allowed is liable to cause also a complaint from the smaller collieries such as are represented on the Indian Mining Federation. The distribution of coal if it is to satisfy all interests must give the consumers reasonable quantities and to all collieries a reasonable share of available wagons. In both these respects the appointment of the Controller of Coal Distribution has, I am convinced, been of very great value, and it is the general opinion of the trade that he has rendered admirable service to the country and to the trade since his appointment. He, however, has to work with a number of wagons which railways are able to make available to him. We have in recent months experienced very great difficulties in maintaining at a sufficiently high level the number of wagons supplied daily to the two main coal fields in Bihar and Bengal. I have already referred to some of these difficulties in speaking on another occasion in this House. I will say now, however, that as a result of the great attention which has been paid to this subject by the Member of the Railway Board in charge of Transportation, by the Railway Board generally, and by the Railway Administrations, it does seem that we now have a better chance than we have had for sometimes of providing a better supply of wagons to the coal fields in Bihar and Bengal. One illustration of the sort of which is being done to help the situation is the use of a class of wagons *viz.*, low sided wagons and end-falling trucks, which have never been used for coal in the past. They do not carry as much coal as ordinary wagons but every little helps and that is one of the factors which is going to provide some relief to the situation.

The reasons for the difficulty which we have had in supplying wagons I must not go into at too great length. Of course, when you get behind hand in supply of wagons to the collieries it is very difficult indeed to catch up. Naturally, the rebellion in the autumn slowed up traffic and had its effect on the supply of wagons. Later we were seriously affected by storms and cyclones in Eastern India. Recently, as the House knows, we have had difficulty in the turn-round of wagons in Calcutta. All these factors have thrown back the supply of wagons to the coalfields, and once it gets out of gear it is a very difficult and technical operation to get the supply back to normal. As I said before, however, I do think from what I have seen that there is every hope that in the near future the supply of wagons to the coalfields will be better than it has been for some time.

Mr. Chapman-Mortimer in the course of his speech referred to the hoarding of piece-goods in Indian States in the Kathiawar area. I must confess that this is a new suggestion to us. On the contrary we are dealing at the moment with a different sort of complaint,—accumulations of piece-goods in Ahmedabad



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awaiting transport. It is possible, in fact I am quite sure, that Mr. Chapman-Mortimer is correct in his facts, and I should like to investigate the matter further. But such hoarding of piece-goods in the States would affect not the broad gauge but the metre gauge railways, and it is on the broad gauge that we are suffering most from shortage of wagons.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad dwelt on various financial questions arising out of the Budget. On the question of apportionment of the surplus between general revenues and railways, Dr. Zia Uddin suggested that the provision in the existing convention of a fixed contribution of one per cent. on the capital charge should be continued as representing a sort of tax by general revenues on the railways as a public utility concern. While the general principle underlying the Honourable Member's suggestion should be admitted, the object, I submit, is achieved in a more correct and equitable manner in the proposals which are now made, rather than under the existing convention. The tax in the existing convention is, we contend, too high.

The Honourable Member suggested that the present system of building up the railway depreciation fund should be abolished and he stated that it was not the practice in other countries to build up such a depreciation fund. I do not know on what authority the Honourable Member spoke, but so far as Government is aware, and I think we have reliable information, depreciation funds are, in fact, built up by railways in the United States, in the United Kingdom, and in the Union of South Africa, if not elsewhere. Though the actual methods adopted differ in the different countries, the general principle of depreciation or renewals funds is more or less the same everywhere. The contribution to the depreciation fund is on the basis of either the original cost or the replacement cost of the asset in question and its estimated life. On certain railways the contribution is made on a certain percentage of the total capital cost of the assets or at a percentage of the railway earnings.

The Honourable Member expressed some wonder as to the basis on which depreciation was calculated and the rough and ready percentage of 1/60th was adopted. The Honourable Member will probably recall that before the adoption of this basis some few years ago (this basis of 1/60th of the capital at charge) the practice was, as on certain foreign railways, to calculate the contribution on the basis of original cost of the assets and their normal lives. The basis of 1/60th was adopted as a rough and ready means because it was found to yield more or less the same figure as the old elaborate method. This change, as all changes relating to depreciation fund and allocation, has received the approval, not only of the Auditor-General, whose opinion the Honourable Member suggested we should take, but also of the Public Accounts Committee and the Standing Finance Committee for Railways. The Honourable Member, I think, was also wrong in stating that the contribution to the depreciation fund, after replacement of the asset, is calculated on the increased cost of replacement. It is calculated only at 1/60th of the original cost which remains on the capital books. Excess of the replacement cost over the original cost is debited now, since 1936, to the depreciation fund and not to capital. It should also be added that against this extra burden on the depreciation fund, the fund obtains relief in the form of credits on account of released materials.

Several Members spoke on the subject of dearness allowance, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan in particular. I agree, of course, with their general point, that railway men should be adequately compensated. I took the opportunity of my Budget speech to pay a frank tribute to the railwaymen for what they have done. Equally frankly, I acknowledged our obligations to them and I also frankly mentioned some of the difficulties. Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan suggested among other things that the limit of Rs. 120 on which the dearness allowance was given was too low: he suggested, I think, that there should be a minimum limit of 200 rupees. In the Railway Department we are conscious of the hardships which are being suffered by the staff, all of them, whether they receive dearness allowance or not; and I

mentioned in my Budget speech that if that policy, which we hope to carry out, and carry out vigorously, is adopted, the cheap food that we are able to provide will at least go some way to help the class of people who are at present not included in the dearness allowance arrangements. But, of course, when we have to consider the question of dearness allowance for railway staff as a Government we cannot consider it in isolation. It is not merely a question of the Railway Board negotiating with the Railway Federation what dearness allowance or what cheap food arrangements should be made, because Railways are a Government Department, and what is settled for the railways affects all other Government Departments. Consultation has to take place between every Government Department and also with the Provinces who are much affected by any decision we may make in respect of railway servants. As the House knows,—it has been ventilated recently on the floor of the House—there has been a recent settlement in regard to other Government servants, and naturally that complicates any question of dearness allowance for the railwaymen. It is not only the Government servants who are affected by any decision which may be taken in respect of railwaymen, because the dearness allowances which are paid by Government also affect all industrial employers in the country, but I would say this, that I think the Railway Board have a very clear conscience in the matter: they have taken the lead, they have shown their bona fides and their willingness to give a substantial dearness allowance and in addition to that they have been selling grain at cheap prices to their staff; and that, I think, does really bring us again to the crux of the situation.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that what we have to do is to see that the railwaymen get food and that their children get clothes. That is precisely our policy. It is our policy to see that the railwaymen get food and the other necessaries of life at cheap prices as quick as ever we can give it to them. There are, of course, two schools of thought in this matter even outside among industrialists. Some of them, whose opinion was voiced by the Honourable Mr. Parker in the other House, favour the cheap food policy, others favour automatic increases based on the cost of living indices, however unreliable they may be, and the latter category as a rule also favours paying its men substantial bonuses which are in fact paid out mainly at Government expense on account of excess profits tax. But I am convinced that it is in the best interests of the men and of the country that what we should try to do is to stabilise the cost of living of the worker, not only in the railways, but also in other industries; and the House will have noted—and noted, I am sure, with care—that we have made provision in the Budget for increased relief to railwaymen.

The cost of the dearness allowance which was authorised last August amounts to some 5 crores per annum; in the ensuing year we are providing an additional 3 crores in pursuance of our cheap food policy. This is a policy which we are going to pursue vigorously, and with the assistance of the Railwaymen's Federation, I hope for rapid action in the near future.

Lastly, I would say just a few words on the question of the division of the surplus. Mr. Chapman-Mortimer pointed out how relatively strong the railway Budget now is. I think it is perhaps worth while just emphasising that. Between 1939-40 and 1942-43, we have cleared off the arrears of contribution of 35.71 crores; we have repaid loans from the depreciation fund of 30.29 crores, and we hope to build up the depreciation fund to 84 crores by the end of next year and to have a general reserve of 9 crores; and, if the House agrees to our proposal, we hope to relieve ourselves of a liability to pay some 7½ crores per annum on account of the 1 per cent. extra liability. All these points were taken carefully into consideration in arriving at the allocation to railway revenues and general revenues and, as I said in my Budget speech, I am satisfied that the settlement that we have proposed does give the railways a reasonable chance of ending this war on a sound financial footing, in contrast with the position in which the railways ended at the end of the last war.

[Sir Edward Benthall.]

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, I think, suggested that we should be very generous in our contribution to general revenues; he said that we paid no income-tax; in fact he went so far as to say that we were evading income tax. In the United Kingdom people who evade their income-tax sometimes get a conscience, and you will sometimes see in the papers that Mr. X (they never give the name) sent so much conscience money to the Treasury. I am quite clear in my conscience that we are making a very adequate contribution to general revenues. I do not feel that, even with the provision that we have made for the future stability of the railway Budget, we should be justified in making any more contribution to general revenues, and I would like to stress again what I said in my Budget speech, that I feel that we should at all times endeavour to set aside not less than eight crores of rupees per annum, over and above the allocation to depreciation, to the railway reserve fund, to build up that fund to meet the inevitably hard times which are coming before us in the period after the war.

But I think, listening carefully to the speakers, that the House is in general agreement with the proposals which Government have made. I think I can correctly sum up the view of the Muslim League speakers by saying that they favour ample contributions to general revenues while taking good care of the railway reserves. Whether those reserves should be in the form of a depreciation reserve or a general reserve is a technical question on which Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad reserves his decision. Mr. Chapman-Mortimer on behalf of the Europeans was good enough to say that we had reached a judicious balance in our proposed allotments.

**Mr. Chairman** (Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang): The Honourable Member's time is up.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall**: Sir, May I have one minute?

**Mr. Chairman** (Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang): Yes.

**The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall**: He said that we should set aside eight crores for the railway reserves, that we should make a generous contribution to the general revenues, that we should lower rates and fares and that we should accumulate large reserves to be spent in order to mitigate a slump in the heavy industries after the war. The Honourable Member is putting a very heavy burden on us and I would remind him and the House what I said at the end of my Budget speech, that the figures on which we are now budgeting are illusory. We are budgeting on an unprecedented boom; and we are perhaps a little apt to think that this boom will go on for ever. We have tried to adopt a balanced view in arriving at our figures and I hope that they are in accord with, to use Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad's words, "*le common sense des Anglias*".

(At this stage, Mr. Muhammad Nauman rose in his place.)

**Mr. Chairman** (Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang): The debate has come to an end with the speech of the Honourable the Railway Member. The House is adjourned till 11 A.M. on the 22nd instant.

**Maulvi Mphammad Abdul Ghani**: I want to make some submission to the Chair.

**Mr. Chairman** (Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang): The debate has ended and there is nothing else to be done. The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday, the 22nd instant.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 22nd February, 1943.