

16th March 1942

**THE
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**

Official Report

Volume II, 1942

(11th March to 2nd April, 1942)

**FIFTEENTH SESSION
OF THE
FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1942**



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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The Honourable Sir ABDUR RAHIM, K.C.S.I.

Deputy President:

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Panel of Chairmen:

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Sir HENRY RICHARDSON, M.L.A.

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Assistants of the Secretary:

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Sir ABDUL HALIM GHUZNAVI, M.L.A.

Mr. N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, 16th March, 1942.

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.

TRANSFER OF TENTAGE SECTION FROM DELHI TO BOMBAY.

186. *Mr. M. Ghiasuddin: Will the Honourable Member for Supply be pleased to state:

- (e) the reasons why the Tentage Section has been transferred from Delhi to Bombay;
- (b) whether it is a fact that the majority of tentage manufacturers are within easy reach of Delhi;
- (c) whether having to go to Bombay causes a great deal of hardship to the tentage manufacturers; and
- (d) whether Government are considering the question of bringing back the Tentage Section to Delhi?

The Honourable Sir Homi Mody: (a) and (c). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to my answers to parts (a) and (b) respectively of Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's starred question No. 191, answered on the 18th November, 1941.

(b) It is so at present, but under existing arrangements large quantities of Dsutie cloth have to be transported from manufacturing centres in Western and Central India to the Punjab, Delhi and United Provinces for fabrication and, subsequently, substantial parts thereof have to be railed back to Ordnance Depots near the original manufacturing area in the form of completed tents. In view of the additional expenditure on this account and the serious railway transportation position, the fabricating contractors in the Punjab, Delhi and United Provinces have been asked to take steps to move a substantial portion of their business to the neighbourhood of Bombay, Ahmedabad or Central India. These arrangements, it is hoped, may be completed shortly.

(d) No.

SUPPLY DEPARTMENT ORDERS FOR MANUFACTURE OF TENTS.

187. *Mr. M. Ghiasuddin: Will the Honourable Member for Supply be pleased to lay on the table of the House a complete up-to-date statement giving the names of firms, quantities ordered, and prices paid for the manufacture of tents from the date the first order was given?

The Honourable Sir Homi Mody: A statement showing the names of tent contractors, date of first war order and total value of orders for

tent components placed with each contractor, is placed on the table of the House. Information about the quantities ordered and the prices paid for various categories of tents is not readily available. Orders are placed separately for the various components which make up a complete tent and the collection of details with regard to their values which aggregate about eighteen crores of rupees, would involve an expenditure of time and labour incommensurate with the result.

Statement showing the names of Tent Contractors, Date of First Order and Total Value of Orders for components of Tents placed with each contractor.

Serial No.	Name of Firm and Location.	Date of First Order placed in connection with the war.	Total Value of Orders placed up to 31st January, 1942 (in lakhs of Rupees).
1	2	3	4
DELHI.			
1	Messrs. Delhi Cloth and General Mills, Delhi, Lyallpur and Cawnpore.	27-1-40	169-90
2	Messrs. R. B. S. Narain Singh	10-1-40	97-20
3	Messrs. R. B. Bootasingh .	27-1-40	25-40
4	Messrs. R. B. Melaram & Sons. .	13-4-40	34-20
5	Messrs. K. B. Raja Akbarali . . .	7-6-40	33-90
6	Messrs. Padamchand & Co.	7-6-40	50-00
7	Messrs. D. M. Malik & Co.	8-6-40	40-00
8	Messrs. Birla Cotton Mills	7-6-40	50-80
9	Messrs. Delhi Tent & General Mfg. Co.	7-6-40	25-00
10	Messrs. Bootasingh Mukerjee & Co.	26-10-40	15-30
11	Messrs. Bhanu Nath & Co., Delhi and Cawnpore.	15-9-39	51-50
MEERUT.			
12	Messrs. S. Surjit Singh & Co.	8-6-40	21-80
13	Messrs. K. S. Malik & Sons.	9-10-40	12-70
CAWNPORE.			
14	Messrs. Muir Mills Co., Ltd.	4-9-39	130-00
15	Messrs. Cawnpore Dyeing & Ptg. Co.	4-9-39	95-10
16	Messrs. Elgin Mills, Ltd.	15-9-39	95-20
17	Messrs. India Supplies, Ltd.	17-7-40	60-00
18	Messrs. H. Bevis & Co.	4-9-39	43-30

Serial No.	Name of Firm and Location.	Date of First Order placed in connection with the war.	Total Value of Orders placed up to 31st January, 1942 (in lakhs of Rupees).
1	2	3	4
AGRA.			
19	Messrs. Jawahar Tent Factory	21-3-40	37.00
20	Messrs. Pooran Chand & Co.	7-6-40	30.80
21	Messrs. Shiamlal Chimanlal .	7-6-40	28.90
22	Messrs. Kedarnath Shubkaran	17-7-40	22.50
23	Messrs. Lakshmi Chand & Co.	3-5-40	16.10
OTHER PLACES IN U. P.			
24	Messrs. Equipment Supply Syndicate, Lucknow	18-9-40	9.70
25	Messrs. R. G. Cotton Mills, Lucknow . . .	7-6-40	15.70
26	Messrs. Madhoparsad Manmohan Dass, Allahabad.	16-7-40	15.20
27	Central Jail, Fatehgarh	12-3-40	4.90
28	Messrs. R. B. Anand Swaroop & Sons, Muzaffarnagar.	4-9-40	8.30
29	Messrs. Grant Chowdhri Bharat Singh, Muttra	27-1-41	7.10
30	Messrs. Indian Suppliers, Ltd., Tundla . . .	4-9-40	19.00
LAHORE.			
31	Messrs. Chiragdin Mohd. Din.	25-10-39	17.80
32	Messrs. H. Nizamdin & Sons.	17-7-40	9.20
33	Messrs. Rooldoo Mohd. Din	25-10-39	11.30
34	Messrs. Gulam Mohiuddin	27-1-40	10.20
35	Messrs. Uddham Singh Gulam Mohd. . . .	24-9-40	9.70
OTHER PLACES IN PUNJAB.			
36	Messrs. Syed A. and M. Wazirali, Ferozepur and Delhi.	8-6-40	57.30
37	Messrs. Dalchand & Sons, Ferozepur . . .	4-9-40	10.10
38	Messrs. K. D. Bootasingh, Rawalpindi . .	7-6-40	25.60
39	Messrs. Jamal Uddin & Sons, Jullundur.	12-9-40	8.20

Serial No.	Name of Firm and Location.	Date of First Order placed in connection with the war.	Total Value of Orders placed up to 31st January, 1942 (in lakhs of Rupees).
1	2	3	4
BOMBAY AREA.			
40	Messrs. Malakram Daulatram, Bombay . . .	7-8-40	21.70
41	Messrs. M. Allabux & Co., Bombay . . .	24-9-40	6.80
42	Messrs. Bombay Tent Co., Bhopal . . .	4-9-40	12.30
43	Messrs. Husainbhoy A. Laljee, Poona . . .	5-4-40	27.10
44	Messrs. K. M. D. Thackersey, Poona . . .	12-9-40	18.80
45	Messrs. Ladhasingh Bedi & Sons, Poona . . .	7-8-40	20.80
46	Messrs. Sholapur Spg. & Wvg. Mills, Sholapur . . .	27-1-40	19.00
CALCUTTA AND PATNA.			
47	Messrs. Bengal Tent Factory, Calcutta (now Patna).	11-10-40	14.80
48	Messrs. Karamchand Thaper, Calcutta	27-1-41	7.60
49	Messrs. N. Hasan & Sons, Patna	24-9-40	13.90
INDORE.			
50	Messrs. Kalyanmal Mills, Ltd.	8-6-40	39.00
51	Messrs. Rajkumar Mills, Ltd.	7-6-40	36.00
INDIAN STATES.			
52	Messrs. South India Corp., Cochin	19-6-40	17.80
53	Messrs. Rampu Tent & Army Equipment & Co., Rampur (State).	16-7-40	38.00
54	Messrs. Gwalior Tent Factory, Morar Road (Gwalior).	8-6-40	27.80
55	Modern Tent Factory, Alwar	23-9-40	10.60
56	Messrs. K. B. Ahmed Alladin, Secunderabad (Deccan).	19-10-40	8.80
57	Messrs. Aspinwall & Co., Alleppey	18-12-40	5.90

CONTROLLER OF RAILWAY PRIORITIES.

188. *Sir F. E. James: (a) Will the Honourable the Communications Member be pleased to state what are the precise functions of the Controller of Railway Priorities?

(b) Will he also please state the procedure to be followed with regard to securing priority for the transport of commodities and the conditions on which such priority will ordinarily be given?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) The functions of the Railway Priorities Officer may broadly be defined as the determination of the order of priority of despatch of commodities by rail with a view to make the best use of the railway capacity.

(b) The procedure to be followed is now engaging the earnest attention of the Priority Authority. Meanwhile existing procedure will continue, namely priority of despatch is secured for traffic required for the essential prosecution of the war by the issue of priority certificates by competent authority and for the essential needs of the civil population at the request of Provincial Governments and Provincial Boards of Transport. Other traffic is despatched in order of registration at stations.

Sir F. E. James: May I ask who are these competent authorities for this purpose?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I would require notice of that, but I think for supply purpose it is the officers of the Supply Department.

Sir F. E. James: May I ask if any general statement on the procedure that at present exists has been published in any press communiqué because there is a great deal of confusion about it?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I do not think there has. The procedure itself is rather in a state of flux.

Sir F. E. James: When the procedure has become more static, will my Honourable friend arrange for some press note to be issued for the benefit of those who have to apply for these priorities?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: I shall certainly bear that suggestion in mind.

RECRUITMENT TO CERTAIN POSTS IN HOWRAH DIVISION, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

189. ***Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (on behalf of Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee): (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the circumstances which prevented the Divisional Superintendent, Howrah Division, East Indian Railway, from advertising the posts of Fireman (European Grade), Coal Checkers, Fitters, and Examining Fitters during the period from 1st August, 1934 to 1st September, 1940, and making recruitment through examination *cum* selection method according to communal allotment?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state the number of Muslims, who were examined or considered suitable for the posts mentioned in part (a) above during the period from 1st August, 1934 to 1st September, 1940?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the information laid on the table of the House on 27th October, 1941, in connection with unstarred question No. 77 asked by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha on 28th February, 1941.

(b) I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to Khan Bahadur Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq Piracha's unstarred question No. 78 asked on 28th February, 1941.

RECRUITMENTS TO CERTAIN SELECTION POSTS ON EAST INDIAN AND EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAYS.

190. *Mr. Muhammad Nauman (on behalf of Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddiquee): (a) Will the Honourable Member for Railways be pleased to state the posts with grades in the Transportation, Commercial, Loco., Rolling Stock and Establishment Departments on the East Indian Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway which have been classified as selection posts for the purpose of paragraph 2 VI of the Rules for the recruitment and training of non-gazetted staff on State-managed Railways by the General Managers of the East Indian Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway?

(b) How many Divisional, District, and Head office Selection Boards were held on both these Railways for the examination of candidates for the selection posts during the years 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939 and 1940?

(c) Which of those Selection Boards contained at least one Muslim officer?

(d) How many Muslim candidates were examined by each Selection Board held during the years 1936—40 on both these Railways?

(e) How many were declared suitable and given appointments or promotions?

(f) Was the paucity of Muslim candidates due to the absence of recommendations from their immediate officers? If not, what stood in their way from appearing before those Selection Boards?

(g) What are the requisite qualifications which a candidate should possess to render himself eligible for a selection post?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Clow: I would refer the Honourable Member to Mr. H. M. Abdullah's starred question No. 251 on 25th November, 1940. The information in respect of parts (b) to (f) was laid on the table of the House on 11th February, 1941.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I must point out that the authority given to the Honourable Member is for the rest of the Session. That sort of authority is not valid. This authority, however, is good enough for today only, but not for future days.

AGREEMENTS EXECUTED BY RAILWAY EMPLOYEES ON FIRST APPOINTMENT.

191. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: (a) Will the Honourable the Railway Member please state if it is a fact that on first appointments of Railway employees managed by the State, employees are obliged to execute a bond or agreement embodying the terms and conditions of service?

(b) Is such execution of agreement required in any other department of Government services, such as Posts and Telegraphs, Excise, or in the various departments of the Secretariat in the Centre? If not, why such agreement should be required to be executed in the Railway Department?

(c) Is it one of the terms in such agreement that a Railway employee of any standing may be discharged, dismissed or have his services dispensed

with by Heads of the Department without any charge made against such employees in writing or by words, on a month's notice or on payment of a month's salary?

(d) Is it not a fact that no such discharges, dismissals or services may be dispensed with, at the sweet will and pleasure of the Head of the Department in any other branch of services of Government or in the Secretariat without guilt to such employee being proved or except in case of retrenchment sanctioned on the grounds of economy?

(e) Is it not a fact that the present rule as pointed out in parts (a) and (c) above has rendered the Railway Services insecure? Is the Honourable Member prepared to see that the services under State Railways are made secure as all services under Government are made?

(f) Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that in cases of such dismissals or discharges by Departmental Head the appeal lies only with the General Manager or Agent whose decision becomes final? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state what remedy lies against the decision of the General Manager or Agent if the aggrieved feels that the injustice done had not been redressed by the General Manager? If there be no remedy is the Honourable Member prepared to consider that some other appellate jurisdiction should be established?

(g) Does the Honourable Member know that subordinate employees on the State Railways having unspotted service records of 25 and 28 years have been discharged without being informed about their offences, by departmental heads and such discharges upheld by the superior authority although all Provident Funds and Gratuities have been paid to such discharged employees? If not, is he prepared to accept their petitions to remedy such wrongs? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: (a) Yes

(b) As far as I can ascertain, the answer to the first part is in the negative, at any rate so far as non-gazetted staff is concerned. As regards the second part, conditions on the railways are not identical with those in other Departments.

(c) Service agreements of non-gazetted staff provide for action being taken against the employee in accordance with the rules.

(d) Neither in the Railway Department nor in other Departments are employees discharged without adequate cause.

(e) No; the security provided in railway service appears to be ample.

(f) The answer to the first part is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, there is no further right of redress, unless the action taken is illegal. As regards the third part, the answer is in the negative.

(g) I have no knowledge of any such cases and am not prepared to go beyond the provisions of the rules prescribed by Government.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Will the Honourable Member state what he means by the expression "adequate cause"?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: It is not a phrase for which a complete and precise definition can be given. It only means adequate cause for discharging the employee.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: Does that expression "adequate cause" convey an idea of an inquiry of any kind? The employee should have adequate means of defence.

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: In the normal case, yes.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: And in the abnormal case?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: Not always. The man may have absconded, for example.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: If he has absconded, what will you do?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): These are hypothetical questions.

BAN ON ASSISTANCE BY CERTAIN RAILWAY ASSOCIATIONS TO AN AGGRIEVED RAILWAY EMPLOYEE.

192. *Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya: Is the Honourable Member for Railways aware of the fact that the Railway Employees Associations and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation are not entitled to assist individual employees when aggrieved?

The Honourable Sir Andrew Olow: No. They are not entitled to act on behalf of individual employees in dealing with Government but there is no objection to their assisting any employee in the preparation of his case.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

ALLEGED UNMANNERLY AND RUDE TREATMENT BY A BRITISH OFFICER OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I have received notice from Mr. Kazmi of his intention to move that the House do now adjourn to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the unmannerly and rude treatment of a British officer of the Information Department of the Government of India to an Indian I.C.S. officer of the United Provinces in connection with a seat in a first class compartment at Allahabad as reported in the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 15th of March, 1942.

Have any heads been broken?

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi (Meerut Division: Muhammadpur Rural): It is not known, Sir.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): What has happened? Why should I consider the matter of public importance?

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: It is a matter of public importance especially these days when the treatment of British officers towards Indians ought to be on an equal basis.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Does this gentleman represent the behaviour of all the other officers?

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Sir, it is a general complaint in India that British officers

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is not the point. The motion is not of public importance.

Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi: Sir, the train had to be detained for 45 minutes.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): That is another matter. It is not a matter for adjourning the business of the Assembly. I rule it out of order.

THE INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS BILL.

The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Commerce Member): Sir, with your permission, I beg to move:

"That the report of the Select Committee on the Industrial Statistics Bill, which was due to be presented today, may be permitted to be presented on Thursday, the 19th instant."

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Will that suit the convenience of the Honourable Members? (*Voices of "Yes", "yes".*) Very well; the time is extended as asked for.

THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE (GRADING AND MARKING) AMENDMENT BILL.

The Honourable Mr. N. B. Sarker (Member for Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937.

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

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act, 1937."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. N. B. Sarker: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN TOLLS (ARMY) AMENDMENT BILL.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor (Government of India: Nominated official): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tolls (Army) Act, 1901.

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

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tolls (Army) Act, 1901."

The motion was adopted.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The House will now resume consideration of the Indian Finance Bill.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, when the House adjourned on Friday last, I was dealing with the question of the development of essential war industries in India, and the particular point with which I was dealing at that moment was that the plant and the necessary equipment for the manufacture of certain essential war materials might as well be transferred from Great Britain to India in order that our needs might be supplied on the spot, and the dangers and risks involved in the transport of such materials across the seas might be avoided and incidentally the industrial resources of this country might be developed.

Sir, a few days ago, Major Attlee made a kind of complaint that the policy of making India a great arsenal in the East was a long term policy on which more ought to have been done in the past years. If this has at last been realised, I should like to know what steps have been taken by the Government in Great Britain as well as in India to remedy the defects of the past policy in this matter. What long term projects have since been undertaken in India for the purpose of making her the arsenal of the East? Very recently, Sir Padamji Ginwala, who has every authority to speak on the subject of steel, mentioned a curious fact that even at the present day thousands of tons of pig iron are being exported from India to England, some of which is coming back to India again in the form of steel or fabricated articles made out of steel. Sir Padamji maintains that the potentiality in India of the expansion of steel manufacture is great; and this absolutely mad policy, as I should call it, of running the gauntlet of the enemy U boats for the purpose of reaching our raw materials to England and then again getting the raw material back in the shape of manufactured goods, this insensate policy should no longer be pursued. My Honourable friend, the Supply Member, has got special knowledge of the steel industry and perhaps the House would like to hear from him what the possibilities are of the expansion of the steel industry in India and the utilisation of the manufactured steel for the greater output of steel articles, particularly heavier machinery of war.

Sir, we have recently had an announcement that the United States of America are sending out a Technical Commission to India for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of speeding up the manufacture of war materials in India. This announcement has led to some amount of speculation among the Indian businessmen. The deputation of a technical personnel of this character would be perfectly welcome if the

object is to help the Indian industrialist to manufacture articles which might be immediately of use during the war with the help of Indian raw materials, but if this visit leads to the creation of a vested interest in the industrial field, well, Sir, Indian opinion is certainly not going to tolerate it. I should like, in this connection, to make a suggestion, that in order that all such suspicions may be laid at rest and also that the work of this Commission might be properly helped, Indian non-official businessmen should be associated as Advisers to this mission. In this connection, I cannot help referring to the fact that although certain non-official Advisers were associated with the Government of India Delegation to the Eastern Group Council, the general impression is that these Indian Advisers were neither wholly taken into confidence in regard to the more important questions that came up for consideration in the Council, nor were their services properly utilised. My Honourable friend should give an assurance to the House, firstly, that non-official Indian businessmen would be associated with this Commission and secondly, that they would be taken fully into confidence by the Government and the mission in all its activities.

Now, Sir, I should like to come to the question of civil defence. I should observe at the very outset that effective civil defence is possible only with the fullest and most wholehearted co-operation of the people, and in order that the people might offer their wholehearted co-operation, the leaders of the people should be vested with the necessary constitutional authority for the purpose of assisting the Government and the public in this matter. Sir, a good deal has been said as regards the morale of the civil population and it would be idle to pretend that the morale stands very high at the present moment. I am speaking from experience of the part of the country from which I come where the threat of invasion is imminent. I would not pretend that there is no panic among the people, nor that the morale of the civil population stands very high, in the area with which I am familiar. But, Sir, morale cannot be created by any amount of fulminations from the Treasury Benches. Morale depends upon very complex factors which we might as well take into account. First of all, we must remember that the present day Government does not rest on the willing support of the people but on the prestige of the British Government which has been considerably lowered due to repeated reverses in the war. Another factor that has also to be counted in this connection is the persistent emasculation of the people that has gone on as a matter of policy; and now we cannot complain that there is so much of demoralisation in the land. The third factor that I should like to mention is the apprehended collapse of the civil administration of the country and the presumed incapacity of the Government to maintain the essential amenities of the civil life of the population.

We had prolonged discussions regarding the difficulties of transport due to the mismanagement of the railway wagon question as also the curtailment of the supply of petrol. We have also had prolonged discussions regarding the shortage of food grains. As a matter of fact it is very difficult to open a newspaper any morning and not be struck with the seriousness of the situation which seems to have arisen due to acute shortage of food supply in the country. This very morning I came across a press report to the effect that the supply of filtered water in

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Calcutta had to be curtailed due to the reduction in the supply of coal occasioned by the wagon situation. And I should like my Honourable friends in the Treasury Benches to realise whether these facts are likely to help the people in keeping up their morale. Another fact which has got to be remembered is that the army has been a closed door to many of the communities and sections of the people of this country, and it is no wonder that there is a complete estrangement between the fighting forces of the country and the generality of the people, so much so that the very appearance of the troops in the midst of the civil population leads to some amount of panic. Reference has already been made to individual instances of molestation, particularly of women folk, by the soldiers. I have received similar complaints from certain areas in Bengal, particularly one from Kanchrapara which is a very important railway centre on the Eastern Bengal Railway. And it was only yesterday that a very well-known ex-Member of this House made over to me a personal letter which he had received from his nephew, requesting me to give the House an idea of what depredations are now being committed by the troops when they pass through any particular area. This letter is dated Mozufferpur, 5th March, 1942, and deals with the troops' special trains that are now passing over the Bengal and North Western Railway. I will read a few passages from this letter; it was not intended either to be published or to be read out in the House:

"The troops' specials",—says this young man,—“ are running these days over the Bengal and North Western Railway. The soldiers are very rude, impertinent and mischievous. They damage articles and loot foodstuffs on stations. On 23-2-42 some of them entered the refreshment room at Thana Bihpur, but did not do any mischief there. But outside, on the platform, they chased hawkers and broke the glass of almirah and trolley of sweetmeat, took away sweets and damaged utensils. Pratap Babu informed the Captain, but he did not take any steps. On 26-2-42 another batch in the train looted sweets in Tahsil Deoria station and damaged utensils and trays. Satnarain Bhai wired D. T. S. and T. M. as Pratap Babu had phoned the D. T. S. from Thana Bihpur. But no action was taken. On 27-2-42 another batch looted stuffs at Chupra station and broke trays. The Station Master was reported to but he expressed powerlessness. Similar incidents have happened at Gorakhpur, Savan. Bhatni, Sonapur and Barauni and I hear even at Benares Cantonment. The railway officers are proving helpless. The military officers attached with troops also don't interfere nor the railway police.”

This gives a graphic description of the mischief committed by the soldiers, and I should like my Honourable friend to bear in mind that these incidents certainly do not help to maintain the civilian morale at a high level. Sir, I have already stated that in order to enable civil defence to be effective the leaders of the people should be clothed with the necessary constitutional authority. It is a most regrettable circumstance of the present day that in the majority of the provinces the Government of the country should be carried on without the support of the people. I do not want to enter into the circumstances that have led to this unfortunate fact but there it is; and in the few provinces where the Government is being carried on by the representatives of the people, it is not as if in every instance the position of the Ministry is very happy. I know, Sir, that under the rules of this House certain high dignitaries are beyond the scope of our criticism, and I should be very chary of treading upon forbidden ground. But from what knowledge we possess of the circumstances prevailing, at least in one province, it seems to me that

the high officials have not been able to reconcile themselves to the reformation of the ministry. They have been trying their best to undermine its authority.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member is actually discussing Provincial affairs.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: I will not discuss it, but it is really regrettable that the best of relations should not prevail between the different sections that constitute the Government of a province at the present moment. Petty-mindedness and political intrigue should now be replaced by true statesmanship. Mutual distrust and suspicion must now give place to complete co-operation.

Sir, I will now sum up and summarise the points that I have sought to make in the course of my speech. I would call upon Government to ensure the fulfilment of the essential human needs of the civil population, make India self-supporting in the matter of all important war industries including the manufacture of important armaments, maintain the communications as best as possible, trust the people and earn their willing co-operation in the titanic struggle for our national existence, banish all ideas of racial domination in the field of administration as well as of commerce and industry, enable every Indian to feel proud of laying down his life, if need be, in the defence of his hearth and home. If even one of these conditions be not fulfilled, it might be idle for us to think of winning the war and saving India from the hands of the aggressor.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta (Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, it is our privilege to discuss important problems of the day in the discussion of the Finance Bill. With you, Sir, in the Chair this House has discussed about eight or nine Finance Bills. In the course of these discussions many important questions and many important problems of varying degrees of importance have been discussed, but I feel that the present occasion is an exceptionally important one. Never before in the history of the Central Legislature of this country has India been confronted with so many vast problems of overwhelming importance. It is our sacred duty on these occasions to discuss those problems and, if I may say so, Sir, without any disrespect, it is also your privilege to guide the deliberations of the Legislature on an occasion like this. As I have said, there are many problems with which we are now confronted in India. We are in a national crisis. There is, however, one subject which is of such overwhelming importance that that should engage our attention before anything else—I mean, Sir, the political future of the country and the resolving of the constitutional deadlock. Now, Sir, something very important, it is hoped, is going to happen very soon. Sir Stafford Cripps is coming here and on the result of his mission will depend the relations between these two countries—Great Britain and India. I welcome him, Sir, from my place in this House on my own behalf and if I may do so, also on behalf of all the Members of this House.

I welcome him. I shall give my reasons as to why I welcome him. Of course, we do not know what the proposals are which he is carrying.

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In fact, if those proposals can be called a Bill, a measure, or an Act, we do not know the text of that Bill or of that Measure, and, therefore, it is rather premature for me to extend that welcome. But, Sir, though we do not know the text of the scheme which he is carrying, we know the preamble, we know the statement of object and reasons of that scheme. We find from the official announcement made in the House of Commons that the object underlying that scheme is this:

"That crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made Britain wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader."

Now, Sir, the object is that Indians should guard their own land and should defend their own native soil. So, Sir, this is an invitation for war effort, though to a limited extent, to guard our motherland from the menace of the invader; no reference is made here to the war on all fronts, i.e., to the war as a whole. Our efforts are invited with particular reference to the defence of India. That is the object of the proposed scheme. I should think that this is a new page in the history of British India—a revolutionary change of attitude towards India and Indians.

But in order to enable us to appreciate the full implications of the new announcement and of the new scheme, it will be necessary, Sir, to examine the background of the whole thing—the history of what has happened during the last two and a half years. War was declared in September, 1939. We in India were declared a party to the war without our consent. Allow me to say this it was sin unto man and God to involve forty crores of people in a deadly war without their consent and without making any preparations for the defence of their country. It is only proper that before dragging India into the war Government should have placed India on a proper footing, otherwise India would be a consequential target of attack by Britain's enemies. If you are at war you must be made fit to be at war, but this was not our position. Without being enemies ourselves we find ourselves at war, but at the same time without any effective defence. That was how the war was declared. It was said to be a war for freedom, for democracy, but, so far as India is concerned, the aim of the war was never declared.

There was a general declaration, namely, that the war was being fought for freedom and democracy. India asked repeatedly what was the aim of the war, so far as India herself was concerned, but that was not stated; and the result was that India never felt that it was her war. We in this House threw out the Finance Bill on more than one occasion. Congress withheld its support, so did the Muslim League. Congress offered active opposition. Congress ministries gave up office and courted jail. You may or may not agree with that policy of the Congress in resigning office; I for one am free to confess that I have never appreciated this, never understood it. But all the same we must appreciate the stupendous sacrifice of the Congress ministries in giving up office out of respect for their own principles and convictions. The Muslims also opposed the war effort. You remember the story of the resignation of Messrs. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Mr. Saadullah of Assam from the War Council. It was in fact a battle royal between the Government and the Muslim League, and the Muslim League got the

better of the Government. I refer to this only to show that it conclusively proves that the Muslims did not give their blessings to the war efforts. In fact Government failed to obtain the people's goodwill for one full year from September, 1939, to August, 1940.

The first attempt that they made for obtaining the good-will of India was in August, 1940, in what is known as the August offer. That was a political strategy for obtaining the support of India. The August offer, however, was not acceptable to the people; the sincerity of that offer was doubted, it was considered to be too vague, it was considered to be a charter not for freedom but for perpetual slavery, with the inevitable result that it failed to achieve the purpose which it had in view. India remained still apathetic, indifferent towards the war, in spite of the August offer. Things drifted on for another twelve months from August, 1940 to August, 1941. The next stage came when there was the Atlantic Charter in August, 1941. Unfortunately, it was repudiated by the Prime Minister himself, the Deputy Prime Minister's interpretation notwithstanding. That was how our doubt about the *bona fides* and sincerity of the August offer was confirmed. India was convinced that all talk of democracy and freedom was a camouflage, so far as India was concerned.

Then came Japan on the scene, and challenged Britain and America. It now transpires—in fact it is now admitted that neither Britain nor America was at all prepared for this challenge of Japan. Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore, Rangoon and Burma fell—fell in quick succession; fell like a house of cards. In fact Japan came, and saw and conquered. That was the whole story. As a member of Parliament said some time ago, before our very eyes the British Empire is breaking up. So we find Japan at the door of India. We have no quarrel with Japan. Japan has got no grievance against India; but there is still that menace, because we are linked with Britain. Whether there is cause or no cause, there is Japan threatening at our door. The question is, who will defend India? We are unarmed and disarmed, our industries undeveloped—war industries as well as key industries. We are divided, thanks to the British policy of divide and rule. Our man power,—40 crores,—is unexplored and unutilised, our immense resources equally unexplored. Our potentiality, our resources are immense, but the actual power is nil as the inevitable result of the distrust of Indians by the British. But this is a total war, this is a war of peoples, not merely of armies; and this war cannot be won without the whole-hearted co-operation and support of the people at large. But the people are lacking in enthusiasm; they have no heart, there is a deadlock. The controversy went on for a long time as to whose responsibility it is to take the initiative to end the deadlock. It was insisted that the Government had nothing more to do and it is for the Indian leaders to solve the deadlock. It was Mr. Amery's policy of "nothing doing". At last Japan came to the gate of India and our British master realised the brutal fact that India could be defended by Indians alone.

With this background, if you examine the announcement of Mr. Churchill, you will at once understand why, after 150 years, the truth has dawned on the British people that all the forces of Indian life must be rallied in order to guard and defend the soil of India. The angle of vision is absolutely new. I do not know whether the advice and warning of the Chinese Leader had anything to do with this sudden change of policy, but there it is. The question before the Britisher is, how is the object of rallying all the forces of Indian life to guard their land to be achieved. That is the problem—the problem of making Indians feel that

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the war is their own war. Let us now examine the announcements from this point of view. In the first place, the initiative has come from the Government. The formula that the initiative should come from the people has now been discarded. Secondly, there is the growing realisation on the part of the Government that it is impossible to defend India without the co-operation of Indians.

Then again, Sir, there is another thing which is very important, and which makes me welcome the anticipated proposals, because in this announcement there is a clear admission that India is one united whole, one entire united nation; India's claim to nationhood has been admitted; in other words, all ideas and all schemes for the partitioning of India have been knocked on the head once for all. There is a further consideration as to why we should all welcome this announcement. We find that, after referring to the August offer, the announcement proceeds to say that it was not sufficient and, therefore, some advance has to be made. Two very substantial improvements are promised. The August offer was considered to be vague and illusive and, therefore, it is now proposed to make it precise and definite. Another improvement, which is equally important, is that seeks to convince all classes and races of India that the resolve of the British Government is sincere, their readiness to part with power. That sincerity was always doubted. That doubt was not removed by the August offer, and, therefore, this is a fresh approach made by this announcement to convince all classes of Indians about the sincerity of the British Government to part with power.

Then, Sir, there is another important thing relating to this scheme. It seeks to avoid two alternative dangers. One danger is the power of veto on behalf of any minority. That was implicit in the August offer, but that veto of the minority is taken away clearly by this announcement. At the same time there are provisions against the tyranny of the majority. These are the two alternative dangers which are sought to be avoided by this new scheme. It is also significant that the scheme is described as "a constructive contribution to aid India in the realisation of full self-Government", as distinguished from the destructive attitude of Mr. Amery calculated not to settle but accentuate the differences between the different classes and communities. The scheme proposes not merely to solve the immediate difficulties of the war time but also the larger question of the future constitution of India. It will lay down "present and future action". It is claimed that the solution is a "just" one. I would not have placed too much importance on these two words "just solution" but we have to remember that Sir Stafford Cripps is a party to that decision, he is a determined friend of Indian independence, his love for India was not engineered by any opportunism or by necessity or by the exigencies of the situation. He has been a well-known friend of India and Indian independence for very many years. He has the courage, in view of his past record, to tell the Government what he thinks must be done even if it goes beyond or against the decision of the War Cabinet. We therefore welcome him and his mission. We believe, Sir, that "this attempt"—as distinguished from the August attempt—is sincere and *bona fide*. It may be a virtue by necessity,—but we are not concerned with the motive,—whether virtue by necessity or spontaneous, it is a virtue, and therefore, we welcome it. But, Sir, we have not yet been told what the exact proposals are. Therefore, we reserve our final judgment until the sealed cover is opened by the great ambassador.

Then, Sir, while we welcome Sir Stafford Cripps, we have to remember the warning given by the *Evening News* in an editorial:

"Mr. Churchill's announcement is a dramatic stroke. Both Sir Stafford and Indians themselves may be working against time. Japanese will not wait on the conferences and prolonged bargaining. Unless Britain is reorganised as India's true friend, India may go the way of Singapore, Java and Burma. . . ."

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): Why?

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: These are not my words,—I am quoting . . .

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member need not read long newspaper comments.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta:

"Indians standing together with the free peoples can be a bulwark against the tide of savagery from the East. The fate of Hong Kong will be the fate of India if we fail or falter."

I, for myself, fully endorse this view. But, Sir, although I am rather optimistic, I am afraid the British conscience has been roused a bit too late. The great physician, Sir Stafford Cripps, is coming with his prescription, but the patient is already in his last gasp. The final settlement between these two countries may possibly be announced at a time when it will be too late, when England may have nothing to give and when India may have nothing to take.

Now, Sir, this will be a settlement between two countries, and that 12 Noon. great ambassador is coming with the case of the British Government, India will have to present her own case also. What is the case of India? Of the case of Britain we have got an inkling from the announcement that I have read out to the House, although we do not know the full text. What is our case? We should prepare and present our case before Sir Stafford. Our case is this. Our aim is complete independence. We shall fight certainly, but we shall fight for our freedom. We shall fight Japan, we shall fight Germany, but we shall fight as free people of free India. We refuse to fight as helots and mercenaries. We shall fight against foreign domination. We refuse to fight for the perpetuation of any imperialism, either British or German or Japanese. India must no longer be the hunting ground of any imperialism, must be purged of British imperialism and British exploitation. We must be the arbiter of our own destiny. We must manage our own affairs. The days of trusteeship and guardianship must end. Even as trustees and guardians the Britishers have been found wanting. The doctrine of trusteeship is fundamentally a vicious doctrine. We shall bear our own burden. We do not want any outside person to carry our burden, whether that man is a white man or a yellow man. We shall certainly fight for victory. We shall certainly shed our blood for victory. But what sort of victory shall that be? The victory must be one which will make us free, not a victory which will give a fresh lease of slavery to India. The blood of Indian soldiers has been mingled in various theatres of war with the blood of the Englishmen. We, therefore, claim that we must be as free as the Englishmen. We must be paid the same price for our blood as the Britisher receives his price for his blood: We shall fight so that India may emerge as a free country. India will give cent. per cent. support to the war effort, but at the same time

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Britain must be prepared to part with her power. This is the case which we want to place before the Cripps Mission. We wish godspeed to the mission. I have always been a pessimist in these matters. During my public life of half a century, bitter personal experience has made me a confirmed pessimist, but let me confess that on this occasion I feel that there is some hope, some light. I have almost the feeling of an optimist, and I would, therefore, ask my countrymen not to throw any obstacle in the way of the mission but to help it in all possible ways consistently with our goal of independence.

I shall not be unfair to other Members of the House who may want to speak and, therefore, I shall not amplify any other point. I shall only enumerate my points.

On the problem of food front, I shall say this, that production of food and fodder is as necessary even for war effort as the production of armaments. Before we use our armaments we must live, and to live we must have food. Sir, the production of food in this country is not enough even for consumption in ordinary times. We find one crore acres of cultivable land still remaining uncultivated. We find that along with the increase in population, far from there being an increase in the area under rice, there has been a marked decrease in the area under rice in 1941-42, as compared with 1940-41, in several provinces, for instance, Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Berar and Bihar. Our object should be to increase the area under crop, and, secondly, to increase the production capacity; we should be able to grow two blades where only one blade is grown now. Then, there is another thing. In view of the present situation, in view of transport difficulties, there must be ensured regional self-sufficiency. This is a problem which demands immediate solution and immediate action. In fact, in order to avoid disaster, there must be an immediate increase in the production of food and fodder in the very next season. I am very glad to find from a communiqué that a conference has been called by the Honourable the Education Member on the 6th April next—a conference of representatives of the provinces and the States to chalk out a plan. I shall only suggest, as has been suggested by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, that in order to give effect to that plan, there must be a production executive, and there should be a production council to carry on propaganda.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer. I have been specially requested by my Madras friends this morning to place it before the House. As a result of the fall of Burma and Malaya, the Chettiar community in Madras has been very hard hit. They have lost not only all their income, but they have lost all their property. But they are being saddled with income-tax all the same. They pray that collection and assessment of income-tax and super-tax may be suspended for the present. The Honourable the Finance Member knows the whole case, and I shall not waste his time or the time of the House by going through it. I shall make over the representations that have been made over to me to him.

There are one or two other small matters to which I think I must refer. One is the scorched earth policy. Government must declare their policy in regard to it, because it is doing havoc to the morale of the people in Calcutta and other places. The Government know the position

better. Speaking as a layman I do not understand why objects of non-military importance, such as private residences, houses and property which have no military complexion should be destroyed. To punish whom?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons (Government of India: Nominated Official): May I ask the Honourable Member if he is talking of civil defence? I cannot hear a word of what he is saying.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member had better speak up.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta: I shall speak up. But I hope my suggestions will not go in vain. I was suggesting that this scorched earth policy should not be applied to properties which have no military importance. There is a regular panic in Calcutta that in the event of an emergency that policy will be followed with the result that the civil population will lose all their property, houses and so on. It is necessary to remove that apprehension so that the morale of the people may not be affected. This exasperates the people. They become demoralised and therefore it is necessary that there should be some declaration made by responsible authorities on this question.

As regards evacuees from Rangoon, I want to bring one fact to the notice of the Honourable Member in charge. There is one fact which has come to my notice which I am anxious to place before him and that is that in the matter of evacuation discrimination is made between Europeans and Indians. I have been told that there is one road for Europeans and another road for Indians. I shall give the precise name of the place. There are two roads from Sittang to Tamar and one was kept for the Europeans and another was for the Indians. The Europeans were provided with elephants, and provided with food free of charge. On the contrary there was no provision made for Indians for the conveyance of their luggages, nor was any provision made for their food. I have heard the story from one of the evacuees himself. He said there was no provision for water and that he has come all the way by the Manipur Assam Road with the greatest difficulty. He was a leading citizen of Rangoon. He says that if a provision of Rs. 50,000 or a lakh of rupees had been made, the miseries of these people would have been very much reduced.

As regards the conduct of troops, my friend, Mr. Neogy, has mentioned the facts and I should not like to repeat them. I should like to make mention of one small story. I asked a certain young lady in Calcutta, about two months ago, whether she would like to go away from Calcutta on account of the apprehension of bombing. Her answer was: 'No, I am not afraid of bombing, not a bit, but what I am afraid of is the goondaism of the soldiers'.

Now, Sir, the other matters to which I wanted to refer are matters which have been dealt with by other speakers. So I need not repeat them. There is only one matter which I should like to bring to the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member. It is about the position of Banks in India under present conditions. I am sure he realises that the Japan menace is working havoc with the Banks. I am not making any concrete suggestion now. I do not know what should be done. I only feel that some steps should be taken by the Government and by the Reserve Bank in order to help the Banks in this time of difficulty created for the Banks on account of the Japan menace. I shall not take up any more the time of the House.

Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad (United Provinces: Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I shall follow the advice or appeal of the Honourable the Finance Member and I shall refrain from discussing the financial or fiscal policy of peace times and I shall confine my attention to present day problems.

As regards the Finance Bill, there are two points to which I would like to draw attention. The first is the customs duty—raising the customs duty irrespective of the fact, whether it is protective or not, by 20 per cent., without sufficient examination, is a great mistake. I am told that this action has already led to increased confusion in the sugar trade, which I expected. The second thing, which I do not like, is the lowering of the income-tax level from 2,000 to 1,000. I think the unpleasantness which will be created in smaller people by this change will not be commensurate to the money which the Finance Member will obtain by this method. He could have raised two more crores by the lease-lend system. Free borrowing under lease-lend system for the development of our industries at the present moment should now be the recognised policy of the Government. I strongly advocate the loan of large sums of money under lease and lend system.

Before I come to the four points raised by Sir F. E. James, there are one or two minor points to which I should like to make reference. One is the question of Archæology. Unfortunately our discussions have been vitiated on account of the communal colour. We leave it alone. The point of efficiency is really a very important point in the consideration of the Archæological Department. In the first place I draw attention to the Wooley Report. It is said there that the blind cannot lead the blind. There cannot be a more damaging testimonial than this testimonial of Sir L. Wooley. The second thing that I wish to say is that they spend more money on gardening and various other things and very small amount on the protection of the monuments themselves. Archæology has taken over the protection from the Public Works Department. It has deteriorated the position. The third thing, to which I would like to refer, is that they waste their time on a thing which really does not come under their jurisdiction. For example, they spent large sums of money on the editing of a chapter of the *Qanun-i-Masudi* dealing with geography. At one-tenth of the cost I myself could have edited with translation and notes. We have got the whole manuscript with us and there was no need for them to go to Constantinople and other places for this purpose. In fact, it does not really come within the jurisdiction of the Archæological Department. It is not a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The other point that I would like to mention is about the Muslim education in Baluchistan. I drew the attention of the House to this subject last year also and I am sorry to say that the position today remains the same as it was last year. So, whatever I said last year may be assumed to have been said again this time also, because the circumstances have not changed. In this connection, I must point out that education is really a war problem and, therefore, we must help educational institutions. They are really the factories which produce men who will really do the war work for you. If you starve those factories and if you do not help them to be in a flourishing condition, I think your war effort will proportionately diminish. Therefore, I request the Honourable Member, not because I am the Vice-Chancellor of a University, but because it is

a general problem that we should help these educational institutions especially those which are helping in war efforts. They should come under war expenditure.

Now, Sir, the four problems which were referred to by Sir Frederick James were the production, the transport, self-defence and foodstuffs. I would add the fifth one to these, and that is the tendency to hoard silver, silver coins and foodstuffs and other articles. My friend, Sir Frederick James, brought a cut motion suggesting that we should establish a separate Department for Production and Mr. Jenkins replied that production cannot be separated from supply but ought to be correlated with the Supply Department. Of course, he was right to a certain extent, in principle, as we know that research cannot be separated from teaching altogether. But sometimes research is hindered by teaching. In this connection, I would like to mention the story of Hakim Nabbu, because it is applicable to the present case. There was a very famous Hakim Nabbu in Rohilkhand some years ago. On account of the atmosphere in which he lived he developed the tendency that he could not write a good prescription unless his palm was greased. One day his mother fell ill and she wanted to have a prescription from her son. But Hakim Nabbu could not write a prescription without receiving some money. So he went to his mother, and paid Rs. 4 and asked her to give him that money as his fee when he came to examine her. The mother did as she was told and then he wrote a very good prescription. He was also appointed by the Governor to deliver lectures to the would-be Hakims. In this case also it was noticed that unless he was paid in advance, his lectures were of no value. If he was not paid in advance, he would only waste his time and the time of students because his brain refused to think unless he got the money beforehand. Unfortunately, every person in the Supply Department is Hakim Nabbu. That being the case, it is very difficult to expect any production work from them in the real sense of the word. I can understand that in many cases it ought to be combined but it is very difficult to get this thing done from the class of people that we have at present who really come in the category of Hakim Nabbu. If you entrust Production work to Supply Department, put large sums of money at the disposal of the Secretary which should not be audited.

It is the duty of the Finance Member not only to check the arithmetic but to see that the money spent by the taxpayer is properly utilised because he is the head of the Hakims. Now, the other day this is what happened at Cawnpore the constituency of my friend, Mr. Scott. I will give the full details of the case to my friend who is custodian of these Hakim Nabbus. The Government wanted certain articles and the man who planned the whole thing thought that Rs. 1/6 was the right price of that article. He gave an order of 60,000 of that particular article and then invited tenders for the remaining 40,000. One person offered a tender of Rs. 1/2 per article and two persons offered tenders of one anna and three pies. Then, something occurred in the famous town of my Honourable friend, Mr. Ramsay Scott, and then these two tenders were withdrawn and the thing was set right. If things of this kind come within the knowledge of the Honourable the Supply Member or Honourable the Finance Member, then it is their duty to stop them if they are really serious that this kind of corruption ought to disappear altogether from the Supply Department. Toleration is perpetration of corruption and scandal.

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Sir, before I pass to another subject, I would like to draw your attention to three points about this Supply Department. One is the specification. I do not want to say anything more about this and I have already said enough on this subject. These specifications are expressed in the language of the Oracle of Delphi whose statement could be interpreted in any way he liked. But I do suggest that a Committee consisting of some non-official Members and some businessmen should be appointed to go through these specifications and it should see that the articles which are accepted by their Inspectors are according to the specifications. The other day, they mentioned certain articles in their specifications which are not produced in this country. In fact, that particular material is not available in this country. What is the use of putting such a material in these specifications? Therefore, it is very desirable that attention should be paid to the fact whether the component parts of a particular specification can be produced in this country.

My other remark is about the inspection. I have already said that I do not like the system of daily workers to do this responsible work. They say that they have got a right of appeal to the higher officers, but in actual practice this does not work. If a sergeant who is getting Rs. 2 a day has rejected a particular article, then higher officers under military discipline stick to his decision. They ask the contractor to take away the articles but they do not mind if the same articles come back to them in different arrangement to the same place. This sort of thing can only be done if the Inspector's hands are greased. I would very much like that we should have a small tribunal and all the difficulties may be referred to it. This tribunal may act in panels and should consist of officials as well as businessmen, especially those who are contractors. The tribunal should also include representatives of the public opinion. The persons who are appointed to inspect these articles must be highly responsible and well paid men, otherwise there will be corruption.

Now, the other difficulty to which I would like to refer is the difficulty of testing the models. Now, we find many a time that the advanced specimen, which is sent only as a specimen, is not accepted by their testing station, but the articles themselves in large blocks are accepted by another set of examiners and they pass all right whereas the original advanced specimen did not pass. Sir, we ought to have some kind of records just we have in the educational system, that they should note down very clearly on what date a particular article was sent for test, and they should fix time limit for examination and they should be taken to task if examiners do not send their results in time. If this is not done it would lead to corruption. In some cases, the reply comes within 24 hours, in other cases, the reply does not come at all. All these things indicate corruption and show that the Department badly requires reorganisation.

The next point to which I should like to refer is the tentage system. I do not know why the Department has adopted a new policy. I interpret it to mean that they want to abolish the cottage industries in tentage system altogether. To the tentage fabricators they say, they should shift all their labourers and the whole paraphernalia to Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places. It is impossible for the labourers to shift from Delhi to other places. The other difficulty is the transport difficulty. We know that these *dasutis* can be made in upper India as well. I, therefore, submit tent fabricators should remain where they are and not bodily transferred.

I also urge that you should give equal facilities to all. You give facilities in the case of millowners. You do not act on the same principle in the case of cottage industries, that is tentage fabricators. You give to mills the price on profit basis at a price called ceiling price. Now you invite tenders in case of tentage fabricators. If by chance they quote above the ceiling price which they have fixed for the millowners, then their quota is cut off by 15 per cent. first, then 20 per cent. and so on. Why not stick to the quota and give the tent fabricators the same opportunities as you give to millowners without any trouble. I am sure the tent fabricators would be willing to accept it. Why differentiation for your step-motherly treatment to cottage industries and generous treatment to mill industries? This is not at all desirable. The intention of the present Government seems to be to get rid of these people who were brought in by his predecessor. That is an unfortunate impression and I believe that it will be removed.

The next point to which I should like to refer is transport. I expected the Honourable Member for Communications to mention on the floor of the House the future programme he might have planned for transport. No programme was laid before the House. We know there are enormous wagon difficulties. It is very desirable that railways should store coal at different places, at the junction stations and other stations of importance for their own use and they may also allow the companies and private individuals to store coal to meet future transport difficulties. I think the Honourable Member for Communications should encourage this. But no encouragement of this kind has been given. He should work his Railway collieries with double and treble shifts so that he will produce large quantities of coal, this may be brought to different places and may be stored there. But nothing of the kind was done. I expected the Honourable Member for Communications to appoint a small committee to suggest the best possible use of the extra stock. I know there were a large number of rejected wagons at one time. I think it will be good if he appoints that Committee, so that it may overhaul the whole stock and increase the number of wagons. But nothing of the kind has been undertaken. He may have taken some steps, but we should like to know what steps are being taken to increase the stock of collieries which are very badly needed.

The other question is about locomotives. We know that the life of locomotives is decreasing under the present arrangement. We cannot replace them, because we do not manufacture locomotives in this country. It is very desirable that we should take every step to prolong the life of our locomotives. In this connection, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the new scheme of Mr. Raper by means of which he runs one engine continuously for 300 miles. The scheme may be all right, during peace time, when you can easily replace engines from abroad. But in war time, when engines cannot be easily replaced I doubt very much whether a long run of 300 miles at one stretch would not diminish the life of the engine. That is a point which he should have examined by some one in authority, and I submit that his present system of running these engines for considerable time continuously should be stopped. We know that these machines tire as much as we do. Then their life is diminished. This question should be looked into.

As regards control of wagons, reference was made by some other speakers. Before the war came, we had to pay Rs. 10 for each wagon

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supplied to the public. After control had set in, corruption also had set in. The corruption reached the figure of Rs. 100, and now it is Rs. 200 and I am told that the fee for getting a wagon will be Rs. 300, and we have opened the gate of corruption by appointing Controllers. We do not look into the question immediately, I am afraid, the corruption might become still more serious. This is the result of your control. I wanted 50 wagons for war purposes only to make bricks for the Engineering College. I wrote to one authority, I wrote to a second authority, I wrote to a third authority and the result was, no wagons at all. I was told by some person who is in the know of things that I should apply to such and such a station master and that I would get what I want provided I pay Rs. 200 for each wagon. It will not be the income of Railway Member and it would be the income-tax free income of some employees. Is this the method of control you have instituted? These things require very careful consideration. You should look into them immediately.

The next question is about iron and steel. I speak from my own experience. I wanted some iron for some important work in the Medical College. I went to an officer in the Supply Department. He referred me to the Commerce Department. I went to the Commerce Member. One officer there told me that he was not the authority but directed me to Mr. Ramchandra, the Import Commissioner. I went to Mr. Ramchandra; he told me that he was not the authority and asked me to go to Labour Department. I went to an officer in the Labour Department, where I was told that I must apply to Mr. Jones. I went to Mr. Jones. He told me that I should go to the Provincial Government. What really happened was this. After all this knocking about, I got my work done by paying Rs. 2 per ton as extra price. This is truly scandalous state of affairs. This should be put an end to. The Department should be well regulated and priority should be given, irrespective of the fact a person gives money and irrespective of any back-door influence. There should be some responsible officer-in-charge of things who will see that no corruption takes place. If these so-called controls lead to corruption by back-door influence, I doubt very much whether in time of war, such corrupted organisations will lead to the successful prosecution of the war. I do beseech the Honourable the Member for Commerce and the Honourable the Member for Communications to look into the question of control of all the articles. A real scheme of control should be devised and it should be made known to the public. If we know the real order of priority, then everybody will be satisfied that his turn will come in the normal course whether he pays or not. No control each time will be better than partial corrupted controls.

Another point which I wish to refer to is this. Honourable Members must have seen in railway carriages that passengers are packed like sardines in third class carriages. In these days when traffic is so very heavy, is it right for railway officials to travel in saloons? Why not add one more third class bogey and allow some kind of relief to third class passengers. I think in these days to use saloons, except for very special circumstances, is not justifiable. These railway and other high officials who requisition saloons must contribute their quota of sacrifice by foregoing them. We have now reached the verge of war and it may be that the biggest battle of the Empire may be fought on Indian soil. We ought to be ready for any emergency, though I wish very much Indian soil may be spared all these horrors. We should regulate our transport and our

food supplies in such a manner as to be able to meet the situation that may possibly develop. I have just mentioned about transport which I do not want to repeat.

About food supply I should like to say one or two words. Take the case of wheat, which is the most important staple article of food. The normal consumption in this country is $9\frac{1}{2}$ million tons. We now produce about 11 million tons but I think we can plan out for a production of 12 million tons of wheat in this country. I should like to know whether the Department of Agriculture has done something to make out a plan for next year so that a larger area may come under cultivation to produce this amount of wheat, whether they are ready to help the cultivator by seeds and otherwise and see that this quantity of wheat is produced. I should like to know what arrangements they are making for producing this larger amount of wheat which we are sure to require if India become the scene of war.

The second thing is about the control of prices. Here, I think the situation has arisen on account of contrary actions taken by the Provincial Governments and the Central Government. I will mention one difficulty of my own. I purchased three wagons of wheat at Lyallpur and Sargodha but the Punjab Government permits cannot be obtained and the wagons are there. I wrote to various authorities and got no reply. So, if you fix the price of wheat and leave the Local Governments to make rules in their own way, you will lead the country to great confusion. And we have seen an example of that in the sugar industry when the Government of India made one set of rules, the Provincial Governments made a different set of rules, and the result was that we had enormous confusion in the sugar industry. I hope the lesson will not be repeated in case of wheat. The proper thing would be for the Government of India to take stock of the food-stuff in other provinces and see what would be their normal consumption and then regulate the transport of surplus stock to other province. Then after the stock has been taken an export arranged from one province to another where it is badly needed, the prices may then be fixed. If the price is fixed first and the supply arranged afterwards, there will be confusion and the wheat will go underground as has happened now. Then, the other trouble is that Government have fixed the price at Rs. 4/6/-. The dealers sell it at Rs. 6 or 7 per maund. They are arrested and brought before the District Magistrate, who takes about Rs. 1,000 for the war fund and lets them off. I call this corruption, even though the Magistrate takes it for a charitable purpose. It cannot be that if I myself take Rs. 1,000 it is corruption and if I take it for the Aligarh University it is not corruption. I think it is the worst type of corruption to get money in this manner for charitable purpose. I was offered one lakh of rupees for the University, on one particular amendment of the Insurance Bill, and some of my friends wanted me to take it but I refused it because I could not drag a charitable institution into a position of corruption. And I think the District Magistrate who takes Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 for the war fund and lets off these people is more guilty of corruption than the person who takes the money for himself.

The last point to which I shall refer is the question of hoarding which my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, did not touch upon. We know that in these days we must make the best possible use of every

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material available; and it is criminal to hoard anything in order that advantage may be gained when the war is over and better times come. And I think Government should step in. The Finance Member has stopped the hoarding of rupee coins by his wise administration in lessening the amount of silver in the coins; but what about the silver itself? Does he not know that silver is being hoarded as rupees were previously? He should devise some method by which the hoarding of silver bars may be stopped and the Reserve Bank should be the only authority to purchase silver and keep it as paper currency reserve.

About hoarding of food-stuffs I have said enough and will not repeat all that. But the hoarding of anything which you are likely to require for war purposes is criminal and should be stopped; and it is the duty of every Government to take energetic steps towards this end.

I will say a few words about the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps. I do not like to say anything about that because we know nothing about the details. But generally speaking, I should lay down three broad principles on which I lay very great stress. The first thing is that no question should be decided by simply counting brainless heads, but by the wisdom of the argument. This principle of deciding a thing by counting brainless heads is absolutely wrong and never leads to correct conclusions. I have had experience of this in several meetings where I was in a minority, and though I brought forward good arguments my opponents shouted loudly and said, "Let him talk, we will vote him down". If you create an atmosphere of that kind where arguments do not count and the brainless heads only count, it will lead to dissatisfaction and misrule.

The second thing is that we the Muslims have in the past never stood and will never stand in future against the progress of the country. But the progress should not be the monopoly of any class of people. Equal opportunities should be given to all and these equal opportunities should be of equivalent value. It is not enough for you to say that every one can apply for a post but you must see who the appointing authority is and whether one particular class of people has a chance of election.

The third and last point is that the majority community in the country under the slogan of nationalism should not be allowed to rule even in provinces where they are in a minority.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: Sir, I am happy to have an opportunity to give the House more information about what is being done in civil defence matters than I was able to give in the restricted time at my disposal last week when I was replying to a cut motion. In that speech I also had to devote some time to placing before the House the attitude of this new Department to its duties. So many charges have been flung at these Benches in the last week of being peopled by bureaucrats indifferent to, and out of touch with, public opinion, and unwilling to trust the people and as a consequence bound to fail in their attempts to carry the people with them in a united all-out totalitarian effort to put an end to aggression that I was at some pains to try and inform the House of the real facts in the Civil Defence Department. How far these charges that have been so freely flung last week are really meant I do not know, but I always have a suspicion that Honourable Members who make them are

really cooing to their constituents. If I could have seen behind the rose-coloured spectacles through which my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, apparently views me, I think I should have seen a twinkle in his eye when he charged the Civil Defence Department with throwing all responsibility for civil defence on to the provinces and sitting back and doing nothing but draw princely salaries. The sordid facts are, Sir, that as far as I am concerned, and I am no exception, I am in my office by 9 in the morning and count myself fortunate on six days in the week if I have finished my day's work by 11-30 at night. Not only this, but my salary is the reverse of Princely and would make any Prince extremely angry by the time the Honourable the Finance Member and his Bravos of the Income-tax Department have committed their acts of legalized brigandage on it during its passage from the Treasury to my pocket, acts of brigandage, Sir, to which the Honourable Members of this House, who have just laughed, are parties, a misdemeanour which they propose to repeat in aggravated form before many hours have passed. Whatever Mr. Navalrai may think, those are the facts and possibly my Honourable friend may be equally at fault when he complains that his Provincial Government is doing nothing but thinking about certain Civil Defence problems.

In order to meet this kind of criticism, I told the House that in the Civil Defence Department we are warm-blooded human beings with human sympathies and human hearts, that we are anxious, really anxious, to find out, not paper solutions to problems, but solutions that will work in practice in Indian conditions, that our ears are open, our minds receptive and that we welcome advice, criticism and suggestions, and are most amenable to them and we do not consider ourselves a lot of *sab-janta-walas* who know better than anybody else. In order to try and find out what the people of India are thinking, I told the House the other day that we daily read a large number of Press cuttings—all we can get,—we have frequent periodical informal conferences with representatives of the press, which have turned out most useful to us, and we have officers who are constantly on tour maintaining close personal contact with realities. I need hardly add that we are only too anxious to submit our policy to this Assembly and to get from it advice and constructive criticism. More than any other Department, perhaps, our activities are bound up with the lives of every individual inhabitant of India and it is of the highest importance that we should carry them with us in all we do. The Honourable Members of this House, therefore, have a triple role: to bring to us the views, apprehensions and ideas of the people; secondly, to act as a touchstone on which the intrinsic value of our policy can be tested; and, thirdly, to carry throughout the length and breadth of the land assurances to the people and the message to stand firm and united so that for endless generations they will, in world opinion, be ranked with the heroic peoples of Russia and China.

Sir, of the points raised on the cut motion I dealt last week with the control exercised by the Government of India over Provincial Governments; with Civil Defence on Railways; with the lesson to be learnt from Rangoon; and with the question of what are commonly called parallel organizations.

My Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, in his speech on this second reading of the Finance Bill requested me to deal with the remaining points and also to give the House information regarding the distribution of supplies and the supply question generally. I shall be very happy

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to do so if the House will bear with me, but before embarking on this I should like to make clear to the House what exactly is comprised in Civil Defence. One of the very early names for what is now called Civil Defence puts the whole thing in a nutshell—Passive Air Defence. There are two kinds of Air Defence Passive and Active. Active Air Defence is the concern of the Defence Department and it relates to such things as anti-aircraft guns, fighter aeroplanes, dealing with paratroops, and all matters where force has to be used. There is a good deal of confusion regarding the Civil Defence Department and Civic Guards. Civic Guards have nothing to do with us. They are a Home Department concern, because they are an extension of the Police Force and, therefore, their functions are police functions. The main criterion which will make things perfectly clear is this: If force has to be used it will not be a Civil Defence Department subject but either for Defence Department or Home Department.

The function of Civil Defence is to take steps to see that falling bombs do as little damage to life and property as possible and to clear up any damage they do cause as quickly as possible. My Honourable friend, Sir Henry Gidney, has been in some doubt over the functions of this Department and, as a medical man, he will understand me clearly if I say that our functions are much the same as those of the medical profession—partly preventive and prophylactic and partly curative.

Now, Sir, to come to the undisposed of points raised by Mr. Lawson in his cut motion. As I have already said, I dealt with the Government of India and Railways, but Mr. Lawson also raised the question of Ports and Factories and I think his main apprehension was whether in these matters, for which the Government of India takes direct responsibility for civil defence measures, there is proper co-ordination between those measures and the measures taken by the Provincial Governments. Well, Sir, I am in a position to speak with full information on this point because some of the most important Ports and Factories are situated in Bengal and for four months before I came to Delhi I was a Secretary to the Government of Bengal dealing solely with Civil Defence, and these matters were my immediate concern and there was, I assure you, the completest liaison, and arrangements for mutual help, between the Railways the Ports, the Government of India Factories and the Provincial Government. I do not think I need detain the House with a description of what we do ourselves as regards factories and ports, because that is not a point which has been raised in the debate.

The next point which Mr. Lawson raised is an extremely important

one and that is how to instruct the illiterates. He raised it
 1 P.M. twice. First of all he asked whether a large illiterate population does not alter the problem of civil defence to some extent. What do they know about civil defence? They have to rely on the spoken and often distorted word. Do they get simple and correct information? This is a provincial matter, but it is a problem which has caused the greatest concern to the provincial governments. There should be no problem whatsoever. The establishment of air raid wardens is 4 wardens for 500 of the population, that is to say, one warden for every 125. We generally reckon an average of 5 people in a household, which means that each warden only has 25 houses to deal with and so there is your perfect machine and one of the main duties of the warden, after he has been trained, is to visit every house in his sector, make himself personally

known to every inhabitant of every house, make lists of them so that, should the house be damaged he will know how many people there should be in the debris so that they can be rescued if they are still alive, and to give them full instruction on all A. R. P. matters; and for this purpose the Government of Bengal alone has printed something which runs into lakhs and crores of leaflets by now. I have some of them here with me and they give you almost on the palm of your hand everything you need know about what to do before, during and after an air raid. It may be asked, why are we in any difficulty? This is so simple; here you have got one warden who is trained to deal with a mere 25 houses. How can there be any problem. The answer is that we have not got the wardens. In spite of every effort which Government have made by means of propaganda, we have only got about 50 per cent. of the civil defence staff that we need. . .

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): What part of India are you talking of?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: All over India. Speaking generally—I have the figures here and if you wish, I will give them province by province—but on the average it is in the neighbourhood of 50 per cent. and many of these have come up only recently and they will take some time to train. So, if Honourable Members will see to it, when they go back to their constituencies, that steps are taken to see that the people assume these burdens which nobody else can assume for them, then they will be doing a very great service to their countrymen. As it is, as we have not got the wardens to do this work, all kinds of expedients are being used by various governments. For at least nine months now, the Government of Bengal has been paying canvassers, particularly lady canvassers—to go round, particularly in the *bustee* areas where there are illiterates, from house to house, seeing the women folk and explaining what they must do in civil defence matters for themselves. That has been very much extended recently, and I am informed that the Government of Bengal have now employed no fewer than a thousand school masters who have been thrown out of employment because of the migration of population and the closing of schools in Calcutta, to do this propaganda work which should be done by the citizens themselves after they have been trained as air raid wardens. In Bombay, the Government have provided a lakh of rupees for a house to house survey, with the particular object of seeing that the people have a properly constructed room in which they are not likely to come to harm. There is no question that in the course of that survey a great deal will be done to disseminate civil defence information. But the answer is that we want the right number of wardens. If we get this, there is no difficulty in the matter at all

Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam (Surma Valley *cum* Shillong: Non-Muhammadan): What about Assam?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: To point my remarks, it may be of interest to the House if I read out a letter which the Director General of Civil Defence issued to all Provincial Governments which has a bearing on this point. He says:

“It is essential that there should be a house to house canvas by wardens in order that the people may be assisted in making up their minds where they will take cover during a raid. It will be useful if the warden can be accompanied by his wife or

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other woman worker so that the whole household may at the time of the canvass take up their positions and be inspected in them by her, without embarrassment to the women folk. A few days later the post warden might well hold in a small area a practice alarm done by whistles or other means and the people might be again inspected in their shelters. The whole area should be covered in this way."

There it is; that is the only sort of thing we can do in the Government of India. We can make a frame work and we can set up schools of instruction so as to train hundreds and hundreds of instructors and wardens but unless the frame work is filled by the people themselves, the whole thing is an empty shell.

Along with this, Mr. Lawson a little later raised the question of mob hysteria and panic. I think what I have already said about the functions of the civil defence disposes of that as far as I am concerned. It is quite clear that if you are dealing with a panic-stricken mob, you will have to use force—therefore it is not a civil defence subject, it is either police or military; I therefore do not propose to deal with this point

Mr. M. Ghiasuddin (Punjab: Landholders): In that case, your Department is absolutely a non-violent Department.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: We are absolutely Gandhian in our non-violence; but I am afraid our soul force is not producing what we want in the way of response in the breasts of the people who should be coming up as wardens.

Then, Mr. Lawson also raised the question which has been raised by several other speakers, of public morale and the measures taken to check the spread of rumours. Rumours sometimes do destroy public morale. In the Civil Defence Department we are most interested in the subject, but dealing with rumours is the business of the Broadcasting and Information Department. We keep in the closest touch with them, and we are constantly asking them to do certain things that will help us in civil defence, particularly as regards keeping up the public morale. I do not know, Sir, if anybody will reply or whether any reply is really needed on behalf of the Broadcasting Department as to what they are doing, but I did ask Sir Frederick Puckle about this; I asked him to let me know what he was doing and he said that the business of contradicting rumours and keeping up public morale was principally a provincial responsibility. It is very largely provincial, because rumours are usually local things and they only need local treatment in order to deal with them. The actual machinery that has been set up is that all Provincial Governments have been asked to inform the Information and Broadcasting Department of any rumours of importance, and the Information and Broadcasting Department then takes the necessary counter measures. What these are I cannot exactly say,—they may take the form of radio propaganda or newspaper propaganda, they may take the form of suggestions for sending out with their literature and talking points to the innumerable local Civil Defence Committees and War Effort Committees. That is what is done from the Centre, and it is being extremely carefully watched.

Mr. Lawson seemed uneasy about the question of practical exercises. It is extremely easy not to realize what is going on in a city like Calcutta, and for anybody even of the acuteness of perception of Mr. Lawson to be completely ignorant of what is taking place. The fact that you don't

see things taking place does not mean that these are not taking place. The training that is given to all civil defence services is first of all a basic training in general A. R. P., secondly the basic training of individuals in their own subjects, thirdly team training, and fourthly and last, collective training which means exercises where you have things actually moving about on the ground. There is some difficulty about staging collective exercises in many places because of the unevenness of the response to recruitment. For instance, you cannot do very much in the way of practical exercises if you have twenty thousand Wardens with no ambulance or rescue parties, no trailer pump parties which can actually come out on the ground, and it is that which is hindering in some places the final stage of training which is the practical exercise; but it does not mean that the other three stages which are preliminary to it are not going on. There have been exercises on a large scale held in connection with military manœuvres in Northern India, and some most valuable lessons were learnt from those exercises, and further exercises are about to take place on a big scale. . . .

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

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

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

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: When I broke off at the luncheon interval, I was dealing with Mr. Lawson's point which he made on the cut motion, about the apparent lack of exercises, and I trust that what I have said will set Mr. Lawson's mind at rest on that point. He also raised a point about practice incendiary bombs, and said, what a good thing it would be if there were large numbers of these practice incendiary bombs so that the civil defence services might actually have practical experience of dealing with those bombs. I will deal with that point a little later when I come to the point raised by my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, about supplies. Mr. Lawson next took this point. He asked whether it was wise to distribute wardens over wide areas without leadership. He asked whether it would not be more proper to localise them as well as other technical personnel in selected posts. Mr. Lawson's mind is undoubtedly working on the right lines, but on a matter of detail he is misinformed. The whole system of civil defence based on the practice in England is that you should combine your services in what we call depôts. Those depôts consist of barracks with paid personnel, and attached to those barracks are canteens and garages in which the ambulances, the vehicles for rescue parties, the trailer pumps and all the other various paraphernalia which will be called into action in the event of an air raid, are housed, and from where they can be summoned perfectly easily from the control room. We had some difficulty in persuading some of the Provincial Governments that this was a good system, and some of those Governments were inclined to reject our advice and the experience that had been gained in England and to say that they thought that it would be better to concentrate their vehicles in very much smaller groups than are contemplated in these depôts. But Sir, since the lesson of Rangoon those Governments that were doing that have revised their ideas and they all now recognise that dispersion is to dissipate the strength and to slacken

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your control. It is obviously not possible to concentrate your air raid wardens. I may, first of all, explain that what we try to do when we recruit an air raid warden is to recruit a man to serve in a sector which will not be more than 400 yards away from his home. It is entirely local recruitment and the sole function of the air raid wardens is to be the eyes, the ears and the nerves of the whole machine and send messages to the brain of the machine which is the control room. You must therefore have your wardens scattered about all over the place, but we do to some extent concentrate because we have the wardens' post on which half a dozen or more wardens will be based. There will be say, three wardens for each sector, so that when they are not out actually patrolling, they gather at the wardens' post where they will have the comradeship and companionship which is so valuable for morale. But subject to that, you must have your wardens dotted about all over the area so that they will be on the spot when an incident occurs and can instantly carry news back to the brain so that the limbs of the organisation can start moving.

Then Mr. Lawson wanted to know—and it was a very pertinent question—what hold we have got over doctors. The answer to that is quite simple. In many cases we have had to pay doctors full time pay in order to secure their services for the emergency hospitals. That being so, they, being paid from general revenues, at once become servants of the Crown and under the Essential Services Ordinance they are automatically bound to their duty under very severe penalties. As regards honorary doctors, it is open to a Provincial Government to classify them as being the kind of persons to whom this ordinance will apply, so that the hold is very simple.

Sir F. E. James (Madras: European): May I interrupt my Honourable friend? The honorary medical men to whom the ordinance would apply—are they bound by the same discipline as the others who are appointed and are, in fact, officers of the Crown?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: That is my reading of the ordinance.

The last point that Mr. Lawson raised was the question of blood banks; that was also mentioned subsequently by one speaker. The position about blood banks is that if you merely store human blood in a blood bank, the blood has got to be used within one week and will not keep longer than that. But there is a very simple process which needs no special apparatus, by which the blood may be separated into certain component parts leaving what is called plasma, which has the advantage of lasting for several months. You can go a stage further than that, and if you have rather a complicated apparatus,—two of which are on their way to India—you can dry the plasma and it will keep indefinitely, and not only will it keep indefinitely, but quite obviously it is very much easier to transport than liquid plasma.

Sir F. E. James: How many of the former machines are at present in India and how many of the latter are at work in India?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: The former machines, I am informed, are so simple that every hospital has one. There is no difficulty about this. As to the Desivac, I do not think any of them have arrived. Two are on their way and it is therefore not possible at the moment to produce

the dried plasma in India. Doctors have been sent from every province to receive the necessary training in turning whole blood into plasma. It takes only three days to give that training and the result is that plasma can be produced anywhere in India in any quantities, limited only by the willingness of people to volunteer their blood and that, as is the case with other forms of volunteering, is our great difficulty. People are not volunteering and various expedients have been tried.

An Honourable Member: Is there any age limit?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: I do not think there is any age limit but I am not a medical man. Various expedients have been resorted to such as to get blood from prisoners in jails by giving various concessions and remission of sentences. This hardly seems to be a creditable thing and here again the Honourable Members of this House can be doing a great service to their country if when they go back to their constituencies they can do something to rouse public opinion on this question of the voluntary giving of blood which not merely is a perfectly painless process but actually in most cases is a very healthy process for the person who gives it. He is a better man for doing so. That is the position about blood banks.

Now, Sir, that finishes Mr. Lawson and I come to the question of supplies which Sir F. E. James asked me to speak about. The position about supplies is that large quantities of supplies are purchased by the provinces locally. Unless the House wishes it, I will not give them a list but if that would be of interest to the House, I should be very pleased to give it. There are other things which the Government of India deals with centrally and, apart from a fairly large number of technical items which would be of such interest to the enemy that I will ask the House to excuse me from going into details of what those are, apart from quite a large number of those technical items of supply, the main things which the Central Government arranges to supply to all provinces are trailer pumps, fire hose, fire fighting shields, stirrup pumps, steel helmets, water bottles, stretchers, sirens, certain items of equipment for rescue parties and equipment for camouflage. Our method of supply of these things is through the Supply Department, so that Mr. Jenkins' remarks the other day about the lag that there has been in supply applies to our A. R. P. supplies. The supply position has been extremely unsatisfactory. There has been an extreme shortage of everything we needed but it is now very much improved and by the middle of May we anticipate being in a very strong position and in an increasingly strong position thereafter. I would also ask the indulgence of the House in not pressing me to give information as to the present distribution of our supplies, because it is quite obvious that if that distribution showed weakness in certain areas it would be information of the greatest value to the enemy and would merely invite attack on those areas where the distribution, rightly or wrongly, has not been as high as in other areas but the whole question of distribution is one which is most carefully controlled by the Civil Defence Department in consultation with the General Staff in accordance with the military appreciation of the situation which we get very frequently and as regards the more essential articles of supply for civil defence we quite frequently change the classification of the places and the order of priority in which they are entitled to get their supply before other people get it and I may say that

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our position is very fluid on account of the great public spirit which is being shown in the provinces. There was one part of India which a year ago was considered to be under fairly imminent threat of danger. We concentrated our supplies of civil defence equipment in that province and starved the others. The tide of war has temporarily swung in a different direction. That province is no longer under anything like so imminent a threat. There are others which are imminently threatened. The province which we had fed fairly lavishly immediately consented to give up the equipment we had given them and to have it transferred to the province which was in greater danger and that is a position which will continue and we shall be able to move our stuff about to the areas where it is most needed. I think it will be of some interest to the House if I give them an idea of the future supply position. In regard to trailer pumps, we have now got an order for 3,400. That represents an expenditure of something in the neighbourhood of three crores of rupees and these trailer pumps are going to come pouring in at the rate of about 300 a month commencing almost at once, and we hope there will be a steady stream of them but the position on the seas is uncertain and we cannot count of any ship arriving with certainty in India. And so we have started the necessary arrangements for the manufacture of a satisfactory trailer pump on mass production lines in India itself. We have made a certain number already in India but those were not made on mass production lines and have not proved in every respect satisfactory. But we anticipate that by going into mass production we shall get a standard article which will be as satisfactory as the imported pumps.

Stirrup pumps. We have ordered 5,66,000 stirrup pumps. That will cost us about a crore and a half rupees.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: When the Honourable Member says they will cost you so much money, surely a good deal of it you are going to get back from the individuals who buy them.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: The bulk of them will be supplied as public equipment to house fire parties for the protection of the public.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I ask what will happen to the factories whom you have not supplied?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: I would very much appreciate it if I might be asked these questions after I have finished my speech.

Stirrup pumps are now being made in India at a rate of approximately 12,000 a month and it is expected that this will be increased to 33,000 a month, commencing in April. Our weakness in stirrup pumps in the past was that for various reasons they had to be made of galvanised iron and we could not be certain that galvanised iron stirrup pumps would not rust and go out of commission. But a brand new type of stirrup pump, which we think is superior to the stirrup pump which is a standard specification in England, has been evolved in India and is now going into mass production. The working parts of this are of cast brass and we think they are completely fool-proof and that they can never go wrong.

The next item of supply is steel helmets for the civil defence services of which we have 3,80,000 on order to cover all our requirements. Those are being produced at the rate of 40 to 50 thousand a month and our requirements will be entirely covered in the near future.

Sirens. We have ordered 501 sirens which will give us all that is considered necessary at present. Sirens have not in the past been particularly satisfactory and we hope that we now will get a type of siren which will give the warning properly.

We have 100,000 water bottles ordered through the Supply Department and we have got a million feet of fire hose on order from the United Kingdom. A tremendous amount of fire hose has poured into the country since the war began and has mainly been purchased locally by Provincial Governments. I do not think there is likely to be one inch of fire hose in the country lying in a shop for sale but our million feet will supplement what the provinces have already purchased and will cover our present foreseen requirements.

The next item of supply is stretchers and we have ordered 35,000 of those from the Supply Department and delivery has been promised in lots of 5,000 a month from March.

Identity discs. We have told all provinces that if they wish to have identity discs, we will supply them from the Centre. For the present requirements of India with our 102 classified towns containing a population of 13 million people, we are prepared to go into mass production and produce 15 million identity discs and we have actually placed the order, and work is now going on, for five million.

Last on the list of supplies are practice incendiary bombs, and Mr. Lawson will be glad to hear that we have on order 45,000. We have already delivered to the Provinces for practice purposes 31,766. There is a good deal of work being done with practice incendiary bombs in the Provinces. It is not work that is spectacular to those who do not know how it is going on. What is done is to make what is called a fire hut of asbestos. It is filled with furniture and made like a room and there the fire services are trained. They are shut in with the incendiary bombs and they have to put them out. But nobody outside knows what is going on inside.

It may be of interest to mention medical supplies. The general position about medical supplies is that the Provincial Governments have been buying freely in the local markets and the services of the medical supply store depots have also been placed at their disposal and they have been invited to indent on those store depots for medical supplies which they need. The Government of India are now building up a Central reserve of all hospital stores, drugs, dressings, bandages and everything else that goes to make up a hospital, sufficient for 10,000 beds. We are also starting to build up a Central store of casualty first aid equipment sufficient for 45,000 casualties. The stores in these reserve depots will be available to replenish provincial stocks in any area where there is a severe drain on their stocks, but the position is fairly satisfactory. The Provinces have got pretty well enough for their initial requirements and they are busy now building up a reserve for themselves.

Sir F. E. James: May I ask my Honourable friend one question? In regard to medical supplies which cannot be obtained in this country and

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therefore have to be imported from the United Kingdom or the United States of America, is priority given to any demands for hospitals, more especially in vulnerable areas?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: I am very sorry I cannot answer that off-hand. We have a special supply officer who, no doubt, could answer that question. That is a matter of detailed administration which is not in my hands. But I may say this that as far as possible indigenous items are included in all the equipment. We try to include as little as possible of stuff that has to be imported, but there is a certain amount which at present has to be imported from either the United Kingdom or from the United States of America. Orders have been placed for these things, but I understand that a great deal has been done in the way of being able to produce medical requisites in India which had never been produced here before and the need for import is very much less than it was.

In conclusion, Sir, I will come to the question of evacuation. The speeches that have been made on this question of evacuation 3 P.M. show that this is a matter about which Honourable Members are uneasy. They feel that all responsibility has been thrown on Provincial Governments and that those Governments have not got beyond the stage of thinking of doing something rather nebulous. Honourable Members feel that cut and dried plans for evacuation are necessary and that the public not only should not be kept in the dark about the general plan, but should be given general information as not to create panic or the impression that Government expect the enemy everywhere and anywhere, but on the contrary, it would allay uneasiness and lead the people to make up their minds to stay in their towns in the knowledge that should it be necessary for them to leave those towns, they would not be put to any unnecessary hardship and suffering. The Government of India recognise the reasonableness of these apprehensions and we are glad that they have been brought to notice by this Assembly. In considering evacuation, we must hold clearly before our eyes exactly what our object is. The main object of an enemy in bombing civil population in towns is to destroy morale, cause panic and paralyse the life of the community and so bring the war effort to a stand still. How are we going to react to this? If we are going to encourage the population to leave a city as soon as it is attacked, and to give the population the impression that this is a proper and reasonable thing to do, we are going to play the enemy's game and we are going to secure his object for him with the minimum of trouble on his part. The only answer to the enemy is to refuse to be daunted by him and to stand fast and 'take it'. Evacuation then needs very careful thought and the policy which the Government of India have asked the Provincial Governments to follow is that first and foremost all those who have work to do in a city or who can help in social or civil defence organisations should at all costs stay at their posts and should never yield.

As regards those who do not fall in those two classes, nothing should be done to prevent them from leaving their city if they wish to and if they intend to leave, it is better that they should do so before real trouble starts. It was left to Provincial Governments to decide when the time was ripe to advise this class to leave their city, and the Madras Government *communique* which has been subject of a question in this House and was mentioned

by my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, in his speech the other day is an instance of a decision taken by one Government on those lines.

Maulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib Bahadur (South Madras : Muhammadan) : Was that decision arrived at by the Government of Madras in consultation with the Government of India?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: No, Sir.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai (Sind : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : If they have been asked to go away from the city, are any arrangements made for their stay in the mufassals or are they left to shift for themselves and find out a place for themselves?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: They have to go and find it out for themselves.

Although we say to people that those who have work to do in the city should never yield, yet experience shows that when the first bombs fall, there may be an irresistible urge on the part of what may be a considerable number of people to get away, anywhere, but away, from the scenes of the bombing and this urge is one that must be provided for. It has been found that unless very good provision is made for unfortunate people of this class whose nerve has been temporarily broken, but by no means permanently broken, they suffer great hardship and it is difficult to restore their morale quickly.

The general plan, therefore, is to prepare in advance at pre-arranged places on or near roads leading out of the city refuge camps where those refugees can get simple shelter, food, water and medical attention and also accurate news of the real extent of the damage in the city, and of conditions in it so that they may have fresh heart put into them and time to decide what to do. The hope and intention of Government is that the majority will be persuaded to return to their homes and their work and experience shows that this is the general tendency and that once a person has done this, he has become, so to speak, inoculated against panic and does not give way to it again.

Indeed, Sir, the pople of India will find, as other people have done, that air raids are not very dreadful things and do surprisingly little damage to people who stay in their houses or take cover while the raid is actually taking place. I cannot speak from personal experience of air raids, but I am able to speak from personal experience of artillery bombardment of towns full of civilians. Artillery bombardment is a much more frightful thing than any air raid that we are likely to experience and a quarter of a century and more ago, I lived myself in many towns and villages in France and Flanders which were incredibly battered and were under frequent and sometimes constant bombardment by hundreds of guns. They from the outside looked like towns of the dead, but in reality life was going on inside them very much the same as usual and men, women and children went about their affairs more or less unperturbed. They got used to it and took very little notice of it; and that is what will happen to anybody who holds fast at the beginning when everything is strange and frightening merely because it is an unknown new experience entirely outside the normal ken.

Elaborate plans have been made by the railways to move large numbers of unessential people, if necessary, from big cities and to see that

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they do not suffer hardship while they are being taken to places where they can find accommodation. The heavy evacuation from Calcutta when 700,000 people were moved by the railways in a few weeks is an instance of how these railway plans were actually applied at a time of necessity. Not only have the railways got very careful plans but arrangements have also been made to accommodate large numbers of people of various classes in a number of places all over India which are not considered to be likely to suffer from air-raids, at any rate in the first instance. What these places are it is not necessary or desirable to specify; it is sufficient to say that there are arrangements in existence for providing for this class of person. But it will be quite clear to Honourable Members that every time any town is raided we cannot have a large population rushing about India demanding to live somewhere else. Since the inception of these railway plans and the alternative accommodation plans the change for the worse in the military situation has put a greater strain on railway communications than was envisaged at the time the schemes were framed; and it is doubtful whether the railways now will be able to guarantee to spare the necessary rolling stock or the running space on their lines to carry large numbers of civilian passengers long distances. The practical situation that has to be faced is that it may be out of the question to provide for what I might call inter-provincial movements of large numbers of civilians, and therefore each province must be prepared to deal with its own refugee population and that more than ever people must make up their minds that in the event of air-raids it will not be possible for them to move very far from the place where they live, and that Government will be more interested in trying to check such movements than to encourage them. I am not referring in this connection to people who have actually lost their homes and their belongings. There are schemes to deal with this class and Government recognise their duty and responsibility for the care of people on whom this kind of personal calamity has fallen.

As regards those who decide to leave a city before any enemy action has occurred, it is not the intention of Government to make any arrangements such as advising where they should go and indications from cities such as Calcutta are that such assistance is not called for. It is estimated that something in the neighbourhood of 700,000 people have voluntarily evacuated that city and Government hope that many of these will return. Those who have evacuated are by no means all well-to-do and idle persons. The sinking of tube wells in the city was seriously interfered with because the bulk of the men engaged in the work left. *Malis, mehtars, dhobias* and many others of the poorer classes have made themselves scarce without any help from Government. Perhaps this brief silhouette of the actual facts of voluntary evacuation in one city will make Honourable Members realise the danger to those of the community who must stay if evacuation is made fashionable and is encouraged. Another practical effect is the serious effect the loss of so many ratepayers, as a result of mass evacuation, has on the finances of the local self-governing bodies.

That, Sir, in general outline is what we propose as regards evacuation, and it is in our view of the highest importance that the general public should get thoroughly used to the idea that they must stay with quiet hearts and steadfast courage in their own homes when an aggressor comes

along and tries to drive them out; and we hope that Honourable Members of the House will agree with that policy and will do their utmost to spread it and advocate it in their constituencies.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Sir, may I ask one question before the Honourable Member sits down? He told us that a number of trailer pumps and stirrup pumps were either on their way or being manufactured. If these are meant for institutions under Government control, when are factories, whom Government are compelling to buy these pumps, going to get them?

Mr. N. V. H. Symons: I am sorry. I did not understand the Honourable Member before. The whole thing is governed by priorities, and I can give an illustration from what I was saying just now of the movement of certain articles of civil defence equipment from less threatened provinces which previously had been imminently threatened, to other provinces. Let me give one instance of trailer pumps. Large numbers of trailer pumps were moved from one province to another. These did not go to the ordinary civil defence services; they went to the most important factories. And any factory that is engaged on important work will get its quota along with Civil Defence Services and quite possibly before it. Other concerns will have to wait till the needs that Government consider more essential have been met.

Dr. Rajah Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I do not propose to speak at any length on the Finance Bill but will confine myself to one or two points which concern the overseas business of Indians and the hardships imposed on them by the Income-tax Department. The House knows that there is a large number of Indians carrying on business in Burma and Malaya. These countries have been occupied by the Japanese. The Indians have become victims of foreign invasion. It is my painful duty to refer in this connection to the hardships they are being subjected to by the Income-tax Department. Now, Sir, as I have said just now, Malaya and Burma have been occupied, or most part of Burma has been occupied, by the Japanese. The Indians carrying on business in those countries do not know how much of their properties has been destroyed by enemy action and what part of it still remains. They do not know where their agents and partners are, they do not know whether they are alive or dead. At the earlier stages we heard of them fleeing from one place to another for their lives.

We hear now and then of the 'scorched earth' policy—destruction of our properties by our own Government in order not to enable the enemy to make use of them. Letters and telegrams have been stopped entirely, except in the case of Burma where a small area is still available for communication. The latest information is even that has been stopped or is likely to be stopped.

Sir, these are the conditions of the Indians and their properties in the Japanese-occupied countries. But these do not matter at all to the Indian Income-tax Officer. He goes on, in his usual way, as if nothing has happened, issuing notices, carrying on assessment proceedings, levying and collecting tax and imposing penalties for default. I know of a case where an Income-tax Officer issued a notice for the payment of tax,

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and at the same time the officer warned the assessee if the tax is not paid within a week's time he will render himself liable to a penalty equal to the amount of tax.

Sir, we in this country naturally expect the Government of India to render all possible assistance to the Indians in distress. They have no one else to look to for protection. A deputation of the Income-tax assesseees waited the other day on the Income-tax Commissioner, Madras and represented to him their grievances. He showed considerable sympathy but said that his hands were tied and that unless special instructions were received he could not but proceed according to the provisions laid down in the Act. Sir, it is against justice and equity that the Government should levy tax on the incomes supposed to have arisen from business and properties in Malaya and Burma which have totally disappeared. It may be said that the properties will be restored to their rightful owners after the success of the Allied Arms. Success to the British Arms is what we wish and pray for, but it will be long before the properties are returned to their owners. It is only fair and reasonable that the levy of tax on incomes from Malaya and Burma should at least be suspended till the termination of the war.

It may further be said that tax may be paid if the assessee is in a position to pay. It is problematical. If the question of ability to pay is left to the decision of the Income-tax Officers, I believe it will not be an exaggeration to say that in most cases the decision will go against the assessee. The business, trades, and properties of all the assesseees, without any distinction, have disappeared. In other words the very source responsible for the levy of tax has disappeared. Sir, at a time when the assesseees are broken-hearted because of the loss of their entire business and properties, it will be a great hardship if the Government press them for the payment of tax and add to their sufferings. There are communities in several areas in this country who depended solely on the incomes they were deriving from Malaya and Burma like the Chettiars of Madras, the Surtis of Surat and many other communities in various parts of the country. They are amongst the worst sufferers on account of the situation created by the war. The Chettiars, with very few exceptions, had invested their all in Malaya and Burma now occupied by the Japanese and were dependent entirely on the income they were deriving from their business and investments in those countries. Now, Sir, that source has been stopped and how they will be able to get on in life hereafter is more than what one can imagine.

Sir, these people deserve better treatment because of the loss of their entire business and properties. This enterprising community has been contributing towards the revenues of Government for a long time large sums by way of income-tax, super-tax and other taxes. They have done their best for war efforts, they have contributed generously towards war funds of which there were many calls on them. Sir, having regard to the existing circumstances with a depressing present and a gloomy future before them, their position is one of utter helplessness and despair and the least that the Government could do is to stop the assessment proceedings and collection of taxes. Sir, I am asking for the suspension of collection of taxes only on the incomes from Malaya and Burma. I appeal to the Government for humanitarian treatment to them in the sad calamity which has befallen them.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Mr. Deputy President, as my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, remarked in his own inimitable style the other day, most of the speakers who have preceded me in this debate have said very little about the Finance Bill and have quite freely wandered in a region of a multitude of subjects, so that, if I also like those speakers take up topics other than the Finance Bill and leave the Finance Bill to take care of itself, I hope I shall be erring in good company. I shall, Sir, make a few observations about some of the points which have cropped up in the course of this debate and have been touched by the previous speakers.

My Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, whom I do not find in the House at the moment, was first in the field to discuss the forthcoming visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India on a mission of very great moment. Mr. Churchill in the course of the official statement made by him in the House of Commons had pleaded for silence on the point and said that no words would be spoken or debates held there or in India which would add to the burden Sir Stafford Cripps has assumed in his mission or lessen the prospects of good result. Qaide-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have refused to express any opinion in the matter, but my Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, preferred to unburden his anxious mind and proceeded not only to discuss but to criticise the official statement made on the point in the House of Commons. Some other speakers also made a reference to the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps which appears to have been the natural result of this topic having been started by Sardar Sant Singh. Now, Sir, the point having been made the subject matter of certain remarks on the floor of this House, it would not perhaps do for me to allow an adverse impression to be created by allowing the case for the All-India Muslim League to go by default or to allow *ex parte* consideration of the matter so far as this House is concerned, but bearing in mind the fact that our leader has suspended judgment in the matter, we need not be anxious to offer any opinion on the many points which have been raised in connection with the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India. I shall, therefore, make only a few remarks which will not betray any bias one way or the other as to the mission on which Sir Stafford Cripps is coming to India, because we do not know anything about it. It is all a sealed book to us.

The British War Cabinet is said by Mr. Churchill to have arrived at certain just and final conclusions in the matter of the constitutional future of India, but what those conclusions are nobody yet knows outside the circle of the British War Cabinet. In fact, the impression is that even the Government of India here do not know anything about them. The conclusions at which the War Cabinet is said to have arrived are described as just and final. Even that does not indicate much. The term "just" may or may not have been used in the dictionary sense of the word; it may have been used in a political sense, and in politics, as everybody knows, 'just' very often means expedient. They are also described as final. I do not know in what sense they are final. They may be final in the sense that during the continuance of the war nobody will be allowed to make any effort to get them changed, or are they final not only for the period of the war but for all future? Anyhow the use of those terms 'just and final' and also the fact that Sir Stafford Cripps is said to be coming to India in order to make the chief political parties and the leaders of India agree to those 'just and final conclusions' has very much

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mystified the public about this matter. But not knowing what has been decided, not even knowing what the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps is, how he will be able to make Indian leaders and the Indian political parties and other parties concerned in the future constitution of India agree to accept those 'just and final' conclusions without disclosing them, all these questions are directly or indirectly being discussed in the press and even on the platform. Anyhow, it is premature to discuss that subject in right earnest on the floor of the House, and all I want to say is that Sardar Sant Singh did not do the right thing in starting that discussion on the floor of the House. I leave that point there. I can afford to wait in the hope that all will turn out well.

It is really the several points which were discussed by another of my Honourable friends, Mr. Kailash Behari Lal, who also does not appear to be present in the House at the moment, that have induced me to ask your indulgence to allow me to take some time of the House. He treated us to a long and impassioned indictment of the policy of divide and rule which the British have followed in India. Of course, I hold no brief for the British, although I must say that I cannot subscribe unreservedly to the thesis that the entire and sole responsibility for the existence of divisions, differences, bickerings, quarrels, riots and other things which go on between community and community in India lies at the door of the British. We know very well that the very history of British connection with India was such that the rulers might very well, or perhaps did in fact take steps to consolidate their position by various devices and methods, and one of them may have been and probably was to pursue to a certain extent this much talked of policy of divide and rule. The British had succeeded Muslim rule, which at the time meant the rule of the Moghul Emperors, and loyalty to the Moghul rulers had struck its roots deep in the hearts and souls of the population. We find some remnants of that loyalty even today. It was naturally necessary for the British, therefore, to weed out that wide-spread and deep-rooted growth and sow in its place the seeds of loyalty to the new rulers. The process of weeding must precede that of sowing, and so a beginning was made with weeding. History was introduced in the schools as a subject, and the Education Department took pains to see that the regimes preceding British rule were described as barbarous and tyrannical. The kings were described as so many free booters, lists of dynasties and kings with dates of accession and death were memorised without any enlightenment as to the contribution which each king or dynasty made to the intellectual, moral or material progress and development of the country. Seventeen invasions undertaken by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, the looting and destruction of temples by him, must be emphasised and driven home. The Emperor Aurangzeb must be painted as a Hindu-phobe. The entire history of Muslim rule in India must be so written that the reader's mind might be poisoned. . . .

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): What is it that the Honourable Member is reading from?

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: My own notes.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): Then that is all right.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: I am merely doing what is done on a much larger scale by many of us.

Mr. Deputy President (Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta): I am not taking any exception. My impression was that he was reading from something else. The Honourable Member can certainly go on.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: And when he gets to the end of the story, the reader heaves a sigh of relief and says, "Thank God, this dark age is over and we are now living under an enlightened rule!" All of us remember what books we read in our school days. I remember *Qasas-i-Hind, Part II*. This book was designed to create a contempt for Muslim rule in India and sow the seeds of hatred of Muslims in the hearts of Hindu readers who were primarily unsophisticated and impressionable young boys. The author Shamsul Ulama Maulavi Muhammad Husain Azad of Delhi was one of the best prose writers in Urdu but, of course, he was in the pay of the Department of Public Instruction, the Punjab, and could not secure the patronage of the Department unless his book was calculated to produce the effect desired by the Government. Some of the stories narrated in the book were the love of King Aiauddin for a Rajput Princess named Kaula Devi and the war which King Alauddin waged in order to secure her, the love of his son Khizer Khan for Kaula Devi's daughter Dewal Devi, the story of Rani Padmini burning herself alive to save her honour and chastity from being violated by the Muslim King who besieged her husband's fort in order to secure her, the love story of Emperor Jehangir and Begam Nur Jahan and the murder of her husband Sher Afgan Khan by Emperor Jehangir in order to secure her, the long drawn siege of Golkunda by Emperor Aurangazeb, descriptions of which copied from a contemporary and interested satirist, not historian, of that Emperor, named Nimat Khan-i-Ali, are intended to instil contempt for the Emperor in the minds of the readers.

This is only a brief description of the contents of only one of the books which were included in the course of studies in my school days. Of course, there have been and are many such books taught in schools and colleges, but I will leave this part of the subject and say that whatever the British did to divide the Muslims and Hindus of India became apparent to us long long ago. At least since the birth of the Congress, we have been hearing on the public platform as well as reading in books and journals, that the British are following in India a policy of divide and rule. Our Hindu brethren were the first to benefit by education and that on a large scale, and it is western education which gives one an insight into matters political. As a matter of fact, they were the first to discover the existence and operation of such a policy and loudest in proclaiming from the housetops that this game was being played. What have they been doing to counteract, if not to nullify the effect of that policy? I wonder if my Honourable friend, Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal, who is now fortunately here, is aware of the existence of the immense piles of anti-Muslim literature which have been published and circulated broadcast by our Hindu brethren in all the different languages, read by the Hindus. If my Honourable friend were to say that the Muslims have also been guilty of writing and publishing anti-Hindu literature, I would not deny the charge *in toto* but I am certain that in volume, in ferocity, in scurrility and in venom the anti-Hindu literature issued by the Muslims can stand no comparison with the anti-Muslim literature issued by the

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Hindus and I must add, that the better educated, more advanced and more politically-minded section of the population should have been more alive to the deplorable and disastrous consequences of spreading such literature. The subject is really a vast one and cannot be treated in any detail in the course of an Assembly speech. I would make it clear that I quite appreciate the desire which my Honourable friend, Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal, has shown for patching up differences, burying the hatchet and forgetting the past but some of the arguments he used were not intelligible to me. He harped a good deal on the word 'Hindu'. He appeared to hint that the word "Hindu" had been exploited by the British in furthering their policy of divide and rule. I know nothing about the etymology and philological history of the word but I can say on the authority of Mr. Savarkar's speech in the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha held in December, 1939, that the word 'Hindu' is the same as 'Sindu' of Rig Vedic days. This word was not invented by the British to serve as a lever in carrying out the policy of divide and rule. Not only the learned, the educated or the literate among the Hindus but the most illiterate and even unintelligent persons among them know that they are Hindus and will say so on being questioned. I know there was once a great controversy carried on by some Arya Samajists in the Punjab whose contention was that the word 'Hindu' meant a thief in Persian, that the Muslims had applied this term to the non-Muslim inhabitants of India as a term of contempt and that, therefore, this name should be discarded but that controversy died down in course of time and no such objection to the term has been heard for a long time. Even Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal appears to be so much in love with the term Hindu that he would like to persuade the Muslims also to call themselves Muslim Hindus. Some one has told him that the Arabs call an Indian Muslim a Hindu. Of course my Honourable friend, Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal, does not claim to be a scholar of Arabic. Nor does he claim to have visited Arabia and made the discovery himself. Some Congressite Muslim must have given him this piece of misinformation and Congressite Muslims are quite capable of inventing things of that sort. Every Muslim who joins the Congress becomes an *ex-officio* Maulana and can talk anything in the name of Islam and the Muslims. During the days of Khilafat *cum* Congress movement of blessed memory. . . .

Babu Kailash Bihari Lal (Bhagalpur, Purnea and the Santhal Parganas: Non-Muhammadan): May I ask what my Honourable friend has to say about the claim of Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan that the Muslims are called Hindus even in Arabia?

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: My Honourable friend will hear about that in a minute. In the days of the Khilafat *cum* Congress movement of blessed memory, there was an *ex-officio* Maulana of this kind in the Punjab who was fond of fortifying his arguments by quoting verses from the Holy Quoran. He was too ignorant to quote and translate any verse. He used to say:

"Ya Ayyuhal-Lazeena amanu".

and translate it as

"Oh, Hinduo, Sikho, te Mussalmano".

The words simply mean "Oh, ye, who have believed". certainly meaning the Muslims. That man knew only these words and knew

nothing of the context. He spoke Punjabi and that was the beautiful way in which he used to translate it. He used to add anything he liked as the translation of the verses, which of course he never read out or knew. I would ask Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal to beware of such *ex-officio* Maulanas. My Honourable friend is seriously misinformed on the point. The Arabs never call the Indian Muslim 'Hindu'. They call him, Hindi, as coming from Hind, just as they would call a man Iraqi, inhabitant of Iraq, Irani, a man coming from Iran. When they mean to refer to his religion, they call a Hindu "Hindus" which should not be confused with Hindus, the English plural form of Hindu. The 's' at the end of the Arabic Hindus is not soft as in the English plural but hard like double s. In 1936 and 1937, a deputation of some professors of Al Azhar University of Cairo made a tour of the educational centres of this country. I spent several days with this deputation and carried on long conversations with them. Three of the five members of that deputation were eminent scholars of Arabic, which was also their mother tongue and they spoke marvellously beautiful Arabic. I found that they also called the Hindu Hindus, so that there is no doubt on the point. Now, my Honourable friend, Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal, suggests that Muslims should call themselves Muslim Hindus.

An Honourable Member: He said "Muhammadan Hindus".

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: Well, say Muslim Hindus or Muhammadan Hindus when they feel the necessity of indicating their religion and may simply call themselves Hindus when indicating their nationality or the country to which they belong. This suggestion proves how dear the word "Hindu" is to Mr. Kailash Behari Lal's heart, but the term "Hindu" has been authoritatively defined by Mr. Savarkar as excluding all those whose holy land lies outside India, by which he means Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis and Jews. My friend may refer to Mr. Savarkar's speech made at the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1939.

Next, Mr. Kailash Behari Lal has criticised the Pakistan movement, but if he studies the circumstances of which this movement is the natural and inevitable outcome. . . .

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: My friend should know that Mr. Savarkar's is not the last word on the subject. Mr. Savarkar may also be corrected.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: I congratulate my Honourable friend on the independence of his views, but he will presently see that according to others in this House Mr. Savarkar is the man with whom every Hindu agrees and who is always right while Mr. Gandhi is always wrong. I refer to the speech of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta.

Dr. P. N. Banerjea (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): This is not the view of others.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: I am quoting the evidence of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta to prove that, according to his knowledge, every Hindu agrees with Mr. Savarkar.

Babu Kailash Behari Lal: Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that Mahatma Gandhi is always wrong, but that does not mean that Mr. Savarkar is always right.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: As I was saying, if he were to study the circumstances of which this movement is the natural and inevitable outcome, he would have been forced to give up his position today. The origin of the recent phase of this movement is well-known. But one form of Pakistan had its origin, the Hindus may consider it rather strange, in a Hindu brain. I am sorry my Honourable friend, Bhai Parma Nand, is not visible in the House at the moment because I am going to refer to him.

Many years ago—possibly over 20 years ago—I read a book written by Bhai Parma Nand in Urdu. The name of this book, as far as I can remember, was 'Ap Biti' or 'My autobiography'. Judging from the contents of that book,—he has now to write a much larger book on the subject because many things have happened since—it appears that the police had seized or the authorities had somehow got hold of some correspondence between Bhai Parma Nand and the late Lala Lajpat Rai, including a scheme for the segregation of Muslims by transferring them from the rest of India to the Punjab. Whatever the *ratio decidendi* of Bhai Parma Nand, the scheme by necessary implication recognised the necessity of a homeland for the Muslims for the good of all concerned. Why Bhai Parma Nand has not cared to revive his scheme now that the Muslims have decided to secure separate homelands for themselves, is more than I can understand.

From the side of the Muslims of India the idea was for the first time publicly expressed by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address of the All-India Muslim League session held in Lucknow in December, 1930. Later on, Mr. Rahmat Ali started a Pakistan movement in 1933 and has since been issuing literature on the subject from England. It was one of the pamphlets issued by the organisation founded by Mr. Rahmat Ali which my friend, Mr. Kailash Behari Lal, used in commenting in his speech on the Pakistan scheme. But he failed to notice that the very same pamphlet contains enough matter to show that the Pakistan of Mr. Rahmat Ali is essentially and widely different from the Pakistan of the Muslim League. In fact, the same pamphlet wants the All-India Muslim League to be liquidated and most clearly points out the divergence between the conception of his Pakistan and that of the All-India Muslim League. I do not know if my Honourable friend, Mr. Kailash Behari Lal, will admit that the All-India Muslim League is the only representative political organisation of the Muslims in India, but probably he will go so far as to say that this organisation is the chief, if not the only, representative political organisation of the Muslims. Therefore, if my Honourable friend wanted to have any correct idea about what the Muslims mean by Pakistan, he would have really based his arguments on the resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League in its Lahore session which is the foundation-stone of the magnificent edifice of Pakistan. Resolutions passed thereafter by the Muslim League and its Working Committee and the so many press statements issued from time to time by the Qaid-i-Azam would also make it clear to him that our conception of Pakistan is certainly not what Mr. Rahmat Ali thinks should be the form and structure of Pakistan. Mr. Kailash Behari Lal should

not have put into the mouth of the Muslim League statements made and theories advanced by a totally different and widely differing body and then proceeded to criticise them.

To cut a long story short, the Muslims in India have been forced by the Hindus to adopt the Pakistan scheme as the only measure of their national self-preservation. As I have said, Bhai Parmanand was the first to prescribe their segregation in India, but the Hindu mind has been long maturing plans to purge India of the Muslim element. The late Dr. Hardayal, who belonged to Delhi, was a scholar of outstanding attainments and a man of very strong convictions, so much so that he had to suffer for his political convictions and practically got exiled to Europe where he spent the major portion of his life and had never the good fortune to return to India although his return had, after very long efforts by our Hindu friends, been allowed by the Government. He enjoyed almost universal respect among the Hindus on account of his learning and on account of his patriotic sacrifices, and published in 1925 an elaborate article—in fact, he wrote several elaborate articles—and one of them he called 'My political testament'. That was an article in Urdu, as the gentleman hailed from Delhi, and Urdu was his mother tongue. It was published in some of the dailies of the Punjab. I read it myself in the *Pratap* and incorporated it in a book which I wrote on the subject of *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan*, the name of which is '*Ghubar-i-Ufaq*'. I incorporated the article in *extenso*. I happened to find an English translation of a part of that article in Dr. Ambedkar's book, 'Thoughts on Pakistan' and I think I may share it with my Honourable colleagues by quoting it. In that political testament Dr. Hardayal said:

"I declare that the future of the Hindu race, of Hindustan and the Punjab rests on these four pillars, (i) Hindu sangathan, (ii) Hindu raj, (iii) Shuddhi of Muslims and (iv) conquest and Shuddhi of Afghanistan and the Frontiers. So long as the Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of our children and our great grandchildren will be ever in danger and the safety of the Hindu race will be impossible. The Hindu race has but one history and its institutions are homogeneous. But the Muslims and the Christians are far removed from the confines of Hinduism, for their religions are alien and they love Persian, Arab and European institutions. Thus, just as one removes foreign matter from the eye, *Shuddhi* must be made of these two religions. Afghanistan and the hilly regions of the frontier were formerly part of India, but are at present under the domination of Islam. Just as there is Hindu religion in Nepal, so there must be Hindu institutions in Afghanistan and the frontier territory; otherwise it is useless to win swaraj. For, the mountain tribes are always warlike and hungry. If they become our enemies, the age of Nadir Shah and Zaman Shah will begin anew. At present the English officers are protecting the frontiers; but it cannot always be. If Hindus want to protect themselves, they must conquer Afghanistan and the frontiers and convert all the mountain tribes."

These were the sentiments expressed by Dr. Hardayal in his political testament published in this country and, of course, the way in which that article was copied from one paper into another and given the widest publicity and the headings which were given to these articles styling Dr. Hardayal as a *Deshbhakta* all these showed that there was many a heart which responded to the call of Dr. Hardayal and shared his sentiments.

Now, Sir, I will not go into the details of that matter, but first in 1908, and a second time in 1923, the *Shuddhi* movement was carried on for a number of years and the protagonists of that movement said on the platform and wrote in the journals that it was in the political interests of India that all Indians who had embraced Islam or any other foreign

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religion should be reconverted to the religion of their forefathers. Of course, the Muslims were the largest number of Indians affected and aimed at by the *shuddhi* movement.

Then, Sir, Mr. Savarkar, to whom I have already referred is the President of the Hindu Mahasabha and he is a gentleman who commands the unflinching loyalty of every Hindu according to our Honourable friend, Mr. Jammadas Mehta. Well, Sir, Mr. Savarkar in his speech at the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1939 made two remarkable utterances and I crave your indulgence to quote short passages from that speech. Said Mr. Savarkar:

"When once the Hindu Mahasabha not only accepts but maintains the principles of one man, one vote, and the public services to go on merit alone added to the fundamental rights and obligations to be shared by all citizens alike irrespective of any distinction of race or religion. . . .any further mention of minority rights is on principle not only unnecessary but self-contradictory. Because, it again introduces a consciousness of majority and minority on communal basis. But as practical politics requires it and the Hindu sangathanists want to relieve our non-Hindu countrymen of even a ghost of suspicion, we are prepared to emphasise that the legitimate rights of minorities with regard to their religion, culture and language will be expressly guaranteed; on one condition only that the equal rights of the majority also must not in any case be encroached upon or abrogated. Every minority may have separate schools to train up their children in their own tongue, their own religious or cultural institutions and can receive government help also for these, but always in proportion to the taxes they pay into the common exchequer. The same principle must of course hold good in case of the majority too. Over and above this, in case the constitution is not based on joint electorates and on unalloyed national principle of one man, one vote, but is based on the communal basis, then those minorities who wish to have separate electorate or reserve seats will be allowed to have them, but always in proportion to their population and provided that it does not deprive the majority also of an equal right in proportion to its proportion too."

Then, further on, he says:

"The Hindus do not want a change of masters, are not going to struggle and fight and die only to replace an Edward by an Aurangzeb simply because the latter happens to be born within Indian borders, but they want henceforth to be masters themselves in their own house, in their own land."

A little later on, although I am unable, I must confess, to quote chapter and verse for this statement of mine, a very clear announcement from the Hindu Mahasabha was published in the papers that Hindustan was for the Hindus and the non-Hindus of whom of course the chief party are the Muslims, live in this country on sufferance. If they agree to live here under conditions dictated by the Hindus, they may continue to do so. Otherwise, they must clear out. This much about the Hindu Mahasabha.

Then, the other important political organisation is the Congress. The story is a long one, but I will only briefly say that all the professions of tolerance, Hindu-Muslim fraternity, truth and non-violence, proved hollow and were shown in their true light by the history of the congress governments in congress controlled provinces for a period of 2½ years, so much so that the Muslims had to celebrate throughout the length and breadth of India a deliverance day when the Congress ministries walked out. Such being the circumstances I fail to see what other constitution can be devised for the Muslims except to establish separate independent sovereign States for them as their homelands, as was laid down in the Lahore Resolution of the all-India Muslim League. That Resolution, I am sorry to say, has not been studied dispassionately by our non-Muslim brothers. If it is coolly and calmly considered, it will be seen that while on the one hand it has as its object the self-preservation of the Muslims

nation, it certainly has also for its aim and object and for its very sure result the establishment of real political peace in India by removing the cause of constant strife and inter-communal struggle and putting an end to this long course of disputes and recriminations. This is the only method by which peace can be established and the rights of every minority—Muslim or Hindu or Sikh,—can be rationally protected, and to their satisfaction guarantees can be given and enforced. These guarantees are described in the Resolution to be not only satisfactory, and adequate but **mandatory**.

It has been said on many occasions by various speakers that the Muslims have been only since a recent date proclaiming themselves to be a nation and saying that they are separate and distinct from the Hindu nation. That is a thing which has been quite obvious to all who have studied the entire political history of India. There may have been, so far as clear expression in words is concerned, some ambiguity, but that ambiguity was removed almost simultaneously by two very responsible political bodies. While the Lahore Resolution which was passed in March, 1940, clearly enunciated that the Muslim nation was a separate nation, only a few months before at Calcutta in the annual session of the Mahasabha, in 1939, Mr. Savarkar used exactly the same words, Hindu nation and Muslim nation. There can be no doubt on that point. It is useless to quarrel over that little thing. Let the distinct and separate existence of the Hindu and the Muslim nations be admitted by all fair-minded people and let us proceed to see how the constant quarrels and disputes, sometimes leading even to bloodshed, between these two nations, can be prevented. And I declare that the only rational solution is the Pakistan scheme.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir. Sir, I think it is perfectly true to say that the minds of most of us are engrossed day and night with the question of the war; and, I therefore, propose to follow the example of most of my Honourable friends by not alluding to the budget at all on this occasion.

While speaking on the budget last year I asked for two assurances. The first was that Government should assure us that India was doing all she could to pull her full weight in the war. The second assurance that I asked for, from the Finance Member in particular, was that we were getting value for money. With regard to the first assurance it is well-known that doubts have been raised even in England as to whether we are doing all we can. It has been said, even in England, that our army ought to be much larger than it is, considering our population and the extent of our country. I am one of those who believe today that we ought to have a bigger army than we have, but we are told that there is lack of equipment. At the same time it has been emphasised on more than one occasion that one of the most important aspects with regard to troops today is their proper training. It is next to useless to put half-trained troops into action; and, therefore, I cannot help feeling, or I may say agreeing with the critics in England, that training might well go ahead of equipment. If that is done on a large scale, with the equipment which is to reach this country, we shall have trained men ready to take advantage of that equipment. We are told that we are recruiting 50,000 men a month or more. I do not wish to go into details here because this is not the proper place or time, but whatever number we are recruiting is less than what we ought to do. We are told there is no lack of recruits and that is a factor which has given us considerable satisfaction.

[Sir Cowasji Jehangir.]

With regard to the assurance that we are getting value for money you have heard during this budget discussion the many suspicions of Honourable Members on these Benches. We must remember that the greater the expenditure, war expenditure specially, in any country, the greater is the chance of inefficiency and corruption. That is a truism; you cannot help it. If you hear criticisms in England, if you could read Hansard in detail, you would find such criticisms much more effectively put than in this House. I frankly admit that the criticisms of the Opposition in the House of Commons is better informed than those offered from these Benches, for the simple reason that many of those who offer these criticisms from the Opposition Benches have once sat on the Treasury Benches themselves and have had opportunities to be well-informed. But while not demanding in these difficult times, when crores of rupees are being spent, a hundred per cent. of efficiency, we have a right to demand that there shall be a percentage of efficiency which you will find in other parts of the world, and that when you employ thousands of men, which you are literally doing, the man must be fit for the post and the post must not be created for the man. We must have an assurance, that if a man is found to be unfit for the job he is doing he should be unceremoniously removed and I affirm that that should be the practice from the top to the bottom. If a man is unfit in these times for any reason whatsoever to do his job, Government should unhesitatingly remove him. Give him something else he is more fit to do. We cannot afford in these times, Mr. Deputy President to have men employed by the thousand some of whom we see from day to day incapable of discharging the great responsibilities entrusted to them. Of course, with regard to corruption, it is not unknown in other parts of the world. With enormous expenditure it must occur. Not only the giver of the contract but the taker of the contract must be just as dishonest. It is when both combine that we the poor taxpayers lose our money, and that combination is not rare when you spend crores of money. But I do ask that new methods should be now introduced, that 'red tape' should be cut, that corruption should be detected

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): How?

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

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: There are methods by which it can be done. There are methods by which you can at least make an attempt to detect. Or at any rate, circulars should be sent by Members of Government who are concerned plainly stating that from the top to the bottom of the Department if there is the slightest sign of corruption, the man will go. They may have done it already, they will have to do it again and continue doing it.

Now, Sir, so much with regard to the two assurances I asked for at the last Budget Session. Mr. President, not only Government but the peoples of this country have a lesson to learn from the disasters that have taken place in Malaya and in Burma. The mentality that consoles itself for its lethargy and its indifference to the consequences of this war by saying that one master is as good as another, is appalling and disastrous. It exhibits not only a defeatist mentality but an utterly unpatriotic attitude which it is hard to believe can emanate from any section of our people, but I have still heard with my own ears, men who are serving today—I wont say in Government; perhaps, may be in Government—saying that it

makes little difference. Whoever rules, their services will be in demand. Well, such a mentality is a disgrace to those who utter such expressions. The difference they will soon find out if, God forbid, such a contingency arises. They will realize that a change of masters can be as disastrous as anything else. I can understand the patriotic man saying I want my own Government, but I cannot understand the utter slave-mentality of men who say we will have one master instead of another.

We have again and again heard that the people of India have no fire arms to defend themselves with. Now, Mr. President, in no country which is fighting in this Great War, all adults—men and women—have rifles. Rifles are given to those who can make the best use of them; specially when there is a scarcity of fire arms in a country, it is only natural that for our own advantage we would rather see those fire arms in the hands of our own trained troops than in the hands of Tom, Dick and Harry who might do more harm to themselves and to their neighbours than to their enemies. Mr. President if many of us including myself had fire arms at this critical time

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Hand them over to the Government.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Speaking for myself, I would much rather that those fire arms were in safer hands than my own, although I have used a gun on more than one occasion. But to say that because we have no arms freely distributed to the population, we cannot defend ourselves is a mentality that should be fought and the people should be taught what it is that they really require. In times of war the non-combatant is not asked to defend himself: he is asked to protect himself. In these days when men and women come into the front line with a suddenness unknown and unheard of before, what they should learn is self-protection and not self-defence. I think, we mix up the two things. We are inclined to believe that we could fight the enemy with men and women untrained. No. If those who are trained to defend us failed, God help us. But we at least can learn to protect ourselves, our wives and children and our homes in a warfare that is so common today, from the air. When, unlike other wars, men and women are suddenly thrown into the front line, they need not all be killed. If only our people were made to realize

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Would you call upon the Government to repeal the Arms Act?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: That is not exactly what I am saying. That will do no good. A rifle in your hands will be of less use than in the hands of a trained soldier. I am not justifying the Arms Act, but I say that if there are not sufficient arms to go round

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Are you talking of military defence or civil defence?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I am talking of military defence. Civil defence is entirely different. Dont mix up the two.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: How to protect?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: We have heard a speech for an hour and a half on protection today which was most interesting. You now raise the question of the Arms Act—a very different question—and my answer is that if the Arms Act was

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Have you heard:

*"Is sadgi pe kavn na mar jai ai khuda,
larte hain aur hath men talwar bhee nahin."*

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

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: If the Arms Act was repealed today and my friend had a rifle in his hand, what would be the position. It would be much better for India and for my friend if that rifle was in the hands of a trained soldier owing to the scarcity of fire arms in this country; and as to a sword my friend must know by now that it is a useless weapon of defence. By all means let my friend have as many rusty swords as he likes and God help him

Dr. P. N. Banerjee: And sticks?

Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney: And pens?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Now, Sir, I desire that once for all our people should realise that this bogey of arms, of free distribution of arms, is no solution for protection. I would much rather that every Honourable Member got up in his turn and demanded a larger number of trained troops, that they are equipped, and that they are officered by Indians. I can understand that, I will be the first to support them. I would further urge that every one of us should get up and demand that our Air Force should be increased, that Indians of all castes and creeds should be trained, and if Government has had in the past any political bogey about training one class or another, they should forget that bogey now and give training to all classes of people irrespective of race, colour or creed, ahead of equipment. I do not see why pilots should not be trained without the planes. Keep your pilots ready when your planes arrive in larger numbers. I presume you are doing that already. Do it in larger numbers, and if in this matter you want the support of Indians, you will have it. But so far as recruitment is concerned, I cannot accept the statement that we cannot produce sufficient pilots. You have only got to look for them, and you have to forget that bogey with regard to caste and creed. Now, for one minute I would like the House to realise, as I have often realised, as to how many millions there are in this country who have never heard of the war, and what would happen if, God forbid, there was an invasion in their part of the country on the coast

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Everybody knows that there is a war going on.

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

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Surely it is up to us at least to see that they do not unconsciously give assistance to the enemy which the enemy, I suppose, is anxious to get. What is the lesson to be learnt from Burma?

Let us not close our eyes to the facts. It is nothing private. It is a fact, I believe that large numbers of Burmans did help the enemy. I hope and trust that such help was given out of ignorance. Let it be a lesson for India, that no Indian, literate or illiterate, agriculturist or businessman or professional man or prince, will ever attempt to help the enemy if he unhappily lands on these shores. For that, propoganda is required. Many pride themselves in this country on being in touch with the masses. If they love their country,—and I am sure, they do, I have not the slightest doubt about it, we do love our country,—then let those who are in touch with the masses take an opportunity to teach the masses to ward off any such danger. They will be doing a real service to the country. But self-confidence has been the trouble amongst us. Let us be prepared in every direction.

Now, Mr. President, one word more from one who has on many occasions prayed that there may be unity in this country. I know there are strong differences of opinion. I have had opportunities of understanding or trying to understand both points of view. May I honestly say that I have sympathies for both points of view? I understand them, I try to understand them. In the name of the Almighty, this is not the time to thresh out those differences. This is not the time for either my friend here or my friend on the front Bench opposite to me to talk of those differences. The Honourable the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League has told us that he has been interested in this topic for 15 years. Can he not forget it for two years? I beg and pray that we should forget our differences. I have many differences with others,—but let us forget our differences for only a year or so. We will revive those differences when victory has been achieved, but till then if there can be one desire which results from unity, that desire should be to help our country to get out of the most dangerous, the most disastrous position in which we are. It will be an act of the highest patriotism; it will serve our country better than the most patriotic speeches from platforms to which thousands of people listen. I heard the other day, so far as the Government is concerned, we are unable to forgive and forgive—I think my friend, Mr. Deshmukh, said so—but I would ask my friend to realise that although he is unable to forgive and forget today, a time may come when he may not have an opportunity to forgive and forget. Do not let that time come. Suspend all judgment, and if I were given a free hand, I would frankly tell you what I would do

Mr. N. M. Joshi: What is it? Tell us.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I know my friend, Mr. Joshi, who would like to hear it, will not agree with me. What I would do would be to suspend all controversy, communal, social and political

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: Not economic?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Certainly I would. I would force you to win this war. I would tell the Government and force them to wake up to do their duty. I would tell them that they are responsible. I would be behind them to see that they did their duty: I would tell them that I do my duty, provided you do yours.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Why provided?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Because it is no use my doing my duty if you did not do yours I merely say this from the war effort point of view. I ask Government to put forward their very last atom of strength

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): First.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Towards the war effort. Get rid of old foggies from the Government—I do not mean those sitting on the Front Benches. Get rid of the old foggies and put in younger men who can really discharge their duties with energy and with perseverance. We are having too many old men all over the place.

An Honourable Member: In the Assembly also.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I am an old man. I am older than anybody here on the Front Benches. But men of my age—their days are gone. This is not the time. We want younger, stronger and more energetic men. Put them in and do not be afraid of getting rid of your old methods. If you do your duty, if the Government does its duty, I am sure the country will try its best, its utmost to do its duty. Let us, therefore, forget the past only until the war is won, and then we shall come back to the old stage again perhaps, and God helping us, we will find a solution.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, a general discussion on the Finance Bill might ordinarily be expected to concern itself with finance and taxation. But in view of the present situation and the grave danger to our country, it was only natural that Honourable Members would be more concerned with the measures taken or to be taken for the defence of the country and for driving back the enemy who is now almost at our gates. Questions relating to active and passive defence, to the supply of essential material and equipment and personnel have been raised. I will endeavour to deal with the points which concern the Defence Department proper, leaving it to other Members of Government to deal with those which, though vitally concerned with the defence of the country, do not fall strictly within the scope of the activities of the Defence Department.

Sir, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, the veteran defender of Sind, who opened the discussion, wished to be informed of the military preparations made against attacks by land, sea and air on India, and Mr. Husenbhai Laljee wanted the same information and complained that Members were being kept in ignorance of the measures taken. Maulana Zafar Ali Khan wanted to be assured that the seven lakhs of troops in India were being trained and equipped so that they would give a good account of themselves when the time came and he also wanted to be assured that the required air forces would be forthcoming. Sir Cowasji Jehangir also raised certain points in the same connection. Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan asked that waste of money be avoided and corruption be put down, and in this connection, quoted the instance of a contract for the hire of motor lorries in Meerut. Sardar Sant Singh raised the question of racial discrimination and quoted the example of women clerks employed in the Army Head Quarters. Both he and Mr. Deshmukh commented adversely on the recruitment of a

few Australians in the Indian Army and the latter dilated on the misbehaviour of some soldiers in different parts of the country, with particular reference to recent incidents in Poona and Bombay. Mr. K. C. Neogy quoted incidents on the Bengal and North Western Railway in connection with a troop train, and the Deputy President also made some remarks on the same subject.

I will deal, Sir, first of all, with the question of the behaviour of troops, because I believe this interests a considerable number of Members and has caused a certain amount of alarm in parts of the country. I may say at once that there have been a number of incidents in different parts of India in which some soldiers, Indian and non-Indian, have been the offenders. No one regrets this more than the Government. I should like to remove the impression, if it exists at all, that Government look upon these incidents with indifference or ignores them on the principle of "Boys will be Boys". Government cannot countenance any form of fun which results in injuries or alarm to the general public. Every incident of any consequence is reported to the General Head Quarters and action is taken at once in each case. I can quite understand that there has been some alarm and anxiety in the minds of the public, but I would like to give the assurance that measures have been taken to prevent the recurrence of any serious incidents. There is, in every military station, a Provost Establishment whose business it is to keep order among troops and to do the necessary policing. There is a Provost Marshal, and he is assisted by a number of selected soldiers who are known as Military Police. It is their function to be on duty at places frequented by troops and to see that troops behave properly. On certain occasions, due to sudden influx of troops, the Provost Establishment may have proved to be inadequate. The Provost system has also certain disadvantages. Government have, therefore, decided to create a Corps of Military Police and to fix its strength at a sufficiently high figure to ensure the maintenance of proper order among troops outside barracks. Other measures have also been taken. These are, amongst others, the tightening of control on the sale of liquor to troops, instructions to troops regarding proper behaviour,—this is very important as a large number of troops are complete strangers to this country,—putting certain places out of bounds, increased facilities for entertaining troops by local hospitality committees, and severe punishment of troops against whom misbehaviour has been proved. It is hoped that these measures will ensure that any serious incidents will not occur again.

Mr. Deshmukh referred to the Poona Cantonment incident. I would like to mention, Sir, that this is now the subject matter of a Court of Inquiry and the offending individuals will be brought to trial by Court Martial in due course. In the meantime, a considerable sum of money from the unit funds of the regiment concerned has been placed in deposit against the damage done on the occasion, in order to compensate the sufferers. I may add that there was here no question of molestation of women.

Mr. Deshmukh referred to the incidents in Bombay and to the resolution passed in the Bombay Corporation. Government are aware that a number of incidents have occurred in Bombay and the matter has been the subject of joint consultations between the local Civil Police and Military authorities, and various measures have already been adopted. I might perhaps read in this connection what the *Bombay Sentinel*, a paper

[Sir Gurunath Bewoor.]

which has given great facilities for the airing of this particular grievance, says in this matter. Writing on the 6th March on the Bombay Corporation Debate, the paper says:

"Fortunately there is evidence that steps have now been taken to avoid the possibility of such incidents in future. For that reason, the debate in the Corporation, as we have said, is belated and the matter might have been allowed to rest."

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): I think the Honourable Member would like to stop here.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 17th March, 1942.