

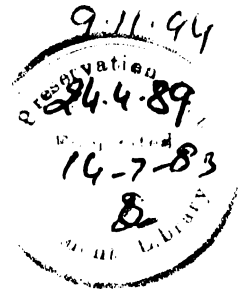
THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volume I, 1946

(*21st January to 11th February, 1946*)

FIRST SESSION
OF THE
SIXTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
1946



i
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

President :

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. V. MAVALANKAR.

Deputy President :

SIR MUHAMMAD YAMIN KHAN, M.L.A.

Panel of Chairmen :

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SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.

MR. P. J. GRIFFITHS, M.L.A.

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MR. A. J. M. ATKINSON.

MR. S. DAS.

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CAPTAIN HAJI SARDAR NUB AHMED KHAN, M.C., I.O.M., I.A.

Committee on Petitions :

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SYED GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG, M.L.A.

MR. SRI PRAKASA, M.L.A.

MR. T. CHAPMAN-MORTIMER, M.L.A.

SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Thursday, 31st January, 1946

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN:

Mr. Everard Leslie Campion Gwilt, M.L.A. (Bombay: European);
Mr. Frank R. Anthony, M.L.A. (Nominated Non-Official);
Mr. B. C. A. Cook, O.B.E., I.C.S., M.L.A., (Government of India: Nominated Official).

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER

PER HEAD CLOTH QUOTA IN PROVINCES

Mr. President: There is a short notice question by Khan Abdul Ghani Khan. But he is not present. If the Honourable Member for Industries and Supplies wishes to reply he may do so.

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: Yes, Sir. Will someone read the question?

Mr. President: I will read the question:

“Will the Honourable Member for Industries and Supplies Department please state:

(a) What the quota is in yards of cloth fixed per head of population in the eleven provinces of India?

(b) If there is a difference in the quotas, what is it due to?”

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: (a) The quota in yards of cloth fixed per head of the population in the eleven provinces is as follows:

Sind—18.

Punjab—18.

United Provinces—13½.

Bihar—12.

Bengal—12.

Assam—11.

Orissa—11.

Central Provinces—12.

Madras—12.

N.-W. F. P.—18.

Bombay—18.

(b) The difference in the quotas is due to the fact that they are based on the average consumption in peace time in the different areas.

Seth Govind Das: Is cloth in the various provinces given in accordance with the quotas or is not given as such?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: It is distributed to the provinces according to the quotas and the provinces are responsible for the internal distribution.

Seth Govind Das: Does the Honourable Member know that the consumers do not get it and that the cloth goes to the black market?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Will the Honourable Member

(At this stage, Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad rose in his seat.)

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Manu Subedar: tell the House why in spite of the quota to Bengal, very distressing reports came from there about the shortage of cloth in many localities?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: These questions are constantly under review and when we hear these complaints we immediately enquire into them.

Mr. Manu Subedar: What are the reasons which Government have discovered as to the mal-distribution by the Provincial Governments of the cloth supplied from the Centre and in what directions have the Provincial Governments failed?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I could not undertake to answer this comprehensive question in reply to a short notice question.

Babu Ram Narayan Singh: Is it a fact that Bihar never gets her full quota?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I might add that the present distribution was unanimously agreed to at a conference held last September by my Honourable friend, Sir Akbar Hydari.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: To what extent did the Government of India, or the Textile Commissioner, or any other officer, exercise any control over the provincial machinery so far as the local distribution of cloth was concerned?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: Once a complaint comes to his notice, he discusses the matter with the provincial authorities.

(Interruptions.)

Mr. President: Order, order.

Seth Govind Das: And without any complaint, he does not review the situation in the provinces!

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: The distribution of cloth internally is a provincial matter and when the provinces do not respond, the Central Government brings it to their notice and discusses with them.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi: Did the Government take into consideration the increase in the population since the peace time calculations were made?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: Yes, Sir.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Has the Honourable Member received complaints from the Punjab and Bengal?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I have no information.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Received no complaints?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: No: not to me.

Seth Govind Das: No complaints from the Central Provinces?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: No, Sir.

Sardar Mangal Singh: What is the quota?

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask my Honourable friend whether he has received any complaints from the people as apart from the Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I did not follow.

Mr. President: "May I ask my Honourable friend whether he has received any complaints from the people as apart from the Provincial Governments?"

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I cannot undertake to answer all these supplementaries in reply to a short notice question.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Do the Central Government call for a report from the Provincial Governments as to how the cloth is distributed?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: Yes.

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: Has he received any complaints from the Sind Government?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: No, Sir.

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: May I know from the Honourable Member whether the Director General of Textiles in Sind was here in regard to this and there was a statement from the Director in the press?

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I require notice of that.

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT

INACTION *re* DELETION OF SECTIONS 111 TO 121 OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

Mr. President: I now proceed to the various adjournment motions that have been received. We take up No. 33 in the list of adjournment motions. It is in the name of Sjt. Diwan Chaman Lall who wishes to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, "the failure of Government to make any progress in regard to the deletion from the Government of India Act of Sections 111 to 121 (both inclusive) in spite of the overwhelming opinion in all sections of the population of India as expressed in the Assembly Resolution on this subject passed by the House on 4th April, 1945".

This motion is similar to the motion moved by Pandit Balkrishna Sharma. As that was ruled out of order, this one also drops out.

SIGNING OF BRETTON WOODS FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

Mr. President: The next adjournment motion (No. 34) is also in the name of Sjt. Diwan Chaman Lall who wishes to adjourn the business of the House to discuss "the action taken by the Government of India committing this country to the membership of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank (Bretton Woods Scheme), disregarding the undertaking that nothing would be done without the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly".

This has already been discussed and disposed of. So it drops out.

Exactly similar to this is the adjournment motion (No. 35) in the name of Pandit Govind Malaviya. This also drops out.

Mr. President: The next adjournment motion is No. 36. It is also in the name of Pandit Govind Malaviya. Since it is similar to adjournment motion No. 33 above, which has already been ruled out, this drops out too.

FAILURE TO SECURE FOODGRAINS RESERVES

Mr. President: The next motion is by Mr. M. R. Masani regarding "the failure of the Government of India to secure adequate supplies and build up adequate reserves of food grains to meet the present grave shortage in Western and Southern India resulting from failure of crops, thereby endangering the maintenance at the present level of rations which are already insufficient".

This matter is being discussed and therefore the motion drops out.

Adjournment motions Nos. 38 and 39 by Mr. Thakur Das relate to the same subject as above and so they too drop out.

ORDINANCES DEMONETISING HIGH VALUE NOTES

Mr. President: Adjournment motion No. 40 is by Mr. Satya Narayan Sinha regarding "the three Ordinances recently issued for demonetising notes of the value of rupees five hundred and above".

This has been withdrawn.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands (Finance Member): Oh! Oh!

SIGNING OF BRETTON WOODS FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

Mr. President: The next adjournment motion by Mr. P. K. Salve and the two subsequent ones by Mr. G. B. Dani and Mr. Sheodass Daga relate to: "the action taken by the Government of India committing this country to the membership of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank (Bretton Woods Scheme) disregarding the undertaking that nothing would be done without the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly".

This matter has already been discussed and so these motions drop out.

INACTIION *re* DELETION OF SECTIONS 111 TO 121 OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

Mr. President: Adjournment motions Nos. 44, 45 and 46 by Mr. P. K. Salve, Mr. G. B. Dani and Mr. Sheodass Daga respectively relate to: "the failure of Government to make any progress in regard to the deletion from the Government of India Act of Chapter III Secs. 111 to 121 (both inclusive) in spite of the overwhelming opinion in all sections of the population of India as expressed in the Assembly Resolution on this subject passed by the House on 4th April, 1945".

An indetical motion has already been ruled out and so these drop out.

SALES OF BULLIONS AT HIGH PRICE BY RESERVE BANK

Mr. President: The next one is by Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad relating to: "the connivance of the Government of India at the action of the Reserve Bank in selling bullions at black market price".

What has the Honourable Member to say about this?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I have to submit, Sir, that this motion should not be admitted on the ground of urgency as the matter has been discussed on several occasions in this House. Moreover, the sales of silver stopped at the beginning of July and the sales of gold in August and so there is no urgency about this matter.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth (West Coast and Nilgiris: Muhammadan): Sir, after July there has been no session of this House and therefore the matter can be discussed now.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I have made it clear that the sales stopped in July.

Mr. President: The sales about which the Honourable Member has been complaining had been stopped: where is the occasion for the motion now?

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): That is the trouble. If the adjournment motion refers to the sales which had already taken place

Mr. President: Then the matter ceases to be urgent.

RECRUITMENT OF EUROPEANS TO INDIAN CIVIL AND POLICE SERVICES

Mr. President: The next adjournment motion is by Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar regarding: "the action of the Government in recruiting European officers to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service permanently, in view of the declared intention of the Government to hand over the administration very shortly to the people of the country".

The Honourable Sir John Thorne (Home Member): Sir, I have one or two points to raise with regard to this motion. There are two mistakes of fact in the notice. In the first place there is no "permanent" recruitment of European officers to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service in progress. It has been made amply clear to the public and to the candidates that anyone recruited under the scheme which is now being carried out is liable to have his service terminated at any time when constitutional developments take place. This is a statement by the Secretary of State for India on that subject:

"I must therefore make it unmistakably clear to men who are contemplating entering the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police Service, etc., that constitutional developments may necessitate their appointments under the Secretary of State being terminated at any time, subject to due notice being given and the payment of the grants set out in the appendix to the leaflet."

That is the first point: there is no permanent recruitment going on now.

The second point of fact is that it is not for the "Government of India" to recruit to these services. The appointments are made by the Secretary of State for India and not by the Government of India. The authority for that is sub-section (1) of Section 244 of the Constitution Act.

Then, Sir, on the point of urgency, I have to point out that the recruitment of European officers which is now proceeding is not a new matter. The decision to appoint them is not a new matter. It was announced as far back as March 1941, when recruitment was stopped in order to provide for people with war service after the war. It was announced in a press communique of the 13th March 1941 that "it has been decided to leave 50 per cent. of the annual vacancies occurring in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service unfilled with a view to their being made available after the war to be filled by suitable candidates with war service. This decision applies equally to the recruitment of Indians and Europeans and to recruitment made in India and in England". That was a press communique of the 13th March 1941. It was followed by another press communique of the 19th December, 1942, when the decision was announced to keep all vacancies not only 50 per cent. of the vacancies, for war service candidates, who would be appointed after the war. I trust you see my point, Sir. The recruitment which is now being undertaken is to fill exactly this class of posts which have been kept vacant, 50 per cent. in 1941 increased to 100 per cent. in 1942. This decision is not a new one and therefore I submit that on the tests which normally apply in dealing with adjournment motions, this is not a fit subject for an adjournment motion. I quite realise that it is a matter in which the House is entitled to take an interest and that it can and should come up for discussion. My only point is that it is not suitable for discussion on an adjournment motion.

Mr. Manu Subedar (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Sir, may I elicit information on a matter of fact? May I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether it is or is not true that with regard to the notice of termination to these new entrants into these services the power of the future Government is heavily handicapped by the rather big rewards which have to be paid to these men, if at all they are sent away during the intermediate period without completing their full period of service. If there is this handicap are we not entitled to raise this issue on the floor of the House and, if we are not satisfied, to censure the Government on their decision?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: My Honourable friend is of course quite correct in calling attention to the compensation which will be payable to the members of the services when their service is terminated. The details will be found in a pamphlet which is or will be placed today in the library of the House. But I submit, Sir, that that makes no difference to the point that I have raised. The appointment is not permanent.

Diwan Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan) Sir, with reference to what the Honourable Home Member said just now may I say this that as far as the question of compensation is concerned I believe that that same principle would apply to those who are in the so-called permanent services? Service in both cases would be ordinarily permanent subject to compensation being given in either case,—either the new recruits or even the old recruits. They will be in the same category. In regard to urgency and recent origin of this matter it is true that communiques were issued, one in 1941 and one in 1942, but the question of recruitment comes now after the end of the war, and the communiques related to something that was going to happen at the end of the war when new recruitment started. The new recruitment starts now and therefore since it is a matter of recent origin it gains in urgency because it involves a very important matter of principle. So I submit that in view of these facts it is a matter both of recent origin and public importance and a matter which is a fit subject for an adjournment motion.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Sir, so far as the recent nature of it is concerned my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall has given a sufficient answer. The communique that was issued in 1941 has been in abeyance and it could not come into operation; and if any one had moved an adjournment motion on that day certainly the mover of that motion would have been refuted with an answer that it is only on paper and until it comes into operation there is no cause of action. Therefore the cause of action only arises now. After the

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Assembly session last year, in April or May, my Honourable friend's predecessor Sir Francis Mudie flew to England with suggestions as to what ought to be done in the matter of recruitment. The Government of India cannot absolve themselves from the responsibility of recruiting so many persons and reserving so much, though the initiative in the first instance is taken by the Secretary of State. As regards the temporary nature of it, it may be that some persons have been recruited temporarily during the period of the war, but it is proposed, according to the Honourable Home Member himself, to make these permanent. That is, those persons who have returned from war service will be permanent hereafter. I should like to know if it is the intention of the Honourable Member and the object of the communique to convert those temporary posts which are held by ex-military service men into permanent ones.

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: No such temporary appointments have been made.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Ex-service men will be recruited hereafter and they will be recruited on a permanent basis with a particular proportion,—fifty to England and fifty to India. I submit that though a few of us, about twelve or thirteen, may be asked to take charge of Government, we will have to work with other people who, if we look to the west will look to the east and will look to the west if we look to the east. This will be only paper autonomy that we will get. I submit this is a fit and proper motion. It is urgent, definite and of recent occurrence; and therefore, Sir, I would request you to give me leave to move it.

Mr. President: I would like to be clear myself on one or two points. Do I understand that the provisions about compensation and other things which the Honourable Member read out are inserted in the new covenants and they are not part of the old covenants of the Indian Civil Service?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I do not think any discussion has yet arisen on the nature of the covenant that will be executed by new recruits. According to my covenant I have no rights of any kind—I have merely obligations—and I should be rather surprised if in the new covenants there will be any mention of these compensation terms. The compensation terms have been published in this pamphlet which I have here.

Mr. President: The point that I have in mind is this. Will it be part of the agreement with the particular Civil Servant that his services are liable to be terminated at any time by payment of compensation or otherwise?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: Yes, Sir; that is part of the understanding and agreement, and statement of the Secretary of State's policy on which applications have been called for from war service candidates.

Mr. President: In any case, the question of compensations will arise?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: Then as regards the authority. Have the Government of India nothing to do with these terms? One Honourable Member referred to the visit to England of the late Home Member, perhaps for consultations with the Secretary of State. The appointing authority may technically be the Secretary of State, but have the Government of India absolutely no responsibility, morally and practically, in the matter?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: The responsibility, I take it, lies on the shoulders which bear the statutory responsibility for appointment. It is of course a fact that the future employers of these services—the Government of India and the Provincial Governments—have been consulted as to the conditions on which the new members shall be appointed.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I ask the Honourable Member if there was not a meeting of the Executive Council wherein this matter came up

for discussion and by a very narrow majority it was decided and they recommended to the Secretary of State to recruit? The initiative was from them; let my Honourable friend deny it.

Mr. President: As to the question of urgency, as I see it, the time for recruitment is now coming. But apart from that question, the motion relates to the personnel to be recruited. The Honourable Member referred to the percentage of recruitment. That percentage may stand; it was declared in 1941. The question now is about the personnel to be recruited, giving effect to the declaration as to the percentage; and if the time has come now to bring that percentage into effect, the matter, to my mind, appears to be of recent origin. May I know what the Honourable Home Member has to say on that?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: Sir, I cannot question what you have said on that point. My point was that the decision was announced in 1941 as a definite decision of the Secretary of State who is now putting it into effect. It is not a new decision. The decision was to take effect immediately after the war. The war has ended and the decision naturally is being put into effect. Nothing new has happened.

Mr. President: But what I am thinking about is this. The decision was to have a particular percentage of recruitment. Without disturbing that percentage, now the time has come to give effect to that decision, and the manner of giving effect to it in the selection of the personnel is the matter of the adjournment motion, as I see it, because it specifically refers to European officers and does not relate to the percentage of recruitment.

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I think the answer to it is that there is no new decision as to the proportion of Indians and Europeans. That is the same as it has been for a number of years past.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member does not wish to discuss the percentage of recruitment, as I see from the adjournment motion. Within the limits of that percentage, his point seems to be that now that recruitment is coming, Europeans should not be got for the services. It does not affect that decision at all. That is how it appears to me. Is the Honourable Member the Mover keen to have the word "permanently" in this motion?

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: As it happens, the word "permanently" need not be there. In view of the fact that large compensation equal to 30 years' salary—we do not know what it is going to be—is to be given, it is really permanent. I am not very particular about the word "permanent".

Diwan Chaman Lal: May I point out that the same state of affairs arose at the time of the introduction of the last reforms. At that time the Secretary of State did exactly the same thing in the matter of compensation. I believe the Honourable the Home Member was in service at that time. If he wanted to retire and to get compensation, he could have retired on very good terms too.

Mr. President: I think the motion is admissible and it will be taken up at 4 o'clock.

NOMINATION OF MEMBERS TO LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Mr. President: I have to inform Honourable Members that I have nominated Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad and Mr. K. C. Neogy to the Library Committee of the Indian Legislature.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that the following members have been elected to serve on the Committee on Public Accounts, namely: (1) Prof. N. G. Ranga, (2) Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, (3) Mr. Geoffrey W. Tyson, (4) Shri Mohan Lal Saksena, (5) Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, (6) Sjt. B. S. Hiray, (7) Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, and (8) Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF HEALTH

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 noon on Wednesday, the 30th January, 1946, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Central Advisory Board of Health, two nominations were received. As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, to be duly elected to the Board.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEE FOR ROADS

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that the following Members have been elected to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads for remaining months of the financial year 1945-46: (1) Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal, (2) Choudhry Sri Chand, (3) Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman, (4) Raizada Hans Raj, (5) Mr. A. C. Inskip, (6) Mr. Ramayan Prasad, (7) Khan Bahadur Hafiz M. Ghazanfarulla, and (8) Sri V. C. Vellingiri Gounder.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO STANDING COMMITTEE FOR LABOUR DEPARTMENT

Mr. President: I have further to inform the Assembly that upto 12 noon on Monday, the 28th January, 1946, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Department of Labour, twelve nominations were received. Subsequently two members withdrew their candidature. As the number of remaining candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare the following members to be duly elected: (1) Mr. R. C. Morris, (2) Mr. A. C. Inskip, (3) Mr. S. Guruswami, (4) Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, (5) Sree Satyapriya Banerjee, (6) Sri N. Narayanamurthi, (7) Diwan Chaman Lall, (8) Mr. Mohammad M. Killedar, (9) Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, and (10) Mr. Muhammad Nauman.

RESOLUTION RE RELEASE OF ONE-THIRD MILL YARN FOR HANDLOOMS

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to pass an emergency ordinance compelling cotton textile mills to release at least one-third of the yarn manufactured by them for the use of handlooms."

Shri Sri Prakasa (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): On a point of order. In the Resolution as printed on the order paper the word 'yarns' appears. It should be 'yarn' for the word 'yarns' may mean anything!

Mr. President: There is no point of order in it. The Honourable Member may proceed.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang: I have already dropped the 's' in 'yarns'. This Resolution will, I hope, prove a non-contentious one. I see that the several amendments which have been filed all tend to make it more explicit and more comprehensive than it is and none of the amendments seek in any way to challenge the proposition embodied in my Resolution. The fact is that the Resolution concerns the welfare of a very large number of Indians who are engaged in the handloom industry. According to the figures which have been collected by a committee appointed by Government in 1941 called the Fact Finding Committee which consisted of very competent men who after carrying on prolonged and careful investigations collected the necessary facts and figures relating to the handloom industry in India, the figures which are important for considering this Resolution are as follows. The number of weavers who are engaged in the handloom industry all over India is 24 lakhs. They have got assistants paid and unpaid to aid them in carrying on their vocation and their number is 86 lakhs. The number of those who depend upon the earnings of their trade is estimated to be at least 40 lakhs. Thus, a total of one crore Indians depend for their subsistence on this industry and that shows the very great importance which the industry possesses and should possess in the economy

of this country. Now, the amount of yarn which all these weavers who work on handlooms require is a very large one indeed and unless it is made available for that industry, there is no hope of the industry prospering or even surviving. Taking the figures of the production of yarn one finds according to the figures for the last two years which were supplied to us only two days ago that in the year 1944-45, 1,622 million pounds yarn was produced by the textile mills in India. Out of this, 1,152 million lbs. was utilised by the mills themselves and 470 million lbs. was distributed to power-looms and handlooms and the hosiery industry. 6·8 million lbs. was exported in 1944 and 5·9 million lbs. was exported in 1945 to countries outside India. My contention in the Resolution which I have tabled is that unless Government takes steps by passing an Ordinance to guarantee that at least one-third of the total amount of yarn produced by the textile mills is made available for the handloom industry, this industry is in danger of being very seriously affected for the worse. You will see, Sir, that 470 million lbs., which is said to have been distributed to power-looms and handlooms and the hosiery industry, comes very nearly to one-fourth of the total amount of yarn produced by the mills. Not only is it less than one-third, which I want to be set apart for purely handloom industry, but it has got at least three shareholders, the handlooms, the power-looms and the hosiery industry. In fact, I think there are some other partners also in the amount which is thus set apart for consumption outside the mills. There are those who make fishing nets, those who make Newar, those who make tapes and so on. So, a good deal of the yarn set apart apparently for consumption in the industry other than the textile mills goes out for purposes I have just mentioned and the handloom industry comes in for really a very small share. Even that one-fourth is not allotted entirely to the handloom industry.

Now, looking at the fact that a good deal of it was exported in 1944 and 1945 to countries outside India and looking at the admission made by the Honourable Member for Government in answering the short-notice questions that no yarn was imported into the country from outside, the position of the handloom industry becomes very precarious indeed. I, therefore, contend that it is the duty of the Government of India to take steps by passing immediately an Ordinance compelling the textile mills to release at least one-third of the total amount of yarn prepared in these textile mills for consumption purely by the handloom industry. Unless that is done, the industry will suffer, as it has been suffering, for lack of yarn. And looking at the vast number of handlooms and those who work them and their dependents and the labour engaged in carrying on the handloom industry, I submit that the urgency of the matter becomes very apparent and obvious and there ought to be no hesitation on the part of the Government to accepting my Resolution and taking action accordingly at the earliest possible date.

As I said at the very beginning, I do not expect that this Resolution of mine will prove a contentious one and I can anticipate general agreement in the various sections of this House about the subject-matter of my Resolution. I do not think, therefore, that I should labour the point at any greater length and I commend my Resolution to the acceptance of the House.

Sir, I move.

Mr. President: Resolution moved:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to pass an emergency ordinance compelling cotton textile mills to release at least one-third of the yarn manufactured by them for the use of handlooms."

Mr. President: We will now take up the amendments. Let them be moved in the order in which they are on the agenda paper.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That for the words 'recommends to the Governor General in Council to pass an emergency ordinance', the following be substituted:

'urges upon the Government to take steps'."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That for the words 'recommends to the Governor General in Council to pass an emergency ordinance', the following be substituted:
'urges upon the Government to take steps'."

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I move:

"(1) That for the words 'pass an emergency ordinance' the following be substituted:
'take immediate steps by legislation or otherwise for'.

(2) That at the end of the resolution the following be added:
'and with a view to facilitate the same, prohibit all export of yarn and cloth for trade purposes to countries outside India for a period of one year or until such time as it takes for this country to become self sufficient, whichever is earlier'."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"(1) That for the words 'pass an emergency ordinance' the following be substituted:
'take immediate steps by legislation or otherwise for'.

(2) That at the end of the resolution the following be added:
'and with a view to facilitate the same, prohibit all export of yarn and cloth for trade purposes to countries outside India for a period of one year or until such time as it takes for this country to become self sufficient, whichever is earlier'."

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Sir, I move:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and that steps be taken to so distribute the released yarn as to cover the largest number of handloom weavers' families'."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and that steps be taken to so distribute the released yarn as to cover the largest number of handloom weavers' families'."

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan (Central Provinces and Berar: Muhammadian): Sir, I move:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and prohibiting the export of yarn for trade purposes to countries outside India for a period of one year or until such time as it takes this country to become self-sufficient, whichever is earlier'."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and prohibiting the export of yarn for trade purposes to countries outside India for a period of one year or until such time as it takes this country to become self-sufficient, whichever is earlier'."

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur cum Nellore: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir I move:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and take other necessary steps to ensure adequate supplies of yarn to handlooms calculated to provide full and remunerative employment to the one crore handloom weavers of the country'."

Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That at the end of the Resolution the following be added:

'and take other necessary steps to ensure adequate supplies of yarn to handlooms calculated to provide full and remunerative employment to the one crore handloom weavers of the country'."

Mr. President: There is a slight technical objection to the amendment moved by the Honourable Member Mr. Sanyal. It should be, instead of deleting the words "recommends to the Governor General in Council to pass an emergency ordinance", "delete the words 'pass an emergency ordinance' and substitute instead 'take steps'." The object is the same. It is only a question of better form. Does the Honourable Member accept the alteration?

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Yes, Sir, I accept.

Mr. President: I will put it in the amended form. Amendment moved:

"That, for the words 'pass an emergency ordinance', the words 'take steps' be substituted."

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Sir, in the middle of the twentieth century when the rest of the world is discussing as to how to bring the kingdom of heaven upon earth, this unfortunate country of ours is still stuck in the mud of the original problem of food and cloth. Unfortunately, one hundred

and ninety years of British rule have still kept us where human race was, before it ever talked of or thought about civilisation. Sir, my good friend Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang has put his case very briefly and rightly so because he thought and, we agree, that the matter is extremely non-controversial. Sir, that brings the irony of the matter still more home because questions which are so non-controversial have unfortunately also to be discussed on the floor of the House, and why so? Because we are under a system of Government, a system of administration which have neither the heads nor the hearts to look into the elementary normal problem of our existence. Sir, we are here talking of post war reconstruction, we are reading a lot about rehabilitation schemes, and plans are flashed upon us as if we are about to enter into a new phase of civilised existence. But then, Sir, the truth of the matter, the reality of the whole thing is that we are not yet able to settle even a fraction of the normal problems of our existence. When we want to settle the real problem, namely to get rid of this foreign administration which has failed us in our elementary requirements, when we ask them to quit India, they do not care to take stock of their own position, they do not care to be convinced that after having kept us hungry and naked for these nearly 200 years, they have no right to stop here, and to our very legitimate demand that they should abandon this land, they answer us with repression. Sir, apart from this normal position, I would like to impress upon the Government, although it is irresponsible and irremovable government, still so long as we are here—I see my Honourable friend is smiling there, but I hope he will consider this question not only smilingly but also seriously—it is our duty to draw their attention to our present normal position, namely this is the gift of war conditions, conditions arising out of a war which was theirs and not ours at all.

Sir, today if we were not subjected to these endless distress and difficulties arising out of these war conditions, if we were really masters of our own destiny, what would we have done? We would all sit round a table amongst ourselves, we would have thought of improved aviation, we would have considered questions relating to nation building activities, we would have considered ways and means of keeping abreast of other civilised nations of the world. But instead of that, we have to cry like animals pining for a little food, cry for a little piece of cloth to cover our shame. Sir, the other day when the Bretton Woods matter was under discussion, we were treated to very delicious words, particularly from our friends opposite, that we were having a place in the galaxy of luminaries in the comity of nations, and that we were being given well decorated cushion chairs in that assemblage of big countries. Sir, yesterday when the food question was being discussed, my Honourable friends like Mr. Masani and others said that instead of dollars and pounds we have a right to expect food. What applies to food applies also to the position of cloth. Have the Government, I ask in all humility, done anything to place our position regarding cloth before the comity of nations? Have they got any response from those great powers whose war was responsible for the depletion of supplies from our unfortunate country. The other day when the

12 Noon. Honourable Member for Industries replied to the short notice question of my friend Mr. Ayyangar, he gave certain figures and at the end of the answer, we were given the information that our yardage consumption *per capita* is 13.4 per year—a magnificent figure indeed. I was just wondering whether the Government of India was satisfied with giving us that average. People who are in the habit of keeping hounds and terriers as a matter of very pardonable luxury—even they know that their *per capita* consumption would not be properly served with 13.4 yards. But we are human beings even if we are slaves; and even a slave's necessity is not properly answered by that insulting vardage *per capita*. May I ask the Honourable Member opposite as to whether the Government of India has in its mind as to whether this yardage should be increased. We are all talking of post-war reconstruction. Is it in the contemplation of the Government of India to bring this country a little higher up, by trying to take steps so that the average

[Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal]

Indian would get at least a reasonable amount for clothing himself? The war has inflicted tremendous difficulties upon us. Apart from that, if as a proposition of post-war reconstruction we are supposed to be brought up at a higher level, it is imperatively necessary that not only should we get sufficiently nutritious food to eat, but also a decent quantity of clothing so that we can move round our streets like human beings, to say the least of it.

Now, Sir, you know that our handloom weavers (unfortunately the resolution and the amendments necessarily are a little more narrow and restricted in scope and therefore I would not be permitted by the rules of the procedure of the House to stray very much out of the restricted scope, although the larger questions are there)—since the matter is looked at from the point of view of the handloom weavers, it not only raises a question regarding the unemployment of the weavers themselves but it also raises the larger question regarding the available stock for use and consumption by the people of India at large. One leads to the other and both are linked together. This problem cannot be solved merely by tinkering adjustments here and there within the available resources. If a real and lasting solution is to be achieved, Government has to sit down here and now to consider the increase of yarn supply. They have to bring from outside if possible; and they have to increase the output within. I do not know whether it will be possible for the Government to encourage at this stage at least private enterprises for bringing into existence a large number of mills for spinning yarn. I do not know whether it will be possible for the Government to have in their post-war reconstruction scheme a few mills of their own, so that the supply of yarn may be facilitated; but then somehow or other all this has to be done. Export has to be stopped, as has been proposed by one amendment. Imports have to be increased by leaps and bounds, and increased output is a thing which cannot be delayed any further.

Coming now to these weavers, you know, Sir, that during the last famine most of the people who suffered and starved were the landless artisans of different kinds. The cobblers and the petty toolmen and these handloom weavers suffered a lot. Those who have got some idea about the economic construction of our society know very well that these weavers as a class are more or less landless: they have no reserve power; they have no standby for themselves. Even in the matter of cloth, they used to weave for others, but they had not much of a reserve or surplus for themselves because this was their trade, they had to weave and sell so that with the money they got they could purchase their foodgrains. From the very nature of things it was neither their habit nor was it possible for them to keep any stock for their own consumption or family use. The result was that when famine was stalking throughout the length and breadth of the country, the very first thing these weavers had to do, when there was no adequate supply of yarn and no stock of foodgrains, was to sell off their looms; and these looms gradually went into the hands of different kinds of industrial capitalists; and speaking from my own experience of my province of Bengal, in several districts of that province a big toll of death was contributed by this class. Sir, do you know that even when relief organisations were started, these weavers' families could not even come out to take the doles from the philanthropic organisations which were set up? After all, if people have to come out, they have to come out in a way so that their shame might not be exposed; and even before these relief operating centres (I have personal experience of them) these weavers could not come out to get the doles even. They stayed within their homes and they died there, unnoticed and uncared for. As a matter of fact these unofficial relief workers who have some idea about this matter, carried the doles in several places from door to door; but that could hardly be commensurate with the magnitude of the situation, and in spite of the best intentioned relief operations they could not be saved from the jaws of death. Therefore this is a matter which has got to be considered purely as a practical proposition without any political colour in it.

I share the hope which was expressed by my friend, Mr. Narayan, that the Resolution and the amendments, if possible, will be accepted and that we shall hear from the Government what steps they are considering, not merely on paper, but as a practical proposition, with a view to seeing that things which are already very bad do not become worse and these non-vocal sections of our society are, at least once in their life, being given to understand that we are by their side.

Sir, I have got two amendments: One amendment was only to change the tone of language of my Honourable friend, Mr. Nairang, regarding recommendation to the Governor General for legislation, etc. Sir, legislation is not necessary at all. If we express an opinion in this House, and that opinion is accepted, it ought to be the concern of the Government to see how that desire is implemented and carried into effect. Apart from that if the Government is really so minded, they can make use of that omnibus legislation—the Defence of India Rules. These Defence of India Rules have been exploited for all sorts of unholy purposes and if for once the Defence of India Rules are used for putting into operation the agreed desire of this House, it will at least have one piece of atonement. Sir, my Honourable friend, the veteran legislator, Dr. Sir Zia Uddin, said yesterday that the Defence of India Rules could do every thing except one, namely change the sex. I agree, but then it is also true that if the Defence of India Rules enjoins that a person should change sex and if he cannot change sex, as obviously he cannot, he cannot escape prosecution for non-compliance with the orders. Therefore, I submit that if the Government is really anxious to respond to the desire which is expressed through this Resolution and the amendments, the Government can at once promulgate orders under the Defence of India Rules and put into effect the expressed desire of the House.

My other amendment is regarding the question of distribution. This is very very serious, more serious than the Treasury Benches can ever suspect because those who have got a little touch with the people, know that the insufficiency of yarn was bad enough, but it was made worse by the totally heartless arrangements for distribution which led to unholy black-marketing day in and day out. The Government created handling agencies. It is now a talk in the street that all handling agencies were appointed for mishandling things. Those who were entrusted with handling foodgrains had more than enough food for themselves at the cost of others. Officers who were entrusted to set up machinery considered themselves more as Nawabs in their particular spheres rather than servants of the people. They created coterie of their own, some merchants, some pseudo-merchants and some needy representatives of the people who were at the beck and call of these executive officers, and all sorts of advantages were laid at their door and their will was treated as law and their voice was treated as food and clothing for the people. The result has been that things which were meant for people never reached them at all. So far as this particular thing is concerned, namely yarn, Sir, you know that handling agencies and some sort of machineries were created so that with their help the yarn could be distributed to the weavers. I am speaking on my own knowledge in my own province. Union Board Presidents were picked up in most cases. These Union Board Presidents, at least those who were considered to be very loyal to the administration, were picked up and people who never had any idea of yarn, people who never had any contact with the weavers, were entrusted with the work of distribution, and do you know what they did? They took signatures, mostly thumb impressions, of the weavers on blank pages and they showed distribution to these weavers, and in the very year in which yarn was to be sold to these weavers at controlled prices, the yarn was sold to the very same weavers at fabulous rates.

An Honourable Member: Their thumbs were cut!

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Their thumbs were cut when the British came here. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. Let the Honourable Member proceed.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: . . . and not only the thumbs but arms of the weavers will be amputated before the British leave this country.

Sir, I will give you one instance, a typical instance: A particular mill in Bengal got a stock of yarn and the mill in its goodness proposed to the authorities that they would sell these yarn to weavers. Now, Sir, a handling agency was created; a very loyal and faithful gentleman whose only qualification is that he never had anything to do with life except to dance attendance at officers' places, who was a big capitalist, and who already had in his own stock a number of looms purchased from the local weavers, was made in charge. The yarn that he took from this particular mill was kept by him in his own stock, and he showed in the usual way that it was distributed to the weavers. But he actually held out to the weavers that those who were agreeable to weaving textures on fixed salaries per month would be given yarn, but those who wanted to purchase and then send it to the open market would not be given.

Mr. President: I may just remind the Honourable Member about the time limit. Ordinarily 15 minutes is the time limit, but the Chair may allot further time.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: I am glad, Sir, that you have reminded me about that. I will just wind up my speech.

My point is that Government must find out a proper machinery for distribution. My Honourable friend, Mr. Nairang, referred to the fact-finding Report. There is one thing which I want the Government to guard against. The data of the Government are faulty and they are also unscientific. If the Government is going to do some business in this matter, it will not do merely to go upon the number of looms, because I know that many looms are in the pocket of these capitalists. So if you distribute over the looms, you don't do real good to the people who require some sustenance at the present juncture. You must pick up by statistics and by local investigations the number of families of weavers. If one weaver's family has got more than one loom, the first of the other family must be served before the second of the first family is served. This will introduce a policy of priority with one end in view, namely, to keep up the families of these starving people. In that event, Sir, we shall not only be doing something to the industry which is almost dying out but we should have the credit of having done something to people who were the greatest victims of the past distress.

The matter is non-controversial and the speeches are also likely to be so and I appeal to the Government that in their wisdom and goodness, at least for once in their lives they will create an impression of having been sensitive to the needs of the people.

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan: Sir, the amendment which stands in my name, was moved with a view to help the handloom weavers and to mitigate their sufferings. Sir, it is an old story by this time. All their troubles were narrated last year on the floor of this House and in other Committees outside the House. As a result of a deputation waiting on the Honourable Member, Sir Azizul Huque, who was then in charge of the Department, and in view of an adjournment motion tabled in this House, and several questions which were asked, and a resolution which was passed in the last Session, the Honourable Member had promised to constitute the All-India Handloom Weavers' Board. Sir, the Government of India took a pretty long time in forming this Board. I may be excused if I were to say that instead of proving helpful this Board has done harm to the handloom weavers to a great extent. Two meetings of this All-India Handloom Weavers' Board were held—one at Nagpur and the other at Bombay in the last month. In the Nagpur meeting only formal business was transacted and Prof. Ranga, who is smiling there, also came to Nagpur at that time and presided over All-India Handloom Weavers' Conference. The Bombay meeting was a very important one from the point of view of the weavers because more than two dozen resolutions were tabled and it

was expected that they would be passed in that meeting. But unfortunately, several resolutions were referred to the Raw Materials Committee and some were referred to the Marketing Committee and some resolutions were shelved on the ground that they were provincial subjects. That was the result of the two meetings of the All-India Handloom Weavers' Board. Thus it will be seen that the All-India Handloom Weavers' Board has not been helpful.

I will confine my remarks to the province which I have the honour to represent in this House. Under the patronage of the Government a society called the Central Provinces and Berar Weavers' Society has been formed there and it is generally called the Central Society. The constitution of this Society is a peculiar one. This Society has got a majority of nominated members who are nominated by the District Magistrate, the Director of Civil Industries and the Provincial Textile Commissioner. This Society has got some individual members who pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10 and the other societies which are registered they are also affiliated to this body and they have to pay only four annas. These registered societies who really represent the weavers have no voice in the administration of the Central Society. This Central Society plays the role of a middleman only. Yarn is received by different societies from the Central Society. This Society gets yarn from wholesale dealers and the wholesale dealers get the yarn direct from the mills. Thus this Central Society makes a profit and the profit is divided only amongst the individual members and no profit is given to the societies which are affiliated to this body.

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member speak a little more loudly or come up a little nearer on the front benches?

Nawab Siddique Ali Khan: I thought I was quite audible!

Sir, the yarn supply is also inadequate. The Fact Finding Committee in its report says that there are only 73,000 looms in my province, but as a matter of fact there are more than one lakh of looms. The quota which is allotted for a loom is $3\frac{1}{2}$ bundles of yarn but actually only one bundle is supplied. The bales which are allotted to my province are 4,894, but according to the number of looms, 15,000 bales should be supplied. Seventy-five per cent. of fine yarn is used in making saris, shirtings and suit-cloth but this is also not supplied. The distribution is very defective. A weaver can become a member of different societies and he can purchase yarn from several yarn shops. Now, you will be surprised to hear that in my province, and especially in Nagpur, those people who possess food ration cards are entitled to go to a yarn shop and purchase yarn from there and thus the Provincial Government is encouraging black-marketing and profiteering.

There are other difficulties also in the way of the weavers. Export licenses are not granted. Three-quarters of the handloom cloth produced in my province generally goes to Ahmedabad, Shikarpur, Sukkur and Bombay Presidency. If the Government is really serious to mitigate the sufferings of the weavers I am going to put up some concrete suggestions for the consideration of this House.

I would suggest, Sir, that textile provincial advisory board should be formed in all the provinces and the real representatives of the people should be members of those advisory boards. The mills also should be persuaded or ordered to produce more fine yarn and the supply in future should be adequate.

With these few words, Sir, I commend my amendment for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. Vadilal Lalubhai (Ahmedabad Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to make a maiden speech in this House and I crave the indulgence of the House for the same. I also rise to put before you the point of view of the industry as well as the point of view of a nationalist and try to show the ways and means as to how we can help the handloom industry.

My Honourable friend Mr. Ghulam Bhik Nairang has tabled this resolution, as I understand, to help the handloom industry. It is a noble cause and every one of us here and all over the country would wish that the purpose of the resolution, which is mainly to help the handloom industry, is achieved and the industry itself served from day to day.

[Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai.]

I do not understand how my Honourable friend here wants an ordinance for this matter. As a Member of this House it would have been better that he should ask for a legislation, if at all necessary. But to ask for an ordinance, I should think, is not the right thing that a Member of this Assembly should ask for. I understand that he thinks that the matter is urgent and so to expedite it, he wants some legislation to be passed as quickly as possible. In that case no-doubt a private Bill would take a long time but he could have easily requested the Government to put up a Government Bill and in that case the matter, if found urgent, would have been accepted. However.....

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): That will also take six months. The matter should be dealt with to-morrow.

Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai: The matter, I understand, is not so very urgent.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: It is very urgent.

Mr. President: Let the Honourable Member proceed.

Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai: There are many complicated issues involved in this question. I being in the industry would like to put before you the technicalities of the industry and how it would be possible to get more yarn. Just by adopting a proposition like this more yarn will not be available.

The position is this. There are two sets of mills. There are certain mills which are spinning and weaving mills and there are certain mills which are only spinning mills. The structure of the spinning and weaving mills is such that machinery is installed in such a way that the spinning section just feeds the weaving section. At times there is no doubt some surplus and at times there is also some shortage.

If you look at the production of yarn the cotton mills in India produced about 1,625 million pounds, out of which the handlooms are getting 470 million pounds. If you look at the prewar figures as given in the report of the Fact Finding Committee, you will find that the prewar supply of the Indian mills to the handlooms was about 300 million pounds. Imports gave another 28 million pounds. Handspun yarn accounted for another 49 millions. Thus we will see that the prewar supply of the mills to the handlooms was 300 million pounds and today we supply 470 million pounds. The industry has strived its best, the Textile Control Board has strived its utmost to find ways and means to increase the production, so that more yarn can be made available to the handloom. The mills today supply 50 per cent. more yarn than they did before the war. Later on I will just suggest how we can have more yarn. As I said, if the mills were asked to give a fixed quota of 1/3 yarn it would be too rigid and the result would be that some looms in the textile mills will have to be closed down. We know of our labour organisations. They are quite alert, they are very up to date with facts and figures and they are very clear as to what labour wants. If some looms are closed, the position would be that the preparatory departments will also be closed; such departments as dyeing, bleaching and finishing to that extent will close. There is bound to be a heavy curtailment of employment and also there will be under-employment. We know whenever there is unemployment or under-employment in the past there have been great difficulties between the labour and the industry and it was not easy to satisfy labour. The labour interests would certainly not like the labour employed to be reduced nor the wages to be reduced.

The other position would be this, that the textile industry is striving its utmost to produce more cloth for the public. If the weaving section is closed to a certain extent, the position will be that we will have less cloth. We know that the handloom produces per pound of yarn less yardage of cloth than what the mill produces.

The third position would be that the cost of production will go high. It is but natural that the costs of production are always kept low. If production is

increased the cost is reduced and if it is decreased, then the prices go up. This is the position that we would be led into if we are rigid about this 1/8 quota.

Another point is that 470 million pounds come to about 28 or 29 per cent. and not 25 per cent., as my Honourable friend suggested. The Textile Control Board has been always looking into the matter to see how we can produce more yarn for the handloom industry. Because of the want of cloth we have been having only 18.4 yards per head. My Honourable friend to my right says that we must have more cloth. Everybody wants that. The Textile Control Board has just devised the utility cloth scheme which is expected to give more yardage of cloth. A simple resolution like this if passed and acted upon would disturb the utility cloth scheme in a way that the whole structure of production that has been established would be affected. The mills have been asked to reduce their counts, to reduce the production of certain kinds of cloth which consume more yarn and slowly and slowly it is expected that the cloth supply that is so badly required by the people of this country will increase. We have to take into consideration all these facts before we come to a conclusion in this matter.

But there are various other ways whereby handlooms can get more yarn and that is what I am here to suggest.....

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: May I ask one question? Can he tell me the number of spinning factories that were changed into spinning and weaving factories during the war?

Mr. Vadilal Lalubhai: I do not think any spinning mills were turned into weaving mills during the last three years, because the control board has not permitted any new looms during the last three years: I do not know what happened previously because there was no control three years back.

The production in the mills has gone down during the last year to a certain extent, chiefly due to the coal shortage. The coal situation is so bad that production in so many centres went down and mills closed, one after another, in one centre or the other. This government has bungled the coal position and coal production. I am surprised that during war time, when coal is the greatest necessity for all industries, including war industries how it is that the coal production could not be increased and the right kind of coal could not be given. I will just read from the Report of the Rationalisation and Standardisation sub-committee of the Industry's Committee of the Textile Control Board, and show just how one centre has suffered and what is the position of coal today:

"Shortage of coal has been and is still a constant anxiety and increasingly serious stoppages are occurring. In 1945, up to date, the production of cloth in Ahmedabad Mills alone, not to speak of other centres, has been adversely affected to the extent of 48 million yards, owing to closure of mills due to short supply of coal. The quantity of coal produced and delivered to cotton mills is simply shocking. On the average 130 tons of coal is now required to do the work which 100 tons of coal did in normal times due to very large proportion of stone, slate and other non-combustible materials which are being supplied by collieries along with coal today."

This is the position of coal today. We know to our great regret that although we had insufficient supply of coal, this Government exported coal, and the industries suffered. I would not be surprised to hear that coal is being exported today—I do not know. But the bungling in the coal position was due to various reasons. The actual production could have been increased if Government had tried in right time to get the right stores for the coal industry, and if Government had not applied same kind of E.P.T. methods for the coal industry. After all coal is not only an industry but it is an asset, and there are various reasons why coal production was not sufficient and was not up to the quality. Unless the coal situation improves it would be impossible for the industry to increase its production; the production will go down. No doubt, of late the coal situation has improved; but still we find mills in one centre or another still getting closed. Lately Government have been thinking of having, because of this coal shortage, an alternative fuel—oil fuel. The Government would be creating a foreign vested interest if oil fuel is being imported and if they do not see that the coal industry goes up and produces more coal. It is a serious matter that another

[Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai.]

vested interest is being created in the form of oil fuel; and I am sure if the Government would put its head into it, the coal production can and should be increased.

Very shortly we are going to have a Bill from my honourable friend opposite for an eight-hour day. Everybody would agree that the hours of work should be reduced; but ways and means will have to be found out if the eight hours is to help the whole country; the production is bound to go down if it comes to eight hours; but if the fuel position is cleared and some other positions are cleared, it would not be difficult. We know that during the war the textile industry has been working day and night, without any replacement of spares, without any replacement of machinery; and I can tell you that the production per spindle and per loom in the textile industry is going down. It is because of night shifts and more shifts that production has been increased. If the Government had tried to get more spinning machinery during the war or even now, we can easily increase our production for the handloom industry. It would be said that the spinning machinery is not available. I would not agree to that. The spinning machinery position is this: that Australia and other countries who were not in the textile industry also could establish their textile industries; why could not the Indian Government get for India some textile machinery, so that the handlooms can be supplied with yarn, without disturbing the economy of the mills as well as the economy of the country? The position is this: we are not able to get textile machinery because, I feel, we are a dependent nation. If we were independent, as other countries are, we would have certainly succeeded in getting some machinery and India would have been in a much happier position regarding this industry. If we take the example of Japan we see that in the first world war, it was a third rate power: but it became a first rate power economically after the first world war and that was due to expansion of its industries all round. Even during this war, so many countries like Australia and Canada expanded their industries, while India only could not expand its industries. It is impossible to get anything by begging. Our Honourable Planning Member on the other side, who is no more with us now, planned and planned and he failed; and it is rumoured that was the cause why he resigned: he said if he could not do anything it was no use sticking on here. But the position of any dependent country would be the same, and whatever we plan, we are not going to succeed. We want capital goods for our industries: it is not going to be obtained if we are to live in this position as we are today.

Then there is another side to the question. Suppose we get enough yarn or more yarn for our handloom industry. What about the future? I would warn here that the future is going to be dark, especially for the handloom industry, if from now onwards proper planning is not done and proper safeguards are not created for the handloom industry. We remember the 1939 days, when there was very great depression; the textile industry was suffering and the handloom industry was suffering more, and that is how the Fact Finding Committee came into existence. Those days are not far off from today. It is good that the handloom industry gets 60 or 70 per cent. more price than the textile mills: that is how it can grow; but whether that growth is going to be steady or whether we are going to have a decline and we are again going to have the same situation as we had in 1939, we do not know. Today if we desire that yarn is to be obtained from new spinning mills and by other methods, Government will have to consider as to how to safeguard and save the handlooms industry in the future. I would here refer also to the handspinning and handweaving industry. This Government in 1942 burnt khadi bhandars and tried to ruin the handspinning industry; but it could not. The handspinning industry has been so well laid out and planned that even if one tries to ruin it, it will come up again. When the situation of cloth was very serious last year, I tried my best to see whether anything could be done to get more yarn by the method of handspinning, so that the handlooms can also get more yarn. I wrote to the textile Commissioner in the month of May last year: I saw him and discussed

with him: the talks were very sympathetic; he told me he had written to New Delhi and was awaiting replies, but the replies have not come till now. I will just read a few lines from my letter:

"As to the production of khaddar, I may say that there is a body known as the All India Spinners Association, which has been looking after the production of Khaddar. I am acquainted with its constitution; I also know its resources. I am also familiar with the way in which the production of Khaddar by means of hand-spinning and hand weaving is done throughout India. If this agency is asked to co-operate at this time of the need of the country I think there will be a good response. In co-operation with this association and with the investment of a fairly big sum, nearly half the deficit in cloth can be met. This method will serve two very useful purposes, (i) to meet the shortage of cloth, and (ii) to give additional employment to a very large number of poor persons. It will also serve a very useful purpose in future, because if this method of employment takes root, it will solve many of the problems of the poor in the villages and many of the troubles even of Government will disappear. Khaddar of all types and for all practical purposes of people can be produced. The shortage of cloth is felt acutely in near and distant villages. This acute distress will disappear very quickly through this means."

To this there was no response. Now, Sir, I turn.....

Mr. President: How long is the Honourable Member likely to take? He has very nearly reached his time limit.

Mr. Vadilal Lallubhai: I will take only five minutes more.

If the handloom industry is to be protected, it will be for the Government to devise ways and means to get the yarn at mill cost and to make arrangements for selling the cloth on a cooperative basis. Government should do in this country what many other countries are doing. There is the question of cotton. Government buys up cotton if the price goes down. Government will have to make arrangements to see that the qualities of the cloth are standardised and prices fixed and the Government must be prepared to buy up that cloth and distribute the same. For the finishing of cloth and for the sizing of cloth, various other arrangements will have to be done district wise. Designing experts will have to be kept and technicians will have to be obtained and if this is done systematically, I am sure that the handloom industry will grow and if it is not done I feel that the hand loom industry will go down.

In conclusion I would just say a few words. Let me be explicit. We appreciate and share the Honourable the Mover's anxiety to put the handloom industry on a permanently sound basis. The rigid demand of one third yarn production is not, however, going to solve the problem of handloom industry to any appreciable extent. On the labour front it will create serious labour unrest due to unemployment and under-employment coupled with reduction of wages. Cloth production will decline and the utility cloth scheme will be jeopardised. Prices will go high and the consumer will be the worst sufferer. The sovereign remedy is to increase yarn production in four ways—No. 1, to improve the coal situation; No. 2, to give a strong impetus to hand spinning; No. 3, to import spinning machinery and to increase the spindleage; and No. 4, to organise the handloom industry on a co-operative basis with better technical assistance and expert training. Sir, let us not be led away by competing philosophies and rival propaganda which has become the fashion today which will do more harm than good. If my honourable friend seriously and sincerely wants to safeguard the eternal interests of the handloom weavers, he will reconsider his proposals afresh. I would therefore urge him to withdraw the Resolution which, in the present circumstances, is impossible to carry out without doing harm to our textile industry at large.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: I am glad that my honourable friend Mr. Lallubhai has put the case of the mill owners as reasonably as the representative of the mill owners can possibly put it but at the same time his case is certainly that of the mill owners. He wants the spinning industry to be developed. If it is really developed genuinely and sincerely and fully by this Government, then there will be not much need for the spinning mill industry in this country. He wants also khaddar to be developed and this Government has been in collusion with the mill owners in order to see that the Khaddar industry in this country does not

[Prof. N. G. Ranga.]

develop properly. If it has been developed properly then there will not be scope for many of these weaving mills in India. In regard to the other suggestions of his I am in agreement with him. So long as you need the spinning mill industry you have got to take proper and adequate steps to see that they get coal fuel in time and also that they get the imports of spare machinery and the other machinery that they need. In these directions Government has certainly failed in its duty and it ought to be censured but when we come to the question under discussion that more yarn shall be placed at the disposal of the handloom weavers I cannot agree with the mill owners' plea, because I certainly feel that it must be possible and it ought to be possible for the spinning mills which are functioning today to place more yarn at the disposal of the handloom weavers. Whether it is to be one-third or half the yarn that they produce is a matter of detail which has got to be looked into by experts and also by those who deal with this in the Textile Board and other organisations. We know one thing. We have got one crore odd people who are dependent for their livelihood upon the handloom industry. As against that we have 5 lakhs odd people in the textile mill industry, including spinning and weaving. (*An Honourable Member*: '8 lakhs'.) I speak subject to correction. That was so in pre-war time but during war time I am quite prepared to concede the point that more people must have been employed. I take it that 8 lakhs of people are today employed. If you take their dependents also into consideration, it will go up to more than 25 lakhs of people, whereas more than one crore of people are employed in the handloom weaving industry and are depending for their maintenance on that industry. It is clear that the nation has got to care more for the handloom weaving than for the mill industry. That does not mean that the mill industry should be thrown under the scrap heap, because the country has already invested in it more than 20 crores of rupees in the States as well as in British India. We do not want to lose all this money. Then what is the solution?

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has already said that so far as the weaving mills are concerned, as they go out of action they will not be renewed. No more new mills will be allowed to be established in this country. Then as for the existing mills, it will be worked only in such a way that they will not be harmful to the handloom weavers. So far as the spinning mills are concerned, if my Honourable friends the mill owners say that with the lowering of the hours of labour on the part of the Labour Department and the want of spare machinery, the production is bound to go down and is going down and they do not think it possible to produce more yarn from the existing plant, then the duty of the Government is perfectly clear. They must take over all these spinning mills and work them themselves and see if they cannot produce more than what is being produced in the existing spinning mills. It is true that during war time they were working at high pressure for 24 hours. If the hours of labour are reduced, it only means that more shifts of workers will be employed. It does not mean that the mills have got to work smaller number of hours at all. It need not mean that the production will go down. Therefore, if the mill industry is not prepared to

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produce any more yarn with the plants they have at their disposal, it is for the Government to see whether they cannot get more yarn produced either with the present management or with their own management. The management of the spinning mills is quite an eternal factor. The personnel of it can be changed and ought to be changed. As Mahatma Gandhi has put it, these mills and various other industrial concerns have to be allowed to be run on trusteeship principle subject to the control of the society and the State. If these mill-owners and their friends are not prepared to give us good account of their own trusteeship, then they have got to be replaced by another set of management, whether it is co-operative management or direct State management is a matter to be decided later on by this Government or the Government to come, the National Government.

Then, why is it, Sir, that this Government really has been supporting the mills till now? Why is that we are obliged to come to this Government and to

this House in order to ask the sanction of this House and to press upon the Government the advisability of placing some more yarn at the disposal of the handloom weavers? It is because the Government had been flattering these mills. If it had not been for the mill industry, they would not have been able to collect their excess profits tax, super-tax and income-tax so far as cloth production and spinning is concerned in this country. Supposing the country had gone the way of Mahatma Gandhi and the production of cloth had been decentralised, as my Honourable friend is anxious to do, then where would have been the big merchants and the big industrialists on whom they can lay their hands and take out all these excess profits from their pockets? Also, there is the question of price. They did not control the price of even mill production for a long time for the simple reason that if the prices went down, these merchants would have been deprived of their huge profits which they were getting from them. Afterwards, they came to the question of price control of cloth. We are sure that this Government is able to take control of all the yarn that is being produced by the mills. Only this morning one experienced mill-owner, who was also interested in the handloom weavers, was telling quite confidentially that it is still possible for the mills to have some yarn at their disposal without being accounted for according to the present machinery of the administration of the Government. And this yarn is being placed in the black market and it is being distributed all over India. And why is it that these people are keeping their eyes closed? For a very good reason, because their pockets are being filled. That is where the Government administration comes in.

Sir, in addition to this there are these middlemen who are supplying the yarn from mills to the weavers and also selling it to the ultimate consumers. Both these are allowed to absorb as much as 30 per cent. of the total price of cloth, if that price is at all a legitimate one and is a controlled one. In fact, black-marketing in cloth is an All-India problem today. Indeed, black-marketing in yarn is an All-India problem to-day. I suggest that Government must, first of all, take control of all the yarn that is being produced from the mills and give only that much of yarn that they can possibly spare after having given sufficient yarn to the weavers. I know that the predecessor of the present Member for this Department once said: You cannot possibly ask a spinning and weaving mill manager to hand over to you all the yarn that he is producing without, first of all, keeping all the yarn that he wants for his own weaving section. My answer to him then was and today is the same. Yes, certainly I demand that. He has no right whatsoever to keep for himself the yarn he wants for his weaving mill when I have got all these weavers without employment.

Then, I come to the other point. I sympathise with my friend that there will be labour unrest in case you take away all this yarn from these spinning mills and allow their men to remain unemployed. (But what will be the total number of this labour? It may be one lakh or at the most 5 lakhs who may be affected by this particular source of employment. But there are so many other sources of employment which are yielding higher wages. There is plenty of employment in towns, much more than there is in the villages. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to provide employment for these unemployed textile workers. On the other hand, if you are so anxious to please the urban proletariat, then you should see what is happening in the countryside. More than one crore of people are going without proper nourishment, without proper wages and without employment. The Honourable Member has himself admitted that he is aware of the fact that many weavers are under-employed. Is it seriously contended by the Government that they are more afraid and that it is their duty to think more of the industrial proletariat than of the so-called rural proletariat? If it is their duty to look after the industrial proletariat only, then I can tell them that they have mistaken their duty.

Then, you have to take a number of constructive steps in order to provide employment to our handloom weavers. One particular problem of the weavers has already been mentioned by my honourable friend from Bengal, who has made such a brilliant contribution to this subject. And that is the proper distribution of yarn among the weavers. I wish to make one concrete suggestion.

[Prof. N. G. Ranga.]

We have already put it into practice in Southern India. Our Handloom Weavers Association has made a suggestion to the Government and which has been accepted by them for the distribution of ration cards. They have suggested that, first of all, there should be a census of looms in various families of the handloom weavers and the distribution of the ration cards shall be done through the weavers' own Association. Once we got this concession from the Government, all our weavers came to be organised because there was this inducement from district right down to the village. In every village we were able to take the census of the weavers and in that way we have prevented any mal-administration or undue interference by the Government.

Then, there is the development of co-operative production. If Government has to maintain and it has maintained in the past that it will not be possible for it to keep abreast of yarn once it gets into the hands of the handloom weavers and therefore it may not have any control over it, then I wish to make one or two concrete suggestions. Let them take up this handloom cloth production themselves. Let them give out this yarn to their own Associations as well as their Co-operative Societies that are being formed in various provinces, particularly in Madras and Bengal. Once they give up this yarn, let them offer a minimum wage to the weavers, time wage as well as piece wage and expect the weavers to return the cloth in return for the wages. The cloth will be there in the hands of the Government. It is for the Government at this stage to fix any price they like for the cloth produced by the handloom weavers. Of course, these prices have got to be a little higher than the prices at which the mill industry can be expected to sell. But that does not matter. The Government will have control over them. Let them take charge of all this cloth. Let them, then, take up the responsibility of marketing this cloth at their own risk and then let them distribute it. There is no risk whatsoever in this. There is cloth shortage and the people are prepared to purchase it at any price from your hands. Therefore, there will be no difficulty. Let them take the actual distribution of the cloth from the hands of the weavers to actual consumers. If they do that, it will be possible for them to serve all the three parties concerned, that is, the spinning mills, the weavers as well as the ultimate consumers. People may say that this administration is going to cost you such a lot. But you have already got a voluntary or unofficial administration of this cloth production and distribution that is provided by the mills and these middle men are charging more than the price fixed. In fact the black market price is often twice and sometimes thrice as much as the controlled price at which cloth is supposed to be sold. Therefore, it will be an economic proposition for the Government to take up work in these directions. Perhaps the Government might say in regard to this rationed distribution of yarn among weavers that there is no weavers organisation. I have already said that it can be brought into existence without any difficulty. It is the duty of the Government to organise and help the handloom weavers. They will begin to organise themselves once you distribute the yarn on ration cards on a co-operative system. All these things follow from one fundamental thing—the acceptance by Government of full responsibility to provide full employment to labour, whether it is industrial labour or agricultural labour or cottage industrial labour. Till now the Government have not accepted responsibility. Only now the idea is being mooted in official circles, but that exists only so far as industrial labour is concerned. I want the Government to accept responsibility in regard to much bigger sections of other proletariats, agrarian as well as artisan proletariats. If they accept this responsibility, then naturally it will not be impossible for them to take action along the lines that I have so far suggested. There is one very useful suggestion made by my Honourable friend Nawab Siddique Ali Khan. That is that Government should themselves set up spinning mills in order to be able to control the vagaries of other mills. The significance of this lies in this. The mills are today charging much higher prices to the handloom weavers. For example they shift yarn to their own

weaving sections at much lower prices, or they send yarn to other millowners who are interested only in weaving mills at cheaper price. This can be checked if Government were to have their own spinning mills. There is precedent for this also. The railways have already come to own a number of coal mines and they do it in order to prevent other coal mine owners from charging famine prices for the coal that the railways need today.

Then, Sir, I ask, is the Government going to take up seriously khaddar production in the country? It will be a sort of saving grace for itself or a silver lining for the otherwise blackest record that the Government has got to its credit today. I submit the Government should take up this matter seriously at least now before they quit India giving place for their betters on the Treasury Benches.

Then, Sir, I wish to sound a note of warning. The suggestion has been mooted in official circles that handloom cloth price also should be controlled, I am very much opposed to it.

An Honourable Member: Why?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: I will tell you why I am opposed to it. For the simple reason that the handloom weavers are so poor, so ignorant so helpless and so unorganised that they cannot get out of the clutches of your policemen and various other Government officials who will be able to exploit them and who will be able to enslave them if only you were to impose this sort of control. The better thing will be for yourselves to take charge, as I have already suggested, of yarn production and yarn distribution among weavers and then cloth production with the co-operation of weavers and afterwards sell the same. May I ask, is it going to be such a serious matter that the Government will not be able to take it up? Can it be much more serious or much more difficult than rationing and distribution of foodstuffs that you are now doing in regard to 54 millions of people in all the urban areas? It certainly is not going to be a more serious matter. If on that front you have taken courage in both hands, and undertaken responsibility, I expect the Government, it is natural for me to expect the Government to take up this responsibility also. I can assure them of the wholehearted co-operation from the side of handloom weavers. The handloom weavers today are not what they used to be at one time. They are coming to be organised, they are coming to be a little class-conscious, they are coming to realise their own interest and therefore I expect the Government to take the handloom weavers into their confidence which they have not done so far.

Mr. President: The House will now adjourn for Lunch.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: I shall finish in a minute, Sir.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member need not necessarily finish. He may continue his speech after Lunch. Let the House now adjourn.

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): He is nearly completing his time limit of 15 minutes, Sir.

Mr. President: It is not such a rigid rule as in the case of speeches on adjournment motions. The Chair may allow members more time, in fact speakers have taken more time in some cases and they have been allowed to do so by the Chair.

The House will now adjourn for 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. President (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Sir, just before the House rose for Lunch I was talking about the general aspects of the handloom weavers' needs. I wish to take a

[Prof. N. G. Ranga]

few minutes now and take the House into some of the important questions concerning the present machinery of distribution of yarn as between different provinces and districts in the country. I wish to say that thanks to the All-India Textile Control Board or some such organisation with its office in Bombay a lot of confusion has come to be introduced into the distribution of yarn as between different provinces. Because during last year Bengal was going through a bad time in regard to the cloth position my honourable friend Sir Azizul Huque had to take some expeditious steps in order to relieve that trouble. So the Board had decided to take away a very large portion of the yarn production of the Madras Presidency in order to relieve the needs of Bengal. I do not wish to bring in this very ticklish problem of competition for yarn as between different provinces, but I wish to make a concrete suggestion, and that is this. Make some sort of an estimate of the total amount of cloth that you can make available over the whole of India from the mills as well as the handlooms, then distribute it over the total population that you have in this country—*per capita* quota—and then with that you will come to your figure of the total cloth needs of different provinces. Once you reach that figure it will not be difficult for you to know how much of cloth in the shape of yarn to start with or in the shape of cloth itself is to be made available to each one of the provinces.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will bear in mind that he was going to finish in a minute's time.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: I thought I would have a little more time over points that I could not cover.

Mr. President: He may have five minutes at the most.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: It will be possible for them then to make available the necessary quantity of cloth or the necessary quantity of yarn for each of these different provinces in India. If they do it I am sure there will be better justice done as between different provinces than is the case at present. For instance, the Madras Presidency is dependant for its cloth supply to the extent of 75 per cent. upon handlooms alone. But now that such a large quantity of yarn is being exported from the Madras Presidency the handloom weavers themselves are going without adequate employment and consequently without adequate remuneration and also the public are forced to pay famine prices for the cloth that they need. On the other hand Bengal and Assam are getting more and more yarn and cloth also and we do not know what they are doing with this cloth and yarn. There is a rumour that a good portion of it is being smuggled away into China and Burma. How far Government have perfected their machinery in order to prevent this smuggling we do not know. But we would like to be satisfied with a definite assurance from Government that they will hurry up with their steps to prevent this smuggling and place at the disposal of Bengal and Assam only such quantities of cloth and yarn as are absolutely necessary for them as per their total population. If that is done I think some justice will come to be done to the Madras Presidency and other provinces also. And as for the distribution of yarn as between different districts I find very queer things happening in the Madras Presidency. Yarn that is not needed in a particular district is being sent there. For instance, Madura does not want hundreds and yet it is being sent there whereas yarn that is needed by other districts is not sent to them. Therefore they are obliged to sell their unwanted yarn to other districts where it is needed but in their black markets and obtain yarn which is needed by them from other districts which do not want it and which these people have to purchase at black market rates. These absurdities will have to be eliminated.

Then yarn is also needed for dyeing. Yarn is sent for being dyed in their respective districts but these districts are not allowed to send their yarn to other places where they can profitably be dyed, with the result that here again any amount of dissatisfaction is being created.

There is the question of prices. So many people are complaining, specially in towns, that the prices of handloom cloth are very much higher than those of mill-made cloth. It is but natural that these prices should be higher not only because handloom cloth lasts longer but also because handloom weavers have got to live and they get work only for seven days or at the most ten days in the month. For the other twenty days for no fault of their own they are forced to be unemployed. They must necessarily try to draw from out of this cloth production at least starvation wages for the whole of the month, with the result that into the price of every yard of cloth the wages for weaving necessarily have to go at a higher level. The prices of handloom cloth necessarily are higher, but if these prices alone are what the consumers have to pay it will not create so much of discontent. Unfortunately the black marketeer comes in in co-operation with the department and its agents and the consumer necessarily suffers and he raises a hue and cry against the poor handloom weaver who has nothing to do with this. There are so many complaints. I will read only the substance of one telegram, as a mere sample:

"Increasing yarn scarcity only one week's supply per month. Textile Officer autocratic and incompetent and he is not consulting weavers associations. It is leading to anarchy and black marketing",
and so on.

This is happening all over the country, and therefore some special steps have to be taken. What are they? This Government has got to develop some machinery by which they can get into intimate consultation with the handloom weavers. In the South we have made some progress but, as I have already said, through our own voluntary rationing and distribution. But Government has not yet made up its mind whether or not to recognise our handloom weavers' associations and to take them into their consultation, with the result that the All-India Handloom Board, as has been admitted by one of its members Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, has not been able to do any good at all to the handloom weavers. My Honourable friend Sir Akbar Hydari is there; he has been one of its fathers but I cannot congratulate him on his offspring because he has brought in the millowners in rather strong numbers; and on the top of it he has put in there as one of the conditions for its own functioning that every proposal that comes up before it for any sort of distribution of market between handloom weavers and millowners and also concerning prices of mill cloth and handloom cloth should first of all be referred to the Textile Board, on which the millowners have the biggest say, before they can possibly consider it. They have tied the trade hand and foot and afterwards asked them to swim in this hot pool of water. Necessarily it is not able to do anything at all. It is very easy for my honourable friend there because he is jumping from one department to another like a peacock. This Board has not been able to do any work. Who are the representatives on behalf of handloom weavers on this? He offered a membership to me. I was personally inclined to feel a little bit flattered because he said that in recognition of my long years of service to this industry he wanted me to be on that Board. But I insisted that I should be taken in, if at all, on behalf of the handloom weavers' association, but my honourable friend declined to do so. So it comes to this that Government are prepared to flatter a number of people and take them in and keep them at their mercy and at their pleasure, but are not prepared to give recognition to these various weavers' associations and give them the right to select their own representatives to be on it so that they can speak definitely and entirely for the weavers and without any fear or favour from Government and its incumbents from time to time. Therefore unfortunately for the weavers and unluckily for my honourable friend I had to decline his invitation. If this Board is really to effect any sort of good at all for the handloom weavers those who are supposed to be sitting on it on behalf of the handloom weavers must be elected representatives of the handloom weavers' associations wherever they are. In provinces where they have not come into existence it is the business of my honourable friend for the department concerned to encourage the handloom weavers to send their representatives. In that way alone they can help the handloom weavers.

[Prof. N. G. Ranga]

In conclusion, I wish to say that it is the duty of the Government of India to do all that lies in their power to help the handloom weavers and to give their first priority to the supply of yarn to the weavers rather than to big well-organised gentlemen of the mills industry. I wish to assure him that although we may have in our own midst some of our respected colleagues coming from the mill industry, the Indian National Congress anyhow, and as I find the Muslim League also, are behind the handloom weavers and they will be able to give their moral support to the Government in every way possible in the interest of the handloom weavers, even if it is necessary for them to control the interests of the millowners.

Sir T. V. Satakopachari (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I beg to move the amendment which stands in the name of my Honourable friends Messrs. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Venkatasubba Reddiar, and myself:

“(i) That for the words ‘pass emergency ordinance’ the following be substituted: ‘take immediate steps by legislation or otherwise for’.”

I need not take much time of the House in regard to this particular substitution. We have had enough of ordinances and the country has had enough of rule by ordinances. The very mention of the word “Ordinance” has become an anathema to us. We wish an ordinance were passed that the Englishmen should quit this country leaving their baggage here, and they should take only the ordinance with them. Therefore, I suggest that the words ‘pass emergency ordinance’ be substituted by ‘take immediate steps by legislation or otherwise for’.

The second portion of my amendment is:

“(2) that at the end of the resolution the following be added: ‘and with a view to facilitate the same, prohibit all export of yarn and cloth for trade purposes to countries outside India for a period of one year or until such time as it takes for this country to become self-sufficient, whichever is earlier.’”

The main Resolution is a request that cotton textile mills should reserve one-third of the yarns manufactured by them for the use of handlooms; this is a very modest request. In fact I find from statistics that even now they are supplying nearly one-third.

Sir, I come from a place where there are many weavers. In fact a portion of my city subsists on wages earned by working the handlooms. I know very well what is their plight. They have not got sufficient yarn for weaving in handlooms; most of the people have been thrown out of work and they are on the verge of starvation. Many of them are begging from door to door. So there is a large population without work because yarn is not given to them. In order to make more yarn available to these people, I think it is essential that the yarn produced by the textile mills should be conserved for use in this country and it should not be exported. It should neither be exported as yarn nor as cloth. I include cloth also. It is notorious that the cloth position in this country is very grave. We have been reading reports in the press that women have been forced to commit suicide in our country because of want of cloth. As Honourable Members know this was a country which at one time supplied cloth, fine cloth, to other countries, and which had all the means of drawing out yarn from cotton long before any other country in the world. We have been supplying cloth before the Christian Era to the Roman Empire which was the envy of all other nations; we used to manufacture such fine fabrics which no other country could produce. Such a country has been reduced to this hopeless condition that its sons and daughters have to commit suicide because they have not enough cloth to cover their bodies.

Exactly as in the case of food, I find that Government says that the production is much more than before; the mills are producing ever more and more yarn. Just as they put forward statistics in the matter of food to prove their assertions, so are they doing in the case of cloth. But then why is it that we are suffering, and why is it that we have been reduced to this state of affairs? I think it is another example of how the foreigners have mismanaged things in

this country. Two centuries of British rule has brought us to this hopeless position. If food is important for the vitality of the people, if food is necessary for maintaining stamina of the people, cloth is the index of prosperity and civilization of the people. And in that respect, we, who were holding the ground, have been reduced to the lowest level. I will illustrate my point by giving you certain figures. In 1929 the *per capita* consumption of some of the selected countries was as follows:

U. S. A.	. . . . .	64 sq. yards per head.
U. K.	. . . . .	35 Do.
Sweden	. . . . .	36 Do.
Denmark	. . . . .	30 Do.
Japan	. . . . .	21.4 Do.
India	. . . . .	16.1 Do.

I have selected these countries at random, and I find that India ranks lowest with its *per capita* consumption of 16.1 sq. yards. I may inform you, Sir, that the National Planning Committee estimated that *per capita* requirement of the citizens of this country should be at least 30 yards; this is absolutely necessary. Now, according to the statistics given by Government it is 13.4 yards which is being rationed out, and I suspect that this 13.4 yards is the result of arithmetical calculations based upon the census figures of 1931, because I find that the quota of cloth given in my place—Tanjore—was based upon the population figures of 1931. Then if the average that is required for an Indian is 30 yards, we are not even getting 13.4 yards. For securing these yards, what is the position? Our children and men and boys and women have to go and stand in queues before shops. I know what it is. You go and stand there endlessly and after 1½ hours the shopowner puts up its shutters and says there is no more cloth today and people return saddened and without cloth. This is happening every day. This is happening not only with ordinary people but to better placed people. The people in the standing queues suffer willingly and patiently. We have had queues for foodstuffs, we have had queues for kerosene, queues for fuel, queues for railway tickets and for everything in life, and if this regime continues people will be marching in queues towards hunger and poverty.

Mr. President: Order, order. I do not wish to interrupt the line of argument of the Honourable Member (Will he resume his seat?). What he is speaking about is a much larger proposition; whereas, the matter before the House is a simple one. Will he limit his remarks to the issue before the House, namely, the supply of yarn to the handloom weavers. All the other things are too well known. He has his time limit and he must apply himself to the proposition before the House with the time limit.

Sri T. V. Satakopachari: In my amendment is also included the word "cloth". To justify that I had to take the House into these details, which are not really irrelevant.

Mr. President: I am not ruling them out on the ground of irrelevancy because the vista of relevancy is so large that it is difficult to say what is strictly relevant and what is not. All that I want the Honourable Member to do is to pointedly fix his attention to the issue before the House and not to go into things which are not actually irrelevant but very remotely relevant.

Sri T. V. Satakopachari: I have said so because I have mentioned about "cloth for trade purposes". My point is that cloth is so very necessary that it ought not to be exported out of the country and I wanted to advance arguments in that respect. Why has such a situation arisen? Why is there a cloth famine and a food famine? You will say that due to the war there were no imports. I can understand that; for, due to the war imports have decreased, almost to nil. We shall take that the imports are nil. But you say that production has increased.

There can be only three sources of supply. They are indigenous mills that are producing cloth, handloom weavers, and net imports. By the last I mean

[Sri T. V. Satakopachari.]

excess of imports over exports. Exports there have been. That is the point I wanted to stress. During the last ten years the production of yarn by mills has increased. I am taking the statistics for 10 years, from 1930-40. The yarn production has increased from 867 million pounds to 1234 million pounds. I suppose I am right in saying that it has increased by 367 million pounds or by 150 per cent. During the seven years 1937-44 the production of mill cloth increased from 4084.3 million yards to 4870.6 million yards. The handloom industry has increased according to statistics from 1,200 million yards to 1,600 million yards. When we have all this cloth why should there be a famine?

I shall take it that by imports we have lost 590 million yards. Yet the indigenous production should more than replace the deficit but from 16 yards *per capita* we have come to 13.4. There are two reasons for this. One is that the country has been exporting cloth. That is what I condemn in the strongest possible terms. Why has this country been permitted to export cloth? The other is of course that Government absorbed something like 100 million yards for its own purposes and 750 million yards for military purposes. During these seven years the exports of cloth have not only been there, but they have risen and they have been growing more and more. For instance, from 241.3 million yards in 1937-38 it has risen to 461.9 million yards in 1943-44.

It is said that foreign markets had to be captured. I find, Sir, that foreign markets are not so very necessary. We have got a very big country and a very big market. In fact other countries come searching for us. We shall have plenty beginning at home. It is said that the cloth industries needed this sort of thing. I deny it. I find that the falsity of this was exposed by Mr. Neogy in the last session of the Assembly when he asked the Honourable Sir Azizul Haque questions in regard to this and Government had to admit that the exports were intended to meet orders from abroad. Government is trying to serve both God and Mammon. Exports of rice from Bengal continued while there were difficult circumstances there. We were told there was a net export balance. As a result of it we had this famine. Yet exports of cloth go on merrily and our sisters and daughters have to commit suicide. Our raw cotton is being exported. Arrangements are being made to export from India 5,000 bales of raw cotton. Last year in the month of May it was announced by the United States War Production Board that imports of raw cotton from India would continue, and this in spite of the state existing in the country.

There are two ways of improving mill production. One is by rationalization and the other is by giving longer working hours. Rationalisation is impossible because the power behind production is not there and machinery is not there. Heavy machinery and the labour situation being what it is, I do not think it will be possible. Thus, imports have fallen, exports have risen, and are going on merrily; there is coal and labour shortage, transport is faulty, and Government needs take priority, and what is left for civil requirements is not much to go round. Handloom weavers are prepared to give us the cloth. But there is no hope for machinery. In reviewing the position of handloom weavers, the Textile Commissioner Mr. Dharma Vira who presided in the All India Handloom Board said on the 22nd November last that though "ordinarily the present marketable surplus of yarn should have sufficient to meet the reasonable requirements of handloom, yet in view of the fact that a good portion of the 28 per cent. of the total looms which were formerly engaged on wool, silk or artificial silk are now employed on cotton fabrics", the yarn supplied to them is inadequate. 28 per cent. of the people who were normally employed in silk, artificial silk and woollen manufacture are now employed in cotton fabrics.

3 P. M. The present supply of yarn does not suffice the weavers with the result that the handloom weavers have had to go without jobs.

There is a very great demand for handloom cloth and it has captured the true heart of the nation. In my part of the country indigenous cloth is appreciated very much. When the yarn distribution scheme was introduced I find that the total quantity of free yarn available was 79 thousand bales including

yarn that was imported. 11 per cent. of the 40 counts was available then. Only 5 per cent is available now. The remedy for this situation lies in stopping the export to foreign markets and compelling mills to supply yarn to handloom weavers.

I will conclude by saying one word about distribution. I think in my province the distribution is the worst possible and the less said about the distribution the better. As in the case of foodstuffs corruption is rampant. The cloth quotas and yarn quotas have become a scandal, because of the way in which they are distributed resulting in the cloth going into the hands of black-marketeers. If blackmarketeers deserve to be punished the officials who have created the blackmarketeers at least deserve condemnation. The handloom weaver and the consumer have to pay all the way.

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh (Member for Industries and Supplies): Sir, I would ask your indulgence as a new-comer not only to this Honourable House but also to the very difficult subject which is being discussed. Until very recently the only connexion which the Department of Supply had with it was the amount of cloth required for the defence forces; and I would like to take this opportunity of saying that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies were very close watch-dogs of the needs of the general civil consumer, and it was not easy to get all that the forces would have liked to clothe themselves with. Despite that, as a result of India's efforts, our forces were in fact very well equipped during the recent war.

Sir, it is rather difficult to make up one's mind what to say about the resolution that $\frac{1}{8}$ of the present production of yarn should be reserved for the handloom weaver, because Government shares the general sympathy of the House for the handloom weaver. Therefore, if it were possible without causing dislocation of existing industry to do what the Honourable the Mover wishes, then I think the Government should make a serious effort to do so.

The Honourable Mover is quite right when he said that the actual handlooms and small power looms do in fact get just a little over 400 million pounds out of the total of 1622 million pounds of yarn that is being produced: that is just under 25 per cent. as he said. If we were to adopt the motion as it stands and raise the share of the handlooms in yarn by a rather drastic step from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, the immediate result would be that the mills would lose 141 million pounds of this yarn, from which they produce some 634 million yards of cloth. I venture to think that there would be some hiatus in transferring this yarn from the mills to the handloomers, to say nothing of a certain amount of dislocation of mill labour which was mentioned by my Honourable friend over there. That mill labour is not manoeuvrable or transferable to handlooms, and there must inevitably be distress amongst quite a substantial proportion, perhaps 14 per cent., of the mill labour engaged in weaving and finishing; and it might be that there would be some difficulty before the handloomers were equipped or were able to absorb the quantity of yarn so transferred to them from the mills.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: No difficulty now, Sir.

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: It will take some time. The main point, I think, is this, that there is perhaps a better and much more satisfactory way of meeting the Honourable the Mover's wishes and that is to concentrate and specialise in the import and production here of mill machinery designed more particularly for the handloomer. There are many obligations to implement plans, but it is the intention of the Government to concentrate particularly on procuring spinning machinery for handloomers, because, as has been pointed out from all sides of the House, this is one of the greatest and most important rural industries which India possesses, and needs every possible kind of encouragement. The plans that Government have in view for getting spinning machinery would, in fact, bring the total amount of yarn available for handloomers well beyond the figure which the Honourable the Mover has in mind when he asks that the total amount of yarn available for handloomers should be at least $\frac{1}{8}$ of the present production of India's mills and I would ask this House

[Mr. A. A. Waugh]

to give us the support, which has been promised to us in endeavouring to procure this machinery by all possible means. I might perhaps while on this point of textile machinery say that we are now investigating to the best of our ability the chances of manufacturing textile machinery as a temporary measure, perhaps as a long term measure, in India's ordnance factories, which as Members know, are well tooled up for the jobs they do.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: Not the spinning machinery.

The Honourable Mr. A. A. Waugh: I have gone into this with an expert and I am not sure about spinning machinery, but I think we can do a great deal to produce the other machinery.

If we were to take the sort of action which the Honourable the Mover has suggested, I do not think we would be fair to the consumer of cloth. Apart from the dislocation and the hiatus which I have mentioned, there is the fact that after all, despite some malpractices in distribution and the like, there are controlled prices for mill made cloth and they are some 60 per cent. below the fantastic prices reached before the control began in 1943. There are also measures, of which Members are aware, to ensure that no manufacturer, or retail dealer shall keep with him any stock of mill made bales beyond a certain period after the date which is stamped on the bale and if anyone exceeds that period he commits an offence and is liable to be in very serious trouble. I admit, Sir, there are feet of clay everywhere. It may be that the regulations are not perfect, and certainly human nature is not perfect; but at least we can keep a fairly effective control over mill made cloth and do our best to see that the quotas promised to the Provincial Governments do reach the consumers.

Something has been made of the fact that some yarn is exported. I think it will be realised that the amount to be exported, now that the war is over, in 1946 is only a very small fraction of the total production. For the first half of 1946, it is only 298 tons and that is going mainly to Nepal, Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries. In the previous year something like 5,200 tons were exported and to a wider area but the areas it went to were those very countries which united with us in the war and who had suffered even more than we did by the withdrawal of their previous supplies, which were largely from enemy countries. The amounts we are giving will do very little more than keep a few looms in those countries where the situation is most desperate and where they find it difficult to get any cloth whatsoever.

Reference has been made to the figure I mentioned in reply to a question about the yardage per head. It is very difficult to get at this figure otherwise than by an arithmetical calculation of average, but I would like to assure the Honourable Member concerned that it is not based on 1931 or 1941 population figures, but on the best estimate we can make of the population figure which has been reached in this year 1946. I do not claim for one moment that 13.4 yards average per head of the population is at all satisfactory; and I quite agree that it must be the aim of Government and of the whole country to see that we can get that figure up to something which provides a decent clothing for every person in the country.

On the question of distribution, I did not wish, by saying that it is primarily a provincial responsibility, to say that the Central Government should have no interest therein and should not do their best to take up with the Provincial Governments the provision of proper arrangements for distributing the cloth so that it reaches the consumer, and likewise the yarn so that it reaches the actual weaver. I think most valuable suggestions were made this morning and this afternoon by Prof. Ranga; and his account of how in Madras they are able to work effectively through weavers associations is, I think, of very great importance, and one which the Government of India will certainly do their best to take up with other Provincial Governments, for anything that eliminates the corruption attendant on maldistribution and maladministered control through lowpaid officials is, I think, all to the good.

I may mention that the question of control of handloom prices was considered very fully by my honourable colleague Sir Akbar Hydari with the representatives of Provincial and State Governments, and it was for the very reason that I have just mentioned that they came to the conclusion that it was not practicable or desirable to attempt to control handloom prices.

I do not wish to stray beyond the scope of the Resolution and the amendments thereto. I would like to say that if the Honourable the Mover can see his way to accept my assurance that we will, in the shortest possible time, produce for the handloom weaver a quantity of yarn which exceeds the target which he has in mind, then I hope he will be able to withdraw his resolution. But in present circumstances, with the present shortage of cloth for the poorer classes of the people who have to depend very much on mill-made cloth, I do not think it is possible, without inflicting some injury on the country, to take further substantial lots of yarn away from the mills and hand it over to the handloomers. I would ask him to believe me when I say that I hope the result which he desires to achieve will be attained before very long by the imports of suitable spinning machinery to spin yarn for the handloomer, and I can assure him that it will be our best endeavour to bring this result about.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: Sir, I appeal to my friend Mr. Vadilal Lalubhai and through him to all the textile manufacturers of this country that they should adopt a policy of live and let live. If you stand in the way of living of other poorer persons, you may take it for granted that you will not be permitted to do so. You started and paid for the propaganda of Boycott British Goods. We supported you and really it meant "Wear Indian mill-made cloth". Manchester cloth was competing with your textile mills and we supported the encouragement of our textile mills. But when Japan began to compete with the handlooms, then you said nothing about it and kept silent. If there is to be boycott of foreign goods, why particularly British goods and not Japanese goods also which really competed with the handlooms? That is your policy of living and not letting others live. If you continue in the future as you have been doing in the past, please remember that you are not living in the thirties but in the forties, because after the present war the world situation has changed. Communist ideas are now coming into the country, which are in favour of labour; and you will soon face a situation when your mills will all be torn to pieces and destroyed and burnt by the hungry people who will have nothing to eat. So this policy can no longer be adopted in future.

I have been here for the last sixteen years and I have not seen a single Finance or Commerce Member who has not been in the pockets of these textile manufacturers. They have always supported the policy of these Bombay and Ahmedabad millowners. I remember once I was sitting in the room of Mr. Stewart, who was then Commerce Secretary, and there I met a person who was imported an expert from England to work out certain problems in 1931; and he was advising and telling the expert—"Please, when you go to Bombay, do not think of the Taj Hotel or of Rolls Royces". But I assured him that he may stand against the Taj Hotel or the Rolls Royces or anything else but he will not be able to stand long against the millowners. I followed the report of that particular expert and I found exactly that he had one view when he started the work and very different views when he ended it.

We have got two theories for the protection of these dying handloom weavers. I know that in my constituency I have got a large number of these persons who are on the verge of starvation and my friend Mr. Sri Prakasa who represents the same constituency will bear me out.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Remember, the same constituency.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: Half the constituency.

Shri Sri Prakasa: The whole. We both come from the whole.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: We both represent the same constituency and we both visited the same place and the condition is exactly the same. The

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Finance Members are the greatest protectors of the textile mills because they get their excess profits tax and other taxes, from the millowners. We are the greatest protectors of the handlooms and we will see that you allow them also to live, not live yourself alone.

Now, the question was raised about the ordinance. I am not very much in favour of ordinances nor am I in favour of the Defence of India Rules but if I want to start the work tomorrow, then I cannot proceed by the method of private Bills as has been pointed out. I cannot proceed by the method of Government Bills because in case of textiles, the Government of India are not the masters of their own mind. Their conscience is in the hands of the mill owners of Bombay and Ahmedabad. Hence my friend, Mr. Ghu'am Bhik Nairang, has suggested that the work may be started tomorrow. We should begin with the ordinance, so that these people who are dying of hunger may have some opportunity for living.

In general planning, we should have one criterion by which we shall have to judge its utility. When you give a particular amount to be spent on industries in this country, the first question I want to put is how many people will be employed by spending so much money. That is the only measure which I will have to adopt. I will quote some figures later on as to what is the wealth of the country and how it is owned by a few persons. Let them remember that they are only the trustees of the money and the wealth really belongs to the country itself. How many persons are employed by these mills in which large sums of money have been invested and how many persons are supported by the handlooms. I shall come to the figures later on.

Now, I come to the question of quota. We have got to see how much cotton we produce in this country. Let us divide our share, not in terms of yarn but in terms of cotton which we produce. Let us have so much cotton reserved for the handlooms and so much for the textile mills. As regards the cotton reserved for the handlooms, it should be our duty—not the duty of the Government—to see that spinning factories are established all over the country under the supervision of the handloom weavers themselves and not of the politicians and the textile millowners. Sufficient yarn should be produced under their own supervision. Let us say it should be 80 or 40 per cent. Suppose 100 is the production of cotton, in this country, out of this, how much will you give to those who support one crore of the population and how much you will give to those who support five lakhs only. Give the share of the handlooms to the handloom weavers and let them establish their own factories and manufacture their own yarn. My friend has put the percentage at 80 because he wants the work to be started tomorrow but this is not a long term policy. This is the percentage with which we start. We should have separate spinning factories for the benefit of the handloom weavers and let them look after themselves. I have been watching this thing for the last 15 years. Our greatest enemies are my friend Mr. Lallubhai and his friends. I blame the Government for appointing these people as the custodians of the handloom weavers' interests. If you look into the matter carefully you will find that all the decisions about the handlooms are really made by the textile millowners and not by the weavers themselves. Government does not invite people like my friend Mr. Ranga or my friend on my left but they always invite the greatest enemies of the handlooms—the millowners. I will give you an illustration. I made a definite proposal about a place where they have got cotton facilities and other facilities, and suggested the Governor of the Province. He consulted the textile mills of Cawnpore and the Governor gave the reply that Alwarh does not produce cotton which is good enough to be used in the spinning factory. He took his advice from the greatest enemies of the handloom weavers and of the poor people, and came to wrong conclusion.

Times are changing. Unless they rise to the occasion, they will meet with the same fate as the big people in Russia and other countries which were

dominated by capitalists. Therefore I say to you—wake up in time before the position becomes very difficult for you.

I was talking about the shortage of cloth. I wrote to my friend Sir Akbar Hydari to supply some *latta* and *mulmal* on the occasion of the *Id* early in 1945. He said 'Yes' but the *Id* came and went off and there was no *latta* and *mulmal*. Again another *Id* came and the result was the same and we had no *latta* or *mulmal* and I think so long as we live there is going to be no *latta* or *mulmal* supplied to us.

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari (Member for Information and Broadcasting): Please also give the reasons which I gave.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: He shoved his responsibility on the Provincial Governments. He himself went to Naini Tal. The same thing happened in the case of the Food Department which I want to see abolished. A similar thing will have to happen to the Textile Department.

Before I reply to some of the points raised, I shall just quote from the report of the Government. They are not my own arguments. It says:

"It is also estimated that a population amounting to 10 millions are still depending on this industry (*that is the handloom*). The Cotton Textile Industry employs only 5 lakhs workers of whom a considerable number are working in spinning mills producing yarn for the handloom. Thus, although today mills are producing about 68 per cent, of the total cloth consumed in the country, they employ only a fifth of the total number of workers in the cotton textile industry. The remaining four-fifths are employed in the hand weaving industry."

Later on the same report says:

"Nor is hand-weaving a handmaid to agriculture but the sole occupation of a large class of people. It is the mainstay of many towns and numerous villages scattered all over the country."

You can have your co-operative societies all right in towns but in small scattered villages you will still have to depend upon individual effort:

"Although this industry is only responsible for about 25 to 30 per cent, of the total cloth consumed in the country, it employs over 85 per cent, of the textile workers of the country. If for any reason the handloom industry collapses, the resultant misery is bound to be a serious problem for the country, as it will involve the pauperization of a large population and this will become a heavy burden on the State. Many flourishing towns and extensive rural areas would thus be deprived of their bread and this may have ugly social and economic consequences."

This is for the textile mill-owners:

"Secondly, one of India's principal economic problems is the unemployment and under-employment of large masses of people. As a means of solving this problem, large-scale industrialisation in India has so far been conspicuously ineffective."

I have read this from the report of the Government of India and this is the opinion of some of the writers who wrote this report.

Now, I will give some figures. The production of cotton is given on pages 110 and 120 of this report. The production of cotton is about 6 million bales and out of this we consume about 4 million bales in the mills. So, there is a very large quantity of cotton still left over which is exported to other countries. So, what we have to do is that we should set up a number of spinning factories where the surplus stock of cotton may be used for producing yarn and this will be really a very great help to this industry.

Now, my friend the Honourable Member for Civil Supplies was very sorry about the dislocation of mill labour, but he shed no tears about the starvation of the handloom labourers. In one case, it is dislocation and in the other case it is actual death. So, really the second case is certainly much more important than the first.

Now, I request you to take it for granted that the greatest enemy of the handlooms are the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, Bombay and now Cawnpore also, because that has become a very important textile centre. If you take your clue

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from these persons for the improvement and development of the cottage industry, you will always be put on the wrong track. Take the clue from the consumers, from the poorer people and from persons who are on the starvation diet and on the starvation point and they will be able to tell you what is to be done. People outside India hardly realise that the fabric of the society in India is very different from the fabric of the society in the United Kingdom. Here, a village is a compact unit. They practically produce everything they require. If you have a dislocation of the village life, then there is a kind of discomfort in the living of the people. This thing ought to be taken into consideration. We have really to supply the raw materials to these villagers and should not make them dependent upon the production and import of large mill products which are really produced at long distances. A thing of this kind will never serve the purpose of India at the present moment. You have to see what is the population and what is the income *per capita*. If you want to give additional income, the only way to do it is to provide some means by which they may be able to earn money during the four months when these cultivators have no work to do. If you introduce cottage industries among these villagers and these cultivators, they will be happy. But if they live only on the land, then their holdings are so small that they will not be able to support themselves upon the earnings from the land alone. Perhaps my friend will probably know that most of the articles that were produced in Japan were produced by means of cottage industries. Very little was done by means of big factories. So, don't think of importing very heavy machinery in the name of key industries, but try to have the cottage industries spread all over the country, so that people in their spare time may be able to produce something and earn additional income to have a better living. The majority of the cultivators—about 91 per cent. of them—do not have sufficient land and they do not have sufficient income to provide living by land alone. You have to give them additional income and this can only be done by introducing some kind of work in the shape of cottage industries which the people may do during the four months when they have no work on the land. Unless we work out a scheme of this kind for the reconstruction of future India, I am perfectly certain that reconstruction programme will fail.

Now, I have no doubt that the advice given by the Honourable Member for Supply was given to my Honourable friend Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, but he wants some kind of short-term policy. What these people are going to do tomorrow? They will have to live in the year 1946 and they will not be able to live unless you give them immediately some yarn to make cloth and thereby earn their living.

We were talking about the shortage of cloth. So long as the total amount of yarn remains constant, it does not matter whether it is really spun by the mills or by the hand because the production will be the same. So, the quantity of cloth will not be affected by changing the yarn from mills to the handlooms. But in one case, as I pointed out, there is dislocation and in the other case there is starvation. Therefore, I appeal on behalf of my friend, Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang, and myself that the Government should look at this problem not only from the long-term policy but also from the short-term policy as well, namely, what is to be done tomorrow. I have seen the condition of these people and my friend Mr. Sri Prakasa has also seen their condition. A large number of them are on the verge of starvation. So far as the mill-owners are concerned, if they are left to themselves and no yarn is given to them even for two centuries, they can live. They have accumulated so much wealth that there is sufficient for them and for their families for two centuries. Even the attempt of my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, to take away their notes has affected everybody else but not the textile owners of Ahmedabad and Bombay for whom it was meant.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands (Finance Member): You wait and see.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: They are much more clever than you and myself. They have got three accounts: one for the Income-tax officer, another for the shareholders and the third is a private account for themselves. I do not know which account they will examine and how they will examine it.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: We will examine the fourth account.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: Probably, they will have the fourth account for the Finance Member in which only notes of high denomination will be exhibited. The question before millowners is not a question to live or not to live. The question for them is of small sums or large sums in profit. For the smaller people, it is a question of life and death. Therefore, I appeal to the Government that they must take some pity and show some mercy to these poorer people because the rich men know how to look after themselves, whatever be the action the Government take about them.

Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: Indian Commerce): Mr. President, Sir, the question of handloom weavers is probably the most difficult one that the Government of India will have to face. I need not say that the question of other cottage industries will probably give the same amount of trouble as this question of handloom weavers when we have to deal with them, each by itself. Sir, the Province of Madras is the one most concerned in this matter. Out of the looms that are working, very nearly a third is in Madras. About ten million people are dependent on this industry in my Province. So, Sir, for a pretty long time, we have been concerned to find a solution for this outstanding problem of our Province. I myself tried twice to find some solution for this problem when I was called upon by the Government of India to advise them with regard to the Japanese agreement. The only solution that is possible is to get some sort of adjustment with the weaving mills. Without that adjustment, it will be impossible to solve this question. Manufacture of cloths by mills is certainly much cheaper. I made calculations with reference to some sorts of cloth. The lowest cost that the hand loom weaver will expect by way of wages,—I am not talking about the price of cloth itself, by way of cost of production,—will be at least 200 per cent. As a matter of fact, in better sorts of cloth, it goes up to 300 per cent. and 400 per cent. Such being the case, how is the weaver to live? That is the question. Are you going to say, we are going to have rationalisation, we are going to have self-sufficiency in this country as in other countries, that we are going to give cheap goods to consumers, as they are certainly entitled to. If you are going to say all that, then this whole body of one crore people to whom Prof. Ranga referred will have to be wiped out. They will have to go out of their living altogether. Can we face this with equanimity? What is the other employment we can give to them? Already, we have got 75 or 80 per cent. of people dependent upon agriculture. We are trying to get some supplementary occupation for the agriculturists. We are thinking of weaving, as probably the most easy supplementary occupation for the agriculturists to go to. While we are thinking of that when we are dealing with improvement of agriculture and the improvement of villages and with the improvement of the conditions of the ryot, if we are going to deal the other way about with these handloom weavers, when you are taking their case into consideration, what is going to happen to the future of this country. On the one hand you want some supplementary occupation for the agriculturists, on the other hand, you have not got occupation enough for the people who are already engaged in this profession of handloom weaving. How are we going to solve our question of unemployment and under-employment about which we are hearing every day here and elsewhere. That is the point which we will have to consider earnestly. As I said, this question is one, it is not a thing which can be solved merely by coming to a decision which will be almost impossible to carry out later on. What is necessary is a practical discussion of it by persons who are engaged in the several businesses, who are concerned with handloom weaving, who are concerned with mills, and the consumers. All these people will have to sit together and come to some mutual adjustment as to how best we can

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solve this most difficult problem. That, Sir, has not been done. As I said, I tried my best on the two occasions when I had the opportunity to meet the representatives of Government and the millowners at those negotiations with the Japanese Government. The main question that arose with reference to those negotiations with Japan was the question of import of Japanese cloth into India. If the cloth came, the mills as well as the handloom weavers will be affected. So, we wanted to find some solution for the problem at that time.

Unfortunately, another question also was involved in the matter. There is the question of cotton growers. Just now my Honourable friend Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad referred to the production of cotton in this country which came to very nearly seven million bales out of which we are now consuming only about 4 millions or 4½ millions, the rest have to find a market elsewhere. Unfortunately, our cotton is of low fibre. Nobody in Europe or elsewhere wants it. So, we were forced to send it to Japan which was the only country which would take it. That was the reason why we had to be so soft in our negotiations with Japan and agree to the import of large quantities of cloth from Japan to the great detriment of both our handloom weavers and the mills. Now, Sir, Japan is out of the way. What are we going to do with our cotton? Attempts have been made in the Agriculture Department and elsewhere for improving the staple of our cotton. So far in the major part of the country we have not been able to change the cotton that is produced in those areas from short staple to long staple. The result is we are where we were. So, the question remains what are we to do with our cotton? How are we going to deal with our handloom weavers? How are we going to do with the mills and with the consumers? These are questions which will have to be taken together and solved if we are going to proceed on satisfactory lines and if our country is to be satisfied with the arrangements we make. As I said just now, it is a very serious question, because next to agriculture, handloom weaving is the biggest industry in the country and the largest number of people are employed in it. Such being the case, we cannot deal with it as the Government have been dealing with it hitherto. After the first attempt I made in Simla with reference to the solution of this matter, all that the Government of India would do was to give a pittance of some small grants to each Province to develop and support these handloom weavers. Each Province has its own scheme for using that money. We, in Madras used it to organise the industry and provide marketing facilities for the industry. It fell to my lot to organise the provincial handloom weavers society in Madras and put it on its legs. The greatest difficulty with regard to this is that the handloom weavers are living from hand to mouth, they are so ignorant, they are so poor that loyalty is the last thing which they are capable of and which they can learn. So, I think whenever there was Hump in the market they always came to us. But whenever there was demand for their cloth as during Deepavali or during Pongal, no cloth will come to us. We found it therefore difficult indeed to get any contracts with the markets, with outside purchasers for the goods of these handloom weavers. We did all that was mentioned by other speakers here. We helped them with raw materials, we gave them designs and designers; we gave them money for paying wages; we undertook to sell their produce and market their goods. In spite of all that the progress we could make upto the beginning of the war was very little indeed.

Sir, since the war things have changed. There has been a very large increase in the prices of cloth. Other avenues were not so remunerative and so, the handlooms increased by leaps and bounds. We have got, since the beginning of the war, something like 40 p. c. increase in the number of looms in this country. Many more are prepared to come in if they will benefit by their coming in. That has been the case, but what has taken place on the other side? Our capacity to help these people has diminished. Even in the beginning it was difficult to find sufficient yarn and the sort of yarn they wanted. I may say before I proceed further that the yarn that they want is not all of our make. The quantity of yarn that our mills make and which they want is

only a very small portion of what they would like to have. I made calculations both before the war and also a couple of months ago and I find that a man who works on the forty counts gets something like six annas a yard whereas a man who works on sixties and eighties gets about 10 or 11 annas and a man who works on hundreds gets a rupee a yard. So naturally every one wants to weave only hundreds and hundred-and-fifties; but we have no yarn to go round. While that is the difficulty the looms have increased enormously on account of the remuneration they were getting and on account of the very high prices that cloth was fetching since the war began. Then on the other hand we have got the mills whose yarn was taken away for war purposes and for other necessities; and only yesterday we were supplied with the information that a large portion was also exported from the country. Under all these handicaps, as I said, the handlooms having increased, the natural difficulties asserted themselves. As I said just now, only two months ago I personally made an inquiry into the state of the handloom weavers because I got a very large number of complaints with reference to their business. I find that at the present moment they get yarn supplied to them which will last each loom only for ten days in the month. That is a calculation which I made myself after going through something like 400 to 500 looms in Coimbatore town. If that is the case, if we are able to give them yarn only for working ten days in the month, what is going to become of their livelihood, of their life, of their families and everything else? It is a very serious state of affairs indeed; but the question is, how are you going to solve it?

Mr. President: Order, order. I do not wish to interfere with the Honourable Member, but he knows that the adjournment motion is coming on at 4 o'clock. I do not wish to curtail his time—he may take his own time—but he may so adjust his speech that, any point he wishes to make is finished at 4 o'clock. That will make it more convenient.

Sri T. A. Ramalingam Othettiar: Sir, I was saying that when I went there the difficulty felt everywhere was the same and the complaint also was, as I said before, that the sort of yarn that they wanted was not supplied to them. Coimbatore is a place where weaving is done in the higher counts. They used to have silk and lace in the old days but now the higher counts have replaced silk and lace because the latter are not available at present. That is the position. These people work in families. Each family consists of the worker, his wife and one or two children. They all work on a loom and the loom is located in the house itself. So for the whole family they get an income. If one loom gets yarn for only ten days in the month it means that the whole family starves and not one man only. The question has been raised, how are we going to deal with this situation? My humble submission will be that this is not a question which can be solved by merely tinkering with it. You will have to settle once for all what you are going to do with your handloom weavers. Are you going to wipe them out and see them die because they are more costly than the mills? That is the position. Without tinkering with this question you will have to settle this once for all because the number of mills is increasing from day to day. Are you going to allow it? That is the question which will have to be faced. There is no use allowing looms to go on increasing. As I said, since the war began the number of looms has increased by something like 40 p. c. Are you going to allow them to increase further and then say that you are not going to help them in any way? That is a very serious situation which I ask everybody in the House—Government as well as others—to consider and settle.

The point has been raised whether the yarn that is supplied to the handlooms at present cannot be increased. My honourable friend Mr. Lallubhai was characterised as a millowner whose interests lay in denying the handloom weaver as much as possible. I come from a portion of the country where we have not got that accusation to face. In our part of the country most of the mills are spinning mills and there are very few weaving mills. So if we have

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got any interest it is to improve the handloom weaving, to increase our production of yarn and to supply more and more of it to the handlooms. That is where our interest lies. Speaking as a person who has some close connection with more than one mill I can say that we have come to the extreme limit of our capacity to produce. Our machinery has been worked almost to death; we have increased our production by something like 20 per cent. In spite of that what is happening? As I said, the handloom weavers in Coimbatore where a large number of these looms are located are getting yarn only for ten days out of thirty in the month. That is the position in which we stand. Can we now merely by saying that one-third of yarn that is produced in the mills should be given to the handlooms solve this question? I fear not. We ought to increase our production enormously. We have been working throughout these four or five years and we ought to be allowed to replace our machinery, to extend our spinning sections and allowed at least to meet the growing needs by increasing our capacity to produce.

(It being Four of the Clock.)

Mr. President: Order, order.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

RECRUITMENT OF EUROPEANS TO INDIAN CIVIL AND POLICE SERVICES

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That the Assembly do now adjourn."

Sir, I want to discuss the action of the Government in recruiting European officers to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service permanently, in view of the declared intention of the Government to hand over the administration very shortly to the people of the country. Sir, I have always felt that the one definite enemy of India's progress and independence is the European civil servant in this country. No doubt there is an Army of occupation and the European Police who are recruited from England but they are only handmaids, they are subordinates to the civil servant. The civil servant spreads throughout the length and breadth of the country, through every nook and corner and commands every piece of administration. He comes as a Sub-Collector in the Revenue Department; he is omniscient; he can switch himself off from any one department to another, and without any experience whatsoever he is fit and competent to be the head of any administration. His ambition soars so high that today he is ruling eight out of eleven provinces. It is only unfortunate that the three remaining provinces are ruled from time to time by statesmen who come from England direct and the Viceroyalty has not yet been filled by civil servant so far as I know

An Honourable Member: One from Australia also.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: When first these people come out to this country they feel strange; they feel ashamed of the institutions that they are running in this country while they had been accustomed to democratic rule in their own country. Men and women in their own country are running the administration through their elected representatives, and they are ashamed to find here that they, who are foreigners, rule this country through their own paid servants. Their paid servants are having a stranglehold in this country. For some time they are stricken with conscience, but very soon these civil servants, who have plans to continue in this country for generations and who have plans of what positions their sons, grandsons, and grand-grandsons will occupy, convert them. And whatever attempt is made by any honest Governor or Governor General to recommend some constitutional advance for this country, the next day some poison is put into his ears and he is asked to withdraw his recommendations. That is our experience. We have therefore been obliged to undergo a lot of suffering in this country, by taking to direct action against the Government. As a result of all this, they have to change however much they may be adamant.

As a result the 1935 Act came into existence. There is a provision there that in case the Government should be handed over to the people of this country, these civil servants will have to retire. Sir, I am sure that apart from other circumstances the civilian element in this country was more than 75 per cent. responsible for not bringing the 1935 Act into inauguration. Thereafter the Declaration of 1940 came, but was still-born. In 1942 Cripp's Declaration came, but I am sure it is those persons who are inside the Government here that made the Cripps mission fail. I was then present at Delhi; the Assembly was in session at the time when he came; we all knew that he came with a definite purpose of installing a Government here and he even said—though I heard this from certain journalists—that if perchance the Executive Councillors, most of whom were the civil servants, in this country should stand in his way, he will go and see to it that a National Government is installed in this country. That also failed. Then, Sir, if Dominion Status is given to us, what will be the effect of that? Will it be real freedom for this country if our services should continue to be manned by Europeans and if our policing is done by Europeans, and if there is an Army of occupation in this country. If these three classes of people quit this country, then alone we will have freedom.

Again, as recently as June 1945, Lord Wavel made a declaration that he was inaugurating certain reforms and called upon the representatives of various parties to come in. But a short time before that, Sir Francis Mudie, who was then the Home Member, flew to England and entered into an unholy alliance with the Secretary of State. He seduced the Secretary of State—but it was not necessary for him to be seduced because he was a conservative himself and he was too willing to enter into a pact—that the Civilian element should continue to flow into this country, so that if perchance some kind of freedom is conferred on this country, the Civilian element here will make it impossible to be worked. Well, somehow they managed to see that the 50 per cent. ratio of the Civilian element in this country was restored. Until this 50 per cent. is satisfied Europeans will be recruited for various services. On the 1st of January 1943 a question was asked in the House of Commons as to the number of Europeans and Indians in the Civil Services in this country. A reply was given that 560 Europeans were there and 629 Indians were in the Civil Service. In the I.P.S. 373 Europeans as against 203 Indians were smaller in number. The persons who ruled us were not satisfied with this; they wanted a change. European recruitment had been stopped partially as early as 1941. It was completely stopped in 1943. During the period of the war there was no further recruitment. They were in such nasty haste to revive this recruitment a short time before the announcement was made on the 14th of June. On the 1st of June, Sir Francis Mudie flew to England—he did not go by sea; he wanted to avoid even a voyage lest it should take 13 or 14 days. He wanted to have it settled that his generation should continue to rule this country, and he got an order passed by the Secretary of State behind our back, while the Assembly was still in session, and without taking the Assembly into confidence, or letting us know what the implications were. While on the one hand they say they are going to give some form of freedom, on the other they are trying to thrust their own children perpetually on us so that the Dominion Status or freedom, whatever it may be, will only remain on paper.

Sir, the arrangement was that 98 Civilians who ought to have been recruited before 1944 should be filled up as if that had been reserved for them and it was their right which they could exercise at any time, and thereafter 24 every year. That was the *farman*, or the charter, that they obtained over the head of this Assembly. Honourable Members of this House lost no time to understand what was going behind their back. My Honourable friend, Nawab Siddique Ali Khan, tabled a motion of adjournment in this House trying to censure the Government for the action that was sought to be taken behind the back of this House. Objection was taken on the other side that it was not mature; details had not been known and therefore technical objections were raised as they were raised by my Honourable friend this morning that it is the exclusive privilege of the Viceroy

[Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar]

and the matter was in his discretion, but the Honourable the Mover then had no information, if the Viceroy's Executive Council had been consulted then and so the matter was dropped. Thereafter my honourable friend Mr. Neogy on the 2nd April sought to raise a debate. He moved a similar motion of adjournment and wanted to know on what grounds Sir Francis Mudie had flown to England. Sir Richard Tottenham was here in Sir Mudie's place. The details were not known to him. Before some definite action was taken it was no good censuring the Government. After the Assembly session was over we have an announcement on the 1st June 1945 inviting applications from various persons, Europeans and Indians, to fill up the number that has already been arranged for by the Secretary of State, the Home Member and the Governor General and all of them put together. Sir, the implications are enormous. It may be that tomorrow the Government may consent to get out of this country. But they will leave a huge legacy behind them. I will take one instance. They are day to day making announcements. During the past from 1935, and within recent times from 1942 ever since Cripps came and even recently the other day on the 28th, His Excellency the Governor General made an announcement that it would be in a short time that the reins of administration of this Government would be handed over to the people of this country. Though it will be useful for them to rule in this country and they may not leave us, we will still have to send them away. So, if permanent appointments are made to the Civil Service, though terminable on the will of the Secretary of State, huge quantities of gold will have to be placed over their shoulders so that they may take them with their wives and children across the seas to England.

Let us see the compensation that is allowed and printed as Appendix II to the Civil Appointments in the leaflet circulated along with the announcement in the Gazette inviting applications for civil posts and to Indian Police posts. There are two ways in which a service can be terminated. One is voluntarily and the other involuntarily. If it is voluntarily, he will get at the end of five years a gratuity or bonus of £1,500. If he is forced to retire, or his services are terminated, he will get a lumpsum of £4,000; in our currency it will be Rs. 50,000. It will be a fortune for my life! From the 5th year to the 25th year, the gradation is from £1,500 to £15,000 as compensation. If at the end of 25 years that man does not want to go and it might be that my honourable friend Liaquat Ali Khan becomes the Premier of our Federation . . .

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Meerut Division: Muhammadan Rural) : You should have no fear on that point.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : I have no fear.

Mr. President : The Honourable Member will remember his time.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : Those are the ways in which compensation are awarded. Therefore that huge weight has been imposed upon us. There is no choice. During the war were all the Europeans in the service here? Were not Indians here? It is no use saying that unless Europeans come here we cannot rule this country. It is simply to provide employment for them. Are there not enough persons here who can be employed? We have two million war-returned men who have no employment. Apart from that we are dying from starvation. The whole of yesterday has been spent in discussing the food situation and we are reviving the discussion tomorrow. We can now see why this morning none of those Benches were full. Every one of them is well fed and well clad. Now it touches their pockets so some of them have come here. Are the new recruits coming here with any degree of efficiency?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands (Finance Member) : You are!

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar : I am glad my friend pays me a compliment. When an Indian is accepted, he has to be a graduate of an Indian University. But if he has a white face, he can be chosen to rule the country, though he comes here to learn. Hereafter they will have to be real servants. If

they want to hand over the reins of this Government to us, it is an insult that they should offer this legacy to us. I therefore, Sir, cannot condemn too strongly the attitude of Government. I move that this House do adjourn and censure the Government for the hasty action taken by them.

Sir, I move:

Mr. President: Motion moved:

"That the Assembly do now adjourn."

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I should have very much liked the Honourable the Home Member to give us the benefit of the Government case on this particular subject. It is true that he took quite a few minutes in the morning to explain his objection to this motion. And I propose to confine myself to the constitutional point that was raised by him. The Honourable Member referred to Section 224 of the Government of India Act, under one of the clauses of which it is left to the Governor General to make reports to the Secretary of State on this subject, and it is further laid down that the Governor General while exercising this authority will be acting in his discretion. Now, Sir, during the various discussions that took place in England, resulting in the present Government of India Act, the question of recruitment and control of the Services loomed rather large at every stage. In the White Paper, for instance, it was provided that an enquiry should be made after five years of the commencement of the operation of the Constitution Act. It was recognised that when particularly Provinces were being embarked on a scheme of more or less autonomous constitution, it would be rather anomalous to have the All India Services, like the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police to provide the personnel for the more important posts under popular Ministers in the Provinces. Yet it was felt, particularly by the British section of the various conferences, that it would not be right to make any serious departure right at the beginning, and that it would be proper to wait and watch the working of the New Constitution before making any fundamental change in the position of the Services *vis-a-vis* their new masters in the Provinces. That is really the reason why a periodical examination of the question was recommended in the White Paper. Later, Sir, this particular proposal of the White Paper was modified by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Joint Parliamentary Committee did not like the idea of fixing a specific time limit for undertaking an examination of this character. Again, in Parliament the original provision of the Government of India Bill was amended to the present effect. Sec. 244, sub-section (4) runs thus:—

"It shall be the duty of the Governor General to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of this section and he may, after the expiration of such period as he thinks fit, make recommendations for the modification thereof;"

That sub-section leaves it absolutely at the discretion of the Governor General to choose his own time for making an enquiry and report to the Secretary of State.

Now, it seemed to me this morning that my honourable friend the Home Member tried to disown any responsibility of the Government of India in regard to this matter. And if I may say so, you, Sir, put the point very clearly to the Honourable Member when you enquired as to whether the Government of India, namely, the Governor General in Council, had not anything to do in this matter. We in the previous House, Sir, made several attempts to raise this question in debate, because from time to time we came to know that attempts were being made behind the back of the Legislature to put forward certain schemes for recruitment that would in a way mortgage the future of the constitution which we are so eagerly looking forward to. On all those occasions, Sir, our attempts were met with the reply that this was not a matter for the Governor General in Council and therefore it was not open to us to raise it in debate.

Sir, at a later stage, when we found that the then Home Member, the present Governor of Sind, and the present Home Secretary had been summoned

[Mr. K. C. Neogy]

to England we made another attempt to know something about what was going on. And on that occasion it was said that the Secretary of State was perfectly at liberty to consult whomsoever he chose, and although the Home Member had been summoned and the Home Secretary had also been summoned, it did not follow (I am merely putting the substance of what was said)—it did not follow that the Government of India had anything to do in the matter. We thought that if the Honourable the Home Member is at all summoned by the Secretary of State, he should carry with him the authority of the Cabinet. But, Sir, that was not what the Government spokesman admitted. There again we asked as to whether the Government of India had not expressed any views in the matter. The answer was Yes, but then the Government refused to disclose the purport of the opinion which they had forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. Assuming that the question of the report is strictly a matter for the Governor General as distinct from the Governor General in Council, it having been admitted that the Governor General in Council has already submitted their proposals in this regard to the Secretary of State, are we not entitled, Sir, to know the purport of the views that the Government of India forwarded to the Secretary of State in this connection, and are we not entitled to discuss the purport of their recommendations in this behalf and, if necessary, censure the Government of India?

I should not like to take up any more time of the House but there is just one little point to which I should like to refer before I conclude. Sir, we in this House very well know that the limitations under which we have to work are the legacy of the Act of 1919. Indeed, we are living as it were in 1919, and so far as the 1935 Act is concerned it does not exist, so to say, in most material matters, so far as the Central Legislature goes. But then there has been a fundamental difference in the set up of the Government of India, in the powers enjoyed by the Governor General under the 1935 Act, under which powers the Governor General has been made a kind of autocrat. We are really expected to believe what the Honourable Member says that in so far as the Governor General is to act in his discretion, the Governor General does not consult the Governor General in Council. Indeed it is perhaps contended that the two authorities, namely, the Governor General on the one hand and the Governor General in Council on the other, are not on speaking terms.

What would have been the position in regard to this matter under the Act of 1919? In questions relating to the services, under the 1919 Act, the Governor General did not enjoy any position of independence comparable to the position which he has been given under the 1935 Act. All such matters, if they had anything to do with the Government of India, the governance of India, must necessarily have been placed before the Governor General in Council. Now, Sir, under the present constitution, the Governor General has been clothed with this particular authority to be exercised in his discretion, and the result is that he is in a position to ignore the existence of his Executive Council, if he chooses. The position that then arises is this: that although we have not made any progress (whatever progress was provided for in the 1935 Act) so far as the Legislature is concerned, there has been a fundamental change in the constitution of the Government, namely, the powers and the functions of the Governor General in Council, in so far as the Governor General has been made an independent authority in the discharge of certain functions. But it is very interesting to know that if the 1935 Act has been put in operation, so far as the Centre is concerned, then under the Instrument of Instructions (which the British Parliament has already approved) the Governor General would be expected to consult his ministers, even in matters where he is expected to act in his discretion. But the point that my Honourable friend would perhaps make is this, that that Instrument of Instructions has not been issued to the Governor General, because, forsooth, the Federal part of the Act has not been brought into operation. Now it comes to this that if today we had popular ministers installed on those Benches, under the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act, the Governor General would be

expected to consult them in regard to the operation of sub-section (4) of Sec. 244. But simply because the Federal provisions have not been brought into operation, the present Executive Council composed as it is of the nominees, shall I say, of the Governor General or the Secretary of State, have no look-in in this matter. Now, Sir, this, to my mind, is somewhat Gilbertian, and that is all that I have got to say on the subject.

The Honourable Sir John Thorne (Home Member): Sir, I shall try to adhere strictly to the terms of the adjournment motion but I will depart from those for a moment to deal with the point raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy. He was wrong in thinking that I referred this morning to any part of Section 244 of the Government of India Act except sub-section (1). I referred to that sub-section merely to make my point that appointments to these services are made by the Secretary of State. I did not myself refer to sub-section (4) which deals with another incident of recruitment, because it did not seem to me relevant to this discussion. But I did not this morning, and of course I do not now, deny that the Secretary of State's decision was made after consultation with the employers of these services—the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. I think I said this morning that that consultation was naturally made. I do not wish anyone in this House to think that I am running away from any responsibility of the Government of India. I was merely taking, if you like, a perfectly constitutional view of the adjournment motion.

The first question to be answered is "Why has the Secretary of State resumed recruitment to these two services?" What I said this morning threw some light on that and I have no doubt that my honourable friend the Mover knows all the facts; but there may be quite a number of Members in this House who are not so well informed. I quoted this morning from the press communiques of 1941 and 1942, which explained why recruitment to these services was then stopped, and when it was likely to be resumed. It was stopped for the period of the war, and the intention was to fill vacancies arising during the war as soon as possible after the war was over. As a result of that decision, the services are now seriously below strength. The demands of the administration have not decreased; they have grown in many respects; and in some respects they are certainly likely to grow still more. We have tried to keep the gaps filled by various devices. We have stopped long leave; we have put restrictions on retirement. In ways of that kind we have interfered, we have restricted the conditions of service to which people were accustomed, and I should like to take this opportunity of saying that the members of the services have borne those inconveniences with loyalty and without complaint. But they are devices which cannot be continued long after the end of the war, and the gaps will have to be filled, and without them the services would soon be crippled. That is on the point as to why the Secretary of State resumed recruitment as he had undertaken to do, four or five years ago. I do not think that there will be any very serious question of that decision, but I come now to the main point of this adjournment motion—why he should have resumed the recruitment of Europeans.

In spite of what Mr. Neogy has said, it is not my function, nor is it within my power, to interpret the Secretary of State's decision. But there are some obvious considerations which must certainly have influenced him. The stoppage of European recruitment would have been a departure from established practice. Whether that practice was right or wrong is another matter; but the stoppage of European recruitment would have been a departure from established practice, and the time this undertaking was given in 1941 was certainly not a time when any departure from practice could reasonably be expected. The war was on; the outcome of the war was very uncertain, and the constitutional developments in India were equally uncertain. The promise was given in 1941—I read one part of that promise this morning: it continues:

"This decision (i.e., the decision that certain vacancies in services should be left vacant) applies equally to the recruitment of Indians and Europeans to recruitment made in India and in England." . . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur cum Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): To whom was that promise made, please?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: That was the undertaking given by the Secretary of State in 1941, and it seems to me that any Secretary of State taking action now, after the war is over, in accordance with the motion, would be guilty of a breach of faith if he went back on the terms of it. . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: To whom was that promise given and on what provocation?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I do not understand my honourable friend's question; but if he will allow me to go on, I invite him to have his say after I have finished.

I dealt this morning with the wording of this adjournment motion, which speaks of the recruitment of European officers to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service permanently and suggests that that is opposed to "the declared intention of the Government to hand over the administration very shortly to the people of the country". . . .

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I withdraw the word 'permanently'.

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I am not sure whether it is in order to withdraw bits of adjournment motions as you go along. I am entitled to deal with it as it was put on the paper. But in any case my honourable friend has not withdrawn the suggestion that the action now taken is inconsistent with the declared intention of the Government to hand over the administration very shortly. I referred this morning to a statement which appears in this pamphlet as a foreword by the Secretary of State, and in the pamphlet itself under the heading "Terms of Appointment" there is this passage:

"Appointments will be made by the Secretary of State for India. While provision is made for the case in which an officer is able to serve under the Secretary of State for the full normal period, candidates are warned that their appointments under the Secretary of State will be liable to be terminated at any time on account of constitutional changes, subject to their being given twelve months' notice."

It follows from that that the sooner there is a constitutional settlement, the sooner these constitutional changes come in, the sooner will it be open for the future Governments of India, central and provincial, to wind up these services if they wish. None of these officers now being recruited will be foisted on the future Governments of India; if the future Governments of India do not want them, they will go.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: But at what cost?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: I have not altogether omitted to take the question of cost into account. I know it was made clear this morning that these retirement grants are regarded as excessive. They are regarded as an unduly heavy burden to place on India. Once the decision to recruit was taken, the conditions of service had to be settled by the Secretary of State. As I say, I am not in his confidence and it is not my business to interpret his decision, but when he thought of termination of service, apparently he had two alternatives before him. One was to adopt the pensionary scheme, with such changes as might be necessary in view of incidental war service to adapt that pensionary scheme for his new recruits. The other alternative was to modify that pensionary scheme in view of the impending constitutional changes. If he had adopted the pensionary scheme I think he would have laid himself open to very strong criticism from Indians and especially my friends on the other side of the House. He chose the alternative, which is the fixing of lump sum payments. Those are the sums which will be found in Appendices II and IV of this pamphlet.

Well, Sir, my Honourable friend the Mover regards the amounts of those grants as greatly excessive. He quoted certain figures. I am not an actuary. I am a very innocent and ignorant person (*An Honourable Member*: "Himmler was not innocent").—I was going to say in regard to figures—; but

I do know that to a person like myself, a layman, the capitalised value of a pension appears a formidable or, as the case may be, an attractive amount, very much more than one would imagine from the amount of the pension. Perhaps even my pension, when I earn it shortly, would look very much more if some actuary capitalised it for me. (*An Honourable Member*: "He is sitting behind you.") I have not attempted it myself but my impression is if any one will proceed to decapitalise, so to speak, these lump sum figures, the results will not appear unduly formidable. However, the main point is that the sooner these constitutional changes come into effect, the smaller will be the sums to be paid under these terms as retirement grants.

Now, Sir, the period for which the services will continue—the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police—depends not, as my Honourable friend suggested, on the Secretary of State, the Governor General or even on the Home Member but on the statesmen and people of India. Speaking for myself, no one, so far as I know, is offering me a retirement grant, but if an Indian will take my place here in the next few months I shall be very glad indeed for all reasons, both personal and public.

As regards these young officers now to be appointed, if India wants to keep them many will no doubt be glad to stay. If India does not, if India wishes them to quit India, they will quit India, I have no doubt with many regrets, but they and we will have at any rate one satisfaction and that is that their departure will be a sign that India has attained that status which we all desire.

Diwan Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): I grow more astonished day by day when I listen to the speeches of the Treasury Benches. My Honourable friend's capacity for hoodwinking himself exceeds probably his capacity for attempting to hoodwink the public. You will notice that this morning my honourable friend attempted to stop the discussion of this motion by pretending that he had nothing whatever to do with it but this afternoon he gets up and says that the Government of India was actually consulted by the Secretary of State. (*An Honourable Member*: "He said so this morning") Does he not realise that my honourable friend's responsibility arises, when he had been consulted? And what was he consulted about? When he read out those extracts from that pamphlet, did he draw your attention to a very important statement made by the Secretary of State for India? He did not. The Statement was this—and that would have stopped any further discussion regarding any objections to the adjournment motion. It was this. The Secretary of State says, "But it is an essential corollary of His Majesty's Government's declared policy of promoting full self-government in India and Burma that from dates as yet uncertain, in either case appointments held by tenure from the Secretary of State will cease". He did not refer to that. He knew perfectly well that a new Secretary of State has made a declaration of a new policy. He has said that from certain dates, as yet unsettled, these recruitments will cease.

The Honourable Sir Joan Thorne: May I rise on a point of personal explanation?

Diwan Chaman Lall: I do not give way.

Mr. President: It is better to have an explanation.

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: The charge of hoodwinking the House, I regard as a serious one and I may say that I myself quoted this morning from this foreword of the Secretary of State. I quoted the passage immediately following that which my friend has read out and I invite him to read it himself.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Did he quote the passage which I am quoting, which would have put a different complexion on the whole matter? That is my whole charge. He quoted the passages which suited him but the main passage he did

[Diwan Chaman Lall]

not quote. He did not quote another passage which was rather significant: The Secretary of State says:

"At the same time it is my belief that when that time comes opportunities for continuing to render good service to India and Burma will not be lacking to men whose devotion (*unlike the devotion of my Honourable friend*) is to the peoples of these countries and whose capacity for efficient and disinterested service (*not at £4000 premium*) has already been proved."

This is the new policy adumbrated by the Secretary of State for India and I ask, if this is the new policy that on a certain date not yet fixed this recruitment is to cease, why is my honourable friend now wanting to waste the money of the poor man in this country in recruiting Englishmen to these services. What is the object? What exactly is the object? Is the object this—that you cannot find efficient Indians to fill the jobs? Does my honourable friend realise that under this scheme youngsters who have matriculated will be put in the most responsible jobs here in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police and they will be paid these fantastic sums merely because when constitutional changes arise they may not like to stay on, unlike again my Honourable friend who in spite of the constitutional changes did stay on to our great misfortune and put 200,000 men in jail without trial, without charge? We do not want to encourage this state of affairs. It is not our object to encourage this state of affairs. Can my honourable friend give me a reply to this? Within the short period anticipated even by His Excellency the Viceroy on the floor of the House the other day is there any compelling necessity for us to go on recruiting Englishmen—not Europeans, mind you, as my honourable friend said Englishmen, Britishers for preference? Is there any justification for your going on recruiting for this temporary period? I submit that my honourable friend has given no reply to the charge that has been made against him. He cannot give us a satisfactory reply because there is no satisfactory reply to this.

Now, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the House to another fact. These handsome emoluments and compensatory bonuses that are going to be paid are going to be paid if a man after five years service resigns or is not offered a continuation of service. If he continues in service, even then these allowances are going to be credited to his name. There was a time—I believe in the days of Warren Hastings and Clive—when India was being robbed, but this day-light robbery that my honourable friend wants to indulge in is of such a nature that we must make a strong protest and prevent this day-light robbery from taking place. We have some sense of responsibility to the poverty-stricken people of our land and I cannot understand my honourable friend's anxiety to do in this interim period what they are seeking to do.

My honourable friend referred to section 244 of the Government of India Act which has been very ably dealt with by my honourable friend Mr. Neogy. Sub-clause (4) deals with this. You will remember, Mr. President, that there was a time when the recruitment of Indians to these Services was very small. You have the Islington Commission, the O'Donnell circular and the Royal Commission on Services in 1924 and then the discussions in the Round Table Conference. It was then suggested that from 1920 onwards the increase in the Indian recruitment should be at the rate of about 1½ per cent. until it reached 48 per cent; it has gone up to 50 per cent now. That was in 1920. In the olden days it used to be the question as to how many Indians should be taken into the service. Later on, the question was how many Englishmen should not be taken into the service. That is the stage that we have reached. The time has now arrived when under section 244 the Governor General has to make a recommendation to the Secretary of State. Sub-clause (4) says:

"It shall be the duty of the Governor General to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of this section (*that is, about the recruitment of the two classes*) and he may, after the expiration of such period as he thinks fit, make recommendations for the modification thereof."

Has my honourable friend or the Governor General made any recommendation to the Secretary of State regarding any modification in this matter? Have they? Was it not their duty, if they were honestly and seriously contemplating a transfer of power to this country, to make an honest and straight-forward declaration to the effect that they want to hand over India to Indians and to hand over the service to Indians and to eliminate the Britisher altogether from recruitment to these services? It was their duty to do so. I want a reply from my honourable friend if he has done so. If he has not done so, he has failed in his duty. I am very glad that my honourable friend thinks that he will be pleased to hand over his powers and authority such as were exercised by Himler in Germany to an Indian who will sit in his seat. I wish him Godspeed when he is going back to his own country, but he will carry with him a very heavy conscience for what he has done during the tenure of his office as Home Member. At the same time, if he himself is pleased to go back, why should he object to others of his countrymen who also want to go back and who do not want to come to this country to rule this country? Let him stand up in reply and assure this House that he and the Government of India and the Governor General stand for the stoppage of recruitment of Britishers into these services.

Mr. Manu Subedar (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: India Commerce): Sir, in the last ten years I have not stood up to deal with a Home Department subject, because my knowledge of these subjects and my interest in them has not been very intensive. And I must say that the Home Department has returned the compliment by giving very little attention to me during the last six years. But, Sir, I am drawn into the adjournment debate today on financial grounds. First of all, I want to contrast and recall to this House the glib assurance of the Honourable the Finance Member when he got up day before yesterday and said: "We are not sitting at the other end of the telephone or the wire or the mail and receiving instructions from the United Kingdom. We are an independent Sovereign Government in India who take decisions of our own." This is what he wanted to send down our throat and to send down the mind of the people of this country. It was a perfectly wrong statement. Who declared the war; who got you out of the war; and are not telephone and telegram working every day? May I ask why are you receiving so many instructions from the United Kingdom every day? But, Sir, there is no better refutation than the refutation of his own colleague, who got up and said: We have very little to do with this; this is the Secretary of State's responsibility; this is not our responsibility. Sir, let me assure my honourable friends that the mind of the Indian is now alert; that the things which you palmed off on him in the past will not now do: For example, take the very sinister propoganda which every disciplined Englishman in this country now indulges in from the Viceroy downwards. We have in this very House Mr. Griffiths; we had Sir Archibald Rowlands; and today we had the Honourable the Home Member saying it is a matter of a few months, a few weeks, and we are going to hand over to you the whole authority! Now, I am a businessman and a cynic. When a transaction is being done, I want to see it finished before I say it is done. I do not believe till I see it. I only think it necessary to draw the attention of the country to this nauseating propoganda from upwards to the bottom, to these professions in glib words to mislead the people of this country. And when it comes to action, here we have got the kind of action which we are censuring.

And now I will proceed with what I regard as a very reprehensible and harmful action to India in the proposals which we have got here. In the first instance, the scales of the pay and allowances of the Civil Services in India had attracted notice throughout the world as being excessive. During the last 50 years every public man belonging to every section and party in this country has objected that these scales are not suitable and are not in keeping with the condition and the resources of the people of this country. You will find, according to these scales themselves, that a retirement grant is admissible to officers who

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retire voluntarily. There are certain grants already, according to these scales, to the existing members of the Indian Civil Service. These have been commented upon as very excessive. I ask: Where was the need for these new extraordinary grants being created now?

Let me show the financial gravaman of these grants. A man who is 28 years of age, provided he has already done some kind of war service anywhere in the world in His Majesty's Forces, is eligible for this. Assuming he is 28 years of age, then he is already in his sixth year of service. Assuming that in the next 12 months there is a constitutional change in India and if this gentleman may choose then to leave from this country, that is to say, after one year, then, if he goes voluntarily after one year, we have to pay him £2,000. We have to pay him Rs. 26,000 straightaway and it adds to his salary an amount which is extortionate, if I may say so. But should it happen that the Government of this country find him hostile or disloyal or negligent or they may find him doing enemy work and in some cases have to remove him then we would have to pay him £5,000. That is to say, a sum of between Rs. 65,000 and Rs. 70,000.

May I ask why this is being done? Is it because you are not finding proper recruits? I recall in this very House Mr. Ogilvie in 1937-38, to
 5 P.M. numerous questions of mine as to why more Indians were not taken into the Army as officers, trotted out with the usual formula that suitable candidates were not available! They could not get a larger number of suitable candidates, even about 20 or 24 in those days for the army. Then, Sir, the war came, and I think thousands of suitable candidates were found by the same army and defence authorities who only two years before that felt that suitable candidates were not available. In other words, when they do not want to do a thing, they have got perpetual excuse. But suitable candidates were found during the war by the thousands. You accepted their services, you found them efficient and there were comments from the highest quarters that these men had made good, that the Indian officer was a good and efficient officer. The Government themselves acknowledged it. Now, Sir, look at the other picture. In recent times, I have had visits, I have had communications from scores of young men who were selected, who have done 4½ years creditable work who are now being thrown out, from the army, navy and air forces. They are being thrown out unceremoniously and they are asked to apply to Employment Exchanges organised by my Honourable friend Dr. Ambedkar. But he cannot create employment. They are being asked to go, they are thrown on the streets. I am sorry to say, I am going to ascertain it in the course of this Session from the War Secretary. I understand that demobilised Britishers are being taken in their places, in the place of Indians who have rendered good service for 4½ years. You are taking demobilised Britishers in the Navy, you are taking them in the other services. Is this fair way of treating Indians?

Then, let us come to this. Ninety eight places in the Indian Civil Service and about 68 places in the Indian Police service, plus another 24 in each, which will be the vacancies during this year, that is roughly about 200 to 225 places are being filled up with Englishmen. We had it in the papers the other day that 2,000 Britishers have applied and that these 200 places will be filled up by them. They will be filled up with all this heavy charge in emoluments, heavy mortgage of the revenues of this country for the future. It is not merely the financial aspect. I also know something of these calculations between capital and revenue and can turn them backwards and forwards. I assure you, Sir, that this is the most astounding proposition. Why is it necessary for the Government of India and the Secretary of State to offer inducements of this order? Is it because they have not got men? Now, Sir, that is not true having regard to the competent men from India who have given good and loyal service to the Government for the last 4½ years during the war and who are on the point of being thrown out by the hundreds. It is not a fair proposition for the Government to allege that they are

not getting adequate and competent men and that is why they are bringing in these Britishers by offering them extra inducements.

Now, Sir, take the other side of the shield. Is it because these Englishmen have jobs by the thousands in the United Kingdom and that when they return to their country they are going to find a great welcome and that they are going to find jobs with Rs. 450 to start with and all kinds of allowances to boot, is it because of this excuse that these compassionate and heavy grants in case they voluntarily leave or in case they are dismissed are granted to them? Are such jobs waiting them? Are such jobs in plenty in England? Do we not read every day in the newspapers about the acute unemployment in England? Have we not read that after the last war when men with good services were demobbed from the army, they had to racket in Trafalgar Square? I say this is a racket, I say this is a racket played on this country. There is something more sinister behind it. If it is purely financial, I say this is a serious waste of Indian funds which this country is sorely in need of economically. When this country is in such great economic distress, it is not right for the Government to spend money on this scale and for this purpose? If there is on the other hand any political object behind this extravagance, then say so, come forward openly and tell us why you offer these inducements which are so unconscionable in the extreme. Why are they called Europeans? Sir, the Secretary of State for India, in this Book has got a foot note which I would like to read to this House. That foot note says, under the heading to be filled by European candidates, there is an asterisk—the terms 'European candidates' and 'Indian candidates' are used in this leaflet to denote candidates of European descent and non-Asiatic domicile, candidates of Indian descent and domicile respectively. In other words, candidates of European descent and non-Asiatic domicile are called Europeans. But why, how many of these people who call themselves Europeans in this country, including my box-wallah friends in the European Group, how many of them are there from anywhere except Britain?

Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): It includes, South Africans, Australians and so on.

Mr. Manu Subedar: My friends from the European Group are ashamed to call themselves only Britishers. The reason why the term "European candidate" is used is because they have to bring in occasionally a New Zealander, a South African or an occasional Australian. As is usual they want to throw dust in our eyes by using the word "European". In this we are constantly reminded of our humiliation in the British Empire so far as self-governing Dominions are concerned. Regarding this term "European" whenever it is used in this country I would invite my countrymen to go behind it. Are not all of them Britishers serving here? Have they got any connection with any other country in Europe? Do they claim that they are from outside Great Britain and that they have got nothing to do with Great Britain? Sir, these gentlemen, when we ask them to correct something, then out of sheer bravado, out of sheer mulish obstinacy, this Government never corrects that. I submit that, in their own interest, they should get rid of this term "European" as it is used in common parlance. Because if you do not do so, then the Russians will come and claim a share. Are you prepared to give a share to your friends from Moscow of whatever there is under the name of "Europeans"? I therefore suggest to my friends the Britishers that in their own interest they should get rid of this word "European".

Then, Sir, it is said that these allowances will also be given to Indians, to all entrants. If that is so, I speak subject to correction, if the allowances in Appendix II are also given to Indians, if Indians are eligible for these heavy allowances, then I say it is an absolute waste. Why do you want to give this to Indians? An Indian is glad to get Government job in the Indian Civil Service or in the Indian Police Service. You need not hold out any prospect of giving him a gift of Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 16,000 rising to £15,000 or two lakhs

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of rupees. You do not require any such inducement in order to recruit higher type of Indians with higher qualification in this country. Then why offer this inducement to the Indian? Why are you doing this? Why are you wasting Indian funds in this way? May I ask why invent devices like these simply to irritate the people? Why do you offer money which is not necessary and which merely humiliates Indians in the eyes of the world? Is there any country in the world which recruits its civil servants on such fabulous scales of salary? Is there any country in the world which is compelled under a superior statute composed by British Parliament to waste its funds in this manner on its civil servants? Is there any other country in the world which is under the British Empire on which you impose such extravagant expenditure? What is all this talk of handing over to 'our' successors? What is all this tosh about His Majesty's Government's declared intentions with regard to Indian self-government? We look to your deeds, we examine you in every detail, in every act which you do, and I say this particular act of yours redounds no credit whatsoever either to His Majesty's Government or to the Treasury Benches here. Sir, I support the motion.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (Calcutta and Suburbs: Muhammadan Urban):

Sir, the Honourable Member who spoke last asked a series of questions at the end of his oration,—is there any country in the world that is this, is there any country in the world that is that, and so on and so forth. My answer to that, perhaps on behalf of the Honourable the Home Member, is in the negative. I ask, Sir, is there any country in the world like ours in which, knowing full well how we have been treated, how promises have been broken, how at every turn we have been pushed to the wall, we still quote Secretaries of State, Governors General and Honourable Members of the Executive Council? Their promises, their pledges, their statements, have only a temporary value. Whenever it suits them they insist on their performance, and whenever it does not suit them they come out with a convenient explanation. Sir, I ask the Honourable Member who spoke before me, is there any country in the world where its parliament discusses various questions affecting the country in a language which is not the mother tongue of its members?

Shri Sri Prakasa (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The answer is in the negative!

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi: Is there any country in the world like this where we talk law, we talk constitution and we talk many other things of public life, which is a mere transplantation of exotic plants in a soil which is not congenial to it? I have heard many speeches today and each one instead of giving warmth to my blood created a depression in my mind. There are still my countrymen who want to know why all this was done. What the Honourable the Home Member would not say in so many words I should like to say, and that is this: "We are here, dare you kick us out, dare you ask us to leave? And so long as we are here we shall behave as we like; we shall send as many as we like." Forty-eight or fifty per cent. is almost humbug. They will make it sixty or forty as it suits them.

But if the Honourable the Mover of the adjournment motion and those who supported him really believe in what they want, then there are ways and means which will get us what we want. A change from a white bureaucracy to a black one or brown or some other colour is no good. They will take the same salaries, they will go about in their motor-cars and have half a dozen red *chuprassies* round about them, and they will cost my country as much as the white members of the bureaucracy have cost us. The adjournment motion even if it is passed will lead us nowhere. I do not know why we are wasting two hours every day over these adjournment motions. Have they a constitutional value in a constitutional House where a majority of the House may be absolutely without any value? It is therefore that I should like to appeal to Honourable Members who happen to be the largest block in the House to see whether they can turn their minds to a solution of this problem from a different angle. If they and we

can look at things in the same way I feel that the date, about which the Honourable Member from the Punjab was not quite clear and the Home Member saw to it that it should not be fully clarified, would come very near. Are they prepared to share power with the various peoples in India among whom I and my fraternity happen to form a very important part? So long as they do not develop that mentality of sharing power and giving the other man, even the devil, his due, this kind of Secretary of State's proclamations and statements, and so on and so forth, will be put daily and will be broken daily. It is therefore that I am suggesting that even if we get all the posts in the Civil Services and the Police Services in the country, we shall not have reached that position of happiness which the Honourable the Mover perhaps intended to create for us and to bring for us.

We are hearing, Sir, that the new Parliament of the Labour variety is going to be very generous and very good to us. I spent a good deal of my time in the British Isles and I can claim to know something about the mentality of the British Parliamentarian, Conservative, Liberal or Labour. They are all the same, painted with the same brush, where the native is concerned; and a "native" as explained now by the Lahore High Court has a wider meaning than only the inhabitants of this country. Therefore whether they give things to us, whether they write down things in full legal phraseology or otherwise, they will do what they like. And that being so, whether we become a dominion, whether we become absolutely independent, whether we accept even a lower form of constitutional status, if we are ready to give to each other its proper and legitimate share of power we shall be able to stop these recruitments and these arrangements which they are doing in the hope that people here will never unite and they will have to carry the burden of India on their shoulders willy-nilly for many years to come, may be fifty or hundred or even two hundred years. It is therefore that I have tried to place before you, Sir, and through you before the House a new point of view and angle of vision which I hope will receive consideration at the hands of friends who wish well of this country and every section of its inhabitants.

Several Honourable Members: The question may now be put.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Assembly do now adjourn."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday the 1st February, 1946.

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