# THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

Volume VII, 1946

(28th October to 11th November, 1946)

SECOND SESSION

OF THE

SIXTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1946





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## CORRIGENDA

# In the Legislative Assembly Debates, Autumn Session, 1946—In Volume VII—

- 1. No. 1, dated the 28th October, 1946-
  - (i) Page 71, In the footnote, for "Excluding" read "Including".
  - (ii) Page 118, line 15, for "joint" read "join".
- 2. No. 2, dated the 29th October, 1946-
  - (i) Page 174, line 3, for "the" read "they".
  - (ii) Page 186, line 3, from bottom for "an soul" read "our souls".
  - (iii) Page 187, line 4, for "preceed" read "proceed: ".
  - (iv) Page 198, line 24, for "18:48 crores" read "13 48 crores". ×
- 9. No. 8, dated the 80th October, 1946-
  - (i) Page 271, line 8, for "chose" read "choose".
- 4. No. 7, dated the 6th November, 1946-
  - (i) Page 577, last line, for "appreciable" read "appreciate".
  - (ii) Page 601, line 15, for "infstation" read "infestation".
- 5. No. 8, dated the 7th November, 1946-
- (i) Page 655, line 23, for "shatrus" read "shastras".
- **6.** No. 10, dated the 11th November, 1946—
  - (i) Page 754, second line, heading to starred question No. 870, for "OASE" read "OASE".
  - (ii) Page 818, insert the top heading "STATEMENT OF BUSINESS" between lines 2 and 3.

#### In Volume VIII-

- 7. No. 1, dated the 12th November, 1948—
  - (i) Page 884, line 14 from bottom for "iability" read "liability".
  - (ii) Page 886, line 29, for "evatars" read "avatars".
- 8. No. 2, dated the 18th November, 1946—
  - (i) Page 926, the first line of part (c) to Starred Question No. 486 should read "(c) Are Government aware of the fact that earlier in 1989-40, Government".
  - (ii) Page 986, line 15 from bottom for "took" read "look".
- 9. No. 3, dated the 14th November, 1948—
  - (i) Page 1015, in the table under "Pre-war" for "General Wagons Service" read "General Service Wagons".
  - (ii) Page 1027, line 28, for "supar" read "sugar".
  - (iii) Page 1087, line 6, for "person" read "persons".
  - (iv) Page 1048, in heading to Starred Question No. 568, for "se" read
- (v) Page 1012, line 10 from bottom delete the asterisk.

(vi) Page 1077, for the last 6 lines substitute the following lines-

"Regarding the powers of the industrial tribunals, the Government has put in in clause 15, that they will accept the decision of the tribunal wholly or in part. If you appoint high eminent judges to decide the disputes, I cannot understand why the Government desires that they may ask the industry to implement the decision wholly or in part. I feel that it is possible that the Government may also find itself in difficulties. Government owns so many industries. They"

- 10. No. 4, dated the 15th November, 1946-
  - (i) Page 1100, line 15, for "preter" read "prefer".
  - (ii) Page 1116, for the existing heading to Starred Question No. 616, read "Housing of Industrial Workers".
- 11. No. 5, dated the 16th November, 1946-

Page 1211, in the last but one line of the quotation in small type for "all" read "small".

- 12. No. 6, dated the 18th November, 1946-
  - (i) Page 1237, under the heading "INSURANCE (SECOND AMEND-MENT) BILL", delete the fifth line.
  - (ii) Page 1265, line 27, for "countdy" read "country".

# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

# Friday, 8th November, 1946

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.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.

## STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

# (a) ORAL ANSWERS

APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR AND FUTURE LIABILITIES AS A RESULT OF BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT

- 316. \*Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:
- (a) what amounts have so far been paid to the Bank and the fund created as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference Agreements; and what would be the recurring liability for the future; and
- (b) whether any Governor and the Executive Director and an alternate Director have been appointed; if so, who are they?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) \$8 million have been paid to the Bank. \$72 million (in rupees) remain to be paid. A contingent liability of \$320 million will remain outstanding.

No payment has been made to the Fund beyond \$40,000 for administrative expenses which will count towards our quota. \$400 million have to be paid on demand of which about \$27½ million are payable in gold and the rest in rupees.

There is no recurring liability towards either institution.

(b) Yes, Sir. The appointments made are as follows:

International Monetary Fund.—

Governor: Sir Chintaman Deshmukh.

Alternate Governor: Mr. N. Sundaresan.

Executive Director: Mr. J. V. Joshi.

Alternate Director: Dr. B. K. Madan.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development .-

Governor: Sir Chintaman Deshmukh.

Alternate Governor: Mr. N. Sundaresan.

Executive Director: Mr. N. Sundaresan.

Alternate Director: Mr. J. V. Joshi.

Sardar Mangal Singh: May I know if there are any Indians on the staff of these organisations apart from Governors and Alternate Governors?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Yes, Sir.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Government of India see to it that sufficient number of Indians are appointed on the staff of these organisations?

- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Some Indians are being appointed on the staff and I may assure the Honourable Member that it is always the effort of the Government of India to see as many Indians appointed on these International bodies as possible.
- Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether the Government of India will make a report about the number of people employed on the staff of these different International organisations to the next session of the Assembly?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: If the Honourable Member will put down a question to that effect, the Government will be willing to consider it. •

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PAYMENT OF SUBSCRIPTIONS BY INDIA TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

317. \*Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

- (a) the names of international organisations together with the amount of subscriptions which India pays annually to every organisation, 'separately; and
- (b) whether there is any recognised international organisation whose head-quarters are in Asia; if so, where?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) A statement is placed on the table of the House.

(b) Yes. The Siam Rice Commission has its headquarters at Bangkok.

PART I

Statement showing International Organisations of which India is a Member and to which India makes lump sum contributions

-			
Serial No.	Organisations	Amount payable	Value in rupess
			Rs.
1	International Monetary Fund .	U. S. \$ 400 million, of which \$ 40,000 has been paid in 1945-46 and the balance is payable when the fund begins exchange transac- tions shortly.	132·8 crores.
2	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.	U, S. \$ 400 million, of which \$ 40,000 has been paid in 1945-46 and \$ 7,960,000 in 1946-47. A further sum of \$ 72 million is payable on the following dates:	132·8 creres.
		25-11-1946 \$ 32 million	
		25-2-1947 \$ 20 ,,	
		26-5-1947 \$ 20 ,,	
		The balance of \$ 320 million will be an unpaid reserve liability.	
3	U. N. R. R. A	Rs. 8 crores. (A further sum of Rs. 2 crores, as India's Second Contribution, was voted by the Legislative Assembly during the last budget session. This will however, be paid, only after a review of the position and consultation of the House).	8 orores.
4	United Nations Organisation .	U. S. \$ 1,097,750 to the Working Capital Fund. (see also item (2) in part II).	36·44 lakhs.

# PART II

Statement showing International Organisation of which India is a Member and which involve annual contributions

Serial No.	Organisations	Amount payable per annum	Value in rupees
			Rs.
1	League of Nations	£ 106,500. (1946-47) Final.	14,20,000
2	United Nations Organisation .	\$ 944,065 (U.S.)	31,31 000
3	Inter-Governmental Relief Committee on Refugees, London.	£ 2,700	36,000
4	International Meteorological Organisation, Switzerland.	5,400 Swiss francs .	4,200
5	Provisional International Civil Aviation Organisation, Mon- treal Canada.	65,383 Canadian dollars .	1,95,999
6	International Commission for Air Navigation, Paris, France.	90,000 French francs	2,500
7	International Telecommunica- tion Union, Berne, Switzer- land.	18,196 Swiss francs	14,160
8	Universal Postal Union, Berne, Switzerland.	12,850 Swiss francs	10,000
9	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Na-	U. S. \$ 2,12,500 .	7,05,500
10	tions, Washington. Inter Allied Reparations Agency, Brussels.	1,195,745,40 Belgian francs.	90,267
11	Office International d' Hygiene Publique, Paris.	£ 1,256—5—0	16,750
12	International Labour Office.	Hitherto the contribution in respect of this Organisation has been included in the contribution to the League of Nations. The contribution to it as an independent Organisation has yet to be decided.	
13	International Technical Congress. Paris.	Not yet known	
14	International Commission on High Dams, Paris.	£ 90	1,200
15	International Emergency Food Council, Washington.	No subscription is payable by India.	
16	Siam Rice Commission, Bangkok	Not yet khown	
17	International Bailway Congress Association, Bruss 1s.	£ 25	333
18	United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Paris.	Not yet known	

Serial No.	Organisations	Amount payable per annum	Value in rupees
			Rs.
19	International Council of Scientific Unions.	£ 40 per annum from 1947 .	533
20	International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics.	£ 200	2,667
21	International Union of Goog- raphy.	Not yet known	
	•	Total .	56,34,109

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I know if those persons who have been sent as delegates are permanent representatives to these organisations on behalf of India and whether they are making any reports quarterly or periodically to the Government? If so, will the Government kindly place those reports on the table of the House?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I would like to have notice of that question.

TRANSFER OF LAHORE MINT TO CALCUTTA.

- 318. \*Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:
- (a) whether it is a fact that the Lahore Mint will be transferred back to Calcutta; if so, why; and
- (b) the expenditure on the building of the Mint and other expenses incurred in this connection at Lahore?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) Yes, Sir, not only because the original scheme, which the war situation in 1942 interrupted, contemplated the establishment of a new and up-to-date Mint at Alipore (Calcutta) in place of the existing Calcutta Mint, but also because on a subsequent review of the position Government have been convinced of the undoubted administrative and financial advantages of the transfer.
- (b) The expenditure on the building of the Lahore Mint and the other expenses incurred in connection therewith is of the order of Rs. 52 lakhs.
- Mr. Manu Subedar: May I ask why the Government will not consider the continuance of the Mint at Lahore and erecting a new one at Calcutta in view of the future needs of this country?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: This was a purely temporary arrangement and there are a number of administrative difficulties in having a Mint at Lahore. It has been considered, therefore, that it will be better and more convenient to have this Mint at Calcutta.

BILL FOR THE IMPOSITION IN INDIA OF DEATH DUTIES

319. \*Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether Government will proceed with the Bill for the imposition of Death Duties in India; and if so, whether the Bill will be taken up this session or the next?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The Bill has been circulated for opinion and a decision about the further action will be taken after Government have studied the opinions expressed on the Bill.

Sardar Mangal Singh: May I ask if it is likely to be taken up during the next session?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I am unable to give a categorical reply to this question, but I can assure the Honourable Member that the earliest opportunity will be taken by the Government to arrive at a decision.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I am asking whether, as a matter of principle, the Government has come to the decision that the death duties should be levied or is the Government still undecided on this matter?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The Government is waiting for opinions in this connection.

Seth Govind Das: Has the Government fixed any date by which opinions are expected to be received?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The Government had fixed a date and that was the 15th of August 1946; but there are still some important provinces which have not sent their opinions and they have been asked to expedite the matter.

# CERTIFICATE FROM CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNMENT SERVICE

- **320. \*Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal**: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:
- (a) whether the certificate to the effect that "so far as is known to me the applicant has not taken part in any movement subversive of law and order" is still required from the candidates for Government service; and
- (b) if the words "subversive movement" include the various struggles for India's freedom including non-violent civil disobedience movements and the spontaneous movement of 1942?

# The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) No

(b) Does not arise.

RECRUITMET OF EUROPEANS AND ERITISEERS TO SERVICES IN INDIA

321. \*Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state the steps which the Interim Government have taken or propose to take to stop further recruitment of Europeans specially Britishers to services in India?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: The Interim Government have decided that:

- (a) appointment of non-Indians to civil posts under their administrative control should be made only in very exceptional cases and that also only on contract for the minimum period necessary;
- (b) whenever it is proposed to appoint a non-Indian to a post, the concurrence of the Home Department is to be obtained and all such appointments are to be notified to the Cabinet office;
- (c) whenever a Department proposes to employ a non-Indian in any post, it should simultaneously take suitable steps to train Indians to fill such post; and
- (d) all Departments should examine cases of posts at present held by non-Indians and the desirability of taking steps to replace those officers on termination of their present appointments, and submit a report of such examination at an early date to the Home Department.

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: May I know if the Honourable Member is aware that the post of the Secretary of the Federal Public Services Commission has fallen vacant and it has so far been held by a non-Indian? His he considered the desirability of appointing an Indian to that post?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I do not know about the vacancy; I want notice.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Will the Honourable Member consider the desirability of offering inducement to non-Indians to vacate their seats so that they may go away?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: What inducements?

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Gratuities and pensions so that they may go.

The Honourable Sardar Valiabhbhai Patel: So far as the Central administrative services are concerned, the question has been taken up with the Secretary of State to settle the terms.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Do I understand the Honourable Member to say that this policy applies only to the civil side of the services and not to the military side?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: It does not apply to the military side.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Have any European civil servants applied for premature retirement after the Interim Government came to office?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I do not know of any such application.

Sit. N. V. Gadgil: They will be sympathetically considered.

EXTENSION OF SERVICE TO I. C. S. MEN (BRITISH PERSONNEL)

- 322. \*Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:
- (a) the number of Indian Civil Service men (British personnel) who were given an extension of service or taken on special duty during the war, and are still continuing in service;
  - (b) their emoluments, the office they occupy and the work they are doing;
  - (c) the reason or reasons for their continuance; and
- (d) the number of said officers still employed by Provincial Governments, provincewise?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Four British Indian Civil Service officers who were granted extension of service or re-employed after retirement during the war are still continuing in service. A statement regarding their emoluments, the offices they occupy, the reasons for their continuance and the Government under whom they are employed is placed on the table.

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No
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Government under whom employed	Government c Bengal.	Government c	Government India.	-	Government G Bombay.	:	:
Reasons for continuance	*Appointed on 26th September 1942 on five years tenure in first instance.	*Appointed on \$1st December 1942. Will continue uptil 18th October 1947.	Shortage of senior I. C. S. officers with requisite experience for holding the post. The present extension is due	to expire on the 31st March 1947.			:
Office he occupies and the work he is doing	Chairman, Bengal Public Service Commission.	Chairman, Punjab Public Service Com- mission.	Establishment Officer to the Government of India and Examiner of Cap:tal Issues.	Duties -Selection and appointment of officers of the rank of Under Secretary and above in the Government of India Secretariat, administration of the combined Finance and Commerce Department cadre, and of the General Administrative Reserve, and control of canital issues	*Adviser to the Governor of Bombay. Governor of Madras (26th February 1946) to 6th May 1946)	*Adviser to the Governor of Bombay. Governor of Burna (11th June 1946 to 1st September 1946)	Governor of Assam (4th September 1946 to end of November 1946).
Рау	Rs. 3,000 p. m.	2,500 plus peņsion p. m.	2,250 p. m.		4,000 p. m. 10,000 p. m.	4,000 p.m.	5,500 p.m.
Name of the officer	Mr. A. J. Dash, C.I.E., I.C.S., (Retired and Re-employed)	Sir Percy Marsh, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired and Re-employed)	Sir Alan Lloyed, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired and Re-employed)	!	Sir Hentry Knight, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Granded an extension of service for one year from 24th	November 1945)	
Serial No.	-	ଷ	en.		4	,	1

\* These appointments are made by the Governor of the Province concerned.

Mr. Manu Subedar: In view of the Honourable Member's reply to the previous question and the general inclination of this Government to replace non-Indians by Indians, will the Honourable Member consider the desirability of sending away these four persons, whoever they are and replace them by Indians as early as possible?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Arrangements for giving them facilities to go are being considered.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Is it not a fact that all of them are over 60?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I have not got the information here.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Is it not a fact that I.C.S. officers can continue up to 60 years of age ordinarily or 35 years of service?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I have no knowledge about the rules.

#### ACCEPTABLE VOCABULARY OF HINDUSTANI

323. \*Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal: Will the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting please state:

(a) the steps taken by Government to arrive at a generally acceptable vocabulary of Hindustani; and

(b) the results achieved so far?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) and (b). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by Sir Akbar Hydari to question No. 84 by Seth Govind Dass on the 7th February 1946. The Standing Advisory Body, referred to in the Press Note mentioned in that reply, has submitted an interim report which is under my active consideration.

Seth Govind Das: Is it not a fact that since that question was asked, a vocabulary of a few words have been made and opinion has been expressed that in such small vocabulary, no Hindustani broadcast is possible?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: All that I know of is that a committee has been appointed to prepare a list of common words which could by agreement be used.

ACTIVITIES OF DR. A. JHA IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROPOSED INDIAN WAR ACADEMY.

- 324. \*Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (a) Will the Secretary of the War Department please state if Government are aware of the activities of Dr. A. Jha in connection with the proposed Indian War Academy?
- (b) What precisely is meant by the statement that all entries to the Academy will be considered on merit only?
- (c) What steps are Government prepared to take to ensure that no discrimination will be made as regards that community which has supplied the majority of recruits to the Army in the last 150 years, to wit, the Muslims of India?
- (d) What safeguards do Government propose to enforce with a view to ensuring that members of all communities get a fair opportunity of serving their country in the country's armed forces?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: (a) Yes, Sir. Dr. Amarnath Jha is the Vice-Chairman of the N. W. A. Working Committee, and undertook his recent tour at the request of H. E. the Commander-in-Chief, who is the Chairman of that Committee with a view to arousing interest in the proposed Academy and discussing the scheme with Provinces and States.
- (b) to (d). The N. W. A. Working Committee is to meet on the 11th of November 1946 to consider the draft report prepared by the Vice-Chairman. It is, therefore premature to discuss these questions. I can, however, state once that Government will see that there is no discrimination against any community in the Armed Forces and that members of all communities will have fair opportunity to serve in these Forces.

DECISION RE PROVINCE OF PANTE-PIPLODA.

†325. \*Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable Home Member be pleased tostate:

- (a) if Government have taken any decision regarding the future of the Chief Commissioner's Province of Panth-Piploda; and
- (b) if there is any map showing the exact location of this Province, and if so, whether he will be pleased to put a copy of it in the Library of the House?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) No. The future of Panth-Piploda will be a question for consideration by the Constituent Assembly.

(b) A copy of the map has been placed in the Library of the House.

PASSAGE TO STUDENTS AWARDED SCHOLARSHIPS FOR STUDIES ABROAD

†326. \*Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable Member for Education be pleased: to state:

- (a) if it is a fact that a large number of students have been awarded scholar-ships for studies abroad, but have not been able to proceed for want of passage;
- (b) the number of such students and the arrangements that are being madeto expedite their departure;
- (c) what arrangements, if any, Government have made for such students to be suitably engaged while they are awaiting their passage; and
  - (d) what stipends, if any, are being paid to them during this interval?
- The Honourable Sri C. Rajagopalachari: (a) and (b). The total number of scholars selected for studies abroad in 1945 and 1946 is 557 (839 Central, 218-Provincial), and 442 187 Central, 255 Provincial) respectively. Of these 527 (321 Central, 206 Provincial) and 231 (121 Central, 110 Provincial) have been admitted and 515 (314 Central, 201 Provincial), and 164 (85 Central, 79 Provincial) respectively have sailed. The number of Government sponsored students who have been admitted to institutions and are at present awaiting passages is 79 [12 i.e. (7 Central, 5 Provincial), selected in 1945 and 67 i.e. (36 Central, 31 Provincial), in 1946]. Of these 79, Central Government scholars are 43 and Provincial Governments scholars are 36. They are expected to sail soon. The position regarding passages particularly to the United States of America was very difficult last year. It has however considerably improved now. Difficulty of admission in suitable institutions abroad however continues.
- (c) Special courses of training in India were arranged for Central Government Scholars selected last year who were not otherwise usefully employed and who could not be sent abroad for want of either passage or admission. In the current year, in order to avoid disappointment and hardship to the selected students it has been decided not to finalise the award of scholarships until arrangements are completed for admission and passage.

The Provincial Governments have been kept informed of the arrangements made by the Central Government in respect of the Central Scholars so that they could, if they so desired, make similar arrangements in respect of their own scholars.

(d) In the case of Central Scholars selected in 1945 who were in employment at the time of the selection but could not join their posts an ad hoc maintenance allowance equivalent to leave salary while on leave on average pay, subject to a minimum of Rs. 100 and a maximum of Rs. 500 p. m. was sanctioned. For others who held no employment, a minimum maintenance allowance of Rs. 100 p.m. was sanctioned. If the stay in India exceeded 4 months, the minimum was raised to Rs. 150 p.m. The Provincial Governments were apprised of these arrangements so that they could, if they so desired, make similar arrangements in respect of their own scholars.

<sup>+</sup> Answer to this question laid on the table the questioner being absent.

Individuals and Companies assessed to Income-Tax on Incomes, over one crore of rupees during 1945-46.

- †327. \* Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:
- (a) the number of persons who have been assessed income-tax on incomes of one crore of rupees per year during the financial year 1945-46; and
- (b) how many out of them are individuals, and how many are companies or joint families?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The information has been called for from the Commissioners of Income-tax and a reply will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

## MEDICAL HELP FOR PEOPLE IN RURAL AREAS

- 328. \*Mr. Madandhari Singh: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Health be pleased to state if it is a fact that many people in rural areas do not get any medical help during their illness?
- (b) If so, what are the proposals of Government to give proper medical aid to the people living in rural areas?
  - Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: (a) Yes.
- (b) The present plans for the extension of medical relief in the rural areas include the provisions of the following new institutions and appointments:—

Madras.—270 rural dispensaries, 450 village health centres and 45 group centres.

Bombay.—100 subsidised medical practitioners centres in addition to 330 recently started.

Bengal.-500 new rural dispensaries.

United Provinces.—500 additional dispensaries and 600 additional subsidised medical practitioners, 74 travelling dispensaries and 55 travelling units for epidemic work.

Punjab.—375 rural dispensaries and 320 subsidised dispensaries.

Bihar.—32 rural health centres and one travelling dispensary in each sub-division.

Central Provinces.—60 new dispensaries and 100 subsidised medical practitioners.

Assam.—145 rural welfare centres to which dispensaries will be attached.

Sind.-40 new dispensaries.

Orissa.—100 new dispensaries.

Delhi and Aimer-Merwara.—Health centres will be established on the Bhore Committee plan. In the beginning three such centres will be opened in the rural areas in each Chief Commissioner's Province.

- 2. All the provincial plans are being reviewed by Provincial Governments in the light of the Bhore Committee's report.
- 3. In addition to the schemes mentioned the Central and Provincial Governments have made provision in their plans for ambulance services, the improvement of hospitals, and the training of staff which will directly or indirectly assist in the provision of medical relief in the rural areas.

(On the request of some Honourable Members Mr. President asked the Honourable Member to repeat his answer loudly).

Seth Govind Das: Are all these dispensaries allopathic dispensaries?

Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: Yes, those that I have read out. But some of the provincial governments have prepared schemes for the establishment of Ayurvedic and Unani dispensaries.

<sup>†</sup> Answer to this question laid on the table the questioner being absent.

- Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I know how many thousands of population are served by a dispensary in Madras presidency?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: I will give the information to the Honourable Member.
- **Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar:** What is the proposal of the Central Government in case of inadequacy of medical relief? Will the Government of India give subsidy to the provinces?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsmam: The Central Government are assisting the Provincial Governments by a lump sum grants for development. They are not making any contribution particularly for the establishment of dispensaries in rural areas.
- Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Is it by way of capital outlay or recurring grant?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: The Central Government are making grants which will be utilised by Provinces both for capital and recurring expenditure.
- Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: May I know whether there are any arrangements for indoor patients in any hospital in the rural areas of Delhi?
  - Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: No, Sir, not at present.
- Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: Is the Honourable Member aware that there is no provision for maternity cases and so a great deal of hardship arises?
  - Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: Yes, Sir.
- **Seth Govind Das:** Sir, on a point of order, the Chair asked the Honourable Member to repeat his answer. When he did not do it I thought he was hard of hearing, but now I find he can hear very well. May I know why he did not repeat the answer?
  - Mr. President: Order, order. Next question.
- POLICY re MILITARY TRAINING OF INDIAN GIRLS AND PARTICULARS re INDIAN WOMEN IN I. N. A.
- 329. \*Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Will the Secretory of the Defence Department be pleased to state:
- (a) whether Government have in their possession full particulars about those Indian women who were in the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose:
- (b) whether Government have considered the question of utilising the training and experience of these women for military training of Indian girls; and
- (c) the policy of Government with regard to giving facilities for military training for our women folk?
  - Mr. G. S. Bhalja: (a) No. Sir. Government have not got full particulars.
- (b) and (c). It is not at present the intention of Government to have women in Service Establishments, except as Nurses.
- Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if Government have got some particulars if not full particulars?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: Yes, Sir. We have got a few particulars about a small number of these women.
- Miss Maniben Kara: Do I understand it is the policy of Government to make a differentiation between men and women in the services?
  - Mr. President: That does not arise out of this. Next question.

#### REPEAL OF PRESS LAWS.

- 330. \*Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:
- (a) the names and descriptions of those current legislative provisions (including ordinances) which go by the name of press laws;
- (b) whether attention of Government has been drawn to the volume of esentment against such laws and to the wide demand, made through the

press and on the platform and floor of legislatures, asking for the repeal of such laws;

- (c) the attitude of Government to such demand and criticism; and
- (d) whether Government propose to constitute a committee for going into the matter, if so, when and in what manner?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) The Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, the Indian States (Protection Against Disaffection) Act, 1922 and the Indian Press (Emergency) Powers Act, 1931.

(b) to (d). I have already mentioned in my speech to the ail-India Newspaper Editors' Conference that the Government would have no objection to setting up a Committee with a view to examining the repeal or modification of the Press Laws.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: When do Government intend to set up a committee like this?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I was waiting for the official Resolutions of the Conference being communicated to me. I received a letter only yesterday from the President and the matter is being considered.

Miss Maniben Kara: May I know if at the time of the press conference the Honourable Member did not request the editors to support the policy followed by the present Government because it was a national Government, and whether the Honourable Member does not think that such an assurance from the papers would interfere with the freedom of the press?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: The Honourable Member is misinformed. All that was said was that they should observe the conventions that they themselves had laid down and that liberty also enjoins a certain amount of corresponding responsibility.

Miss Maniben Kara: Do I understand that the papers which were represented in this editors' conference are those who always support the policy of Government?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: No, Sir.

#### CENSUS OF LIBRARIES IN FRITISH INDIA

- 331. \*Mr. Madandhari Singh: Will the Honourable Member for Education be pleased to state:
- (a) whether Government have taken census of libraries in British India; if so, what is the number;
  - (b) the number of libraries in towns and in rural areas;
  - · (c) who finance these institutions;
- (d) whether Government are aware of the necessity of establishing libraries in sural areas; and
- (e) if so, what are the proposals of Government for establishing libraries in rural areas?
- The Honourable Sri C. Rajagopalachari: (a), (b) and (c). No census of libraries in British India has been taken by Government and so it is not possible to give the number or the other information asked for. An all-India census and the collection of figures even if successfully achieved will, I fear, give no real information about the very varying equipment and quality of the libraries scattered all over India. The figures obtained in such a census may even be very misleading. At a Library Conference held in Calcutta in September 1983 a resolution was adopted to bring out a directory of libraries in India and a very representative and competent Committee was formed. The Committee issued a questionnaire and took charge of the various areas allotted severally to the members. The response to the questionnaire and reminders that were sent was, they have regretfully admitted, not very encouraging. They however published a Directory with what data they collected. The number of libraries included in

the publication is 269, of which 17 are University Libraries, and 131 public libraries. There are many more libraries in the country beside those included in this Directory that was published eight years ago. The book is available at the office of the Indian Library Association, 6 Esplanade East, Calcutta.

- (d) and (e). The establishment of rural libraries depends on availability of good and useful books in Indian languages as well as people ready and willing to use the books for self education. The Honourable Member putting the question is aware that 'Libraries' is a Provincial subject and it is for the Provincial Governments to formulate proposals. It is presumed they will do so in connection with their development plans of social service.
- Mr. Manu Subedar: Are Government aware that in most of the Indian languages there are no books now available on technical and scientific subjects? If so, even if a library was set up how could it have books which do not exist? May I know, what steps, if any, Government will take in order to bring into existence in the Indian languages books on technical and scientific subjects which do not exist at present?

The Honourable Sri C. Rajagopalachari: The difficulty pointed out by the Honourable Member is just what I referreed to in the main answer. As regards steps for the production of new books the matter will be considered.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES OF MINISTERS IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT

- 332. \*Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state if it is a fact that the salaries of the Ministers in the New Interim Government have been fixed at Rs. 1,500 per mensem?
- (b) Is it a fact that Ministers are allowed House Allowance, Food Allowance, First Class travelling allowance, furniture allowance and also allowance for the entertainment of friends of Ministers?

# The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) No.

- (b) Members of the Cabinet do not receive any House Allowance, Food Allowance, Furniture Allowance or Entertainment Allowance. The rules regulating the payment by Government of their expenses when travelling on duty are contained in Supplementary Rules 92, 94, 95, 97, 97A and 166, copies of which are in the Library.
- Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: If the answer to (a) is in the negative, may I know what is the salary fixed now and before?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: It is a continuing thing; no change has been made.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: What is the amount?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I do not know; I am told it is 35.5,500.

CHARGES ATAINST EIGHT DELHI PAPERS FOR PUBLISHING SPEECH OF A MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADER.

333. \*Mr. Ahmal E. H. Jaffer: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state what the charge is against the eight Delhi Papers which have been served with notices because of the alleged publication of a speech of a Muslim League Leader?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Nine papers, on the publishers of which notices were served, appeared to the local authorities to have published matter falling within the mischief of clauses (a), (d), (f), (g) and (h) of subsection (1) of section 4 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1981.

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: Is it a fact that the speech referred to was made by one who is now a member of the Treasury Benches?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: That is so, Sir.

Miss Maniben Kara: Is it a fact that an order was passed by the District Magistrate to show cause why security should not be demanded from Vanguard for publishing news which was circulated by the Associated Press of America?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: That is so, because the District Magistrate thought that it was a breach of the provisions of the law.

Miss Maniben Kara: Then am I to understand that news circulated by the Associated Press of America cannot be taken up by newspapers? And will it not be an interference with the freedom of the press in this country?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: The Editors of the papers themselves knew that it offends against the conventions that they themselves laid down

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: When the speech was made by such a responsible person, was it not an irresponsible action on the part of the authorities?

Mr. President: Order, order. That is matter of opinion.

Miss Maniben Kara: May I know if in future news sent out by the Associated Press of America and the Associated Press of India will also pass through Government censorship?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: No, Sir.

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: Is it a fact that no further action was taken in the matter?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: No further action was taken because the Press Advisory Committee advised in favour of dropping it.

FINANCING OF INDIA BY BRITISH GOVERNMENT FROM THE EMPIRE DOLLER POOL FOR PURCHASE OF CAPITAL GOODS

334. \*Mr. P. B. Gole: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the British Government had financed India to pay 20 million dollars for each of the calendar years 1944, 1945 and 1946 from the Empire Dollar Pool, to enable India to purchase capital goods;
- (b) if so, whether Government of India have issued licenses for the purchase of such capital goods with a view to using that amount; if not, whether Government propose to give reasons for not utilising the dollars for India's benefit;
- (c) the number of licenses issued for purchase of capital goods during the three years referred to above and the amount of dollars utilised every year for the purpose; and
- (d) whether British Government intend to release similar amounts from the Dollar Pool even after 1946?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) and (d). His Majesty's Government have earmarked a sum of 20 million dollars in respect of each of the calendar years 1944 and 1945 for meeting India's post-war requirements of capital goods from U. S. A. The question of allocation for 1946 and subsequent years has not yet been settled.

- (b) The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The second part, therefore, does not arise.
- (c) I presume what the Honourable Member desires to know is the value of the sanctions issued for the import of capital goods, etc., which would count against this allocation. Such sanctions up to the end of August 1946 amount to about 38 million dollars. Figures regarding actual utilisation are not available for individual years but the total so far utilised comes to 1.78 million dollars approximately.
- Mr. Manu Subedar: In view of the fact that the dollars accruing to India in the Dollar Pool amount to 114 crores of rupees worth of dollars, will Government take over this whole amount from the Dollar Pool and put an end to the Dollar Pool as soon as possible?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The matter is under the consideration of the Government, and I can assure the Honourable Member that the Government of India will take action as soon as possible.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Have Government considered that the grant of 20 million dollars to India in the post-war period by His Majesty's Government when several hundred dollars were due to India was not justice done to India, but it was a 'concession' while it was not even a concession?

Mr. President: What is the question?

Mr. Manu Subedar: Have Government considered this matter and in the light of this will Government now put an end to the Dollar Pool now that the conditions under which the Dollar Pool was brought into existence have abated?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I think I have already answered that question that the matter is under the consideration of the Government.

Mr. P. B. Gole: So far as the allotment for the year 1946 is concerned, will the Honourable Member say whether any allotment should be made for 1946?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I cannot give the Honourable Member a definite reply on the question, but orders from India have not been delayed on account of sufficient dollars not being available.

Mr. P. B. Gole: May I know whether any amount which was unused during the year 1944-45 will be available for purchase of capital goods?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Yes, Sir.

Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: May I know from the Honourable Member what is the attitude of the Government with regard to dollar licences which were issued years ago and have not been utilized? Are they prepared to withdraw those licences and utilize the dollars in other directions?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I would request the Honourable Member to put down a question for the Honourable the Commerce Member on the subject.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an editorial note in the Statesman of this morning in which the question has been raised as to whether dollars have been, according to Government declaration, freely given for all purposes and yet there is a continuing discontent and a continuing complaint that sufficient dollars have not been given, and the figures given by the Honourable Member himself of the non-utilization of the forty million dollars would go to indicate that dollars must have been denied to the public?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The attention of the Government has not yet been drawn to the note which the Honourable Member has referred to. Now that the Honourable Member has drawn the attention of the Government, it will be examined.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: May I ask the Honourable Member whether any allotment has been made for 1946?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: No. Sir.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Will the Honourable Member see that he gets at least twenty million?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I have already replied that allotment has been made for 1944 and 1945, and no allotment has been made for 1946 yet, but I hope that allotment would be made.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad: Will the Honourable the Finance Member see that this allocation of dollars is not confined to a few capitalists in this country, but that they are equitably distributed among the various provinces and a part of it shall go for the relief of the consumer and not reserved for capitalists?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: These dollars are for capital goods only.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad: Why so?

Mr. Geoffrey W. Tyson: Will not the Government agree by the terms of the Anglo-American loan which provides for winding up the dollar pool in July?

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That is indirectly a notice to the other members that in any case dollars will be in the free market.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: That is so.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I know from the Honourable Member where the balance of 40 million dollars minus what has already been drawn is held?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: It is an amount earmarked in the Bank of England.

#### Assets in India of United Kingdom Nationals

335. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether Government have got any estimate of the assets in India of the United Kingdom nationals?

(b) What steps have Government taken in order to have this estimate made?

(c) Have Government any particulars of recent sales by British nationals to Indians of their assets in India?

(d) Have Government any information as to the manner in which the money so realised has been converted from rupees into sterling and, if so, through whom and what is the total amount?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) Government have no estimates other than those prepared by individual economists and private institutions.

- (b) It has not been possible for Government to carry out any such investigation so far. The question of the suitable means and methods of obtaining information in respect of these assets is under consideration.
  - (c) Government have no information apart from what has been reported in the Press from time to time.
  - (d) In the absence of any restrictions on the conversion of rupees into sterling the requisite conversion of rupee proceeds of sales of foreign-owned assets must have taken place through the normal banking channels. No information is available as to the magnitude of the amounts involved.
  - Mr. Manu Subedar: In view of the early negotiations for the settlement of the sterling balances, will not Government make an effort to get at some kind of rough estimate by consulting private economists before the occasion for these negotiations arises?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The Government will try to get as much voluntary information as it is possible.

Mr. Geoffrey W. Tyson: With reference to part (b) of the question and the Honourable the Finance Member's answer to the first supplementary question, namely that the Government will try to get as much information on a voluntary basis as possible, will the Honourable the Finance Member give an undertaking that the owners of British assets in this country will be consulted in any process by which it may be sought to estimate the total of those assets?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I said 'voluntary information' and surely those sources that will give this voluntary information will be authentic sources.

Mr. Geoffrey W. Tyson: I am not suggesting that the voluntary information would be unauthentic or inaccurate. I am asking the Honourable the Finance Member, as he appears to put the calculation of such an estimate on voluntary basis, will he give us an assurance that those who are the subject of the estimate will be consulted in the calculation of it?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Yes, certainly.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Is it a fact that the voluntary estimates made by private economists of British assets in India vary from 2 million sterling to one thousand sterling?

Mr. Geoffrey W. Tyson: And more.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: That is so.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Isn't it a fact that the predecessor of the Honourable the Finance Member said that he would make an estimate departmentally and that he would give us figures as to how the sterling balances are liquidated?

The Honourable-Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: All that my predecessor stated must be on record.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Isn't it a fact that the Department has proceeded to some extent in estimating the assets of British nationals in this country?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: On a voluntary basis the Department has started collecting information.

REPAYMENT OF STERLING BALANCES AND REPEAL OF SECTION 41 OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA ACT

- 336. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether Government have communicated to His Majesty's Government the desire of India to have the sterling balances repaid at an early date and, if so, what is the reply?
- (b) What steps are Government taking to expedite the settlement of this question?
- (c) Have Government taken any precautions to see that the volume of sterling balances does not increase?
- (d) Have Government decided to repeal section 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act and, if so, when do Government propose to introduce the necessary legislation?
  - (e) Why are Government balances accumulated in London?
  - (f) Are Government free to convert them into Continental and other currencies?
  - (g) If they are blocked, who gives such information, on what terms, and when?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to part (c) of his starred question No. 172 on the 4th November 1946.

- (e) Yes, Sir.
- (d) I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to his starred question No. 87 on the 30th October.
- (e) Government balances are held by the Reserve Bank in deposit and it depends on the transactions of the Bank and the relative demand for rupees and sterling how the balances of the Bank are held.
- (i) Yes, in accordance with the common policy followed in the sterling area as explained in the Press Note issued by the Finance Department on October 7, 1946.
  - (g) In view of the answer to part (f), this part of the question does not arise.
- Mr. Manu Subedar: With regard to the repeal of Section 41, have Government considered the desirability of implementing their own assurance on the floor of this House by the predecessor of the Honourable the Finance Member that this particular section, which compels India to give rupees for sterling at lib, will be repealed or at all events its operation would be suspended.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, the matter is under consideration.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad: May I inform the Honourable Member that the question is not so simple as it is made out to be, as I am definitely opposed to any change in Section 41.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I agree with the Honourable Member that the question is not so simple!

Position of India in the matter of Dollars and hard Currencies

- 337. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state the latest figure of sterling balances belonging to the Reserve Bank and how does it compare with the figure for the same date during the last five years?
- (b) Have the Government of India made any demand to terminate the Dollar Pool? If so, in what terms and what has been the reply?
- (c) Are Government aware of the popular feeling against the Dollar Pool, because of the belief that it has involved the diversion of dollars accrued to India to other uses?
- (d) Are Government aware that there is much resentment in the country against the Dollar Pool?
- (e) What is the amount of payment received from the Dollar Pool for the purchase of food during the current year?
- (f) What is exactly the present position of India in the matter of dollars and hard currencies and what are the figures during each of the last few years since the Dollar Pool was instituted?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) The relative figures of the sterling holdings of the Reserve Bank as on the 25th October, 1946, which is the latest date for which information is available and on corresponding dates in the preceding five years, are, in round figures, as follows:—

						Rs.	
25th October 1946				•	•	1,681	crores
28th October 1945					•	1,582	,,
27th October 1944			•		•	1,169	**
29th October 1943	•	•		•		815	,,
23rd October 1942		•		•	•	413	,,
24th October 1941		•			•	216	,,

- (b) The answer to the first part is in the negative. The second part does not arise.
- (c) and (d). Government are aware of the feelings in the country against the pooling arrangement. Government have tried to clear, in the Press Note issued on the 7th October 1946, certain mis-apprehensions which have given rise to these feelings.
- (e) Figures of actual dollar disbursements for the purchase of food are not readily available in view of the considerable time lag in the receipt of information from London, where all such transactions are settled. However, the estimated exchange liability based on allocations made by the International Emergency Food Council and contracts entered into within the dollar area during the year 1946-47 is as follows:—

				Rs.
Food grains .		•		34.25 crores
Other foodstuffs	•			4.69 ,,
			Total	38.94 crores

(f) The position has been explained in the recent Press Note on the subject ded on the 7th October, 1946, of which I lay a copy on the table.

I also lay on the table of the House a statement showing India's earnings and expenditure of hard and difficult correncies during each of the years since the pooling arrangement was instituted.

#### Press Note

# INDIA'S DOLLAR EARNINGS AND EXPENDITURE POSITION EXPLAINED

# LIBERALISATION OF IMPORT CONTROL

As there appear to be considerable misgivings in the public mind about such matters as India's earnings and expenditure of dollars, the Empire Dollar Pool and the Postwar Dollar Fund, Government consider it desirable to explain the main facts in this regard to the public.

#### EMPIRE DOLLAR POOL.

It was customary before the war for a large number of countries (generally referred to as the "sterling bloc") to hold all or almost all their foreign exchange balances in London in the form of sterling. Sterling was then freely convertible into other currencies and therefore countries which hold sterling balances could convert them at will into any currency which they happened to need for fulfilling their international obligations. With the outbreak of the war and the increasing difficulty thereby caused in securing the convertibility of sterling, this system assumed a degree of rigidity which had not been previously contemplated. Those members of the "sterling bloc" who continued to be members of what is now known as the "sterling area" forewent their right to hold foreign exchange in their own custody and agreed to impose restrictions on the expenditure of foreign exchange in order to ensure that the limited resources of the sterling area of foreign currencies were utilised to the best advantage in the prosecution of the war. The whole of the sterling area's holdings of foreign exchange were held in one pool in the custody of the Bank of England and the British Treasury. As the United States dollar was the most important foreign currency in this Pool this whole arrangement came to be known as the Empire Dollar Pool instead of the Sterling Area Pool of Foreign Exchange which more correctly describes it.

In the working of the Empire Dollar Pool of the individual countries of the sterling area were given no specific allotments of the various foreign currencies which they were entitled to spend. The method by which expenditure was restricted was that the countries concerned agreed not to spend foreign exchange unless the demand for which it was required was essential and could not be satisfied within the sterling area. The test of essentiality varied in strictness from time to time as the volume of the Pool increased or decreased and at the conclusion of the war and for a considerable period before it the test was whether a particular demand was necessary for the prosecution of the war or for the maintenance of the civil economy at a wartime level. The member country itself has always been the judge of the essentiality of its own requirements and when it has certified that a particular requirement is essential and its Exchange Control has granted the necessary authorisation, the Pool has never questioned the decision taken. With the end of the war, the definition of essentiality applicable till then lost its meaning and the Government of India are much more liberal now in the classification of requirements as essential than they have been in the past.

The Government of India have kept an account of India's earnings and expenditure of hard currencies some figures about which were published in the Finance Member's Budget speech last February. Since the beginning of the War up to the 31st March, 1946, India earned Rs. 405 crores worth of U. S. A. dollar and spent Rs. 240 crores having a net surplus of Rs. 165 crores. Against this has to be set off the fact that India spent more than she earned, to the extent of Rs. 41\* crores, of other hard currencies, namely those of Canada, Sweden, 'Switzerland and Portugal. India's net contribution to the Pool has therefore been about Rs. 114 crores till the close of the year 1945-46. During the quarter ending June 1946 for which preliminary figures are now available there has been a substantial net drawal by India on the Pool, mainly on account of food imports and other payments on Government account. These figures must not however, be taken as our "share" in the Dollar Pool for what we can spend is, strictly speaking, not related to nor limited by what we have contributed.

#### POST-WAR DOLLAR FUND

The public are aware that there is a fund known as the Post-War Dollar Fund to which the Pool has contributed \$20 million for the year 1944. In the year 1943-44 His Majesty's Government agreed in view of our large dollar contributions to the Empire Dollar Pool and of our willingness to agree to give reciprocal aid to the United States to place at our disposal a sum of \$20 million in a separate fund to be utilised after the conclusion of hostilities with Japan for restocking and capital expenditure in the U. S. A. All expenditure for these purposes was to be met from the Fund and not till this Fund was exhausted were we to ask for dollars from the Pool for the financing of such expenditure. This figure of \$20 million was a percentage of our dollar earnings on trade account in the year 1944 and H. M.G. agreed that they would credit the Fund with a similar sum, upto a maximum of \$20 million, for the year 1945 if our dollar earnings on the same basis for that year were of the same order as for the year 1944. In respect of 1945, H. M.G. have just intimated

<sup>\*</sup> This figure was a misprint for Rs. 51 crores.

an allocation of \$20 million. It is generally believed that this Fund represents the total resources in U. S. dollars which India possesses for the purchase of capital goods. Such a belief is however, erroneous. The limit of our purchases is not necessarily the amount in the Fund for we have the right to draw on the Pool for all capital goods the import of which we regard as legitimate. As against the \$20 million allotment to the Fund for 1944 and in anticipation of further allotment the Government of India have issued sanctions for the import of capital goods, the purchase of ships and for other industrial purposes upto \$28 million.

#### IMPORT POLICY

Recent criticisms about the import control policy of Government have been based on two grounds; firstly, that the administrative machinery for the grant of import licences was slow and inefficient and, secondly, that the strictness with which exchange control was administered made it very difficult for importers both of capital and of other goods to import them from outside the sterling area. With the altered conditions brought about by the termination of War, the Government of India have recently made a number of changes in the administration of import control with the result, they hope, that the procedure for obtaining import licences has been very considerably simplified and shortened. They have also adopted the policy of removing as many items as possible from the list of controlled items and of placing them on the Open General Licence for the sterling area. Other items have been placed on the Universal Open General Licence which means that these items may be imported freely from any source whether within or outside the sterling area. Items which can thus be decontrolled are continually under review and the list is gradually being increased.

The Government of India have also relaxed substantially the rigidity of exchange control and the two tests of essentiality and non-availability are now applied with more flexibility. Requirements are now held to be essential if they are necessary for the maintenance and development of the national economy or the maintenance and development of the standard of living and non-availability is determined with due reference to the quality, price and period of delivery of comparable articles in the sterling area. Further, the burden of proving non-availability has been shifted to Government from the importer so that it is new for Government to satisfy itself by its own enquiries whether goods required to be imported from outside the sterling area are available within it or not; instead of, as heretofore, for the importer to prove that they were not so available. Another modification that has been introduced is that the various currencies of the world have been graded in order of their difficulty and the tests of essentiality and non-availability are applied to imports with a decreasing degree of strictness in accordance with the comparative easiness of the currency considerations will no longer hinder the rapid development of industry in India.

FINANCE DEPARTMENT;

New Delhi, October 7, 1946.

Statement showing India's earnings and expenditure of hard and difficult currencies

Year April—March			Earnings	Expenditure	Net	
1939-40 (Sept.—March)	•	•		+4180	- 1719	+2461
940-41				+3909	- 4333	- 424
1941-42 .		•	.	+6254	- 4952	+1302
1842-43				+4418	4685	- 267
1948-44				<b>+7665</b>	-4118	+3547
1944-45				+9949	- 6631	+3318
1945-46 .		•		+8851	- 7879	+1472
	Total			+45226	- 33817	+11409

Mr. Manu Subedar: In view of the fact that this is called the Empire Dollar Pool, a word against which we have the strongest objection, and in view of the fact that the circumstances justifying the institution of this pool have not abated, will not Government respect public feeling and also India's interests, in pressing for an early termination of this dollar pool?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, there are certain practical difficulties, but as I have already said, this is a matter which is receiving careful attention of the Government of India.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad: Irrespective of the fact whether one likes the word "Empire" or not, there is a sterling pool all the same and this question is not so simple. We have to decide whether rupee should continue to be linked with the sterling or not. That is the first issue before we abolish this sterling pool altogether.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: May I ask the Honourable Member to repeat his question.

Mr. President: There is no question.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: May I know, Sir, if from any of the countries in the Empire or even from the United Kingdom, the Honourable the Finance Member has received any objection to the closing of the dollar pool?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: We are not concerned with other countries. We are only concerned with the interests of India.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: What is the difficulty and why should it take time to close this dollar pool so far as India is concerned?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: It is rather a complicated business and if my friend will take the trouble of coming to my room I shall try and explain it to him. It cannot be explained in anwer to a question like this.

NUMBER OF INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE OFFICERS IN EMPLOYMENT OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AFTER TERMINATION OF NORMAL PERIOD OF SERVICE.

- 338. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please state how many members of the Civil Service are in the employment of Government after the termination of their normal period of service?
  - (b) What are their names, present emoluments and functions?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: The information is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House when complete.

Sit. N. V. Gadgil: Is the Honourable Member aware of the fact that this House in the last Budget Session expressed itself against the employment of superannuated persons?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I can say this that there are a large number of vacancies and recruitment has stopped for a long time. Therefore, we have asked some of them against their will to continue. Provinces are also free to employ them. If they want to do so, we cannot stop them. In some cases Provinces have employed them.

Sit. N. V. Gadgil: Do I understand the Honourable Member to mean that the Government policy is to employ superannuated persons only when there is a necessity?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Only when it is absolutely necessary they are employed.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Isn't the Government aware that a number of persons who are subordinates now can rise to these places and as such they have a legitimate complaint that they have been blocked by the superannuated men?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Except in very exceptional cases, no such superannuated men are employed.

IMPORT OF SALT FROM OUTSIDE AND ABOLITION OF SALT DUTY.

- 339. \*Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether Government have reached any decision with regard to the abolition of the salt duty?
- (b) How much salt is produced in India and how much of it is through Government agency?
  - (c) How much salt is imported from outside?
- (d) Have Government examined the position whether the whole requirement of India cannot be produced here and, if so, have Government found any reasons why the total quantity could not be produced in India and why even something more cannot be produced in India for supply to Burma and other countries?
- (e) What are the conclusions to which (fovernment have reached with regard to Indian self-sufficiency in salt and the need to supply for the public relatively clean salt produced under controlled conditions?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to Shri Sri Prakasa's Question No. 176 and Mr. Sanyal's Question No. 189 on the 4th November 1946.
- (b) On an average annually about 600 lakhs maunds of which about 200 lakhs maunds is through Government agency.
  - (c) About 50 lakhs maunds on the average during the last five years.
- (d) and (e). These matters are under examination and no final conclusions tave yet been reached.
- Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state when that promised statement is likely to be given?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: I said in reply to the question to which I have referred that I hope to make a statement shortly.
- Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon: May I know from the Honourable Member if the duty is abolished, whether the benefit will go directly to the consumer?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: That is also one of the questions which is being examined.
- Mr. Manu Subedar: Will Government take specific steps in order to ensure that the salt which will be available to the public, particularly the poorer sections of it, will be good, pure, white salt, and will not be the mixed, muddy, dirty article which is at present available to the poor in most parts of the country?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, at this very moment an officer of the Central Government is studying the questoin of the manufacture of salt in England and America.

MAINTENANCE OF RANCHI MENTAL HOSPITAL EXCLUSIVELY FOR EUROPEANS

- 340. \*Seth Govind Das: Will the Honourable Member for Health be pleased to state:
- (a) whether it is a fact that a mental hospital is maintained by Government exclusively for Europeans at Ranchi;
- (b) if so, the reasons for spending the Indian taxpayers' money for giving this facility to Europeans exclusively; and
- (c) whether Government propose to open this hospital for persons belonging to all nationalities and communities and make it a hospital for advanced cases of mental diseases and attach a research section to it?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: (a) There is a Mental Hospital for European patients at Ranchi maintained by a Board of Trustees constituted under the Ranchi Mental Hospital Act, 1922. Indian patients accustomed to the European mode of living are also admitted up to a maximum of ten at any one time.
- (b) No expenditure on the maintenance of the hospital is incurred from Central Revenues. The cost is met from the contributions by the Provincial

Governments who send patients to the Hospital and from fees from paying patients.

- (c) The matter will be considered in consultation with the Board of Trustees. **Seth Govind Das:** May I know from the Honourable Member why the number of Indians who are admitted in that hospital is only ten?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: When the figure was fixed some years ago it was considered at that time that there would probably be insufficient accommodation for more patients, taking into account the provision of accommodation for European patients for whom the hospital was primarily intended.
- Seth Govind Das: May I know why only such Indian patients are admitted in the hospital who are accustomed to the European mode of living?
- Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: I understand that the accommodation provided is in accordance with European standards of living.
- Dr. G. V. Deshmukh: What is the total number of beds in this hospital?

  Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: The maximum number of patients at present is
  250.
- **Seth Govind Das:** When the total number is as much as 250, will Government consider the advisability of increasing the number of Indian patients who want admission into that hospital?
  - Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: As I said, the whole matter is being considered.
- Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: May I know what the Honourable Member means by European standard of living for lunatics?

(No answer was given)

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh: Is mental disorder more common in this country amongst the Europeans?

(No answer was given)

RESERVATION OF VACANCIES IN I. C. S. FOR I. N. A. PERSONNEL.

341. \*Seth Govind Das: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

(a) whether any vacancies in the Civil Services are reserved for 'war service'

candidates even by the present Government;

(b) if so, whether Government propose to abolish all such reservations and

- (b) if so, whether Government propose to abolish all such reservations and throw open the recruitment to all qualified persons, with or without 'war service' and
- (c) whether Government propose to reserve 50 per cent. of vacancies in the Civil Services for Indian National Army personnel drawn from the army or otherwise and for those who were incarcerated or went underground in connection with the Indian National Resistance Movement of August 1942?
- The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a), (b) and (c). Previous orders reserving all or a fixed percentage of vacancies upto the 31st December 1945 in the various services still stand but the question whether and, if so, to what extent they should be modified is engaging my attention. The present position is, however, that even after all the suitable war service candidates are absorbed in the posts for which they have been selected or in the case of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police the recruitment to which has been stopped, in equivalent posts, a large number of vacancies would still be available to candidates from other sources of supply including those mentioned by the Honourable Member. No fixed percentage of vacancies arising from 1946 onwards have been reserved in favour of 'war service' candidates but the orders issued by the previous Government will have the effect of allocating a proportion of such vacancies in Superior Services to war service candidates. As I have already said I am reviewing the whole question.

Seth Govind Das: As the Honourable Member has just said, in reviewing the whole question, will he see that only such persons are taken in these vacancies (persons even with war service) who are not non-Indians?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Yes.

## RECRUITMENT TO INDIAN ARMED FORCES.

- 342. \*Seth Govind Das: Will the Secretary of the Defence Department please state:
- (a) whether it is a fact that a theory of martial and non-martial races is followed for purposes of recruitment to the Indian Armed Forces;
- (b) whether it is a fact that at present the recruitment to the Indian armed forces is chiefly confined to a few provinces like the Punjab, Madras, etc., and to a few communities like Marathas, Gurkhas, Jats, Rajputs, Pathans, etc.; and
- (c) if so, whether the new Interim National Government propose to revise their policy and fix the quotas of different provinces to the recruitment in the armed forces, on the basis of their proportionate population strength?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: (a) In the past recruiting to the Indian Armed Forceswas mainly confined to what in those days were termed martial classes.

This arrangement was, however, completely changed during the war of 1939-1945 and personnel were enlisted from all classes and from all provinces.

- (b) The class composition of the post-war army was planned in the early months of 1946 in accordance with this new policy of making the representation of all classes as broad as possible. Recruiting is now being carried out on this principle.
- (c) Government have not yet determined the size of the armed forces in the future. They do not however propose to fix quotas for provinces on the basis of population.
- **Seth Govind Das:** According to the present arrangements may I know whether there will be any kind of quota to be taken from the provinces or no quota at all?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: The intention is that there should be no fixed quota for any particular province but care would be taken to see that all provinces and all classes get equal opportunities for culistment in the armed forces of the country.
- Sardar Mangal Singh: May I know whether the Honourable Member will assure the House that care will be taken to see that the Indian armed forces constitute a first class and efficient fighting machine and that no other consideration will prevail with the Government of India?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: I hope and trust that this House will support the Government in maintaining the Indian army at the highest pitch of efficiency which it had reached during the war and for which it won laurels throughout the world.
- Seth Govind Das: Is it not a fact that the efficiency of the proposed army which Sardar Mangal Singh contemplates depends upon the education and training which is given to those soldiers and not upon any community or class?
  - Mr. President: That is a matter of opinion.

NATIONALISATION OF INDIAN ARMED FORCES.

- 343. \*Seth Govind Das: Will the Secretary of the Defence Department please state:
- (a) the steps taken for nationalising the Indian armed forces and for breaking its exclusiveness from the general public and the rural masses in particular; and
- (b) the development and extension programme of the various arms of the Indian armed forces to meet India's defensive and offensive requirements?
- Mr. G. S. Bhalja: I venture to suggest that this is not really a proper subject for a question but for a resolution. I would not attempt to answer on the lines sugested to do so would not be doing justice to the subject. I would however, say
- (a) That Government's plans for the nationalisation of the armed forces will be made known very shortly. In the last three years every effort has been made to interest the general public in the armed forces and great progress has been made in this direction. These efforts are continuing and will be-

intensified. There is no exclusiveness in this connection and the more interest the public take in the armed forces, the more pleased will the Government be.

(b) As regards the development of the armed forces to meet India's defence requirements, this is the constant concern of the Defence Department and at present I am glad to say that India has no offensive requirements.

HONORARY MAGISTRATES IN THE CENTRALLY ADMINISTERED AREAS

344. \*Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: Is the Honourable the Home Member aware of the public criticism against the present practice of appointing Honorary Magistrates in the Centrally Administered Areas of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara from amongst the titled gentry not possessing sufficient knowledge of law? If so, do Government propose to abolish this system altogether in the interests of administration of justice? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: My enquiries show that in Ajmer-Merwara less than 40 per cent, of the Honorary Magistrates are titled persons. In Delhi out of 29 Honorary Magistrates the number of titled persons is eleven. Apparently the local authorities were satisfied about the legal knowledge of these persons when the appointments were made but I am prepared to ask the Chief Commissioners particularly to bear in mind the desirability of appointing persons with sufficient knowledge of law, when vacancies occur on the expiry of the exsiting appointments.

Lala Deshbandhu Gupta: Is the Honourable Member aware that for these posts of Honorary Magistrates persons are appointed really for the loyal service they had rendered in the past and their legal knowledge or their education has not so far been the criterion for their selection?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I have already answered that question: I know that no disloyal man is appointed as an Honorary Magistrate.

**Sreejut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri:** Will the present Government propose to abolish the system of appointing Honorary Magistrates throughout India, as has been proposed in some of the provinces already?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: In the question under reply we are asked to consider the matter of the appointment of Honorary Magistrates in the Centrally Administered areas only and not in the whole of India.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Is the Honourable Member aware that the loyalty of these Honorary Magistrates was to the old order which has come to an end and not to the existing order?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Evidently it has not come to an end yet.

**Seth Govind Das:** Will the Honourable Member consider the advisability of abolishing these Honorary Magistrates' jobs, as has been done in various provinces, in the central areas also?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: As far as I am aware, it has not been done in the autonomous-administred provinces; the centrally administered areas are not expected to go ahead of those provinces.

# (b) Written Answers

DISSATISFACTION AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHIEF COMMISSIONERS.

345. \*Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: (a) Is the Honourable the Home Member aware of the dissatisfaction among the public against the administration of Chief Commissioners in the Centrally Administered Areas?

(b) Do Government propose, under these circumstances, to set up elected Advisory Councils whose advice may be binding on, and necessary for Chief Commissioners on all important administrative questions? If so, when?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: (a) The Government of India have received representations expressing dissatisfaction on the grounds indicated.

(b) I have already initiated proposals for establishing Advisory Councils and hope to finalize them at an early date.

FUTURE RECRUITMENT TO SERVICES IN AJMER-MERWARA.

346. \*Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state if Government propose to frame rules for the future recruitment to Government services in Ajmer-Merwara, and to set up a representative public \*Committee to make selections for such recruitment?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Yes. Government have already initiated a proposal to frame recruitment rules which will cover not only the larger Central services but also the small services and isolated and newly created posts. These will apply to Ajmer-Merwara when approved.

It is not suitable to associtae a representative public Committee with selection for recruitment which in appropriate cases will be made in consultation with the Federal Public Service Commission.

LACK OF HEAD-RESTS ON NEW DELHI ROADS.

347.\*Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable Member for Health be pleased to state:

(a) if it is a fact that men and women workers carrying loads on their heads, are greatly inconvenienced from lack of head-rests on the roads of New Delhi; and

(b) if he proposes to take steps to get these constructed in large numbers at suitable places?

# Mr. S. H. Y. Oulsnam: (a) Government have no information.

(b) The suggestion will be communicated to the New Delhi Municipal Committee for such action as may be found necessary.

PAY OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS APPOINTED AFTER 4TH AUGUST, 1931, TO POSTS ON NEW SCALES OF PAY AND THEIR ELIGIBILITY ON PROMOTION TO SCALES OF PAY OF HIGHER POSTS.

348. \*Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state whether Government servants who have been appointed after the 4th August, 1931, to posts carrying new scales of pay are eligible to get on promotion the present scales of pay of higher posts for which new scales of pay have not yet been determined?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The crucial date for determining whether a Central Government servant is entitled to old or new scales of pay is the 15th July 1931. Individuals appointed after that date are termed "new entrants" and are eligible both on initial appointment and promotion only for the new scales of pay. New scales of pay have been determined by the Government of India for the majority of posts, but in cases where this has not been done, the rates of pay for new entrants will be fixed by Government.

Unqualified Income-Tax Officers in Sind

- 349. \*Seth Sukhdev: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:
- (a) the number of Income-Tax and Assistant Income-Tax Officers in Sind;
- (b) the number of Hindus, Muslims and others, separately;
- (c) how many of these officers have not passed the qualifying examination for Income-Tax Officer's post;
  - (d) why non-qualified men are given such responsible work; and
- (e) whether it is a fact that when senior clerks and others do not pass the qualifying test for their cadre they are reverted?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) There are 21 Income-tax Officers in Sind. There is no such grade as Assistant Income-tax Officer.

(c) Of these nine have not yet passed all the subjects in the departmental examination by the higher standard, as normally required.

- (d) The reason is that fully qualified men are not yet available in requisite numbers and it is not feasible to leave the posts unfilled as that would lead to accumulation of arrears.
- (e) Ordinarily that is the position, but when pressure of work demands it, those that have not passed the qualifying test are allowed to officiate as upper division clerks.

VICTIMISATION OF AND WRONGFUL REMOVAL FROM SERVICE OF A INCOME TAX
OFFICER IN BIHAR.

- 350. \*Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:
- (a) if it is a fact that several prominent members of the Bihar Legislature have drawn the attention of the Government of India to the victimisation of an Income-Tax Officer of Bihar; if so, what action has been taken on their complaints or representations;
- (b) if it is also a fact that a competent Court of Justice has also held that the said Income Tax Officer was wrongfully removed from service and that he was not given adequate opportunity to defend himself as provided by the Civil Service rules:
- (c) if it is further a fact that the judgment of the Court reveals that a manufactured and extra judicial letter was placed on the record while forwarding the same to the Federal Public Service Commission if so, what action has been taken or is proposed to be taken against those responsible for the act; and
  - (d) whether Government propose to make an inquiry into this matter?
- The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) Representations have been received from some Members of the Bihar Legislature regarding an Income-tax Officer of Bihar who was dismissed from Government service sometime ago. They have been informed that a case filed by the officer in court is at present sub judice, but that the whole matter will receive the careful consideration of Government as soon as the case ceases to be sub judice.
- (b) The court held that the requirements of Rule 55 of the Civil Service Classification Control and Appeal rules and section 240(3) of the Government of India Act were not strictly adhered to in the proceedings conducted against the Income-tax Officer.
- (c) The reply to the first part is in the negative; the second part does not arise.
- (d) Government will take appropriate action in due course when the matter is further considered as indicated in my answer to part (a).

EXPENDITURE ON HARAPPA EXCAVATIONS BY THE DIRECTOR CENTRAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

- 351. \*Makhdum Al-Haj Syed Sher Shah Jeelani: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Education please state what was the total amount spent on Harappa Excavations by the Director General of Archaeology during the year 1946?
  - (b) What was the actual amount spent for digging the site?
- (e) Do Government propose to place on the table of the House a statement in tabular form showing the expenditure incurred in this connection including the digging, purchase of tools and plant, conveyance, upkeep of camp, employment of temporary and workcharged staff including draftsmen, surveyors, chaukidars, bistis and sweepers?
- The Honourable Sri C. Rajagopalachari: (a) The total amount spent on Harappa Excavations during 1946 was Rs. 31,497.
  - (b) The actual amount spent for digging the site amounted to Rs. 22,428.
- (c) A statement giving the information asked for is laid on the table of the House.

(1) Digging	Řs. 22,423
(2) Purchase of Tools and Plant	1,485
(3) Conveyance (including transfer of camp from Taxila)	1,533
(4) Upkeep of Camp including 31 University students .	2,744
(5) Work-charged staff (including student-supervisors).	1,390
(6) Temporary staff	895

Effect on Indian Finances by the abolition of Salt Tax.

- 352. \*Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state if Government propose to introduce legislation at an early date for the removal of the Salt Tax in all the Provinces of India?
- (b) Do Government propose to consider the appointment of a Committee of experts to examine the effects of the removal of the Salt Tax upon the Finances of the country in the present financial stringency?
- (c) Are Government aware of the remarks of the distinguished Indian Economist Professor Brij Narain, who has opposed the removal of the Salt Tax?
- (d) What is the average consumption of salt per head per annum, and "if salt were made as free as the air" how many pies per head would be saved by the poor of India?

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to Shri Sri Prakasa's question No. 176 and Mr. Sanval's question No. 189 on the 4th November.

- (c) Yes, Sir.
- (d) (i) The per capita consumption of salt is about 12½ lbs. (6 to 7 seers).
- (ii) I can answer only in so far as the duty is concerned and not in regard to the cost of production, transport, storage, etc., if any. At the present rate of duty, viz., Re. 1/9/0 per maund the incidence is about 0/3/9 per annum or 33 pies per head per month, and this would be the maximum saving.

# RESOLUTION RE RELEASE OF INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY MEN AND POLITICAL PRISONERS-contd.

Mr. President: The next item is further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Pandit Govind Malaviya on Monday the 4th February, 12 Noon. 1946 and not concluded on the 1st April 1946:—

"In view of the universal expression of public opinion throughout the country in the matter, this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to give up the trials of the officers of the Indian National Army and to release immediately all men and officers of the Indian National Army as well as all other political prisoners under detention or imprisonment.

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (Finance Member): Sir, as the Honourable Mover of the Resolution is unavoidably absent, I would with your permission like to move:

"That further discussion of this Resolution be adjourned to the next session."

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has stated that as the Honourable Mover of the Resolution is not present here today, he moves that further discussion of this Resolution be adjourned to the next session.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Home Member): I support the motion.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That further discussion of this Resolution be adjourned to the next session."

The motion was adopted.

# RESOLUTION RE THE RUNNING OF CIVIL AVIATION AS A STATE DEPARTMENT

Sardar Mangal Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I beg to move:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that Civil Aviation be run as a State Department like the State Railways and be not handed over to the private enterprise."

In moving this resolution and speaking on it, I am very well aware that I am probably wounding the susceptibilities of several vested interests and their supporters; but I will take jolly good care not to say anything which would be likely to wound their susceptibilities. I would like to say also that I do not intend to embarrass the government which have already sufficient headaches about other matters. But the subject of this resolution was so urgent and important that I wanted that before the government took any further steps in that direction, the House should have an opportunity to express their views. I was provoked into sending in this resolution by the speech of Mr. Ali Zaheer when he was a Member of the Government of India, in which he used expressions which would strike at the very root of nationalisation of this industry or of any other industry. In that speech he definitely and conclusively stated that there would be greater facilities, there would be greater efficiency and, he also added, there would be more courtesy in the management of civil aviation if it is handed over to private companies. I do not accept this statement I refuse to believe, whatever might be said of the past governments, that the present all party government can be less courteous or less efficient than some of our capitalists who are here to take up these services. I have not moved this Resolution simply to get mental satisfaction as a socialist—I am not a full-fledged socialist either—but I consider this proposition from the administrative point of view as a sound one. We are just starting civil aviation in this country. India is a very big country and is eminently suitable for the expansion of air services. I would, therefore submit that as an administrative proposition or even as a business proposition it is better that the Government of India takes it over from the very beginning. Civil aviation in this country is making rapid progress. The report given by the Civil Aviation Directorate says that the public demand for air travel increased at a rate far exceeding expectations a year ago. During the first half of 1946 the total number of passengers carried by the air services was 37,633 as compared with 24,000 in the whole of 1945. Air travel is becoming very popular and is bound to increase as we go ahead. I am aware that some of the Honourable Members-I will not say some of the Honourable Members of this House who represent the vested interests-might get up and say that if it is in the hands of private companies it will be more efficient, and why should the government spend so much on this when it is not directly connected with the welfare of the masses? To that I respectfully submit that of all the industries civil aviation is better suited to be departmentally run. At the present moment we have got all the necessary things owned by the government. All aerodromes, landing grounds, emergency landing grounds with all the hangers and buildings and runways, etc., costing enormous sums belong at present to the government. Civil aerodromes numbering about 150 and the air-force aerodromes numbering twice as many, all belong to the government. The length of the runways is as much as a road from Calcutta to Bombay. Again, we have got the entire lot of aerodrome equipment, maintenance equipment, operational equipment, radio equipment, radio beacons and other stores costing millions to the government. We have got all these things with us. Almost all aircraft owned today by private companies and private owners have been sold by the Government. Then we have got specialist technicians for all branches of the Aviation. Many were trained We have got the at the expense of the Government 15 or 20 years ago. Meteorological Department, the Central P.W.D. Aviation Wing, Inspection Section, Posts and Telegraphs. Customs and Police and the rest. already got all these. Then we have got transport aerodromes for the carrriage of goods and passengers. We have got all the apparatus and what is much more important we have got quite a large number of machines at present with the Government. The Dakota machines are being disposed of by Government

[Sardar Mangal Singh] at a comparatively cheap price. Some of these machines have been purchased by private companies from the Government at a price of Rs. 70,000 or 80,000, while these machines have been bought from America for more than two or three lakhs. Some of them are quite new.

Now, Sir, we have got all the machines to run all these lines. We hardly require more than 70 or 80 machines or it may be 100 machines at the utmost. At the present moment, all these companies which are running have got only 19 large and 6 small machines. The Government at the present moment have got a large number of machines. The Dakota machines have been tested in the war. They cost less. They give good service but for some reason or other about which my Honourable friends on my right might say something—these machines are being run down by propagandists who are in the pay of the British and the British machines are being advertised. I am not representing the Americans. I am for getting cheaper machines and the best machines. I am not prepared to pay more for a similar machine. Sir, propaganda is being carried on to run down these machines and to popularise British made machines in India. Recently one concern has given orders for the purchase of six machines. One of them has arrived and on the very first day when a demonstration was to be given that machine nosedived and two machines prepared by the same factory crashed. I have no quarrel with any factory or any machine. The point which I want to make is that the Government of India at the present moment have got a sufficiently good number of machines to run this department themselves. They have got the aerodromes, equipment, personnel and machines. Why hand over all this property of the Government to the private owners? I ask-why not run it yourself.

The other point which I want to make and which is very serious is this and I want the Defence Department to take note of it. If you run the department yourself and if an emergency comes or war comes, then you can switch off the whole of the machines to the war requirements without any difficulty. Whether you want war or not, it will come. It is not a question of wanting or not wanting. War is coming and if you hand over this department to the profiteers it will be very difficult to switch off the machines to the war requirements. There were some difficulties at the start of the last war. The pilots who accepted service under certain conditions were unwilling to serve under different conditions. Then again the Indian Air Force Department is organising a transport command. That command will also do similar flights. Why duplicate? Why not let that department do this and also give exercise and practice to our pilots. If you do that, you reduce your expenses. You increase the efficiency and the striking force of the Indian Air Force. I would therefore say that it would be a wrong policy for the Government of India to hand over this department to the profiteers.

Then. Sir, the argument is advanced—Oh, just wait. Let these capitalists sink their money in it and after some time we will take possession of it. I want my Honourable friends to get rid of this delusion. They may not be able to take possession of the wealth of the capitalists. On the other hand, I am afraid the capitalists might take possession of our Government.

The Honourable Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Member for Railways and Transport): You need not fear that all.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I need not fear so long as there are strong men there, as at present but there may be different men at the time of the next election. The capitalists may arrange to send their own men. We should not forget this. We cannot visualise that there will always be strong men there like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Nehru or my friend the Nawabzada. Other men will be sent in their places and therefore I am afraid that we will not be able to control them. On the other hand things may work just the other way about and we may end up by succumbing to their propaganda, to their cajoling and to all sorts of sweet talk. I wish to remind my Honourable friends on the Treasury Benches and particularly my friend Mr. Asaf Ali that during the last

50 or 60 years our leaders have been talking of the nationalisation of the rail-ways.

The Honourable Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We have nationalised them.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I am very glad. I am saying-nationalise air transport also. If one of the members on the Treasury Benches gets up and says that private companies will be more courteous, will be more efficient, I say we are condemning ourselves. We are going back on the policy laid down by the Congress during the last 50 or 60 years. I, therefore, wish to remind my Honourable friends on the Treasury Benches that they should be very careful in this matter and should extend the same policy to the air transport. is another small point. We are at the present moment organising co-ordination in the transport system of our country. We are co-ordinating the road transport, the rail transport and possibly the coastal shipping transport. Why not fit in this air transport also in it? I do think some scheme can be devised by which the whole system of transport may work as one unit. That will be more efficient. Private companies will hesitate to operate lines which are not sufficiently remunerative. They will not pay the same attention. I do not know how many applications have come before the Licensing Board. I am very sorry that the Honourable Member in charge of this subject is not here today, but anyhow the Honourable Secretary will get up and explain how many applications they have received and whether any applications have been received for lines which are likely to be less remunerative. It is an important public utility service. There may be accidents and there may be crashes. May I inquire if there are air crashes on the company-managed lines, will this House be entitled to discuss them and invite the attention of the Government to them? Or will the Government Member get up and say: "This is a matter with which the Governor General in Council has nothing to do." Our questions will be returned by the Honourable the President saying: "The Honourable Member is hereby informed that this is a question with which the Governor General in Council is not concerned." We cannot ask a question even about the Reserve Bank which is the product of the legislation of this House. I, therefore, do not wish to hand over the safety and service of these lines to the private-owned companies whose primary object would be to fleecethe public to earn profits and no more. This profit motive is the root of all troubles. I wish the present Government of India will set an example so that other countries may know that in India at least they have stopped all exploitation by the capitalist classes.

Sir, the proposition that I am putting forward is not a novel one. are other very successful air lines in the world which are at present being operated by the State. I would remind my Honourable friend that the Dutch Air Line is a State-owned and State-managed concern and that line is very successful. In Russia, of course, all air lines are State-owned and managed. Even in the United Kingdom, from which most of our administrators get their inspiration, they are also marching towards nationalisation. The present Government of India should work in a way that all the means of production, particularly the public utility companies and the key industries, are taken over by the Government. I am very glad that in the United Provinces steps are being taken to take over the land of the zamindars and to put it to more useful purposes. (Interruption). I am also asking the House to pass a Resolution. The point which I wish to make out is that we should make full use of the resources of our country to drive away poverty, illiteracy and ill-health from our country. Half of our land is lying idle and there are other sources of production which are not put to full use. I refuse to believe for a moment that Pandit Nehru would be less efficient than Messrs. Tatas and Birlas. I refuse to believe that. Then, Sir, some friends might get up and say that it is a losing concern. That argument will be brought forward because all these are the tactics of the capitalists. As I have shown, we need not spend much. We have got all the equipment,—the machinery, the personnel and everything else, and the Government need not be afraid of putting in their

[Sardar Mangal Singh] money, lest it may be a losing concern. Sir, I do not claim to be a businessman, but I can very well imagine that leaders of the companies who have applied for licences, such as, the Tatas, Birlas and Dalmias and others, are not fools. If they did not expect good dividends, they would not invest their money. So, we need not be afraid of it.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): They will give 50 per cent. dividend or may be even cent per cent.

Sardar Mangal Singh: My Honourable friend has increased it even cent. per cent. So, we need have no fears on that account. The air travel has become very popular and the revenues will increase. I am not a prophet but I can foresee that after one or two years the Air Department of the Government of India will be able to contribute a substantial sum to the Central Exchequer, like the Railways. I, therefore, have no hesitation in asking the House to adopt this Resolution.

Several amendments have been tabled. I am not one of those who will make a fetish of words or phraseology. My object is that civil aviation should be taken over by the Government and run departmentally. If other suitable words can be substituted, I have no quarrel with them as long as my object is achieved. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall has given notice of an amendment. I have read it and re-read it. It sounds well, but I would like to hear him before I give any opinion on it, because it is capable of different interpretations. Sometimes it looks to me that it is neither fish nor fowl. Unless my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall, for whom I have great respect, assures me that the steps will be taken by the Government to take over civil aviation departmentally, I am afraid I cannot at this stage say that I am agreeble to that amendment.

Diwan Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): It may be flesh, if not fish or fowl.

Sardar Mangal Singh: There are other amendments. They will be moved, and after I hear them, we might come to some agreed decision. I wish to assure the Government that it is not my intention to embarrass them any more. Probably the Licensing Board is sitting and this is the right time.

An Honourable Member: No, it is not sitting.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I think this is the most appropriate time for this House to express an opinion and give directions to the Government which I hope will abide by the decision of this House. I request Honourable Members to treat this motion purely on its merits. In this connection, I would request the leaders of the two major parties in this House to release their members and to give them full freedom of speech and vote in this House. This is not a political issue. It is not a vote of no-confidence. It is a first class public matter on which the opinion of the House should be taken. I therefore say that members of the Congress Party and Muslim League Party should be free to vote and speak as they like. Sir, I commend this motion to the House.

Mr. President: Resolution moved:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that Civil Aviation be run as a State Department like the State Railways and be not handed over to the private enterprise."

There are a number of amendments tabled by Honourable Members and in order to facilitate further discussion, as the Members speaking will not have a right of reply, except the Mover, it is better that the House should be in possession of all the amendments. The first in chronological order is in the name of Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras Ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not propose to move my amendment in view of the more comprehensive amendment tabled by my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall.

### Diwan Chaman Lall: Sir. 1 move:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps should be taken, keeping in view the principles of State Control or State ownership, to lay down the lines of Government action in connection with the development of Civil Aviation in India both in the matter of internal and external lines'."

#### Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That for the original Resolution the following be substituted:

'This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that early steps should be taken, keeping in view the principles of State Control or State ownership, to lay down the lines of Government action in connection with the development of Civil Aviation in India both in the matter of internal and external lines'."

I find an amendment in the name of Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth and Mr. Siddique Ali Khan has a further amendment to the same. There is also the amendment of Capt. Syed Abid Hussain:

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth (West-Coast and Nilgiris: Muhammadan): If it is decided that only one portion should be voted upon, it would be easier. Otherwise the whole amendment of Capt. Abid Hussain will have to be accepted or rejected. Mine and Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's are in two portions.

Mr. President: The difficulty is that Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's would be an amendment to an amendment. For the purpose of dividing an amendment into two parts for voting, there should be one amendment as a whole, instead of being an amendment to an amendment.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: There would be separate voting, if the House decides it.

Mr. President: If the Chair so decides. I do not mind putting it into two parts. It would then be more convenient than to take up Capt. Abid Hussain's amendment first.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: Shall I move my amendment?

Mr. President: If that is moved, the other (Capt. Abid Hussain's) will be barred.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: These are two separate amendments. That would be the third amendment. So far as that is concerned there is no difficulty. The idea is to give facility to the House to vote separately if they so desire.

Mr. President: I see the point of the Honourable Member. But then the difficulty which I may point out to him would be that if he moves his amendment, the other one of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's comes as an amendment to an amendment. Therefore, at the time of voting, the position would be that if Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's amendment is carried, then his amendment will be amended by that amendment and the whole will be put to the vote again, the same amendment cannot be put separately again as part of the substantive amendment. That would be the position.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: Once his amendment is accepted, then my amendment stands amended with that amendment and that becomes a substantive amendment.

Mr. President: The point is that if his amendment stands amended by the acceptance of the amendment of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan, then it will not be possible for me to divide that amendment again into two portions for the purpose of voting.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: Then there is no further amendment.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: To obviate this difficulty, my Honourable friend Haji Ishaq Seth might himself add the words which are the subject matter of the amendment of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan's. There will be only one amendment.

Mr. President: That involves the question of my giving him permission to introduce a matter of which he has not given notice.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The House is aware of that amend-

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: If that is your ruling, then Capt. Abid Hussain will move his amendment.

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member is prepared to accept the course that he does not want me to split up the amended amendment, he can continue.

Khan Mohammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): If the amendment of Mr. Siddique Ali Khan is accepted, it will be put up as one thing and not as two.

- Mr. President: If he further wants me again to split it up, that cannot be done, while in the other amendment it can be done. That is the point which I wish to bring to the notice of the House.
- Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi (Calcutta and Suburbs: Muhammadan Urban): I was trying to catch your eye all this time, but I did not succeed, Sir. I want to know whether a negative amendment can be moved or can the original motion be dis-established entirely by an amendment?
- Mr. President: The point of order involves two issues, which are separate and independent. So far as the former part is concerned, as to whether a negative amendment can be moved or not, I am clear that a negative of the original proposition cannot be moved and the Honourable Member has the right to oppose it. But so far as the substitution is concerned, which does not mean a negative of the original proposition, I see there are precedents in which such amendments have been allowed.

### Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth: Sir, I move:

- "(i) That between the words 'be' and 'run' the words 'owned, controlled and' be inserted; and
- (ii) that for all the words occurring after the words 'State Department' the words 'by Provincial Governments' be substituted."

#### Mr. President: Amendment moved:

- "(i) That between the words 'be' and 'run' the words 'owned, controlled and' be inserted; and
- (ii) that for all the words occurring after the words 'State Department' the words 'by Provincial Governments' be substituted."
- Mr. Siddique Ali Khan (Central Provinces and Berar: Muhammadan). Sir, I move:

"That in the amendments proposed by Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth after the words 'by Provincial Governments' the following be added:

'in accordance with co-ordinated schemes drawn up by a Central Committee on which the Provincial Governments are adequately represented'."

#### Mr. President: Amendment moved:

"That in the amendments proposed by Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth after the words by Provincial Governments' the following be added:

"in accordance with co-ordinated schemes drawn up by a Central Committee on which the Provincial Governments are adequately represented"."

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Quarter Past Two of the Clock. Mr. President (the Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Mr. President: Seth Govind Das. I believe the Honourable Member knows that there is a time limit of fifteen minutes.

Seth Govind Das (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Yes, Sir. I rise to support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Diwap Chaman Lall, In my opinion there is not much difference between the Resolution of my Honourable triend, Sardar Mangal Singh, and the amendment moved by Diwan Chaman Lall. In principle both agree because in the amendment also it is stated 'keeping in view the principles of State Control or State Ownership'. The words 'State Ownership' are there which mean that if the Government think it advisable to make aviation a State-owned enterprise it can do so.

Now, Sir, we cannot deny the fact that there is a lot of difference in the position in which we were before this Session of the Assembly and the position in which we are today. There is no doubt that we have not got complete independence, yet we cannot deny this fact also that today the Treastry Benches are occupied by the real representatives of the people... (An Honourable Member: Peoples.)... and the interests of the country are absolutely safe in their hands. Therefore, Sir, the amendment which has been brought forward by my Honourable friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, is as it ought to be under the present circumstances. But though we have full confidence in the present Government, yet we can express what we think proper in this House and recommend to them what they ought to do.

I am, Sir, for nationalization of this industry, and I have got my own reasons for it. I shall relate my reasons briefly: First of all, we cannot help big business to go on having huge profits. In provinces we want to abolish agricultural zamindari. In the United Provinces Assembly, we have passed a resolution for nationalization of industries also. While, Sir, we are contemplating to abolish agricultural zamindaris we cannot help in the establishment of commercial zamindaris. My other reason for nationalization of this industry is that no transport system can be perfect in this land unless we have all sorts of transports co-ordinated. Now, Sir, aviation is also one kind of transport, and we know that though we have plans for co-ordinating rail-road system yet how difficult it is for us to co-ordinate these two transports, and that is because vested interests have been created on roads. Now if we give aviation to private concerns, vested interests would be created in this sphere as well and it would be difficult for us to co-ordinate aviation with rail and roads. The third reason why I am opposed to this enterprise going in the hands of private concerns is that so far our plans for industrialization of the country are not made and we want first machinery for making machinery in our country and then we want machinery for heavy industries. If this industry remains in the hands of the State, only those lines will be worked which are found absolutely essential and aviation would be expanded when we start making our own aeroplanes. If we go on importing motor cars, aeroplanes and other consumer goods indiscriminately, our sterling balances, which we could accumulate after such a long time and after such great trouble, would dwindle away.

Sardar Mangal Singh: They are already selling rotten machines.

Seth Govind Das: And therefore in the interest of our industrialization it is necessary that this industry should remain in the hands of the Government. My fourth reason for not giving this enterprise to private concerns is that they will never have aviation lines well distributed. Their eyes will be on profits and they will only work such lines which will give them huge profits ignoring the interior of the country, and also ignoring the niedical, postal and other facilities which will give less profit, but more convenience to the rural and semi-rural population of this country. My fifth and the last reason for not giving it to the private concerns is that if it is given to the private concerns, there will be cut-throat competition and there will not be any standardization of the industry as it ought to be. In view of these reasons, I am in favour of making this industry a state enterprise, but at the same time I do not want to bind the hands of the Government and say that they should do such and such a thing. If they feel that at present there should be only control of this industry they should be at liberty to do so, and this is what the amendment of Diwan Chaman Lall asks.

If the Government think that it is advisable to control this industry, there are two ways of doing this: One is to invest sufficient amount of capital in these concerns, I mean 51 per cent.: and the other is to make such rules and

[Seth Govind Das] regulations which will control the working of this industry. In my opinion there cannot be any proper control unless there is 51 per cent. investment of the Government in these concerns. But, Sir, this also I want to leave in the hands of the Government. These are my suggestions which I am putting before them for consideration.

As far as control is concerned, eminent industrialists have themselves accepted that some sort of control of industries is necessary. The President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay recently said: "We realize that a certain amount of regulations and control by the State will be necessary and may have to be accepted." Now, Sir, what kind of control it ought to be and in what way it should be done, should be left to the Government. But unless and until, as I have said, there is sufficient investment, by making rules and regulations alone there cannot be any proper control. I can give many instances in this respect. But I shall content myself by giving only one illustration and that is, Sir, the working of the Factories Act. Recently, the Honourable the Labour Member brought a measure here and while moving it he himself admitted that control by making rules and regulations cannot be effective.

There is one more point towards which I want to draw the attention of the Government. They should see that this industry remains an Indian industry. Recently, Sir, an article appeared in the Eastern Economist, in which it is said that recent developments unhappily go to prove that Government are not acting up to their professions of permitting the development of Indian Air services, both internal and external by Indian enterprise, under Indian management and to encourage the employment of Indians. It was disclosed in the course of the Assembly debate on the grant for Civil Aviation that one of the two major companies is operated by managing agents in whose firm non-Indians hold 60 per cent, of the share capital, and five out of the seven seats of Directors.

And, Sir, while concluding my remarks, I shall point out that the policy of the Government in this respect should be clear. So far, Sir, we were being ruled by an alien Government. The interests of India were not safe in their hands. They wanted to encourage foreign capital and the foreigners. But now, Sir, the reins of the Government have come into the hands of the real representative. The attitude of the Government, which was ruling so far, with regard to industries can be known from a statement of Government's industrial policy which was issued in 1945 by the Planning and Development Department. They said:

"The attitude of Government towards industry in the past was for many years one of laissez faire. Till the war of 1914-18 this policy was maintained in the belief which was in accordance with current economic doctrine that industrial progress was best achieved by unregulated private enterprise. This attitude underwent some modification after the last war through the adoption of the policy of discriminatory protection."

But we know that up till now the same policy practically continues.

In 1919 Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India said:

"I accept the fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission that in future Government should take an active part in the industrial development of the country: secondly, that Government cannot undertake this work unless provided with an adequate administration, equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice."

But in spite of a lapse of 25 years, the Government remain where they were. I expect that as the circumstances have changed, the present Government will look into the policy thoroughly and will see that if this industry is not immediately nationalised steps will be taken so that it is fully controlled and is nationalised in the near future. I support the amendment moved by Diwan Chaman Lall.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): I rise to raise my voice against the resolution so ably moved by Sardar Mankal Singh. I am afraid his speech was too emotional. I am not convinced with the arguments that he advanced that this industry should be taken over by

the State. I should like to read an extract of a speech by Mr. Herbert Morrison leading member of the British Socialist Cabinet:

"People have been known to go red in the face of blue or both red and blue, in discussing it (nationalization) either as pro-nationalisers or anti-nationalisers.

There is however no real need for excessive excitement for the question to be decided is whether, in the circumstances, the industry is likely to be better run by free competitive private enterprise, or controlled and supervised monopoly enterprise, or by public enterprise, of one sort or another.

It is up to nationalisers to prove their case that there will be public advantage by nationalization. It is no less up to the anti-nationalisers to prove their case that the public interest can best be served by private ownership."

This. I am afraid, my friend has failed to do. To judge whether State for private enterprise will give better benefits we must consider three points. (a) That Air Lines in India are properly co-ordinated. (b) That further subsidies and fares are kept as low as possible. (c) Greatest possible efficiency, latest improvements to be incorporated and best and most courteous services. If this can be achieved by private enterprise, we are certainly for it. If not, we are definitely for nationalization.

In air line operation, there are following factors to be considered very carefully: (a) It should not be forgotten that this is a very highly specialised subject. (b) Of great importance are the commercial and human aspects. (c) Rapid and continuous changes take place in designs of aeroplanes and in operations. (d) Lastly, that large elements of personal contact with passengers is involved.

The question is whether the State can give you better results than private companies. This is a fact which requires to be carefully considered. I am sure all of us will agree that the way the present airways in India are being run is to my mind very satisfactory. We are also all satisfied with their timings, the comforts that are offered to us and in every respect they are most satisfactorily run. Every day we hear in the House and even outside: 'Look at the railways which are run by the State; hundreds of complaints; but have you ever heard of complaints against Indian Airways?' We have not come across any accidents, whereas we read in the papers every week of train crashes.

My friend said that the Government of India can take over the industry, as they have 90 Dakotas. May I tell my honourable friend that those Dakotas which are offered to Airways today are useless. Lives will be in danger if they are used. Now look at the companies. I know, Sir, that all the private companies in India are importing from England first-class machines equipped on modern lines. I would ask my friend. Sardar Mangal Singh, to be the Member in charge and take over those Dakotas and see how far he will succeed. These Dakotas are of no use. I would advise my friend the Secretary for Posts and Air to see that these Dakotas are not offered to the public for use. They are so much scrap and I am sure the Dakotas which have been lying in the dump in Bengal are absolutely of no use and they should be burnt.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated Non-Official): Which airline company do you belong to?

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: I represent none I can assure my friend that I was offered a Directorship by three well known companies, but I refused to be a Director. I desire to have no interest in any air line. I know myself that it will not be a paying concern. I will be the last to start a concern myself. I can assure my friend that I am speaking from an unbiassed point of view and I hold brief for none.

One point I would like to say against State Management. State management of airlines would subordinate air transport to the interests of railways as in the case of road development, where railways are jealous competitors and will retard the development of national aviation. My friend said that we have got best brains in the Cabinet and they will be able to run this under State

[Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer] management. But may I ask him whether they have got all those resources at their control which private companies have? It will be very difficult for even the Honourable Members in the Interim Government to run this as a State-managed concern. I hope they will drop that idea even if they have got it in their mind. I can assure my friend that I do not doubt their ability. I know they are the best men in the country but that is not the point. The point is whether they have the resources.

Secondly, these air lines will be subject to the influence of political groups, which we should all avoid. The policy which has been outlined by the Honourable Member in charge, a Congress nominee, can be changed today by the present member, a Muslim League nominee. If policy is going to be changed like this as Members in charge-change, then I am afraid the air companies will not know what to do in future. In this connection I would like to read only a few lines from the statement of the previous Member, Mr. Ali Zaheer, as far

as nationalisation is concerned.

"The question of nationalisation of air services has been agitated in papers and has engaged the attention of Government. The present policy of Government on this question is to allow private companies, licensed by the Air Transport Licensing Board, to operate the internal route. In coming to this conclusion the Government has been greatly influenced by the consideration that its machinery is not as yet so highly developed as to enable it to undertake actual operations in aviation.

The progress of civil aviation in the beginning can be achieved more by permitting private companies to operate on internal routes under strict Government licensing and supervision.

The Government hopes that on account of private enterprise greater facilities, efficiency and courtesy will be available to the passengers than if the services were to be nationalised at this stage."

I am sure no members of this House would disagree from this. The Government's case in favour of private companies is so strong that it needs no further clarification.

Sardar Mangal Singh: The Government themselves have repudiated it in reply to my question.

Sir Harold Shoobert (Secretary, Communications Department): No. Sir, that has not been repudiated.

Sardar Mangal Singh: You said that that was the view of the Government of India at that time.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: I would also like to read one more quotation on the subject fr m the *Indian Finance* of the 12th October, 1946:

"There is hardly any exaggeration in the statement that as things stand the easiest way of killing new enterprises in this country is to hand it over to Government—to nationalise it."

I would suggest to the Government that they should not embark on this mission of taking over civil aviation under state control. Their hands are already too full at present and I am sure their hands will be also too full in the future. Let them first see to the basic needs of the country and let them devote their time and attention to the question of providing food, clothing and housing to the people of the country and then let them embark on other ventures. I personally think that the time has not come when they can think of taking over civil aviation under state control

Miss Maniben Kara (Nominated Non-Official): Sir. I rise to support the original Resolution so ably worded and moved by my Honourable friend Sordar Mangal Singh. That Resolution in a very clear way has stated the objective of the Resolution, which is the ownership of civil aviation by the State. Sir, I strongly oppose the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall, which though on the face of it, looks very innocent and harmless, gives an impression that he also stands for some sort of nationalisation of civil aviation. I would draw the attention of Honourable Members to the amendment of Diwan Chaman Lall, where he very clearly states "keeping in view the principles of State Control or State Ownership". He talks of "or state ownership". He does not say "and state ownership", which means that it may be

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owned by the State or it may not be owned by the State and to that extent it is essentially a very different idea sponsored by Diwan Chaman Lall as against the one which is already embodied in the Resolution itself.

Civil Aviation is certainly a public utility service. It is used by the public: it is for the benefit of the public and if the policy of the present Government is for social welfare both the parties who are today occupying power, if their policy is to nationalise the key industries and essential services, this is the time when they can act upon their declarations. I can very well understand if they openly come out and say that they do not stand for nationalisation of key industries but I cannot understand nor appreciate the moving of such amendments which looks like pseudo-socialist amendment. It gives the idea that we stand for nationalisation and quietly and silently it has been moved "or otherwise". It makes no sense. Again I would like to draw the attention of the House to a question which was asked by my Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh on the 31st October:

"Will the Honourable Member for Communications be pleased to state whether Government are aware that there has been continuous and rapid growth of air transport in India and that air services are in private hands."

And the reply given at that time was that:

"The policy of the Government was in favour of regulated private enterprise. The present Government has no time to review the policy to announce to the House soon. I may, however, say that the House will have an opportunity to discuss this subject on Sardar Mangal Singh's resolution to be debated on the 8th November. Probably by that time I may be in a position to indicate Government's policy."

This is a reply given to this House on the 31st October during this very session. I am waiting with great interest to know what the Government policy is going to be on this Resolution. As it has been already pointed out by the Mover of the Resolution this particu'ar industry cannot exist or cannot continue its proper functions without the aid of the State. Even today the Government have to supply them the pilots and they are responsible for the education of the pilots. They have to have the aerodromes, they have to have certain supervisory staff. In various ways without Government support this private enterprise cannot go on and I fail to understand why Government should want to aid an enterprise of private individuals. The meaning of the word 'private enterprise' presupposes profits. An industry for use can be run only if it is owned by the state. I have been awaiting and watching the policy of the present government, and I hope that on this issue at least government members will boldly come forward and say that they accept the spirit of the The national government which is in power should stand for the nationalisation of key industries and should not wait to declare their intentions. I am very much grieved to note that in certain respects where the government have already declared their policy like at the trade and employment committee, the Honourable Member made his declaration of state policy when he talked of giving protection to private industries by giving them high tariffs and subsides. I have no quarrel, provided they come out and say so openly: then I will know where I stand. But it always happens that able men like Diwan Cheman Lall, with his parliamentary experience of so many years who can make able speeches and convince the House, -says that instead of 'and' he has put that little word 'or', which makes all the difference in the resolution which has been moved by my friend Sardar Mangal Singh. The present Government from whom we expect great things, on the question of industrial unrest also has foisted the Trade Disputes Act on working classes. These are not the ways by which the social welfare of the country can be brought about; these are not the methods by which the present government can create the confidence in the public to feel that now we have our own government at the centre and we can expect better things. Big manifestoes have been drawn up by both the political parties who are today in the seats of government. Only two months before they were on this side and I know that questions were asked about nationalisation of certain industries; but today when they are put in power, let us

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Miss Maniben Karal hope that they do not noodwink the public. One of my friends in his speech has stated, that because there is a national government we must ditto them. He is of the opinion that, it will be a terrible thing if the policy of the government changed every time with the change of colour of the skin of the members of government. Sir, that is precisely our point. We have been fighting against the particular system which has been followed by the foreign government. We have not been righting for the mere change of the colour of the skin, but we expect that the national government consisting of Indians-will change the system and policy which has been followed by the foreign government which was keeping the country in starvation and misery and was respossible for all sorts of evils in this country—my reply to the last speaker is this: he must realise that we certainly do demand that with the change of the government, the policy of the government must change. If the intention the present government is, as is pointed out, the maintenance of the status quo, I think we have fought the battle in vain. We may get political independence, but it will not be freedom for the masses. For freedom of the masses it will be absolutely essential that we should give up the policy which has been pursued by the foreign Government and that we should accept a progressive policy which alone will guarantee peace and harmony and happiness for this country. I am surprised that some members from the Congress benches have come forward and asked us that we should not expect drastic changes simply because now at the centre there is a national government. It is because we have an Indian government that we have a right to claim from them certain changes. We could not make that claim from a foreign government because they came here to suppress and to exploit us. Their motive was very clear; they came away all these thousands of miles to have no other benefit except to excluit But we certainly expect better and greater things from an Indian government; and I would be most grieved to have any such uttterances coming from members of the so called popular parties.

I would therefore think that this is high time that on such questions of social importance whereby the social welfare of the common people can be safeguarded, the government must come forward with their declared policy. This is their opportunity, and I think Sardar Mangal Singh's resolution is most timely and let the entire nation judge the present government by their action. I would therefore appeal to my friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, to withdraw his amendment. Every one of us should pass the Resolution unanimously, expressing our opinion so that the government may take note of the Resolution which has been passed here. Let us not take the other way round, that we should go on, as pointed out by one of the speakers, supporting the government in all their actions. No. These legislatures are going to control the government, and not the government going to control the legislatures. That should be the position. I am surprised that an honourable member belonging to a popular party should come forward on the floor of this House and make a statement that we must let the Government decide what they want to do, whether they want to control industry or own it. Why should the government decide? It should be this Assembly that should decide whether they will control or they will own I do not want to say more, because most of the points are covered by the Mover of the Resolution. I hope that this resolution which has been moved is absolutely in accordance with the declaration of both the parties who from the government and they will accept this Resolution in spirit and in action. With these words I strongly oppose all the amendments and support only the original resolution moved by Sardar Mangal Singh.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Nominated Non-Official): Mr. President, it appears to me that my friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, and Maniben and Company have formed the opposition in this House. They are welcome to do so, and I wish them God speed and success. But I would like to draw attention to the constitutional position in this House. It is very different to what it was a few months ago. Today on the treasury benches we have representatives of the

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two main parties in this House, the Congress and the League; and it is expected that members of those parties will support their government, will support the treasury benches. . . .

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Do you know if this is their view?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: My friend Mr. Joshi is welcome to be in the opposition. I might have added his name to the company. The constitutional position I desire to place before this Honourable House is this, that if you are to have party government, the House should not definitely express its opinion in such definite terms as are contained in my Honourable friend the Sørder's Resolution, before knowing the exact position of government. You cannot expect members of the parties supporting the government to definitely commit themselves to a policy which they might find is not acceptable to the govern-The constitutional position is that the Government declares their policy. The Opposition oppose. The supporters of Government support that policy and have the privilege of criticising but as soon as they oppose Government by their vote, then either the Government is defeated and another Government comes in or those Government supporters who oppose form another party. Now, that is the constitutional position in every legislature of a democratic character. Now, my Honourable friends here desire to express a opinion on a policy which has not been properly formulated by Government but on which a member of the Interim Government has expressed a definite opinion. There is no question of change of colour. One member of the Interim Government resigns and another takes his place. That makes no difference. You have to take the opinion of the member of the Interim Government who expressed an opinion on this question.

Miss Maniben Kara: He has not expressed.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: It was read out and if my Honourable friend could not understand the meaning of plain English. I cannot help her. I am fairly certain that it was worded very clearly. . It was a member of the Interim Government who expressed the opinion. That opinion was read out to this Honourable House and it was on the very question we are discussing. Now, Sir, the Opposition—I will call it the Opposition—formulates a Resolution contrary to that opinion expressed by a member of Government and my friend behind me calls upon Government to carry out their pledges to serve the country and to do everything that is for the benefit of its people. I know it is all very pretty to say that. Mr. President, we have been accustomed to hear that sort of language in the past. Those things were suitable then but today they are not suitable and we must change our mentality. We must change our methods because we are in a totally different position and therefore I congratulate my friend Diwan Chaman Lall on having drafted a Resolution which is suitable and coming as it does from the supporter of a party which is on the Treasury Benches. cannot expect my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall to dictate to Government that they shall do so and so.

Miss Maniben Kara: Why not.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Does not my friend understand what it is to have a constitutional Government? If she wants to oppose for the sake of opposition, I do not deny her that wonderful position but the position is very different now.

(Interruption by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan).

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

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Mr. President; you did not hear that interruption. It was excellent. He said that in a war of words, it is difficult to beat a woman. Mr. President, you and I have had opportunities in the past of having to deal with them and neither you nor I are going to be frightened.

[Sir Cowasiee Jehangir]

Now, Mr. President, having explained the constitutional position to the best of my ability, I say that it is not up to either members of the Muslim League or the Congress in the very beginning of our constitutional life in this House to lay down the policy of Government and dictate to them that they shall follow it. When they formulate their policy, I will have no objection to any member of the Muslim League or of the Congress criticising Government and saying "we do not agree". I myself reserve to myself that privilege.

Having dealt with the constitutional problem, we come to the merits of the case. I will be accused of being a capitalist. I will be accused of being partial. May I turn the tables on those who pretend not to be capitalists. pretend that they have not got a rupee in this world. They have got nothing to invest and therefore it is their privilege to talk of ultrasocialism and to say that they are impartial and to say that if anybody does not agree with their opinion they are partial. I plead guilty to the charge of having a little money but I do contend that in all matters which affect the real interests of this country there are men who may be capitalists but who will put the country before themselves and let that be clearly understood by my friend to the right and my lady friend behind me. Therefore, Mr. President, if I contend that there is a great deal of sound argument put forward by my young friend Mr. Jaffer, I should not be accused of being partial. This is a young industry and if it can flourish under Government control, by all means have Government control. It is the one form of industry in this country or in any country which should have considerable government control. The lives of the people of this country who fly are in the hands of the management of these companies and it is up to the Government to see, by their control, that flying is made as safe as possible. That is their business and I trust that such control will be exercised impartially and strictly and that flying will be made safer in India by Government control than in any other country but that does not mean that Government should own the whole concern. (An Honourable Member: Why?) It is all very well to call for nationalisation but one has to judge whether nationalisation of any industry is in the interests of the country and its people or whether it will damage both the Government and the people.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I rise on a point of order. My point of order is whether Government propose to take part in this debate and if they propose to take part, they should do so at an early stage.

Mr. President: That is more or less a point of opinion.

Mr. M. M. Joshi: We want to hear the Government view.

Sir Harold Shoobert: Government would much prefer to have the views of the House first.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: It is not fair to the House that the Government should The House must know what the Government point of view is, so that we shall have an opportunity of speaking on that point of view. You cannot be a dictator.

Mr. President: There is a good deal of force in what the Honourable Member has said. I have myself felt it many times that it is better if the Government intervenes at an early stage because they have got the right of reply.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Member for Home and Information and Broadcasting): Sir, I propose to say a few words. Not being accustomed to long and unimportant speeches, I wish to point out at the outset that the Member in charge of this Department has not yet put his foot on solid ground. You all know that the Government that you see here has taken charge of running the administration of office under very difficult circumstances. We have taken office under a shadow of a great tragedy that has ever happened in this country. Just after the great Calcutta tragedy—17 days after it—, we took office. happenings in other parts of the country are known to you. We must put our foot on solid ground before we rush into dangerous waters. We must govern or learn to govern before we enter into hazardous undertakings. We must know what nationalisation of such important business means financially, from the point of view of administrative ability and efficiency and many other things. We are asked to remember that the Government is put to test or they are on trial for the undertakings given to the public. Nobody remembers these undertakings more than those who have made them. We know our undertakings and we know our responsibility and, therefore, we do not want to be hustled and we do not want to be pushed into things before we know that what we undertake is a solid thing. Therefore, I can only say at the present moment that the policy of Government has not yet been formed. You know the coalition Government has only been formed a few days ago. After that the Leader of the House also has been engaged in an undertaking of which I should not say much, but it is a very hazardous thing and a very dangerous thing. He has taken a very grave responsibility and he cannot avoid it. Many of us would like to know and rush to places where there is danger. Therefore, we have yet to create stable conditions in this country before we undertake the dangerous or hazardous undertakings or undertakings involving risks and we must think before we do anything of the kind.

May I appeal to the House—I am a novice and I have no experience of Legislatures, but I feel very much disturbed—and I must confess that many of your have not yet realised that this is not the same House which it was before. have a long business to go through. If you see the list of business, you will find that all important items are put aside and we have not done much business. There are now only four official days left in which we have to transact all the remaining business. All the important Bills are still pending. That is not the way in which business can be conducted by a House which wants the Government immediately and straightway to take to nationalisation of big industries. Therefore, what I say is that accepting the principle of nationalisation is one thing but to put it straightway into practice without caring for the consequences, without considering the implications and without examining carefully the pros and cons of the business is another. It is not nationalisation but, I should say, it is the beginning of liquidation of Government altogether. Therefore, on behalf of the Government I can only say that the amendment of my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall is the proper amendment because it gives Government time to consider the whole situation.

Sasanka Sekhar Banyal (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, Sir, after the lucid statement made by the Honourable the Home Member, I do not think there is any need to impress the House regarding the wisdom of the amendment which has been given notice of and which has been moved by my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall. I want to assure the Mover of the original Resolution, Sardar Mangal Singh, that we the members of the Congress Party stand exactly where we did previously. I will not take much pains to refute the heated arguments of my very good friend Miss Maniben Kara. She has complained of the change of skin. Naturally, Sir. when the Party in opposition goes behind the Government, there is bound to be some change in the skin, but we, the Members of the Congress Party, have not changed our mind or our character at all. But my friend Miss Maniben Kara has neither changed the skin nor the soul behind the skin. previous stage, she was behind the then Government and accused the Congress Party of its unpractical ideology.

Miss Maniben Kara: And also the Government.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: That was only a ruse. Even now she is accusing the Congress Party for its practical ideology. So, she is very constant, but it must be perfectly understood that our amendment is practically in line with and in tune with Sardar Mangal Singh's Resolution, but we want to make his proposal more workable so that it may be taken in hand immediately. As the Honourable the Home Member has clearly put it, we stand by nationalisation, but we cannot go ahead merely with the abstract proposition in hand. We should also be able to put it into effect and thus be able to achieve our object in a gradual manner. Miss Maniben Kara confused the

[Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal] point very much when she thought that Diwan Chaman Lall's amendment is a negation of the original resolution. Definitely it is not. Therefore, all her invectives against this amendment were beside the point.

I do not agree with my Honourable friend Mr. Jaffer's arguments. He was satisfied with the courtesy of the private enterprise; he was satisfied with the efficiency of the private enterprise; and he was satisfied with the timing of the private enterprise. The real thing regarding which satisfaction is necessary is not this. We are not really satisfied that the profits should go to private That makes the distinction. The State must earn all the profits. I think the Birlas, the Tatas and the Dalmias and a host of others, even if they give maximum satisfaction to the passengers by efficient service, even then we will not be satisfied because all the profits are taken away by them. The State must earn the profits so that they will go to the advantage of the commoner. We are committed to our fundamental declarations, we have declared in our election manifestos and in other spheres and contexts that all means of transport are to be nationalised or controlled by the State. My Honourable friend Miss Maniben Kara should apply her mind to the English wording. is something like the conjunctive 'or' and the disjunctive 'and' and there in the election manifesto, 'or' is used in a comprehensive sense. Here also in the amendment, Diwan Chaman Lall has used it in the same sense. I hope our Government will be able to make rapid strides in the direction of nationalisation in a practical spirit of achieving immediate results. Sir, there is no use mincing matters. My Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh ought to understand why instead of supporting his Resolution, we have had to give this amendment which is the best compromise under the circumstances. wisdom of it is illustrated by the attitude which was expressed by my Honourable friend Mr. Jaffer. He is perfectly nationalistic minded. He has previously talked over this matter in a spirit which was the spirit of the Congress. But today we talk of nationalisation, but he talks in the light of private enterprise. So there is a difference between the Congress Party and the Muslim League Party here (Interruption). There are members who spoke in that light. What is this Government? This Government is a composite Government, it is a composition of two major political parties and also other elements. They have to compose themselves and their differences before they can go ahead with things of this nature. Sir, in this connection while realising the difficulties or drawbacks in nationalising internal services, I would invite the attention of the Government to external services and to my mind. Sir. these services can be taken up forthwith and there is no difficulty in that. If we leave our external services to open competition, then foreign companies will oust Indian companies and the result will be that in this very important matter, India will not get any berth and that is what I desire should be avoid-Sir, geographically and meteorologically India is best suited for air enter, prises, and externally, Sir, if we can carry on contact with the neighbouring States and powers, we shall at once go up in prestige and that will mean a lot. Sir. this carrying of external services under nationalistic management has got commercial advantage, it has got political advantage, it has advantage also. Commercially it will bring crores and crores of rupees which will be available for the State and for the man in the street. Politically, Sir, this Interim Government which is out to achieve independence will at once get recognition outside this country, if India's air services are operated for the purpose of contact with all independent countries of the world. Sir, my Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh was pleased to refer to the case of Holland. Sir, Holland is a very small country, but it has got its own state managed external services which goes as far as Sumatra. We must also have our external services which will go to the farthest corners of the our aeroplanes sealed with the insignia of Indian Government will reach foreign lands and will add prestige to our Government and to our people and demonstrate to the world that the interim government has achieved political independence in action. Socially, also it is necessary that we run these services because geographically and politically we are the brain trust of all the powers in the East. You find today in Afghanistan there is no air service, in Tibet there is no air service, in Nepal there is no air service. On the one hand we can go to Cairo, and on the other, we can cut across Afghanistan to Russia, we can go to Iran, Iraq and to every side of the globe and if we have to play our role as a central force in the conglomeration of eastern powers and States, it is just necessary and desirable that we start with a proposition like this today Therefore, Sir, I submit that the Congress attitude must not and forthwith. be misconceived. I trust Sardar Mangal Singh has not misconceived our atti-My friend Miss Mani Ben Kara rather went to the extreme length in attributing to us weakness which is not ours. We want to go in for nationalisation, that is our aim and object, but at the same time, we want to carry on consistently with limitations of the present government. We are a compositegovernment now and the parties behind it have also got to compose and coalesce. Once this Government has settled down, once the major difficulties: have been liquidated, it will be time for us then and then alone to whip the Government to action, but today in trying to get the golden egg in a spirit of extortion, we must beware that we do not kill the hen herself.

Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad: Sir, I have a great apprehension that the presentproblem of competition between rail-road may become later on a triple proposition, that is competition between road, rail and air. I invite the attentionof this Government to this danger that is ahead. We have followed very clearly the history of the development of Indian railways. We first began with company managed railways, we gave contract to companies, gave themland, guaranteed a certain rate of interest and left the whole thing to them. After an experience of 75 years, the Acworth Committee gave its decision by the casting vote of the Chairman that all railways in India should be acquired and should become the property of the State and that they should all be run by the State, and owned by the State. We adopted this principle after our unfortunate experience of the development of railways for over 75 years. This principle was also adopted in France, Germany and other countries and it is now accepted here that the State should own the railways and run Again when we discussed the nationalisation of various industries, we remembered that the first place should be given for nationalisation of transport. Transport, they say, is the first industry to be nationalised. Everything else may follow. We learnt this after the bitter experience of loss of several hundreds of crores—I have not calculated the exact amount—on our railways. We then came to the conclusion that railways should be nationalised and owned by the State. I would impress upon my colleagues that they ought not to commit the same mistake which they made in the case of railways now as regards air transport. We must remember that there is bound to be a common board to control all forms of transport,—rail, road, air and also water which is an important problem in Bengal and Assam though not elsewhere. We should not make any mistake about it which may create trouble later on. We ought to learn from past experience of the railways when after 75 years we decided that all the railways should be owned and managed by the State. Secondly, we must realise that transport will have to be nationlised at an early date, and as a corollary to that, we will have a common authority to control all types of transport.

With these two main objects in view it is out of question to have these administrations and companies which may lead us to many complications. When I raised this point in supplementary questions I was told that the State is not in a position to undertake the direct administration at once because they have not got the resources and also the technical staff required. As a compromise I suggested that a contract may be given for 10 years. We should also have some control over this administration. For instance, rates and fares are important items of all traffic, and even in the case of Indian railways when companies managed them Government kept the right to fix rates and fares. So even during these ten years of contract Government should keep that right. I also hold very strongly that the fare by air should not be more than that by

[Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad] an air-conditioned saloon. I am contemplating a time when all the first class traffic will go by air and the railways will have only two classes,-upper and lower. So the fare by air, as I said, should be the same as in air-conditioned coaches and no further profit is justifiable. I find a Resolution tabled for next week regarding a limit about the declaration of profits. So I think they should be allowed to charge only first class fares. Government at present cannot undertake the administration not for want of money but for want of technical personnel. It will take ten years to get these technical experts by opening aeronautical classes in our institutions. Another point is that the aircraft now used by these companies will be replaced by up-to-date and modern aircraft in ten years' time. I was offered by American Disposals a four-seater sircraft for Rs. 4,000 but was advised by a friend there at the same time that I should not take it because in a few years' time they would be sending here modern aircraft and these machines would become obsolete. So in ten years we will be able to run these things in more comfortable aircrafts.

A point was raised by one Honourable friend that we should have some kind of control over companies registered abroad but whose airships through India. My own view is that in such cases these companies should be asked to pay some tax which may be fixed by the transport authority because they use our airports; we need not necessarily acquire any share in those companies unless they start from India or have their terminus here. Companies initiated here should be treated in a different manner and we should have something to say in their administration and also in their shares. fore I have regretfully come to the conclusion that as we are not yet prepared to undertake the administration of air transport we should give it on contract for a few years. But I feel strongly that it should not be given to one company because that one company will be so strong and will have so much influence that you will not be able to acquire it. In 1934 I saw the influence of Tata's with the members of the Assembly when the Iron and Steel Protection Bill came up for consideration in Simla: and therefore I would never agree to the contract being given to one company. Create about half a dozen companies or more and give them contracts to run on different routes; by giving it to one company you will merely perpetuate its possession and you will find it difficult to dislodge it. Therefore they should be given to different companies. I know several companies are being formed in India but the crocodiles and alligators do not like to have small fish in the sea to exist. Therefore the contract should be given to smaller companies so that after ten years you will find it easy to acquire them all.

Ethan Abdul Chani Khan (North-West Frontier Province: General): Sir, I would not dare to open my mouth so soon after the food debate if I did not feel that the matter before the House was really one of the most vital that has come before this session. I do not want to pretend to advise Honourable Members; I only want to point out the great importance of our decision today. Here is a test case for the future and the present Government of India, and therefore the people of India, to say their intentions. The motion of my Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh has not led us to discuss aviation; it has led us to the cross-roads. It has brought us to the cross-roads and we must choose the path along which we intend to carry the destinies of India. It is not a discussion of aviation; it is a discussion of principles. We must today decide whether we stand for the good of the nation or the good of the few who prey on the nation. But we must show the nation today what we mean when we call ourselves servants of the people.

[At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy President (Khan Mohammad Yamin Khan)].

We have to choose between the effective animosity of the powerful rich and the helpless love of the helpless poor. I know it is a hard choice but it is also an obvious choice. Only you must tell yourself the truth, and telling the truth, Sir, is the hardest thing to tell in the world. As I am neither rich enough to

RESOLUTION re RUNNING OF CIVIL AVIATION AS A STATE DEPARTMENT 727 be a financier nor poor enough to be the servant of one, I can afford to tell the truth and here it is.

The financier is a hunter of the most intelligent animal—Man. And like the hunter, he must use the most intelligent camouflage to hide his true nature. He is a nationalist when it pays; he is an internationalist when it pays, and even a communist when it pays. To him virtue is profit and sin is loss. He has no moral philosophy; he cannot afford one. And like a hunter he must go where the hunting is the easiest and the animals the fattest. He loves the country that gives him the greatest profits. But when he can mix virtue with profit, he is dressed as a nationalist. Don't get taken in by the term 'National Capital'. Don't let these arch-exploiters expoit your patriotism. A bullet made in India will kill you just as readily as a bullet made in England or America if it is fired into your body. There is no such thing as national capital, because capital, like all diseases, is international. Every one knows that Hitler reconstructed his Germany with English money. He offered a higher interest and was given as much as he wanted, and the Luftwafe for years used Rumanian petrol for bombing English homes and American soldiers—the Rumanian petrol which was produced by English and American capital. A hunter does not worry what jungle he shoots in as long as he gets a good bag. It is logical and rational.

I have heard all the arguments in favour of private enterprise, which translated in plain English means 'public theft'. I have heard all the pious and clever sermons persuading me how virtuous it is to take from those who cannot spare it and give to those who don't need it. As for efficiency, if the Government is good enough to look after our lives, our education, our railways, and food, it is certainly good enough to look after a few dozen aeroplanes and their snobbish passengers. Taken purely as a business concern it is not big enough to deserve a debate in this House, but as a question of principle it is the biggest thing that has come before us. If there are going to be any profits, let them go to the nation; let it help the poor rather than serve the rich. Our decision today will prove which are our real masters. You must show whether you stand by the many poor or the few rich; whether you stand for national progress or private profit. Nationalization versus private enterprise means that and nothing else.

It is aviation today, it will be coal, iron, and petrol tomorrow. We are not asked to give a verdict on aviation; we are asked to show how we intend to plan the future of India. And my answer is 'nationalization'—the only protection against local chills and foreign plagues. Sir, I support the motion.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Sardar Managal Singh. Before I speak on the Resolution itself, I would like to say a word. I myself said that a representative of the Government of India should speak at an early stage in the debate and I was very glad that the Honourable the Home Member accepted my invitation and placed before this House the views of the Government on this Resolution. Unfortunately, Sir, he did not state the views of the Government but he stated the difficulties of the Government in expressing their views on this question. Sir, I fully appreciate and I have no doubt the House itself appreciates the difficulties of the present Government in coming to a definite decision on the important question which is being discussed in this House. There is no doubt that they are new; they have not had sufficient time to discuss these important questions and come to a vision. We appreciate their difficult due to the disturbed condition of definite decision. difficulties. We also the country, leaders are engaged in dealing with a very grave problem and if the Government feel that they had no time to come to a decision on this question we appreciate it. But, Sir, I do not quite appreciate what the Honourable the Home Member said as regards the method in which we transact our business in this House. I am not quite sure what he exactly meant by the words which he used, but I think he felt that we spend a little more time in discussing matters than perhaps he likes. But I would like the Government of India and especially the Honourable

[Mr. N. M. Joshi] the Home Member to realize that we are here to discuss questions and we are not all belonging to one party. If the House had consisted wholly of one party perhaps a long discussion may not have been necessary. I therefore would like the Government of India to appreciate the position in which we are placed. We are not the Government. We are here to express our views and give, if I may be permitted to say so, some guidance to Government, and I am quite sure even the present Government will not consider it to be impertinent on the part of a legislature to seek to give guidance to any Government that may be in power at the Centre. My Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, said something about the constitutional change. I fully appreciate the constitutional change and last time when I spoke in this House I myself stated very plainly that we welcome the new Government with open arms. We are very glad that we have for the first time a representative Government, a national Government. But

An Honourable Member: Or oppose.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir I would fully appreciate if the Government places its policy before us. But if the Government does not place any definite policy before us, then it is our duty to give guidance to that Government according to our best lights.

Sir, that cannot take away the responsibility of this Legislature to express its views and to give guidance even to this Government. My Honourable friend Sir Cowasjee Jehangir tells us now that the circumstances have changed it is for the Government to formulate policies and it is for the House to support them . . .

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: You must give them time.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I fully appreciated their difficulty but at the same time we have to transact our business. We have a non-official date for Resolutions and there is a Resolution before the House. Therefore it is our duty to express our views. I do not appreciate the difficulty pointed out by my Honourable friend Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, difficulty brought about by a change in the circumstances of the Government. Whoever may be the Government, it is the duty of the members of the legislature to speak out their considered views and give as good guidance to the Government as they can.

As regards the subject of this discussion we had only a few points spoken in favour of private management of this industry. It is generally accepted by most of the members that this is one of the industries which is eminently fitted for being conducted by the Government, that is for being nationalised. My Honourable friend Mr. Jaffer said that on account of certain things this is an industry which is eminently fitted to be run by private enterprise. He said that Government cannot have the resources of private companies. This is a new argument, that the resources of private companies can be larger than the resources of the I cannot understand how a private company however efficient and sound it may be, can have greater and larger resources than even the weakest Government in the world. Therefore I feel that from the point of view of resources the Government is the only organisation which can command resources enough for a very large industry. For the present air communications is a very small industry in our country. The industry is new and being new it is easier to nationalise it because vested interests have not grown up. After vested interests grow up, there will be much greater opposition to nationalisation. I therefore feel that this industry is eminently fitted to be conducted by the Government, because as my Honourable friend Mr. Jaffer himself has said, every day new changes are made in the structure and design of the planes and the organisation which is to run this industry must possess the resources for coping with the new inventions that are made or the new discoveries that are made.

Then, Sir when my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir said that the Government must take the responsibility for the safety of the passengers, he really pleaded for the nationalisation of this industry and the industry being conducted by Government. If Government is to be responsible for the safety of the passengers, then it is Government which must not only own but control and manage this industry. So from the point of view of safety, from the point of

view of running the industry efficiently and with the best planes we can get and from the point of view of the interest of the country this industry is emmently fitted to be run by the Government and I hope that the legislature will give a clear guidance to the Government on this point and state that as Government is now considering this question that Government has the assurance of this legislature that they should go shead with the plan of nationalising this industry, not only owning but controlling and managing this industry.

Sir, the Honourable the Home Member, whom I am very glad to see now return to the legislature, told us that there are dangers and risks in the Govern-I myself do not know what the ment adopting a policy of nationalisation. dangers and risks are in the policy of nationalisation. But I am quite sure that if there are any dangers or risks those can be overcome by the Government much better than by a private body. A private body may make losses and those losses will ultimately fall on the country. Therefore it is much better if there are any risks or dangers that those risks and dangers should be faced by Government and Government should not leave it to private parties to meet those dangers or risks. I therefore hope that the Government of India will give early time to the consideration of this most important question and boldly and courageously come to the conclusion that this industry should be nationalised, should be controlled and managed by the Government on behalf of the country. I therefore support the

Resolution moved by my Honourable friend, Sardar Mangal Singh.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Sir, during the course of my practice as a lawyer at the bar I have been accustomed to some quixotic judgments where the reasoning is in favour of the plaintiff but the judgment is against him. I thought my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi would agree with my friend Mr. Chaman Lall to modify or amend the resolution moved by Sardar Mangal Singh. His arguments were all in favour of the amendment. I thought that he was giving some advice or making some suggestions to the Government as to how they should make up their mind and we also expected that at a future date after the Government enunciated its policy it would be placed before the House, so that there may be an opportunity to discuss it. I thought those were the lines on which my Honourable friend was proceeding. But anyhow he has chosen to support whole-hog the Resolution of Sardar Mangal Singh. I assure him and also the lady Member that no one of us has watered down our view on nationalisation of public utility services and key industries. We do stand by it. He would have seen that in the manner in which my Honourable friend Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan supported the entire nationalisation of this industry. He may take my Honourable friend Mr. Ghani Khan as the engine without any coaches attached An engine if it runs all alone, it may run 50 miles per hour but when a number of coaches and goods wagons are also attached to it and the longer the train is, though the engine might show a speed of 50 miles it will be actually running at 25 miles per hour. Therefore my Honourable friend can take it from us that the Congress is still wedded to this principle but the question now is how far the principle can be put into effect or into practice. Already we have committed ourselves heavily. If my Honourable friend will remember he will realise how much we have invested on this enterprise so far as will be seen in the budget that was passed last year. I am trying to place before the House a few commitments which the busness will involve if we take up the service as a whole and that is why the Honourable the Home Member wanted to move cautiously with respect to this aspect.

Now, Sir, this year we passed a budget for a recurring expenditure of 6.12 crores per year-4-66 as recurring expenditure for maintaining the aerodromes, renovation, repairs, etc. Interest and depreciation alone comes to 146 crores per year amounting in all to 6.12 crores a year for a period of ten years. And during this period an estimate has been made of capital expenditure of 17.48' crores but the interest that we will get is this. Whereas the interest we earn in 1.46 crores we have to expend more than that even at the initial stage. Therefore you might consider whether it is at all advisable to start off straight away a number of air services from end to end not knowing what commitments it would involve our country and the taxpayer for whom all of us are jointly responsible

[Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar]

and whose interests we are bound to safeguard. This Government is absolutely committed in due course or immediately, whenever it is possible to nationalisation of all key industries and all public utility services. In present circumstances the amendment is the only course that can be adopted. As the Honourable Home Member observed there is a change in the government itself. When the Member in charge of this portfolio before made his statement there were fewer members, assuming he was speaking on behalf of the government then. Now there is a change of membership in charge of the portfolio. What is the hurry? Cannot we wait a little before making a recommendation?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Cannot we express our opinion?

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: You can certainly do that, but you need not pass this Resolution and tie down the hands of the government. Licenses have been given to some companies. You will have to pay more if you are to take over all the shares in the companies now. Are we to tie down the hands of the government? We are not sitting in the same House as before. A few months ago we had a bureaucratic government in the centre and it was open to them to accept or reject any Resolution we passed. That is not the case now. If you have sufficient strength not merely to carry this Resolution but also to come and occupy our benches, you can shake this government. This government is shakeable.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: We cannot.

Sri M. Ananthassyanam Ayyangar: Certainly you can. You can convert me to your views and we will shake this government. This is a parliamentary democracy; and we are all representative; we have a responsibility to support the government; we are not merely to uproot a government without taking the responsibility. They will resign and take your place; as soon as you gather sufficient strength and sufficient personnel to support your view, you must come and do the job yourself.

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member must address the Chair.

- Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I am glad the Chair is also part of the government and I made a mistake in addressing our friends. I say the amendment has been very carefully worded. We cannot think of a greater propagandist of revolution on socialistic lines than my Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall He has been the champion of the cause of the poor all along and he has given in an amendment to this effect. 'Or' ought not to be understood to be merely an alternative. It is cumulative. He wants that this service should be nationalised; but how and when he wants the government to make up its mind; it may set up a committee or all of them may consider it. I am only trying to give one or two suggestions which the government should take into consideration It has been already agreed, even according to the constitution that may be framed, that communications ought to be a central subject. Under it are road thoroughfares or highways, to the extent of 17,000 odd miles—the property of the Central Government. So far as efficiency is concerned, I am suggesting for the consideration of government to ascertain the financial commitments of that under-
- taking: whether the through services from Delhi to Bombay, Delhi to Madras, Delhi to Karachi, Delhi to Calcutta etc., may not be taken up by the centre and whether the feeder services might not be left to private enterprise, so that private enterprise also will have scope, and we will have the advantage of having good competition between one service and another. They might consider this matter, but even then it is on the question of how and when they should start. We may not have the finance immediately and if we are to do this at once it may be at a loss; and to that extent the government will not be serving the interests of the public, who will thereby have to lose money.

Therefore, though we are in the abstract committed to this position that the public utility services ought to be nationalised, we have to move warily. I would remind Mr. Joshi that though the socialist government is there in England, they

have not with one stroke of the pen nationalised the railways, though they have been in power for over a year.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: They have nationalised the airways.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: They have not nationalised the railways yet. I ask why? It is not as if they have done everything the moment they came into power. I will also ask my friend to wait a bit. They have begun with some industries; we have already started nationalising the railways. Only yesterday there was an accident here within four miles from here; there was also an accident in Ongole and I am still waiting to see how all these accidents might be averted and avoided. Many such inconveniences may arise. There may be not only financial difficulties; there may be other measures which have to be taken. If there had been any other government I would have felt justified in tabling an adjournment motion. With our own government, I cannot pretend and say that I am more interested in the welfare of the public than the rionourable Members who are in charge of these portfolios. If it is possible to avoid accidents, they will take all the necessary steps and therefore there is no meaning in my tabling adjournment or censure motions. I have confidence in them. Likewise, why should we not eliminate all these difficulties? R 101, the moment it set out, was destroyed; we had all that experience; but the experience has not been finalised. Therefore I would appeal to the Mover and his supporters to accept this amendment, which supports the principle and at the same time gives some time and opportunity to the government to consider this matter in all aspects and then come forward with a scheme of nationalisation immediately or in the near future. We are committed to the principle . . . . .

Br. Zia Uddin Ahmad: Will you give contracts for short periods or long term? Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: My honourable friend has himself give 10 to 15 years; that is a sufficiently long period according to me. In the first year there is going to be Rs. 17 crores odd non-recurring, and Rs. six crores odd recurring. They have been modest. I do not mean to say that their responsibility is over once they leave this country. We want to plug all holes. I am appealing to members to accept this modified form because the matter has not yet been fully considered by the government; and therefore we have to proceed with care and caution. I commend the amendment to the vote of this House.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan (Dacca cum Mymensingh: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment of my honourable friend, Diwan Chaman Lall. But I am at a disadvantage as other members have been at a disadvantage, because Diwan Chaman Lall has not yet given us his views. So far as the Government is concerned, there also we are at a handicap because we see that the government has no views whatever on this subject. The last speaker, Mr. Ayyangar, says that the amendment of Diwan Chaman Lall is the only Resolution that could be moved under the present circumstances. But I fail to realise the reasons on which he can make that assertion. What is the resolution of Diwan Chaman Lall? Is it at all a resolution? It is a recommendation to the government to lay down the lines of government action in connection with the development of civil aviation. That is the recommendation. I do not know how the government would have been any the worse off without this gratuitous advice on the part of my friend.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: All Resolutions are recommendatory.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: It is nothing but asking the swallow to fly or the fish to swim. They can do that without any advice on the part of my honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall. But I appreciate the words that fell from the Honourable Home Member when he said that they have been in office only for a very short time and within this short time they have been troubled with so many other things that they have not been able to give any thought to this important subject. That is a thing which the House must appreciate; but what I do not like in his speech is that that he spoke rather in a defeatist spirit. His idea is that it is too risky a business. Without examining the business at all, how can he make an observation that it is a risky

[Mr. Tamizuddin Khan] affair? That is where I do not agree with him. On the other hand I think that we must be up and doing. I appreciate the present difficulties of the Government. They are faced with an extraordinarily difficult situation. That is true but still we must recognise the fact that we have to keep pace with the times and that it will not do to procrastinate on an important subject like this. The busy world is not going to wait for us. The world will be running as fast as possible and if we do not take time by the forelock we shall lag behind. Therefore although the present Government is labouring under very difficult circumstances I think that the earliest opportunity should be taken to bestow serious thought on this important subject.

It has been said that the composition of the Government has changed and therefore the attitude of the different parties supporting the Government policy must undergo a corresponding change. There is something in that but there is no reason why the different parties should not be allowed to express their own views on an important matter like this. The present Government is certainly composed of representatives of the different political parties in the country but we are not yet a coalition government here. There is no coalition party in the House. The Congress Party is quite different and separate from the Muslim League Party. Therefore the position is unique and very unsatisfactory. Under circumstances like this, we, the Muslim Leaguers, do not accept the position that because there are certain representatives of the Muslim League on the Treasury Benches, the Muslim League should be precluded from giving expression to their views on important subjects.

I congratulate Sardar Mangal Singh on the excellent speech that he made and on the cogent reasons that he advanced in support of his Resolution. I do not however agree with one thing that he said. He said that the Congress policy for the last 50 or 60 years has been for the nationalisation of the key industries. That may have been the ostensible policy of the Congress but has that been their real policy? I have already said that the representatives of the Muslim League and the Congress and certain other minorities now form the Government but we should not be blind to the criticism that is levelled both against the Muslim League and the Congress by their enemies. The Muslim League is said to be an organisation of Nawabs and Knights. That is a false charge and the few Nawabs and Knights that may have been there are no longer there in the sense that they have renounced their titles. But so far as the Congress is concerned the charge against them is that the Congress is in reality a capitalistic body. It is supported by capitalists but its ostensible policy is nationalisation. Therefore I say that the Congress is on its trial. The present Government is predominantly a Congress Government. Is it going to implement its ostensible policy? Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar says that the Congress has always been wedded to a policy of nationalisation. Granted, but the Congress seems to be in love with capitalism.

## Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: No. No.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: This clandestine business should cease. The Congress should come forward in their true colours.

# Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: It is open business.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: It has been said that on the ground of efficiency Government should not go into this business. One ought to have been ashamed to advance an argument like that. If the contractors and capitalists can manage a thing like this, how on earth is the Government unable to manage this airways business? The argument is that there are no technicians, no trained personnel but where will these capitalists and contractors get their technical personnel. If they can get their technical personnel, why should not the Government be able to get hold of these technical personnel. This is an argument which I fail to realise altogether. Then, Sir, if you advance the argument of efficiency and if you say that on that ground that

the Government should not take it up, then why say to the Britishers—Quit India. Let them stay here and let them manage these airways. Perhaps they will manage the affair better than an Indian concern. If the Government is a Government of the people and if this Government is going to be run for the people, then the Government cannot say—this is a business which we cannot manage. The time is coming when the Government will be a people's government. It is not yet a people's government and that is why people advance arguments like that. When it will be a people's government, it will be run for the people and no such argument will come forward from those who are responsible for running the Government. (An Honourable Member:) We claim to be representatives of the people). You are claiming many things but giving proof of very few things. That is my quarrel with you.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir raised a constitutional objection. I do not agree with him there at all. He had a fling at the poor people of this country. He said that those who have nothing to invest can very well advance arguments in favour of nationalisation but those who have a stake, that is what he meant to say, have to think twice before they can talk of nationalisation.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: I never said anything of the sort.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: If I remember aright, that is what he meant to say, although what he said was that people who have nothing to invest may say a certain thing. That was a fling at the poor man.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: On a point of personal explanation. The Honourable Member evidently did not hear what I said and, if he did, he did not understand it. I said that people who have something to invest can be as impartial as those who have not. I was talking of the partiality or impartiality of the two classes of people. I was saying that gentlemen like my Honourable friend accused people who had something to invest of partiality. I said that those who have a little to invest can be as impartial as those who have nothing. Now, I hope my Honourable friend will withdraw the accusation.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: I did not make any accusation. My friend spoke about those who have nothing to invest and I think that there was a fling at the poor man. Of course he talked about impartiality and nothing else. He was quite correct there but what is impartiality in this world? The capitalist is partial to himself and my Honourable friend means to say that the poor man is partial to himself. That is exactly so. But it is only to be seen who is in the majority because the world is ruled by the majority. Luckily or unluckily for my Honourable friend, the poor man is in the majority. The poor man has the final say or should have the final say and he is bound to have the final say in the very near future. Although he may be partial to himself, his word will be law and not the word of a few capitalists who still hold their sway in this country.

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member has only two minutes more.

Mr. Tamizuddin Khan: Something was said about rail-road competition and that this will be another thing coming into the field to compete with the railways, namely, the airways. That is all the more reason why from the very start the airways should be a Government concern, so that there may not be any difficulty such as has arisen with regard to rail-road competition. With these words I oppose the amendment of Diwan Chaman Lall and support the Resolution as sought to be amended by my Honourable friend Haji Ishaq Seth and Mr. Siddique Ali Khan.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I had no intention to take part in this debate, but as the debate proceeded I felt that there was too much talking in the air about the subject whether civil aviation is a subject fit for nationalisation immediately or whether the amendment moved by my friend Diwan Chaman Lall which seeks to make it a subject for careful

examination by the Government is the question to be decided now. I differ from the observations that were made by my Honourable friend Sir Cowasjee Jehangir with regard to the constitutional position as he stated at the present moment. So far as I can see, the constitution has not changed at all in practice. The only change is that the Government is composed or constituted of representatives of the people. That is undoubtedly so. But the fact remains that they are still irresponsible to the Legislature and it is possible for this Government to talk in a more or less irresponsible manner. Even if a miracle happens and this Resolution is carried, the Government may not give effect to it. And that is what I meant when I told my Honourable friend Mr. Ayyangar that this Government could not be shaken. But he has assured me that if this Resolution should ever be passed in this House, the Government would resign.

Sri M.-Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I did not say that. If it is passed by the House, we will accept it. I am not opposed to the resolution but I have only modified it.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj: In any case, I feel that the constitutional position has not so far changed as to encourage me to hope that any resolution passed by this House will necessarily be accepted by this Government. However, that is a different matter.

Coming to the subject of nationalisation, I have been listening with great interest and appreciation also to the speech of our young friend Khan Abdul Ghani Khan. He really raised a very important issue when he said that it is not aviation that we are discussing today but the ultimate principle of nationalisation as a whole. The question is whether the party to which he belongs and the party which is now occupying the seats of power is here and now ready to state its position with regard to the nationalisation generally and in particular about the civil aviation. Both by my early training and my, temperament and also on account of the peculiar circumstances in which I was born and brought up, I am for nationalisation in the sense in which I mean it. I mean by nationalisation the control and ownership by the State of the most essential key industries and also of the most essential goods that are needed for the consumption of the people. If I had the choice and the power to draw up a priority in the matter of nationalisation of these things, I would put the nationalisation of land first, because, I feel, that in a country like India which is not yet fully industrialised and which will continue to be mainly agricultural, nationalisation of land ought to be the first thing that ought to be done. I do not know what views have been expressed by the Congress Party or the members of the Congress Party before with regard to the nationalisation plan. If there is any proof of sincerity of this Party towards the programme of nationalisation, they will, I hope, start with the nationalisation of land first.

Now, Sir, coming to the subject of the nationalisation of aviation, I was rather doubtful about the significance of the phrase 'civil aviation' used in this Resolution. Civil aviation not merely means the operation of air services, in other words, air transport, but it also includes the private flying and training in the Flying Clubs and other subjects. I wonder if it was the intention of the Mover of the Resolution to nationalise all the items that come under civil aviation. He says that he merely wants to confine himself to the operation of air services. I hope the House will not consider me immodest if I say that I claim to be a person who is interested in aviation in more ways than one and particularly in flying. I think I am one of the few Honourable Members of this House who like flying very much, and during the course of my flights I used to take interest in the actual working of the various Companies and also in the machinery which they employed like the aeroplanes and other things. It is a fact that of all the Companies which are

my seat.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Mr. Deputy President, the debate on this subject has been a very rambling one, but I think every member will be agreed on this that it is a very important subject. Honourable Members have been exercised in developing their own pet theories in regard to the future management of civil aviation in India. It is necessary that they should have done so, but at the same time, we must not forget the fact, as the Honourable the Home Member pointed out that we are no longer in opposition just attempting to waste the time of the House. We have to be concise, we have to give guidance to the government undoubtedly as my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi pointed out, but there are moments when a debate can be restricted to the main fundamental issues. fundamental issues have been so completely confused by some Honourable Members who have spoken on this issue that I am really surprised that even some old hands who ought to know their job better than they have displayed on the floor of the House today should have done so. For instance the very able Lady who spoke and my Honourable friend Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan no doubt made able speeches. The last speech of Maulvi Tamizuddin no doubt condemned the amendment and supported the original Resolution, but in doing so he used the very words of the amendment itself. He said let the Government take time to consider and throw some light upon this question. That is exactly what the amendment has set out to uo. You cannot tie the hands of the Government down now and here, to a particular method whether of nationalisation or of control unless the Government has had time to consider the various aspects of this question. My Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh has tasked about nationalisation without letting the House know that there are various types of nationalisation. Which type of nationalisation does my Honourable friend want? Does he mean the Russian type of nationalisation or does he mean the British type of nationalisation? Does he mean complete financial control of this industry by State? Does he mean a corporation set up by the Government? I point that out merely for the sake of letting the House know that there are various methods of nationalisation of industry. If you merely say nationalisation without giving time to them, how are they going to take up this matter. I think it is asking your own Government to do something which is not practicable at all. At the same time the Congress is definitely wedded to the principle of nationalisation. Let there be no mistake about it. The Congress manifesto contains the very words which we find in the amendment. The Honourable Lady spoke about the necessity of that single word 'or'-Government owned or Government controlled. These are very words used in the manifesto by the Congress. They are wise in using the phrase because in such large matters they have to choose and they have to go slowly. There are other industries today which may need immediate attention in the matter of nationalisation. I did not hear in the course of the debate one single word about the coal industry, the jute industry and the tea industry. There are surely many industries which have priority in the matter of nationalisation. This morning we discussed the question of British interests in India, such as may be taken over in part payment of the sterling balances being owed to us. There is also that question to be considered. Surely you cannot tie the hands of Government down in the matter of time and priority when such important issues are at stake. That was the real reason why this amendment was put in. Government must have time to consider this matter, time to consider what particular steps they will take in order to develop civil aviation and on what lines they shall develop it. But remember this that there is no distinction in the matter of the principle laid down in the original Resolution and the principle laid down in the amendment. The objective is exactly the same, whether by nationalisation now or by State control now or whether possibly by a combination of the two until the final objective is attained of nationalisation, which is the objective of the Congress Party. I submit, therefore, that my Honourable friend, realising what the position is, should withdraw the Resolution that he has tabled and support the amendment, because it is not only a practical amendment but because the present Government has been in existence for less than three weeks and it gives Government time to consider all these issues that arise out of the problem of nationalisation as connected with industries either nascent, new-born or about to

start or industries that have already been in existence. It is a vast problem. In connection with civil aviation there are certan things to be taken into consideration. I think my Honourable frend Sardar Mangal Singh and the Honourable lady are unnecessarily suspicious. I think they have forgetten that they were both here on the floor of the House when the last debate on this issue took place. The very first debate on civil aviation took place 20 years ago-I think on the 25th February 1927 and I think my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi will remember that. At that time we were against any enterprise of this kind because the Government of the day was utilising Indian finances for purposes of a British company called the Imperial Airways, and therefore we said we would have nothing to do with it. The times have now changed. But I think they will remember that only the other day, on the 11th March 1946, the question was discussed on the floor of this House. The Honourable Sir Gurunath Bewoor was speaking on this very question, and I on behalf of the Congress Party interrupted and asked why the department did not consider the feasibility of a nationalisation scheme in connection with civil aviation; and his answer was that Government had considered it but they did not think that at present it was feasible. Then we pressed him further and asked why they did not adopt it, and then he gave an explanation as to why it was not done. I mention this for the reason that we have not changed the position; we stand consistently on the same basis. But the position of the country has changed. At that time we could have adopted any weapon at hand to beat down the Government; but now you have to utilise all your wits and all your brain power and all your experience and place it at the disposal of this Government in order that they may go ahead with these large-scale schemes, and go ahead not in an unpractical manner but go ahead in a practical and sensible manner in order that the benefit may come back to the people of this country. That, Sir, in short is the issue and I do not think, as far as I can find from listening to the speeches here, that there is much difference in our point of view and the point of view of the three or four critics of this amendment who have raised their voices on the floor of this House. In view of this and in view of the necessity recognised even by the critics that Government must have some time to consider this matter and come to a considered opinion as to what particular policy they shall adopt in the matter of development of civil aviation, I suggest to Government too that they should give an assurance to the House that a day will be allotted, when they have come to a definite conclusion, for consideration of this matter. I take it that it is acceptable to Government that time will be chosen by Government for the purpose of discussion of this matter when Government have come to a definite conclusion as to what particular policy they are going to adopt. It must be remembered that there are vast issues involved; and they are not only technical issues. Unlike other countries we unfortunately have not got a. civil aviation industry here; we cannot produce even one little part of an aero-When you talk of nationalisation in Holland or whether you talk of nationalisation in America or the United Kingdom, unlike India, you have got factories which are feeding this industry, and you do not have to go outside those countries in order to feed those industries. Therefore it is necessary for Government again to consider what subsidiary industries they can set up in order to feed civil aviation if that is to be taken over by Government.

For these reasons, Sir, I should like my Honourable friend Sardar Mangal Singh to withdraw his Resolution and accept the amendment.

Shri D. P. Karmarkar (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the amendment. I confess that I had originally no intention of participating in the debate but certain observations made by the Honourable Members tempted me to say a few words. At a certain stage of the discussion Honourable Members of the Treasury Benches were invited to give their definite views on the matter: and the Honourable the Home Member in responding to that invitation made it quite clear that owing to the various difficult and over-shadowing issues confronting Government they have not yet been able to take a decision in the matter. The discussion as it has emanated

[Shri D. P. Karmarkar] from different parts of the House has made it perfectly plain that the preponderating opinion in the House is for nationalisation of civil aviation, aithough from the views expressed by an Honourable Member of the Muslim League Party in favour of private enterprise, it was not clear whether that party has come to any definite conclusion in regard to this problem. But the majority being in favour of nationalisation, this discussion to my mind assumes a somewhat unreal character. The Honourable Mover's Resolution not only commits this House to a recommendation on a principle; it definitely says that civil aviation should be run as a State department like the State Railways and should not be handed over to private enterprise. Had the Honourable Member simply limited himself to a statement of principle and asked for the support of this. House to that principle, much of the discussion would have been shortened. The Resolution has been so worded as to be capable of a double interpretation with a double object in view; one, the support of this House to the principle of nationalisation of civil aviation, and second, which is a more serious thing, in view of present conditions the recommendation of this House for the immediate nationalisation and running of the Civil Aviation Department as a department of the Government of India. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall's amendment makes it entirely clear that in so far as the principle of State control or State ownership is concerned he is not equivocal at all, and he has clearly stated his own view and the view of the Congress so far as nationalisation of civil aviation is concerned. And the same is true of the nationalisation of all key industries also. The amendment makes it perfectly clear that so far as the principle underlying the motion is concerned that principle is acceptable to the Mover of the amendment. But what the amendment seeks to do is this. Recognising the difficulties of the situation with which the present Government is faced we give them an opportunity to consider all matters, and in effect that is precisely the view and the appeal made by the Honourable the Home Member on behalf of Government. The issue simply comes to this; assuming that the preponderating opinion in this House is in favour of nationalisation of civil aviation, the question that arises for our immediate consideration is this. Are we or are we not prepared in view of the present circumstances to give Government, taking into full consideration the principle of state control and state ownership, a chance to decide and chalk out a definite policy of action with regard to this matter. That is the one issue that appears to be before the House and when the issue is so clear and so simple I fall to appreciate the variant expressions of opinion expressed from different parts of the House. I found myself quarrelling with my Honourable friend, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, who has the privilege to belong to the same Party as I do, when he says that the one question which is before this House is whether we are going to decide in favour of nationalisation The issue is simply this-whether we are compelling the Government to take notice of a clearly expressed opinion of this House and in that matter if I might say with best respect to all speakers who spoke on the motion on this particular aspect of the question, it looks as if the Government who are sitting on the Treasury Benches as representatives of the two major political parties of

Sardar Mangal Singh: No one has suggested that.

Government . . . . . .

Shri D. P. Karmarkar: Nobody has suggested that, I know, It looks as if the Government, that is technically irresponsible, is very much more anxious about its own responsibility than we who want a responsible Government. It is as if the Government wants a little time to come to a decision on this most important and complicated issue, partly on account of the political situation and very largely on account of the financial implications involved. They are faced with so many financial problems. They are asked to take up so many rural development activities, activities for the good of the people. The Railways are asked to undertake construction of new lines and on the tep of it this House wants to commit the Government here and now to an immediate execution of

the country by being nominated to these posts by His Excellency the Governor-General or by the British Government and in a technical sense an irresponsible the poncy of nationalization. But they are bound to consider the muancial implications—how much money they would have to invest in this enterprise, and whether it would be profitable for the Government to invest that much money, and whether it would not be wise to allow the private companies to continue to function for some time more keeping in view of course that this industry is to be nationalized at some future date. All these questions have to be considered by the Government and all that they have asked us is to give them the indulgence of a little time and I am sure. Sir, that in view of the full explanation given by the Honourable the Home Member the Honourable mover of this Resolution will be in a mood to accept the amendment moved by Diwan Chaman Lall.

There is another aspect of the question—a consetutional aspect. I entirely agree with my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, when he observed that the Government Benches should have, should seek, and should tolerate a bit of guidance from this House. So far as I know the mind of those who occupy the executive posts in this Government, I can say that they are extremely anxious to abide by the wishes of this House and it is that anxiety that has prompted them to ask of this House to give them a little more time. They cannot stand for one single moment the anomaly of this House passing the Resolution and their not being able to bring it into practice immediately. It is precisely with the ultimate object of bringing into action the principle so ably enunciated by my Honourable friend, Mr. Joshi, that they are so very anxious not to allow a Resolution to be passed in a manner which will put this Honourable House into disrepute. moment, taking into consideration the present constitutional position, the present Government is trying to function as a national cabinet and the first principle by which a national cabinet ought to spide by is to give the best possible respect to the wishes of the House to which they are responsible. Today it may be a Coalition Government—it is to my mind a composite Government—but in any sense of the word today's Government and the Central Legislature must move in harmony and in unison if we are to solve the various problems which are to be In no way we should prove that the Central Legislature passed a Resolution which the Government of India, which claims responsibility to the House, was not able to implement. The Honourable the Home Member was entirely right when he said that we have shifted from the other side of the House and when we do that we have to move with caution and with a full sense of propriety as to the correct implications of a particular resolution. To my mind when we pass this Resolution we immediately commit the Government to a definite course of action which the Government today are not in a position to implement, and the Government have very honestly come before us with this view that they have not yet come to a conclusion with regard to this matter and when they come to a conclusion it is certainly open to this House either to pass a censure on them or to accept that opinion if it is acceptable. Under these circumstances, all that the amendment seeks to do is to give the Government a fair chance to give its fullest consideration to this matter. Times there were and the Governments of those days used to say that the opposition is an irresponsible opposition. That was partly correct. I admit that it was not exactly responsible in the sense that if we had to change sides we would not have perhaps immediately taken up the measures which we then advocated. The irresponsibility was there; it was nothing more than responsive irresponsibility. It was because the Government in a sense was an irresponsible Government that it provoked irresponsible criticism. That is not the situation today. We have crossed the floor, and we, who claim to be in charge of the affairs of the country. should be in a position at any time to abide by the verdict of this House, and if today we pass this Resolution in the manner in which it has been brought before this House by Sardar Mangal Singh, we shall be committing ourselves to a position by which we shall be embarrassing ourselves and we shall be embarrassing the Government which commands our trust and confidence and which is today charged with very grave responsibilities. In view of that constitutional position also, I support the amendment of my Honourable friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, and in view further of the expressed opinion of this House in favour of early

Shri D. P. Karmarkar]

nationalization of civil aviation and other industries, the Resolution loses much or its effect and it has been made clear by hostile parties, if I may say so, also that all that we want by this Resolution is early nationalization. Under these circumstances, the only course which we logically, as a responsible House, could adopt at the present juncture is to support heartily the amendment brought before this House by Diwan Chaman Lall. I am sitting down in the hope that my Honourable friend, Sardar Managal Singh, will rise to the occasion and show his appreciation of the constitutional position by very heartily responding to the amendment moved by my Honourable friend, Diwan Chanman Lall.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Although I run

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang (East Punjab: Muhammadan): Although I run the risk of repeating what has become a trite way of beginning a speech, yet I must state what is a fact that I had no intention of taking part in this debate, but it appears to me that the position taken up by the Honourable the Home Member, so often referred to in the course of speeches which have been made after his speech, and the consequent reference to the constitutional position of the present Government, have so confused the whole matter that one feels tempted to offer a few remarks. Several of the speakers who preceded me, notably my Honourable friend the last speaker, have put forward the theory that the present Government of India is for all intents and purposes a responsible Government, responsible to this House, that is to say removable from office by the adverse vote of this House and that therefore we should not put that Government in the awkward position of being forced to resign by passing this Resolution in spite of the declaration of the Honourable the Home Member and in spite of his request to give the Government a little more time to consider the position, to find their feet and then to come to a decision on the issue raised by the Resolu-

tion moved by my Honourable friend, Sardar Mangal Singh.

I think the reference to the constitutional character and position of the present Government is too often made rather lightly. The fact is—although it may not be as pleasant to us as we would wish it to be-that the present Government differs from the previous government only in this: that the members who constitute the Government are members proposed by the major political parties and accepted by His Excellency the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government. That of course is the novel step that has been taken in the direction of reforming the system of government prevailing in this country. But apart from the mode of choosing the members of the Government which was to be constituted there was no change whatsoever. Prior to this also there have been many occasions when in many ways public opinion has been ascertained or borne in mind by those responsible for the selection of members of the Executive Council and suitable candidates have been selected after ascertaining the views of the public in certain ways. Under the constitution a certain number of members had to belong to the I. C. S. They were chosen in accordance with certain official standards but there used to be always some members outside the cadre of the The late Law Member, Sir N. N. I. C. S. Many names can be mentioned. Sircar did not belong to the I. C. S. nor did Sir Asoka Roy. Sir Sultan Ahmad was no I. C. S. man and all these people were chosen after considering their status in public and by making sure that their nomination and appointment to the Executive Council would be acceptable to the public or to a very large section of the public and then they were nominated. Now of course a very satisfactory way of making a choice of members for the Executive Council has been adopted. The major political parties were formally consulted. They were given the right to nominate their representatives and when they were nominated they were accepted by the Vicercy and also by His Majesty's Government but they remain under the present Government of India Act, 1985 as members of the Executive Council of the Vicerov holding their office at the pleasure of the Viceroy. There is no difference whatsoever in their status and the status of those whose places they have taken.

Mr. Denuty President: The Honourable Member can continue his speech

on the next non-official Resolution day.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 11th November, 1946.