

26th March 1946

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

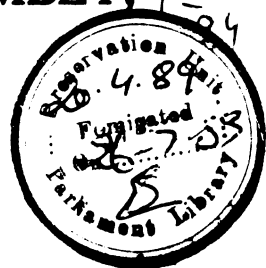
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FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SIXTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1946



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Tuesday, 26th March, 1946

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

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

†1226.* — 1280.*

UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER

ELECTORAL ROLLS FOR JAMSHÉD PUR, UNORGANISED LABOUR CONSTITUENCY.

156. Miss Maniben Kara: Will the Honourable the Leader of the House be pleased to state:

(a) whether he is aware of the fact that over 1,800 qualified workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited, were debarred from exercising their right of vote in the Jamshedpur Unorganised Labour Constituency on the ground that father's names of the workers concerned were not given;

(b) what steps Government propose to take to avoid such mistakes being committed by the employers who are required under the rules to prepare the rolls; and

(c) whether Government propose to entrust the work of the preparation of the rolls to Government Officers as in other constituencies?

The Honourable Sir Edward Bennett: (a), (b) and (c). This is a matter entirely for the Province, but I have ascertained from the Provincial Government that the following are the facts of the case.

Under clause (d), sub-rule (1) of rule 7 of the Bihar Legislative Assembly Electoral (Preparation, Revision and Publication of Electoral Rolls) Rules, 1936, the electoral roll for a Labour Constituency must contain the name of the father of every elector who is not an unmarried woman or a widow or a European or Anglo-Indian. The preparation of the electoral roll was the duty not of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, but of the Registration Officer. The Company, however, offered their co-operation, and supplied the names of the workers with their fathers' names in all but 1833 cases out of a total of 40,000. In these 1833 cases, in which the fathers' names were apparently not available with the Company, the persons concerned and their party leaders had an opportunity to put in their claims after the electoral roll was published in draft, but they failed to take advantage of it.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

HONOURABLE DR. N. B. KHARE'S APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT TO RAISE THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE U. N. O.

Mr. President: I have received notice of an adjournment motion which runs as follows:

"That the business of the Assembly be adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, Dr. Khare's desperate appeal (*need me have the word 'desperate'*—I will omit it) that the Government of India should raise the South African Indian question before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation."

I should like to know something about the urgency of this matter.

†These questions were transferred to be answered orally on the 27th March, 1946.—
Ed of D.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda (United Provinces: Landholders): Sir, before I make my speech on the motion, if it is admitted, I will give the House my reasons why I tabled this motion. The anti-Indian Tenure Bill which condemns three lakhs of Indians to perpetual segregation and slavery was taken up for second reading yesterday in South Africa. The Security Council has also met at New York yesterday. General Smuts is going ahead with the Bill even after the Indian Government's three months' notice for the termination of Trade Agreement with South Africa. Mr. Sohrab Rustomji, the Leader of the South African Indian Delegation has declared that the notice for the termination of Trade Agreement will not help; for, South Africa will import with a vengeance what all she wants during these three months. The Viceroy has expressed his inability to recall the High Commissioner. General Smuts has refused to negotiate with the Indian Government at a Round Table Conference, as recommended by his own Broom Commission. Though India and South Africa are both members of the United Nations Organisation, South Africa refuses to India the right of negotiation, which is the basis of the United Nations Charter. England fought the Boer War in South Africa to safeguard her nationals against the Dutch. The imposition of Economic Sanctions, recall of the High Commissioner, negotiations at a Round Table Conference, being thus out of the question, the only course left is to raise the matter before the Security Council as suggested by Indians in South Africa. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member is giving reasons on merits. I want to know how the matter is urgent.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: It is urgent in this way that the Security Council is now in session and the Honourable Dr. Khare, a Member of the Executive Council, himself feels that the only way in which the South African question can be brought up is that one of the representatives of the Government of India in America should bring it up before the Security Council. This question can be taken up by the United Nations Organisation. The sanctions which the Government of India have imposed against South Africa are not sufficient. They have not gone far enough. Hence the position is that the Security Council can deal with this question. There are two articles in the Charter—Articles 34 and 35—under which this matter can be brought up for their consideration. The matter is very urgent because in South Africa itself, Indians are agitating over it. Last evening there was a statement made by a South African Indian leader saying that they were appealing to Marshal Stalin to bring this up. Now that we have a representative in America, it is our duty to get the Government of India take up this question at once. If they do not do so, then I shall go on with my adjournment motion and give details later on.

Mr. President: May I know what the Government Member has to say about this?

Mr. E. N. Banerjee (Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Department): As you have been pleased to ask, Sir, what exactly is the urgency of the matter, the very statement on which this motion is based would show, Government have been considering this matter. Not only that. That it is described to have this matter placed before the U. N. O. has been suggested in the Press and also on the platform more than once, during the last two or three months. The very South African Indian Delegation whose statement the Honourable Member quoted made a statement to that effect sometime ago. I therefore do not see how this matter is urgent, particularly when I am able to tell the House that Government has been considering for some time this question, that is to say, whether this matter should be placed before the U. N. O. Unless my Honourable friend has any hope of obtaining an *ad interim* injunction from the Security Council against the South African Government, and I do not think there is any such prospect, I would submit that this matter, though undoubtedly of great public importance is not appropriate for being the subject matter of an adjournment motion.

Shri Sri Prakasa (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: non-Muhammadan Rural): May I point out, Sir, that when the Honourable Dr. Khare himself, a Member of the Executive Council, makes an appeal like that, it seems clear

that the Government are not doing everything. Usually they are a happy family. One Member does not say very much against what the whole Cabinet does. But when Dr. Khare himself gets up and makes an appeal, I think there is something wrong somewhere and the House should impress upon the Government that it has not done its duty.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur *cum* Nellore: non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, on the question of urgency, I should like to submit this. The United Nations Organisation Security Council is meeting. It may be that India is not a Member of the Security Council. It is permissible for India to say that this particular question should be brought to the notice of the Security Council and be discussed there. I can quote the analogy of the Soviet-Persia dispute. As soon as it was known that this dispute was going to be brought before U. N. O., Russia has offered to withdraw her troops from Iran within six to eight weeks. What does that mean? That a discussion in the Security Council is likely to have very great effect even on a great power like Russia. Certainly the urgency arises this way. The South African Parliament is discussing today this particular Bill. General Smuts is anxious to carry it through. If this question is raised in the Security Council, it is possible that the South African Parliament as well as that Government might reconsider their position *vis-a-vis* the rest of the world and that is why we are still anxious that this question of public interest should be brought before this House. If the Honourable Secretary for the Commonwealth Relations Department has said that he would put it before the Government of India in its External Affairs Department and see to it that the External Affairs Department instructs the Delegation in America to see that the Security Council takes up this particular matter, if he had pleaded that was there should be some reason for our not pressing this particular matter before the House. It is however a matter of urgency. We are prepared to wait if the Government assure this House that they will take definite action on this matter.

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: I have already made it clear that the Government have been seriously considering this matter and they will take a decision very soon.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What about the External Affairs Department? It is not as if they are working in compartments. It is primarily the business of the External Affairs Department to instruct their Delegation at U. N. O. to bring this particular matter to the notice of the Security Council. I have already given notice of a question to the External Affairs Department. I want to force the hands of the External Affairs Department, as well as the Government of India as a whole to do what we all desire they should do, that is bring this matter before the Security Council as well as U. N. O.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: On his own admission it is clear that he has been hearing all this for the last two or three months. That is sufficient proof that they have been neglecting their work.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall (Leader of the House): Sir, the Honourable Secretary of the Department has explained the Government's position. I could have understood the motion of the Honourable Member if he had complained that Government were not seized of the importance of this question; but the very motion itself shows that Government is seized of the importance of the question, and I suggest therefore that it is not of urgent public importance for an adjournment motion.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: But are you going to bring it to the notice of the Security Council?

Mr. President: I think it will not be out of place if I were to say what I feel about this. Of course so far as South African Indians are concerned the question is of very great importance and it has been said that the Government of India are considering this question. But if any agitation of this question before the Security Council is likely to achieve for the South African Indians some advantage, the matter is both important and urgent in the sense

[Mr. President]

that a decision is to be arrived at before the Security Council session ends, and that decision has to be in the affirmative that the question will be placed before the Security Council. Mere consideration may go on for some time; the Security Council session may end and then the matter will merely be left just where it is today. From that point of view I am inclined to look to the motion as a matter of public importance. It is not a question of agitating the South African issue which has been discussed in this House. It is accepted on all hands that it is an important question and that Government are doing whatever is possible for them so far as South Africa is concerned. But this is a question of trying to bring some pressure on the South African Government through the Security Council. And if the pressure cannot be brought in time, then the very object of the motion will be frustrated. I think it is intended to strengthen the hands of the Government of India in making a representation before the Security Council. That is how I am looking at the motion. It is not meant to condemn Government or to censure them for not taking such action as they ought to. I should like to hear Government with reference to this aspect.

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: Sir, there are one or two aspects of the matter which I think I should place before you. In the first place it is not quite clear whether the Security Council is the proper authority for entertaining such a matter. The U. N. O. is not going to be wound up in the near future. It may be that closer examination of the matter will show that this is a subject which should be placed before the Assembly of the U. N. O. If I may say so, the mere fact that the Security Council is in session now does not make it imperative on us to put it before them immediately. Government should have some time to examine the matter and to decide in what form exactly and in what circumstances this question should be placed before the U. N. O. That is what I have to say on this point.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: It will be too late.

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: I do not think it will be too late. If eventually the U. N. O. do hold that this is a matter within their competence and if they do decide to intervene in this matter, the mere fact that the legislation is going on or will have been passed would not, I believe, affect the interests of Indians.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Sir, I have the Charter here and I will read just two paragraphs.

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: I have not disputed that.

Mr. President: We need not go into a discussion on the merits of the question. Are not Government in a position to say that they will expedite the matter?

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: Undoubtedly, Sir. I think I have made it quite clear that we are considering this matter and we will take a decision as soon as possible.

Mr. President: The anxiety seems to be that the case, even if put before the U. N. O., may not be thrown out on the ground of delay because India or the Government of India made no representation or were too late in making a representation. That seems to be the point of urgency to my mind.

Mr. R. N. Banerjee: Government also are most interested in avoiding any such consequences of delay, and I can give the assurance that a decision will be taken as soon as possible.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: If the motion is admitted for discussion at 4 p.m. and Government before that time gives a definite understanding that the matter will be taken up, I may not press it.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has assured the House that the Government of India will take up the question very soon, and that ought to be sufficient.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: The assurance is unsatisfactory.

Mr. President: In view of what Government have said I do not think I should admit this motion.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL—Contd.

Mr. President: Before we proceed to the consideration of the Finance Bill I have to invite the attention of Honourable Members to the understanding between the parties, the relevant part of the understanding being that if the consideration motion is not finished before 5 p. m. today the closure may be moved tomorrow (Wednesday the 27th) at the commencement of the legislative business for tomorrow. I have therefore to request speakers representing all sections of the House to be as short as possible so that they may not be disappointed if a closure motion is moved tomorrow and carried. No person need feel any sense of disappointment that he or she lost an opportunity to address the House.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan (Madras City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, the Honourable Finance Member has given us a budget which is called a peace budget and also a victory budget. I do not know whether it is a victory time budget anyway; some people have been calling it a victory budget. I do not say he himself said that. I feel that it is going to give relief chiefly to the rich man—the capitalist and then to the middle class man. I also feel that the Finance Member has not taken into consideration the masses of India, the poor people of India. After all, India has more poor than rich. I feel that the whole budget shows that his—I mean, the Finance Member's—chief aim was to give relief to the capitalists who do not require relief just now and the middle-class men who may be helped to a certain extent by this budget. The immediate problem with which this country is faced today is the stupendous unemployment due to demobilisation. How are we going to cope with that? Is there enough money to cope with that? And what will this unemployment bring about? We are today facing a great food problem in this country; we are almost on the brink of another famine, and this time it will not be famine in one province of India only but may affect several Provinces in this country. And with this employment what is going to happen? We will have diseases, we will have epidemics all over the country. How are we going to face it and where is the money to come from? Let us take the question of health as it is. The Bhoré Committee has given us a very exhaustive report and they certainly have made excellent suggestions. But, to my mind, these reports and suggestions and schemes do not give relief to the people at the present time. How long will it take to put that scheme through, and when will people get any relief from the results of those schemes? According to it at the present moment 1/5th of the population in India are victims of malaria and two million people die every year of malaria. About as many die of cholera, small-pox, and plague; and tuberculosis also is a deadly disease so common in this country. Now, with regard to women and children: 160 out of every thousand children under one year age die in this country, and two lakhs of women die every year of child birth, and even more awful than that is that four million women are disabled from this very natural course of child birth. How are we going to cope with all this? I think that the Bhoré Report gave us all—even those of us who know the sufferings and the helplessness of Indian people—a great shock. I often notice that when we ask for money for health and for education there is no money given to us. When we want money for war purposes, even for celebrating Victory day several months after the war is over, there is plenty of money, but when we want money to be spent for the health of the people of India, when we want to give relief to the suffering masses of India, there is no money for that.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands (Finance Member): Plenty.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: We have one nurse to every 43,000 people in India. Why have we not trained nurses? You may say that we have conser-

[Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan]

vative ideas about not taking up nursing, that you have taken everything into consideration; and it is not possible to do things overnight. I know that, but it is not overnight. I am speaking of two hundred years of British rule in this country. What have they done about all these things? With regard to nursing, they have made the qualifications so high that those women who have not passed certain examinations could not take up nursing; they were not allowed to take up that course without having certain degrees. We have always had women in this country who are called *dais*. They have had no education, but they could have been trained as midwives. That was not done on a large scale. It is true that private enterprise took up that question of training *dais* and they trained them, but they were not allowed to get diplomas because they had not passed matriculation and other examinations. That was one of the reasons why *dai* training did not go on. I feel that the health of the people has been neglected because we have had a foreign rule in this country. They did not care for our people; they are absolutely indifferent whether we people live or die, and worse than that is that we are a disease-ridden people, we are a degenerate people; because our health has been so bad, we have no stamina, and we die in thousands and lakhs when any epidemic comes into this country.

With regard to education, we have a very excellent scheme now which has been put forward by the Committee that is known as Sargent Committee. But even that is going to take forty years or more before it can be put through. Why have the Government been sleeping all these years? Why did they not put forward such schemes before? All the education that has been given in this country has been given by private enterprise. That is not right. It is the duty of the State to give education to the people. We all know that the idea of education that is given to us in this country was only to produce clerks to work in these offices. Without our clerks, without the stenographers, without the secretaries that they have trained, they could not have run the Government of this country for so long. So the education that was given was only to produce a few literate people; and look at our literacy. Is there any part in the world where literacy is so appallingly low? We have only twelve per cent. of the people of this country who are literate, and I think that is a shocking state of things. What are they going to do now? Are they now going to put through this scheme? No. It is going to take forty or fifty years before anything really substantial is achieved as a result of this Report.

Sir John Sargent himself says at the opening of that report:

"The White Paper containing proposals for the post-war expansion of the British System of education which was laid before Parliament not long ago begins with these words:

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends."

And if, Sir, this is true of Britain, how much more true it is of India where most of the people are illiterate. How are we going to carry on Government if people are kept illiterate and with bad health? These are the two fundamental things they should have thought about earlier. I know they are all telling us now 'we are going to quit India, and you can carry on as you like'. But what kind of India are they quitting. They have not made us fit. They do not want to make us fit so that they may go on saying 'you are not ready yet to run the Government of this country; when you are ready we will give you freedom and we will give you independence. How can a country which is so full of uneducated people, where poverty and ill-health is so terrible, be allowed to carry on'. Is it because they want to say when they go 'look at the way you are carrying on the Government; we ruled you very well'. The Honourable the Finance Member has been telling us that he is going away, and this is his last Budget, but surely the Finance Member should have left India. . . .

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Years ago certainly.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: I know he is very friendly and he is very nice, and we have all kindly thoughts for him, but we don't think his last Budget is good enough, not good enough for the masses of this country.

With regard to education, look at the pay that the poor teacher gets. How do we expect that the teachers will teach our children well if they themselves are getting only starvation pay? Do we expect them to teach our children well and to make good citizens of our children when they themselves are not in a position mentally or physically to carry on such work? Surely some other countries have done much better than this. They have five year and ten year plans, and they have carried through their plans. But here in 1946 they are giving us plans for education and health which will take years and years before anything can be put through. I was reading Dr. Matthai's suggestions for facing unemployment crisis that we are going to have in this country. He has given some excellent suggestions in this connection, and with your permission Sir, I would just like to read two or three suggestions that he has made. He says:

"The immediate problem before India today was not so much of raising the standard of living, as that of making sure as to how the people lived at all,"

Dr. Matthai suggested the following remedies:

1. Increasing the production of foodgrains, by measures such as small irrigation projects and the provision of manure to cultivators.
2. Supplementing the production of cereals by root-crops like potatoes and turnips, as these took less space to grow and were as nutritious as cereals.
3. Stimulating the production of hand-spun yarn, since shortage of yarn had hampered the production of handloom cloth.
4. A country-wide campaign for the revival and expansion of cottage industries, as this would help to fill the large vacuum now existing in respect of consumer goods."

And there is one other thing that the Finance Member in his Budget has neglected to mention: the Seven lakh villages in this country of ours. What has he done with regard to the villagers? Most of India's population live in villages and what has he done with regard to cottage industries and other village industries? And surely, if spinning and weaving and also growing of food are encouraged and are subsidized by the Government, there will be less shortage of cloth and food. Clothes are something that we all need, and food is what we all need too.

Unless village industries and all the cottage industries that we have had for centuries in this country are revived where they are dead, and encouraged where they are going on, it will not be possible for the villagers to survive. Therefore I feel that the Finance Member should have remembered the villages of India.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: So, I have!

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: I know the Honourable Member will say that these are matters for the Provincial Governments and not for the Central Government. But the Central Government gives suggestions and they have to give money to provinces for certain purposes; and I say that it is the Central Government who should help and give a lead to the Provincial Governments so that they can carry on this work, and that it is not enough to say that it is a provincial matter and it has nothing to do with the Centre. I want the Finance Member to remember that the villages also are matters in which the Central Government should interest themselves. The problem that is now facing us is so great that I am afraid that this Budget is not going to do any good. He has given relief to the capitalists of India by abolishing the Excess Profits Tax. Why has he not at least cut down a certain percentage and not completely abolished it as he has done? Is it because he wants to keep up a friendly relationship with our capitalists so that Britain will have a good market in India? Even in England they have not completely cut down the Excess Profits Tax. Why should it be cut down here when we need money so badly and when it brought so much revenue to the Government? He has not helped the poor man who grows a few beetle-nut trees in his compound and lives by

[**Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan**]

that, because he has an excise duty on beetle-nuts and salt which the poor man uses. Surely he cannot get so much money from that so that he can carry on the improvement of this country! He should have kept on the Excess Profits Tax for some time longer.

I have done, Sir, but I do feel that the Finance Member has not done justice to the poor people of India who need help so badly, and I feel that we cannot support his Budget.

Sardar Mangal Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): In the few remarks that I am going to offer on the Finance Bill, I will not deal with high finance or high politics. That I think other Honourable Members can do better. I will confine my remarks to one or two points connected with the War Department. More than one year ago the War Department appointed a committee called the Army Reorganization Committee, but the War Department refused to take this House into confidence and they refused to appoint any public man on that committee. After the last war when a similar committee was appointed there were two or three public men and their report was made public and was debated by this House. A lengthy resolution was passed by this House but this time the Honourable the War Secretary says that that enquiry is purely a service enquiry and that the report is purely meant for departmental use. Sir, I protest against this attitude of the War Department. That committee dealt with very important subjects like the future organization of the Army, whether every man should be forced to join the army or not, whether the Indian element should form part of the army, and so forth. In spite of that the War Department have neither cared to share the recommendations of that committee with the public nor have they come forward with the proposal to appoint another committee which will consider the question of the reorganization of the army, how big an army, we should have, and how it should be financed, retained and equipped. All these important subjects are treated

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur *cum* Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): How it should be manned also—by Indians or Europeans!

Sardar Mangal Singh: These are all important subjects. I expect the War Secretary to get up and make a full statement as to what they propose to do in this matter. We do not know the number of officers they want for the future army. The other day there was a question in this House and the War Secretary did not answer that question. He simply said the matter is under examination. That sort of reply will not do. We want to know definitely what the Government of India proposes to do in this matter and how it proposes to do it; how many officers they want and how many Indian Officers they have got now: out of this how many Indian Officers they are demobilising and how many Indian Officers they are keeping in the permanent army. These are very important and vital matters. His Majesty's Government have clearly announced that they are now prepared to give complete independence to this country. I for myself cannot conceive an independent country without a first-class army to defend its independence. If they are going to give us independence and keep the control of the army in their hands, I think that that independence will not do. It will not satisfy the public opinion in this country. On that point I want the War Secretary to make a full and a frank statement as to the intention of His Majesty's Government. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has gone back to England. Obviously these matters will be considered there. I protest against this method of enquiry. Now the war is over. It is time that the Government of India should come forward before this House and appoint a public committee to go into the matter. I hope that the War Secretary will deal with this matter when he gets up and makes a reply.

There is another point which I would like to remind the War Secretary about, that in the organisation of the Indian Army there is such a class of Officers as the V. C. O's. It is true, a similar class of officers is not to be found anywhere in the world except in the Indian Army. Due to their past

traditions and past usages this class of Indian officers have secured a special place and consideration in the organisation of the Indian Army. I know His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief appointed a Committee last year. That committee went into this question. They went round examining witnesses but up to this time neither this House nor the public knows anything as to what has been done in this matter; whether the V. C. O's are going to be retained in the Army or whether that order will be abolished. I make this remark because I feel that if you abolish the V. C. O's from the Indian section of the Army, the efficiency and the discipline of the Army will seriously suffer. An ordinary illiterate villager joins the army because he feels that one day he can become an Indian Commissioned Officer, and if you remove this stimulus, if you remove that much hope of his promotion, I can safely say—I am fairly in touch with those people who join the army—that no efficient soldier will come to the Indian Army.

I therefore beg of the War Department to keep on that order so that the Indian Army will continue to attract good soldiers, who will be the backbone of the Army as they hitherto have been.

There is much disaffection amongst the military people about the method and the manner in which the War Department is proceeding with the demobilisation plans. Several officers who are on the waiting list have met me and complained that Indians are being axed while European officers are being accommodated hither and thither. I learn that in the Air Force—I would be glad if I am wrong—800 Indian officers and other ranks are being axed while a large number of British officers are being retained. If that is so, the first man to be turned out of the army in India should be the Britisher. If we are to have a completely Indian army, then in the process of demobilisation Indian officers should not be touched.

Before the war the general complaint of the War Department used to be that they were not getting sufficient and suitable material to Indianise the officer cadre. Now the material is there. The war has created that material. Bright young Indians came forward during the war and they got commissions. They are there with the army. Why are you turning them out, if you are really serious in your desire to Indianise the officer ranks of the Indian army?

Sir, it is difficult with this meagre data before us to speak at any length about the Indianisation of the army. We do not know what the size of the army will be. We do not know how many officers the Government of India contemplate to retain in the army and therefore it is difficult to tell the Government that these officers should be found from the material which they have got in the shape of the Indian Emergency Commissioned officers.

I am glad that the War Department have decided to open a training academy in India on the lines of the West Point in U. S. A. I hope that this scheme would be expedited but I would like to submit that in order to suit the convenience of the whole country there should be two similar academies—one situated in the South and the other in the North. For geographical and climatic reasons I would submit that one of them can be located at Poona and the other at Dehra Dun—and both academies should be on an equal footing. In this matter if the Government cares to have the cooperation of the public I think it would be coming forth.

Before I sit down I wish to remind the Finance Member that when he spoke the other day he very pathetically said that it was his last speech and asked the House to deal with the Finance Bill on its merits and not reject it on other considerations. Situated as we are we cannot forget the other considerations while sitting in this House. I have been in this House for the last 12 years. We have been coming to this House and taking decisions. I do not remember that there is another Parliamentary House in the world whose decisions are so flagrantly and consistently disregarded by the Government as is done in this House. We the elected members who represent the people here cannot set our seal of approval on the doings, on the blunders of com-

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missions and omissions of this Government during the last year. A vote on the Finance Bill has been treated in this House as a vote of confidence and looking at it from that point of view I hope and trust that the Honourable the Finance Member himself feels in his heart of hearts that he has not got sufficient claims on this House to come forward and ask for a vote of confidence from this House. The Government of which he is distinguished member has been behaving during the past years in such a way that if this House had been a full-fledged Parliament, that Government would have been turned out in the first month. They are there because of the vagaries of the constitution. I therefore submit that the vote on this Finance Bill is a vote of confidence and we will be failing in our duty if we do not reject this Finance Bill in order to demonstrate that this Government does not possess the confidence of the elected members of this House.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: That will be for next year: not for last year.

Sardar Mangal Singh: We will deal with the next year when the next year comes. I would appeal to every elected member of the House to look at this question from that point of view. We owe it to our people. What is the position now? We have read in history books in our childhood that in this country rivers used to flow with milk and honey. But what is the position today? Delegations are going to America and another might go to Russia with a beggar's bowl for food. This is the position to which this Government has been reduced in this country. Millions are on the brink of starvation and death. Is that the merit on which you claim our vote of confidence? I hope that this House will, as we have been doing during the past few years, reject this Finance Bill and tell the people as well as the three ministers of His Majesty's Government who are here that the people of India have no confidence in this Government.

Sir, I oppose the consideration of the Finance Bill.

Mr. P. Mason (Government of India: Nominated Official): Sir, I do not usually have any cause to complain of lack of criticism of my Department but there had been so few references to my Department in the course of the debate on the Finance Bill that I was beginning to fear that I was losing my unpopularity.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: You are still unpopular.

Mr. P. Mason: Until my friend, Sardar Mangal Singh, restored the balance to some extent.

Sardar Mangal Singh: You should thank me for that.

Mr. P. Mason: There are, however, a certain number of points that have been made, with which I should like to deal one by one and there is one very big point which, I think, is at the back of many people's mind, to which I should like to refer.

I should like first to speak on my friend, Mr. Jaffer's statement the other day about welfare for Indian troops. He pointed out quite rightly that there are arrangements for the education of the children of British troops in cantonments and for the medical welfare of their families and that there are not similar arrangements for the children of Indian troops. That sounds very bad and I am not altogether happy about it. But I would like to explain the reason for it, which, in itself, is quite a good reason. The reason, of course, is that the British troops come from overseas. Their children will be going back there and they want the sort of education which they will have when they go back to England. It is no good their receiving some education here and when go back being unable to pass the Senior Cambridge examination. Supposing for instance they have learnt Bengali instead of French, they would not be able to sit for the examinations when they go back to England. In the same manner, there would be no arrangements, unless we made them,

for the medical treatment of their families. There are, of course, in every cantonment schools for the Indian children of the cantonment, and hospitals for the women and children. But there are no special schools and special hospitals for the children of soldiers. I said the other day that I thought the Defence Services were considerably ahead of the rest of India in several matters—and I have no doubt that we are ahead in medical attention and to some extent, I think, in education; and I would like the child of every soldier to get that additional medical attention and that additional education. But we have got to consider rather carefully whether it is right for us to go ahead of the civil population in these matters and we have got to weigh our pennies rather carefully and consider whether it is just that the funds provided for the defence of the country should be spent on raising the educational standard or whether they should be spent on buying machine guns. I am rather inclined to think that the real answer is that in every cantonment, and I hope eventually in every village throughout the country, the standard of medical attention and education should be raised until it reaches the level which we have in the Army rather than that we should raise it separately for the children of soldiers. We do, of course, spend a good deal of money on certain schools. There are three up till this year. We are starting two new ones and hope to start a sixth, rather a third new one, in the following year, of the King George's Royal Indian Military Schools, which will altogether contain nearly 1,500 boys. They are really designed to educate the sons of soldiers so that they can eventually have a good chance of getting commissions. We are spending Rs. 15 lakhs on that every year.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Masani, spoke with his usual ability and eloquence, and he made two points which concern my Department with one of which I thoroughly agree and with the other of which I did not altogether agree. I usually agree with much of what he says almost as warmly as I admire the way he says it. With regard to Japan, however, I could not altogether agree with him. He said that he did not think that we ought to send an Expeditionary Force to Japan because India had no wish to humiliate another country. I am sure it is not a matter of humiliation of another country. It is a matter of learning by experience and of taking steps to prevent the repetition of the misery and bloodshed of the last war. After the war of 1914-18 we occupied a small part of Germany, but not for very long, we permitted the Germans to keep an army in the rest of the country—an army of 100,000 strong for their internal purposes. That army was used by the Germans as a training-ground, in which to keep a cadre of trained officers and N. C. O's so that, when they were ready to expand further, they had a 100,000 trained leaders ready to form the basis of their expansion. And I do not think anyone who has studied the philosophy of Germany and of Japan, which I think is in its essence the same, namely in the worship of force and of the State, will doubt that if the Japanese countries had been left unoccupied they would have done the same thing. It follows therefore that, if we are not going to permit the Japanese to have an army, we must provide some force to occupy the country. I do not quite know whether Mr. Masani meant that no one should go to Japan, or whether he meant that he would prefer to leave the task to American, British, Australian and New Zealand troops, and have Indian troops kept out. It seems to me that, if you agree that it is a right thing that the country should be occupied, it is also a right thing that an army which took part in defeating the country should also take part in that occupation. The other day on the same subject I roused the wrath, as I so often do, of my friend Professor Ranga, by anticipating a criticism from my friends opposite. Perhaps in this I went too far. But I can certainly say, I think with complete certainty, that the Indian Army would have felt slighted had we left this work to be done by other people leaving those who did so much to defeat the Japanese.

The second thing pointed out by Mr. Masani is one with which I agree. He said, I think, to put it shortly and crudely, that it is no use having lots

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of gannon and machine guns and tanks if you have not got the spirit to fight. I might, in agreeing with him, illustrate his point by referring to the case of the Italians in the last war. I might also add the corollary which we have learnt from the Greeks in the last war, that it is that there is no use having plenty of spirit if you have nothing to fight with. And I agree with him when he said that he hoped that British statesmanship would call in the balance of the new world in Asia to restore the balance of the old world in Europe. That seemed to me a neat way of describing exactly what the Cabinet Mission, who arrived here on Sunday, have come to do.

Some criticism which came from Mr. Karmarkar is on a subject which is a very unhappy one. He spoke of the firing in Bombay and he said that it was not, as I had said, that the firing was directed at ring leaders. He thought that troops had deliberately fired at women and children. He spoke of some incident in which troops fired at some women in front of some shops. He did not give the date on which this happened or the time, or the name of the shop or any other detail. If he could do any of these things I shall be glad to enquire into this. But my information still is that firing was, in accordance with the instructions, aimed at ring leaders, but I must say that some other people did get hurt. That is inevitable because, for one thing, of the power of modern weapons. The modern rifle-bullet will go straight through eight people if they are standing in a line. And if a bullet is deflected by a hard object, as I am sure my friend Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan will tell us because he knows all about bullets, what is known as a ricochet takes place, that is, the bullet flies away at an angle. People do get hurt in street firing by ricochets. That is one of the reasons why we deplore street firing so much, and why I have never met any officer who did not hate the thought of having to use his troops in this way. My information however is that the people killed by the firing in Bombay were: men 199, women five and children below fifteen years of age 24. I quite agree that that is deplorable. But I think those figures do indicate that the object was to fire at ring leaders.

I would now like to deal with the points raised by Sardar Mangal Singh. The reorganization committee—I think it is rather a pity we called it a committee—was raised a year ago. It was really a body of staff officers who were told by the Commander in Chief to make inquiries regarding certain matters and make reports to him. It was so very much a personal matter, a matter of staff study within the Department, that we have not even supplied copies of the report to other Departments of the Government of India. It was simply a staff study as a basis for further examination into which undoubtedly a political level will have to be imported; and after further consideration has been given to the report of that committee, it will certainly be necessary, I think, to refer the matter to some kind of non-official body which can bring in the political and governmental level. But I would like to explain that the whole of this subject is immensely complicated,—the number of officers, the number of V. C. O's, the number of reserves, the total army and its postwar strength, the strength to which it can expand in war, and the time which it will take to expand in war are all closely connected; you cannot study one without the other; and it is an immensely complicated and technical problem. Sardar Mangal Singh complained that we had not made a clear and frank statement of what the size of the army would be after the war. Well, I should love to do so if I knew myself, but I do not and we shall not know until we finish this very complicated and difficult examination.

With regard to V. C. O's, I do agree with him as to the magnificent work they have done in the past. The only thing is whether as he says you want a young man coming into the army from a village to have the prospect of promotion to V. C. O. or whether you want him to have the prospect of promotion direct to a full commission; and although the question is not yet settled, I do think that he will be just as glad to come in if he has the prospect of

promotion to a full commission; and if everything possible is done to give him that full commission.

Two war memorial colleges were suggested—one in the south and one in the north. There I must definitely disagree with him. It seems to me that what is wanted in this country and in all countries is unity, and that the more people before they come into the army mix together, from whatever part of India they come, and whatever their caste or class or creed or province may be, the better it is going to be; and if you have a southern college and a northern college, it seems to me you would have a definite split when the men get together later on in their units and that would be a great pity. . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Hear, hear.

Mr. P. Mason: Thank you. Now, I would like to come to the really important thing which is, I think, on everybody's mind. It was raised specifically by Chaudhury Abid Hussain and it was also referred to by Sardar Mangal Singh. Chaudhury Abid Hussain suggested that Indians should get their share in the higher posts in the defence. I entirely agree and I think that has been in the minds of many people not only in this debate but in many of the questions that have been put to me recently. It is a commonplace to say that in making a big change you can proceed either by evolution or by revolution. And it is also, I think, known to every one that my friends opposite are inclined to the view that revolution is the preferable method, and that we over here are inclined to the view that evolution is better. We have certainly proceeded in making our plans on the idea that the change over would be a gradual one and that it would be based on what had happened in the past; and I think, provided you accept that point of view,—though I know my friends do not entirely—it seems to me that in this matter of promoting the Indian officers we have nothing to reproach ourselves with. I was looking at the Indian Army List on this subject and I looked up all the senior of the Indian officers who came in from Sandhurst in that first batch immediately after the last war. Several of them are now acting as Brigadiers. I looked through the thirty names in the list immediately senior to them, those thirty being all British, and I see among these thirty also one or two Brigadiers, one or two acting Colonels, the majority acting Lt.-Colonels, and one acting Major General, thirty places above the senior of the Indian officers who are acting as a Brigadier. In other words. . . .

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Where is this acting Major General?

Mr. P. Mason: Thirty places above the senior Indian officer. As I was saying that batch is now getting into the grade when they are getting higher appointments. You may ask: "Why not take the seniormost man and make him Commander in Chief straightaway?" That I think would be, from the point of view on which we have been proceeding, a revolutionary rather than an evolutionary proceeding. He would have fifteen years more service before him, and I do not think any one is capable of maintaining the heavy responsibility of a Commander in Chief for fifteen years without becoming a little stale and rather tired and rather lacking in fresh ideas. Otherwise he would have to go out before he had reached the age at which he would normally retire. Further he would have shot up above many more people senior to him, and furthermore I think that probably for a post such as that of Commander in Chief, a man of 50 with an additional ten years of responsibility and knowledge of what it means to exercise command and authority is probably, all things considered, a good deal better than a man of 40. So that, I think we have really nothing to reproach ourselves with on this ground. . . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Does that not mean that India is not to be free for another fifteen years, because no country can be really free unless it has its own army commanded by its own Commander in Chief?

Mr. P. Mason: That will be for the future government to decide, but I think myself that a country which has a Commander in Chief who is responsible to it and answers to its own Government, is surely quite free, whatever his colour may be.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: He may be a quisling.

Mr. P. Mason: I think this question of officers is really the keynote of the whole problem; and I know that sometimes a charge of racial discrimination is thrown in our teeth on this subject. I said once before that during the many years which I have served under the present Commander in Chief I have known many occasions on which he took very active steps to prevent discrimination; and thinking it over the other day, I could recall many occasions on which when he has been looking for some one for a particular job, he has said "Well, for that job we must have an Indian." I cannot recall any occasion on which I heard him say that "for this particular job we must find an Englishman."

It is often said, and I am not sure with what exact meaning, that other countries have proceeded to build up armies at very high speed, and they have been successful. What are those other countries? Germany is sometimes quoted. But Germany after two hundred years of a military tradition which I do not think any other country in the world has equalled. . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: And Russia.

Mr. P. Mason: I am coming to Russia—Germany had under arms some eight million men. After the last war as I said just now, she was forced to reduce her army to 1,00,000 picked men. Every one of these one hundred thousand was a picked man and a leader and was kept in training for leadership; so that he kept in touch with the other men who had served before, and when the time came for expansion the army could expand rapidly, which she did in ten years. . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What about Cromwell and Washington?

Mr. P. Mason: But no one can say it was not on the basis of an officer cadre with a long tradition and experience behind it. Russia again is sometimes quoted; but she had an army of, I think speaking from memory, something of the nature of twelve million under arms in 1914-18. She reconstituted that army entirely, she changed the whole basis of it. But she had got an officer cadre and tradition to build upon. The only country I can think of, which could be said really to have started to build up an army at very short notice in modern times—I am not going as far back as Cromwell—is Italy, that unfortunate and wretched country which endeavoured to stab France in the back in the summer of 1940. Well, the House may remember that when that happened, I think it was Mr. Churchill who remarked to the Germans that in the last war, that is to say, the war of 1914-18, the Italians had been more of a nuisance than a help to us because we were called upon to provide them with officers in order to help them to run their army at all, and he thought that it would probably be the same for the Germans in this war and that in fact proved to be the case. A small number of British and Indian troops mopped up the Italians over the whole of North Africa and over the whole of Abyssinia and Eritrea, not because of any lack of courage in the Italian soldier—everyone who fought against him says that the Italian soldier himself had often great courage—but on account of lack of trained and good officers. Now, I am not trying to suggest—I should not dream of doing so—that Indian officers are not—some of them—just as good as British officers and that they are not going to be a magnificent corps of officers. They are, I am quite sure. But I do want to speak frankly, and as I have said before, with no intention of hurting any one's feelings—because it is sometimes forgotten—and sometimes in this House I think our debate lack reality because things have not been put sufficiently frankly—I do want to say that this Indian army of which we are all so proud—and I welcome the statements which I have heard from the other side of the House, referring to 'our' army and speaking of it with pride—I do want to recall that that army has been built up over 200 years. It has gone on steadily improving and it has improved since the last war and during the present war and; it was based originally on a relationship which I think is without parallel in the history of

the world and which I think was a good relationship—although it is now going and quite rightly—the relationship between the British officer and the Indian soldier. I have known Indian soldiers speak to me with obvious and sincere emotion and affection of their British officers. There have been many cases of Indian soldiers saving the lives of their British officers in the field of battle. I have also known cases of British officers saving the lives of Indian soldiers and I have known British officers, who would ordinarily have been thought to be men of the most stolid and unemotional nature, speak with deep emotion and even with tears in their eyes of the affection they felt for their Indian soldiers. Now, Sir, that relationship, I think, was a good one. It is now yielding to two other relationships. The British officer will become increasingly an adviser and a technical adviser rather than a commander and he has in this war had to take over a new and a much more difficult relationship in working side by side with the Indian officer. We constantly hear of unhappinesses that have arisen in that relationship but we do not hear quite so often of the very fine friendships which have arisen particularly on the field of battle. The troubles arise when people come back and sit at home in peace but the friendships arise in battle and I do hope that we will all try to remember that that friendship does exist and that there is something to be said for building on the past and bearing in mind the help which British officers have given and that we shall not try to build up the new Indian army entirely at one stroke. I think if we remember that, it will bring a feeling of reality into our discussion of these problems.

Mr. Mohammad M. Killedar (Bombay Northern Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the time allotted to the speakers is very little and still every speaker would like to speak in detail touching all the subjects but seeing, that the time is very short I would like to refer only to one important subject—a subject of very great public importance—regarding the cattle wealth of India and milk production in India. If you look to the statistics, the milch cattle in India are somewhere about 219 millions. It is about one third of the total milch cattle population of the world and the production of milk out of that one third total population is only 12 per cent. of the total milk production of the world. Comparing with other countries, you will see that in Germany there are 25 million milch cattle, while the production of milk in that country is equal to that of India. The total production in India comes to somewhere about 6,200 lakhs of maunds. Out of that products like butter, *ghee*, *khowa*, etc. are manufactured and only one fourth of that production remains for use for drinking purposes. The state of affairs is so bad that the cattle wealth and the production is decreasing year by year in India. The *per capita* consumption between the year 1935 and 1940 has gone down by twelve per cent. You will find that the conditions are deteriorating every year and the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, I am afraid, are not taking any precautions. Besides that there are various kinds of diseases prevalent among cattle which are most dangerous and which the Government must take into immediate consideration. I would refer to one kind of disease which is more prevalent in the Bombay Presidency and that is called rinderpest. That disease is taking a toll of the lives of cattle every year and it particularly attacks those cattle which are newly brought to Bombay from up country. Another disease which is prevalent at present is the foot and mouth disease. There is no remedy which can check this disease but certain steps are taken with no effect. I should like the Government of India to go into details and make some researches to find out some remedies for this particular disease. Sir, recently the Government of India invited certain experts from England and reports have been prepared by these experts. A committee also was appointed to go through the details and find out the causes of such diseases and suggest ways and means to improve milk industry. Dr. Pepperall, the Milk Marketing Adviser to the Government of India was invited from England and he went through the question in detail. He has suggested various remedies in respect of improving the cattle wealth and increasing the production of milk in India. In his report, he has suggested that the present

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cattle population, if properly fed, should be capable of providing the whole of India with a large supply of milk on the basis of one lb. for each nursing mother and child and 8 oz., per adults. Similarly the milk Sub-committee has reported in the same manner. But I am afraid the Government of India have not taken any steps to solve this problem. The Milk Committee which was appointed by the Government of India last year also referred to this as one of the main recommendations:

"In the opinion of the committee insufficient supply of cattle feeds is one of the serious handicaps in increasing the production of milk."

Further on they say:

"Although there is shortage of cattle feeds taking the country as a whole, there are substantial quantities available in certain areas but due to the difficulties of transporting them, they are not utilised as economically as they ought to be."

From these expert opinions and their recommendations, we find that cattle feed is available in certain quarters, but owing to difficulties in transport, they are not being brought to places where they are required. Sufficient quantity and good quality cattle feed is not available where it is needed. Sir, I am sorry to state that the Government of India inspite of the recommendations of the milk committee and inspite of the opinion of the expert imported from England, have been carrying on exports of cattle feeds from India to outside places. In his report, Dr. Pepperall from England has recommended in clear terms that "India can no longer afford to sell her fertility and milk producing concentrates; they are required for the urgent task of feeding Indian cattle. A total ban on the export overseas of oilseeds or cattle cakes derived from Indian grown seeds should be imposed and kept rigidly in force".

This is the recommendation made by Dr. Pepperall in April 1945. We are now in March 1946 and I am sorry to say that still export of oilseeds is in progress. Only recently a long telegram was received by some of the Honourable Members of this House from the Grain Merchants Association, Bombay protesting against the export of groundnuts from India to other countries. When foreign experts themselves recommend not to export such things but to keep them for use in India where they are necessary, I am sorry the Government of India are not taking any precautions against the depletion of such concentrates and the export of such foods from India.

Sir, referring to the price of milk, Dr. Pepperall said:

"No sounder way can be evolved than fixation of the producers price for milk on the basis of the cost of efficient milk production plus a reasonable margin of profit."

Several other suggestions are made by him to fix the price of milk at the place where it is produced as well as at the place where it is sold. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments are not taking steps in this direction. They are trying to bring down the price of milk by indirect methods. They are trying to import condensed milk and dump them into the country at places where milk is not available. Particularly in Bombay, we find that milk is short supplied and sufficient quantity is not available. The Government are trying to import skimmed milk powder and after diluting it with water, they are trying to introduce it in the market and thus trying to reduce the price of milk by indirect methods. This is not the proper way, it will do more harm than good, to the industry. Instead of trying to reduce the price of milk in such a way, the best way for the Government of India and the Provincial Governments would be to subsidise milk industry as it is done in other places. In Great Britain during the period 1932 to 1940, in eight years, a subsidy of 40 crores was granted to milk industry. During 1932-38 the cattle industry was subsidised with £18,594,584. Similarly the milk subsidy was £5,696,561. On drink more milk propaganda they spent about £60,000. Altogether they spent nearly 40 crores during 1932 to 1940. In India, except in the Bombay presidency, I do not think anywhere else Government gave any subsidy for this sort of scheme. The Government of Bombay has introduced the subsi-

dised milk scheme under which all the children under the age of six years are benefited. The Government of Bombay is supplying them pure milk at half price and they are supplying genuine milk. I must say that the traders in milk have assisted the Government of Bombay to a very great extent, and it is due to these people that the Government of Bombay have succeeded so much. I hope Bombay Government will realise this and will try to assist the traders also wherever it is possible.

Sir, before closing my speech I should like to say a few words on the matter of education.

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member proposes to go to another point he has hardly any time left; that is the unfortunate part of it.

Mr. Mohammad M. Killekar: I will take only one minute. I will only point out that the way in which educational matters are handled in Ajmer-Merwara is very regrettable. There the officers appointed are meted out preferential treatment and the Muslims are not given any chance to come and compete for these educational posts. The best way to appoint these officers would be to appoint them on the advice of the Public Services Commission who will appoint the best and most suitable men. Sir, I have done.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava (Food Member): Sir, if I rise to intervene in this debate it is only because I find that some Honourable Members have referred to the question of food in the course of the discussion and I feel that perhaps they would like me to clarify some of the points. I shall first of all tell the House what has been the result up to date of the negotiations which we have been carrying on at Washington for the import of foodgrains. The up-to-date position is that there are indications that the likely allocations to India for the first half of 1946 will be 1.4 million tons of wheat and maize and 150,000 tons of rice, making a total of 1.55 million tons. I should like to stress that these are the allocations which we are likely to get; it does not follow from that that all that stuff will reach India during that period. As the House is aware, we asked for an import of 4.27 million tons during the whole of 1946; the figure of .27 represents the quantity which was already promised to us to arrive before the end of April. This quantity would have seen the country through 1946 but, as I say, the indications are that in the first half of 1946 we shall not get more than 1½ million tons roughly. The allocations represent about 64 per cent. of our demand. As I stated in another place, talks are still going on and no firm allocations have yet been made which one can depend on. It is therefore premature to say what we are going to get. Still the House ought to realise the difficulties of the problem. We have done our best, our delegates have fought the battle very well indeed, and if we do not get more than what is indicated it will be due to no fault of theirs.

Then I should also like to stress that mere allocations mean nothing; we must have arrivals in this country. It is only then that food can go into consumption, and although we are ready with our transport plans in this country we do not yet know whether the transport from the other side would be as rapid.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad (United Provinces Southern Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Have Government got any estimate about prices also?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I am afraid not. Now, Sir, whatever may be said, the fact that the delegation has succeeded in getting a fairly substantial quantity of foodgrains from the Washington Food Board—which they would not have got if they had not got the entire question reopened and re-examined—justifies our sending that delegation.

Babu Ram Narayan Singh (Chota Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Will that amount be enough for the country?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: No. I have said that 64 per cent. of our demands has been met. I do not want to hold out a rosy pic-

[Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava]

ture; we are in for difficult times but I should like to tell the House what measures we have adopted in this country internally to meet the situation.

Sri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: Indian Commerce): Was any approach made to Russia and Argentina as I suggested here?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: We cannot approach Russia direct but have to go through His Majesty's Government. That we have done.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (East Central Punjab: Muhammadan): Has the danger of famine been removed?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: No, I am not saying that at all. But at the same time when these foodgrains come into our hands we should be much better off to fight the famine than we were before we received the promise.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Are we to understand that the deputation from India was not allowed by the British Government to go to the U.S.S.R.?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: There was no question of the delegation going to the U.S.S.R. The delegation went only to the U.K. and the U.S.A. to argue before the Combined Food Board at Washington.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): Will the Government of India consider the question of sending another delegation to the U.S.S.R. under the leadership of the Honourable Member?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I will consider the suggestion whether it is necessary to send a delegation to the U. S. S. R. We are in communication with His Majesty's Government on that matter.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir (Nominated Non-Official): May I know if it is not a fact that the leader of the delegation, who has now gone to Europe and America, did appeal openly to Russia for help in regard to food and no reply was given by Russia?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I believe that appeal was made to the U. N. O. I am not aware whether he got a reply, or not.

An Honourable Member: Ask him.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: The leader will soon be back and then we shall know better.

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir: Is it not a fact that that statement appeared in the press, namely that an appeal was made and no reply was received?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I do not carry everything that appears in the press in my head. (Interruption.)

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

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: In dealing with the food situation in this country, Sir, references have been made by Honourable Members. The most notable speech was that of Mr. Lawson of the European Group. I see he is here.

Shri Sri Prakasa: He is always there!

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: He accused us of lack of proper appreciation of the seriousness of the food situation. He said that the only gestures which the Government had made were not linked to reality; that the matter was being tackled departmentally, not by Government as a whole; and that there was a lack of vigorous measures as for instance the control of black-marketing.

I am sure, Sir, that the House realizes that Government are putting their best into this matter. They have done all that is possible. If Mr. Lawson will allow his attention to stray beyond the dining table and the vista, he will observe

that many things have happened during the last three months since the gravity of the famine has become known. The most important development of all has been the realism with which the leaders of all political parties—Congress, Muslim League, and everybody else—have come forward to assist in the solution of the food problem. The House must have noticed the very useful article by Mahatma Gandhi in his paper *Harijan*; the House must have also seen the most valuable statement of Mr. Jinnah; and also the Congress Resolution on food. This development of course is due very largely to the statesmanship which the public leaders have shown on a matter of this kind. But the very fact that everybody is supporting us over food shows that we have advanced a great deal since January last. The gratitude of the country is due to all these public leaders and also to His Excellency the Viceroy, if I may say so,

Babu Ram Narayan Singh: Not to the Government.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: who, through his sincerity and high purpose and by his personal approach to the leaders, has been largely responsible for bringing this result about. In the creation of the changed attitude, Provincial Governments, as also the Department of Food, have played their part. There was a time when in the United Provinces there was a great deal of agitation against the measures of the Government in connection with food. Today I find that Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, who is to be the Premier of the United Provinces in a very few days I hope, said that the psychological aspect of the food situation—scarcity—must be taken into consideration. He stressed the point that procurement has to be carried on if the cities are not to starve. I know some of my friends over there have got different ideas about procurement. I had the privilege of meeting some of them yesterday and talked matters over with them. I would be very glad to carry out their suggestions provided they realized that the primary responsibility for procurement is that of the Provincial Governments. I am not averse to any of the suggestions made so long as they can assure me that we shall get enough food to keep the cities going, and those areas going which do not grow enough.

Sri V. Gangaraju (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What about the villages? Who guarantees for them?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Now that we are going to have a popular Government in every Province within a few days, I am prepared to forward to the Provinces all the suggestions made in that regard. Then I shall go by what they say very largely.

We do claim that it was we who cried 'wolf' in this instance.

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): But too late.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: We raised the first alarm and I am very glad that we did so, because we have rallied the country round us.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan (North-West Frontier Province: General): What about the adjournment motion?

Shri Sri Prakasa (Benares and Gorakhpur Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): You let the wolf in!

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Other steps which we have taken since January last have been given out in the course of the food debate which took place a short while ago, and I do not wish to cover the entire ground, but I would like to remind the Honourable Members of some of them at least. The House knows full well what frantic efforts we have made to secure imports. We have done our best. If we have failed it is no fault of ours. We could not have done any more.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Does the Honourable Member know that large stocks of cereals are held underground by unscrupulous dealers? Has the Government done anything to find out those stocks?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: That is the next point and that is the mobilization of internal resources. A good deal of progress has been made in Provinces like the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Sind in the system of procurement, in the extension of rationing and in the enforcement of the food control orders. There may be stocks lying somewhere underground, but I can tell the House that we have stressed the paramount necessity of enforcing the food control orders. If my friends can give me a single instance like that, I will not fail to get down to it at once.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: There are certain individuals in the

Mr. President: Order, order. Let him proceed.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: The next thing is the extension of rationing. We have already about 53 millions of people under rationing. We hope very soon we shall have a much larger number. Smaller towns are being rationed and I believe in Bombay all towns of 10,000 have now been rationed. The Punjab is extending its rationing system. The Punjab had not seen the necessity of the introduction of rationing in their territory, but now they see that they must make a sacrifice for those who are likely to starve.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Can you ration the population?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Whatever may be said, one of the major actions which the Food Department has taken and over which it has secured the unanimity of the Provinces, and I should say the public, is the cut in rations.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: It could not be helped.

Shri Sri Prakasa: He has gone so thin himself in consequence.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: That is a very important factor because if we did not do that, perhaps we might have gone on for the next two months or so and after that there would have been starvation on a huge scale. I am very glad that this action on the part of the Food Department has now been generally accepted. To achieve this object we had established personal contact with the various Governments and States. We flew officers to many of the Governments and we have, I believe, now been able to convince them of the necessity of the step that we suggested.

Sreejot Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam Valley: Non-Muhammadan): I think the Honourable Member wants light!

Mr. President: He is quite all right.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Another important thing which I feel we have been able to achieve is to maintain the price level. In spite of the scare that was raised, prices have not wobbled a great deal. There was a tendency in the beginning for prices to soar up but since then prices have steadily come down.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: In the United Provinces the price is Rs. 18 per maund. That is the Honourable Member's own province.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: That may be in some particular shop.

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad: All over India.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I do not know. But on the whole my report is that prices have not wobbled a great deal. That is a tribute to the Provinces who have been able to maintain the prices.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: What about the cost of distribution.

Mr. President: Order, order.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Now the claim that the Government of India deals with food on a purely departmental basis, each Secretary sitting down and passing orders is, I submit, entirely wrong.

Babu Ram Narayan Singh: No.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: It shows an ignorance of what is being done actually. We have repeatedly given out what we are doing.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Just passing orders!

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: But perhaps some Honourable Members have not paid attention to what we have said. I want to tell the House that once a week all matters concerning food go to the Executive Council. There is a weekly summary.

Mr. P. K. Salve (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Is the Honourable Member growing more files?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: No, Sir. I do not grow anything—neither food nor files. (Interruptions.)

Mr. President: Order, order.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Once a week the Executive Council discusses food. Just below the Executive Council there is the Food Committee of Council which is programmed to meet once a week. That Committee too is presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I am the Vice-President of it and on that Committee we have various Members of Council who are likely to be interested in food, e.g., the Commandér-in-Chief, the War Transport Member, the Finance Member, and so on.

Shri Sri Prakasa: They are all interested in food!

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: This Committee discusses things at a fairly high level. We have an inter-departmental committee, which meets once a week. This committee consists of the Secretaries of the Food, War, War Transport, Agriculture, Health, Finance, Political and Information Departments.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What about Transport?

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: Yes, I have said Transport, and they come to far-reaching decisions. Things are decided there. I could give examples of the decisions taken but time won't permit. The steps we have taken to control the black markets were given out by the Honourable Mr. B. R. Sen in the speech which he made before the House last February. I need not go into them. Sir, last, but not least, we have succeeded in enlisting the full co-operation of the States. We had a conference of the Indian States. We had a conference with their Rulers and they have agreed to accept every detail of our policy and to carry it out in the interests of India as a whole.

Now, Sir, I submit this is not a mean achievement. I do not know what more can be done in the existing circumstances. We are trying, we are open to any suggestions, any ideas, that may come from any section of the House or from any member of the public.

Babu Ram Narayan Singh: Send more food to Chota Nagpur.

Mr. President: Order, order.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: I submit it is a little unfair to accuse the Food Department of lack of proper appreciation of the gravity of the situation. We are very conscious of it and we are doing our best. I do not think I have anything more to say except to thank the House for the general support they have given us.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Sir, may I put one question? What is the Government doing in order to assure the growers a remunerative price? You refer the House again and again only to the Bengal Report.

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava: As I told my friend yesterday when he met me in conference, I have asked him to give me a note on his suggestions and I have undertaken to forward it to the Madras

[Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava]

Government as soon as the Ministry is formed. I must consult them and I shall abide by their views in the matter very largely.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: Are the present Advisers no good?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: Sir, I must apologise for inflicting myself on the House once again. I assure you no one could hate making a speech more than I do. But as I said before I am the only representative of a whole Province. They have not got a Muslim League Member and they have not got an unattached member and I would be failing in my duty both to you and my people if I did not bring to your notice some of the hardships and problems of the people of my Province.

Do not for a minute imagine that they are light things, because I talk on them lightly. You will have to take your frontiers seriously if you mean to have a safe free India. When you live in a community of robbers, the most important part of your house is not the drawing room but the boundary wall. It should be high and strong. We are living in a world that is ambitious and unscrupulous, that has an unquenchable thirst for possession and a strong stomach for blood—a world that is all claws and scales and hunger and appetite. In such a world the most important part of the country is not the capital but the frontier.

Now take a look at the four boundary walls that surround this national home of ours. On the north we have China torn and worn out, staggering and bleeding. You shake your head in sorrow and sympathy but you know that she cannot jump over the wall and break into your house.

An Honourable Member: Why not?

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: She cannot. If you turn south you see our long exposed coast line in the tender care of a handful of discontented sailors and an armful smart young WRENS. It does make one shudder but one feels that we do need protection there but not just now. We need not worry about danger from that side just yet.

Those little African and Asiatic Kingdoms and Colonies and republics and protectorates and trusts and what not are too small and poor to be a source of any anxiety to India.

On the East you have the same hotch-potch—Java, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, Siam, Assam and what not.

Now turn to your West wall. Don't you see something to feel worried about. All along the wall you have the Tribal Belt, the most uncontrollable, the most inflammable and explosive substance in Asia. Here lives a free lancer, a soldier of fortune. The tribesman is not bound to you by anything. Economically, socially and morally you have no claims on his love, friendship and fidelity. You have never tried to know him. You have never bothered to help him. Beyond the tribes is the anaemic monarchy of Afghanistan which always looks with longing at the Karachi port. I thought my Honourable friend Mr. Yusuf Haroon would be interested in what I am saying.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: I represent him here.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: Afghanistan thinks that the Port of Karachi with the Indus river will make a better boundary line than the present boundary. But if wishes were horses every beggar would ride. We may have conveniently ignored Afghanistan a year ago but we cannot today, because we cannot ignore what is beyond Afghanistan—Russia.

Sir, being a Pathan I do not know the gentle arts rigmorole, camouflage and beating around the bush. So I will say plainly what I think about Russia.

Russia is strong, Russia is arrogant, Russia is full of wind and glory and Russia is going to expand until it bursts. She may call it defence, she may call it security, I do not care what. Russia has a message for the world and

plenty of tanks to convince the world of its truth. The Russian message is for the stomach, a promise to empty stomachs of fullness and plenty. Poverty is Russia's fifth column and India is very poor. Russia has come out of the war with a fanatic faith in her message and unshakable confidence in her power. Fanatics do not understand little things like boundaries, tradition and history and customs and rights. Otherwise they could not be fanatics. Russia is the aggressor today definitely. We would not like England to walk out just in time for Russia to walk in.

I have nothing much against the Russian message. I only object to it because it is Russian and not Indian. I would hate to have a mixture of frenzy and vodka mashed with Marx and Lenin pushed down my throat because Brother Stalin likes and thrives on it. I want India to develop her own destiny and if she works out a communistic solution I would be the first one to embrace it, because it will be India's solution, my solution—a cure suggested by my own history and instinct and experience for my growth. Nothing foreign is good, least of all ideas.

I also object to Brother Stalin's methods of defence. Imperialism is as damnable in the name of the poor man as it is in the name of a King. The only thing in which Stalin is different from Peter the Great are the mustachios. Today he feels Azerbaijan and the Dardenelles are essential for the defence of Russia; tomorrow he may feel the same way about Lahore and the Bay of Bengal. What then? It will be goodbye to Pakistan and "Long live Moscow". If you do not want that to happen, if you want India to grow in its own way, to work up for the realisation of its own dreams, you must bring the whole of India into a closely knit crackless mass. There should be no loose joints and no weak parts: otherwise there would be no resistance. You have to have mass volume bound together with a common will and a common hope to resist.

The Frontier Area which is your most vital part today is the most loosely attached also. The Pathan has no social, cultural or racial links with the rest of India. Strangely enough our only link is the rule of the Englishman. He brings you from Bombay and me from Peshawar to put up this Punch and Judy show. When he goes the bond will go. Why should I come then? That is the question.

Today the Englishman is sitting hard on you and also sitting hard on me. We are like prisoners in the same cage. We are working together because we both want to get out. We are straining, struggling, pulling and pushing together, making a common effort towards a common end. But once the cage is broken the justification for the common effort is gone: you go to your home and I go to mine. Why should we ever see one another again unless we have some common interest or profit, or better still common ideals and common hopes. That is the only basis of unity. That is the strongest chain for binding people. The six million and more Pathans—by the way, our beloved rulers do not even know the real number of their adoring Pathan subjects even to this day in spite of their ruling over us for 100 years and more, most of our population is estimated and you know what these gentlemen's estimates are—so I will say six million approximately, it might be more, because the tribes always give their number less as they are afraid of the evil eye of the British and now they have to come out with their true number because if they gave a less number they will get less cloth—So these six million Pathans are not only willing but anxious to have common hopes and ideals with the rest of India. But the question is: Is India willing to accept them? If you could do without us then I would not worry you. But if you cannot, then you must revise your whole estimate of the N.-W. F. P. I do not mean financial estimate; I mean moral estimate. You will have to convince us that you look upon us as a most vital and important part of India. You must help us come to your level economically, educationally and spiritually. The illiterate Pathan could not have a sustaining friendship with the learned pundit. I could not—even on my best waziri horse—keep pace with your aeroplane. An undeveloped Frontier Province in an industrialized India will not be a part of

[Khan Abdul Ghani Khan]

India but a victim of India. We would be shoved farther apart rather than brought closer together. The exploiter and exploited never love one another. If you want us to be one with you you must make us one with you—in education, development and prosperity.

Ours is the most illiterate province. We want schools, colleges, a University, technical education, lady doctors, teachers, hospitals.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Why lady doctors in particular?

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: Because the Pathan woman observes purdah. We have no industries although there is scope for hundreds of them. Our mountains are full of minerals but they cannot be dug out with bare hands. We are far behind everywhere and in everything, because we cannot afford to keep pace with you. We have had a great past and even now some beautiful traditions, but you cannot eat a great past and you cannot wear beautiful traditions. In short, Sir, if you want to protect your left boundary wall, the side that is the most exposed and the most threatened, you will have to make an effort to make us a real part of India. These half-hearted subsidies and subventions won't do. So far, all this money for the schemes is divided as so much per head. Now, there is a lot of difference in a Madrasi head and a Pathan head. The Madrasi head is educated, trained and advanced to a degree. The Pathan head is ignorant, undeveloped and backward. How could you treat them the same? You must take our peculiarities into consideration and give us special concession in the forthcoming schemes of development. Let the money be allotted according to necessity rather than numbers, so that at the end we will have a uniform, healthy and progressive India.

About the subvention that you give us yearly I have a proposal to make. A sum was mentioned by our Deputy Leader, Mr. Asaf Ali, a few days ago. Suppose instead of giving us a crore of rupees every year—for goodness knows how long—you give us a loan of twenty crores of rupees and discontinue the subvention. We shall pay it back in twenty years. We will have developed some industries on our side. I would take the responsibility of convincing my Province to accept the deal, if you would agree that it is the cheapest way out of it because you do not know for how long you will have to pay us. Twenty crores is nothing for India. In the India of tomorrow if you mean to do all these things that you talk about, twenty crores is a flea bite.

You must help us build ourselves. You must lend us money, help us earn and teach us how to spend. The Pathans are your first line of defence. Every help to the Frontier of India is a help towards the defence of India. A hospital or school built in the Frontier Province or the Tribal Territory will do more to defend India than a battleship or a bomber. Forget the old picture of the Pathan painted into your minds by the genius and effort of the Political Department. The job of the Political Department was to divide and break up, to scatter and to weaken. That is the natural and logical behaviour of any efficient foreign ruler. Otherwise he cannot rule. It is our job to unite, to strengthen, to build and defend our India. Therefore we must forget all those destructive images. We on our part will forget that the Government of India used us only as a training ground for its troops. The Commander-in-Chief, the Viceroy, and the dear, sweet, loving, gentle Christian, Winston Churchill, have all had their first taste of blood and glory and murder in the N.-W. F. P. Anyway we will forget all that. You were never given a chance to help us and we were never given a chance to make friends with you. It is because I feel that we might get an opportunity to create our own world very soon that I have said these few words which the Honourable the Finance Member will flick away with the charming complement and a friendly smile, as having nothing to do with the Finance Bill.

Here I might be allowed to tell you a financial incident. A big Khan from the Tribal Territory called on a very rich Khan of Hati. The Khan of Hati who was the richest in the Province wanted to talk of nothing else but money. He

turned to the poor but famous tribal Khan and enquired "How much money have you got?" The Tribal Khan got furious and said, "What? Ask me how many battles I have fought in, how many forts I have broken into, how many horses and rifles and younger soldiers I have? Do you think I am a shop-keeping *bania* that you ask me about money?" As I am a descendant of one of those I have no hesitation in admitting that I do not know anything about finance. But I think I know what is the most important part of a Finance Bill. It is the spirit of it, the path of its will and the goal that it intends to achieve. It does not really matter how you worship. The really important thing is what you worship. Looked at from this background that I have attempted to picture the Finance Bill appears to be the same sour old spinster with her face lifted and a little cleverly applied makeup by the Finance Member. I have much to say. But in view of the shortness of time I shall say only this. My Honourable friends, a period of test is upon us. You have told the country big things. You have painted before them a picture of a free, strong, powerful and prosperous India which the bad, cruel Englishman would not let you build. Now the Englishman is threatening to become invisible. The leaders must justify the effort and sacrifice at the end of the journey. You will have to give an account to your followers, of every drop of blood, every minute of torture. You must justify your principles. Only a technical freedom will not do. It might do for the man who has everything but it won't do for the millions who will have nothing but freedom. Freedom is a different thing to different people. To the hungry, food is freedom. To the poor, money is freedom. To the tortured, comfort is freedom. When you talk of freedom to the hungry, he naturally thinks that you are talking of food. When you talk of freedom to the poor man, he thinks that you are talking of comforts. And now when he hears that you have got your precious freedom for which you took his blood and his life, he will want his share, his bread, his comfort. You will have to give him not only bread and comfort but conviction and hope, if India is to live. You cannot fail. If you do, neither you nor India will live to lament the failure. The steps that I have suggested are a small effort in the right direction. They will convince a small but important section of your followers that you have not been telling them the lie all these years.

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

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

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda (United Provinces: Landholders): At long last, Sir, I have got an opportunity to say just a few words. I assure you I shall not take more than a few minutes.

Much water has already flown on the Finance Bill; nevertheless we from this side of the House must register our dissent and say that this Finance Bill does not travel sufficiently far in favour of the poor and as such I must vote against the Bill. No provision has been made to subsidise food. In the last famine in Bengal, deaths were caused owing to two reasons: firstly, the lack of food, and secondly because the purchasing power of the poor man was at a low ebb; and it still remains the same. When prices are put down in general, they must also be put further down for the poor man: they must be prices at which a poor man can afford to purchase food at a certain rate and a well-to-do man can purchase that food at a higher rate. As such there must be some way of coming to the assistance of the poor man. You have subsidised nefarious anti-Indian propoganda in the name of war. You had M. N. Roy and you still have Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai at it. Sir G. S. Bajpai gets a fat sum and so on and so forth. Why cannot you subsidise the food of the poor man?

Thanks to my Honourable friend, Mr. Ayyangar by his cut in Broadcasting, we have saved to the extent of Rs. 93 lakhs. I hope and trust the Finance Member will utilise this amount towards relieving the poor man by reducing

the rate on postcards, matches or salt. I would like to make a suggestion to abolish the Publications Division altogether and thus we can have a further sum of money for the relief of the poor. This Information Department has done intense anti-Indian propaganda towards Indian nationalism. In season and out of season, its one work has been to give India a bad name and to say that the Indian politicians have been doing all sorts of dirty work and so on. This Information Department does not need any consideration. It should be done away with by one stroke of the pen.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the Planning Member, found it impossible to get on with this bureaucracy: he was by far the only member who wanted to do a lot in the reshaping of things. His economic adviser said in a press statement that the atmosphere for economic planning of the right type did not exist because the outlook of the bureaucracy has not changed.

Sir, India is suffering at international conferences and she is not given a vote for the simple reason that if India is given a vote, England will make use of it. Russia and China and such other countries do not like India getting a vote because England will make use of it and not because India does not deserve it. So, if India gets freedom she will have an independent vote and she can utilise that vote according to her own wishes.

In the meanwhile I would suggest that Sir G. S. Bajpai should restrain himself. Instead of interesting himself in better things for instance, like our brethren in South Africa where he really could do a lot of good to his own people who are in imminent danger these days, Sir G. S. Bajpai is far more interested in trying Japanese War criminals. I shall read a few lines from the *Hindu* of the 28th February which says:

"Sir G. S. Bajpai took the initiative in moving a resolution for trying the Japanese War Criminals."

Now, I ask, what have we got to do with Japanese war criminals? We as a free country would like to have good relations with Japan. (*An Honourable Member*: Certainly.) We had nothing to do with the war; we have nothing to do with her war criminals. Why should Sir G. S. Bajpai, who is supposed to be our Agent and Ambassador and what not, go out of his way to suggest that the Japanese should be tried lock, stock and barrel? That is not his job. In my opinion this House would do well if it registered its dissent and asked the Government of India to withdraw him immediately. Instead of doing a service, he is doing an absolute disservice to his country . . .

Mr. President: The time limit may be remembered by the Honourable Member.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Quite so, Sir. I happen to be an unattached member and so I dare say you will kindly allow me some more time.

Then there is this Estate Duty Bill or if you prefer to call it, the death duty Bill. I do not know what to say about it—whether it is Sir Archibald Rowlands' parting kick or parting kiss—I do not know which—but I can tell you it will reduce every middle class family to poverty and it takes away the charm in looking forward to leaving something for ones children. It is said that this duty has been levied in England. Granted there are many things which an Englishman does and which we do not do or like here. In my humble opinion, when such a taxation is contemplated, would it not be better and right to leave that matter entirely to the future Government? This was first proposed in 1925 and surely there was no need to take it up again now. May be that some Honourable Member might have suggested it, but that does not mean that the Finance Member should have agreed to it and brought it up now.

In addition to this, there is to be taxation on agricultural lands. It will reduce the unfortunate land lord, if you like to call him that, to absolute poverty, and it will reduce the middle class man as well,—let alone the rich. In that connection, on the last occasion when I got a chance to speak I wanted

to say something about the schools and colleges to which zemindars and talukdars and princes were being sent. In my humble opinion the Government should do away with all such schools like the zemindars' schools and talukdars' schools and princes' colleges. In these colleges they teach us how to bend before an Englishman and they teach us to be snobbish and to look down upon our neighbour. Although I am an old student of the Mayo College, Ajmer and I call it my old institution, yet I think it is high time that the princes' and talukdars' and zemindars' schools and colleges are done away with . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member's time limit is now up.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Quite so, Sir. But since you have given me a chance, I must say a few words more. I very rarely get a chance . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will bring his remarks to a close within a minute.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Sir, in 1932, when the salt tax was being discussed—I have got to end, Sir, if you insist, and so I am finishing—Mr. Churchill first uttered the word "Quit India." He said it long before we said it. Now, I will just read to your one little passage—it will be interesting.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: He is the salt of the earth.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Mr. Churchill in 1932, quoted by Mr. Edward Thompson in his book "The Reconstruction of India", said: here is what Mr. Churchill said:

"Far rather would I see every Englishman quit the country, every soldier, every civil servant embark at Bombay, than that we should remain clutching on to the control of foreign relations and begging for trading facilities, while all the time we were the mere cloak of dishonour and oppression."

This was said 14 years ago and we are a bit late in saying it now and as Mr. Churchill, their own leader, has said so, I also join and wish them God-speed in their departure.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I rise to oppose the motion and ask the House to throw out the Bill at this very stage. I am not doing it by way of a theatrical gesture as was pointed out by Mr. Siddiqi but for very good reasons and as I shall presently show they are not purely political.

To begin with, I may tell the Honourable the Finance Member that I have not been able to persuade myself to congratulate him for his rather clever performance, I call it deliberately clever because he did succeed in creating a favourable impression here and outside and in winning applause and bouquets for his new approach and honest effort. Sir, his charming personality and eloquent speech, particularly the introductory remarks did the trick. His almost pathetic statement that this was his first and last speech, his frank recognition of the existing state of deplorable conditions in India, so unusual in his predecessors and his earnest appeal to the leaders on this side of the House to take over responsibility had the desired effect and I am sure that Honourable Members on scrutinising the budget proposals must have felt greatly disillusioned and must have realised that the war against poverty and its allies, hunger, starvation, ill health, illiteracy, unemployment and under-nourishment had as much reality as the mango plant produced by the magician.

Now, coming to his first observation, that this was his first and last speech and the national government was going to be installed in a few weeks time. While reading the budget proposals in the light of this observation I was reminded of a very interesting and instructive story. Once upon a time the rains failed over a considerable area just as they have failed this year and there were conferences and consultations and it was decided to organise and hold a sacrifice, a *Yag*. The high priest while going to the sacrifice asked his young son, Rama, about five or six years old to accompany him and Rama before joining his father began to look for an umbrella. His father was astonished, rather annoyed at the delay and he asked him why he was wanting to bring an umbrella and the boy retorted and said—are not we holding the sacrifice for bringing down

rains. Shall we not have rain? Therefore we should have umbrellas. Sir, that boy Rama had greater logic and faith than the high priest and, shall I say, than our financial high priest, Sir Archibald Rowlands. I ask myself whether the budget to be framed by a national government will be of the same shape and structure as that presented by the Honourable the Finance Member. Will the salaries and allowances of the Honourable Members of the Government remain as high as at present and will the disparity between the salary of the lowest functionary in the Department and the highest officer still continue to remain as 1 to 400 as against 1 to 50 in one or two countries, which is the maximum. Then, Sir, again I ask myself whether the budget will be framed in the manner in which it has been framed now only to benefit a few at the cost of millions or to make the rich richer and to make the poor poorer, as is the characteristic of the present budget. Did the Honourable the Finance Member ask himself why his pathetic statement is not being believed by people outside, notwithstanding the speech of the Premier reinforced by the appeals from political leaders to have patience? Young India is sceptic about the Cabinet Mission and the reason is not far to seek. Is he not aware that many a time promises have been made and explained away? Promises made in the time of stress and strain were broken later on. Is he not aware of the English proverb—once bit, twice shy? In the case of India, it is not a case of being bitten once, twice or thrice. It is a question of having been constantly bled and even bled white, since the days of Warren Hastings and Clive to the days of Sir Jeremy Raisman and Sir Archibald Rowlands. I may tell the Honourable Member that the frame of mind in which young India finds itself is very well summed up in an Urdu couplet:

Uchak le shāhim to gham nahin hai qafas to kambakht toot jāi

Balā se kazzāq ā ke lootēn yeh pūsbānon ki loot jāi

'I won't be sorry if I am pounced upon by an eagle but this wretched cage should be broken'. I won't mind if I am plundered by the robbers. I want that this looting by our protectors and guardians should end. That is the frame of mind in which young India has been driven. Therefore, I want the Honourable the Finance Member to bear that in his mind and we cannot accept the motion placed before us, so long as the existing conditions prevail.

Coming to another observation of his, namely his reference to our external and internal foes, so far as India is concerned our external foe imperialism still remains unliquidated and this imperialism has given birth to Nazism and Fascism. Not only that, it is imperialism which has been responsible for all the wars during the last 200 or 300 years in world's history. So long as imperialism remains, India will have to fight this external foe. As regards the internal foes which he referred to, they are but, the offspring of this external foe, that is British imperialism. Our poverty, our starvation, our ill health, our under-nourishment and unemployment, they have all been bred during the last 200 years of British rule in India and they have permanently entrenched themselves in the seven lakhs of villages of India. I should like the Honourable the Finance Member to tell me what provision he has made in his budget to attack these citadels of poverty, ill-health and squalor . . .

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I will tell you in my reply.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Yes, you will tell me in your reply. But I have to tell you something. I want to tell him that so far as this side of the House is concerned, nobody is more anxious to banish poverty from this land than we, on these benches. We belong to an organisation which has worked from its very inception for the amelioration of the masses. From Dadabhai Naoroji and Romesh Chandra Datt to Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru—the one particular concern of every leader and worker of the Congress has been to ameliorate the condition of the masses. I do not want to develop this point further. I want to tell him one thing more. Before the advent of the British rule in India, India was regarded as the richest country in the world. Is it not a fact that the fabulous riches of the country have attracted the forefathers of my Honourable friend to this land.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Not of the masses. Read history.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Now, it cannot be denied that India has become the poorest country.

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil: That is why they are leaving India now.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: What I want to submit before the House is this. This budget is going to be worked by a national government or it is not going to be worked by a national government. If it is going to be worked by a national government, then it will have to be radically changed or altered beyond recognition. Therefore, we, on this side of the House, we the elected representatives of the people should not set our seal of approval on the proposals which the Honourable the Finance Member has brought before us. Let us see what he has done for these seven lakhs of villages. How do they fare in his budget? We find the tentacles of my Honourable friend, as the tax gatherer reaching the remotest hamlet. It is not possible to have a single morsel of food or even a pinch of snuff, nor even to have the slightest warmth of light without contributing to the coffers of my Honourable friend. Whether ill or well, whether employed or unemployed, he cannot but contribute to the tax gathering authorities.

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil: Now, they are going to tax the dead man also.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: On the other hand what do we find? We find that the hand of my Honourable friend as the ministering angel does not stretch beyond the limits of cities and even in cities, it does not reach beyond the high strata of society. This budget does not give relief to more than seven lakhs of persons, while seven lakhs of villages and the poor in the city go uncared for and unrelied. There is the question of feeding these people, there is the question of clothing these people. There is the question of housing them. I may inform the House that my Honourable friend Prof. Ranga has been pleading for a remunerative price for the producer. Even today the Honourable the Food Member said he would consider any suggestion that may be placed before him by Prof. Ranga and then he will pass it on to the Government of Madras. It was a great concession, as if Prof. Ranga could not write to the Premier direct and that he would require the good offices of the Honourable Food Member. I was reading the other day "*Free Press of India*" or Bombay and I find an article which gives the high cost of distribution. Three instances are given. First the instance of wheat. The cost of wheat in Bombay is Rs. 14-4-0 per Bengal maund, while the Chicago price is Rs. 8-8-0, the price quoted in Canada is Rs. 7 per Bengal maund and the cost of freight could not be more than Rs. 2 per maund. Again there is question of the *dal—arhar dal*—that is quoted at Rs. 9-8-0 a maund, while it is selling at Rs. 21-5-0 per maund. Why this difference of Rs. 11-13-0. The railway freight and the loading charges could not be more than Rs. 1-6-0 per maund. What about rice which is being had from the district of Thana. The consumers have to pay Rs. 48 per bag of 32 *pailis* and the private distributors have to pay Rs. 45-7-0, while the Government acquires it at Rs. 28-6-0 per bag of 32 *pailis*. Why this difference? Then, you will see that the producer is getting even much less than the rates at which it is being acquired. There are other intermediaries. My Honourable friend Prof. Ranga has been urging on the Government since the opening of this session and even today the Honourable the Food Member had the temerity to say, in reply to Prof. Ranga's suggestion that he has done as best as he could. I say this is the way in which Honourable Members on the other side are behaving. The Leader of the House has paid them compliments. True as collaborators of an alien Government they are supposed to have done their best. But so far as India is concerned, they have done their worst. India will never forgive them for their acts. So much about food. Then what about clothing. We know that weavers are going idle. They have no yarn to weave, there are people who are naked without clothing. There are cloth dealers, but they have no cloth to sell. Here is a Government which says they cannot do anything to relieve them. They cannot import machinery from abroad, and therefore they cannot increase the number of spindles. The

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

weavers therefore cannot do any work. My submission is that any Government would have utilised the present opportunity for building up new industries in the country and also placing the old ones on a firm footing. This was not done by the Government. This is my charge against them. While in other countries, new industries have sprung up with Government assistance. Even in England, notwithstanding the war, by having food control, not only were people provided with necessary food, even during war time, the stature of Englishman has increased by half an inch.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: By serving in the army.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: At our cost.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: So far as India is concerned, our raw products were taken away by the Government. Raw products are our very life blood and they were allowed to be taken away abroad. What did we get in return? Nothing but paper currency here and credits abroad which credits are not going to be honoured at the time when we need them most.

Shri Sri Prakasa: Demonitise them.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Then, Sir, I am very particular about cottage industries. I have told you that these cottage industries were systematically destroyed by British imperialism in the interests of British trade and industry. The handloom industry, the spinning wheel and all other cottage industries were destroyed. This period of six years was a golden opportunity for re-organising these industries, but nothing has been done, with the result that people are starving today and have no employment and no clothes. These points have been suggested from these benches ever since 1935 when we first came to this House. It was the late Mr. Satyamurti, the Deputy Leader of my party who asked that every village in this country should be given an assistance of Rs. 1,000, and that programme should be carried on
3 P.M. for at least five years. It was again suggested from these benches—**I believe by Pundit Govind Ballabh Pant**—that we should not be carried away by these orthodox consideration for framing budgets; we must raise a loan of 100 crores and finance these cottage industries and other industries. But nothing was done. With regard to cottage industries I put a question to find out how many persons in India are engaged in these industries and I was told that the information was not available.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Have you got it?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Yes; 55 million out of 400 million earn their living out of handicrafts. I want to know what they have done in this budget for handicrafts. You say you cannot get machinery from outside and if we do not get our sterling balances we will not suffer any great harm. On the other hand my information is that machinery is available in America. There are friends who have got letters to the effect that machinery can be had but because they have no dollars they cannot import the machinery. So if the British Government are not in a position to pay our sterling debts was it not the duty of the Finance Member to have raised a loan in America as other countries have done? Even the U.S.S.R. has gone to America to raise a loan; why was not a similar application made to the U.S.A. on behalf of India for raising a loan? At present we require these capital goods and that is only possible if we can have these sterling balances.

Then, Sir, there is so much talk about planning. What is being done for these cottage industries? There are so many panels set up in the Planning Department, but there is no panel for cottage industries. The National Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru was the first to initiate the work of planning in India covering all sectors of our national activities. The war and political developments interrupted the Committee's work. Subsequently the so-called Bombay Plan was prepared and published by a few industrialists. Towards the middle of 1944 the Department of Planning and Development was created with the blessings of Professor A. V. Hill, and Sir Ardeshir Dalal who was one of the signatories to the Bombay

plan became the Member. The Department was inaugurated with a bang and boosted sky-high. Many amorphous talks in vague generalities of planning followed. When Sir Ardeshir Dalal resigned the public were greatly disillusioned. Even the Department was not effectively planned, leave alone the question of actual planning. Professor C. N. Vakil's statement exposed the planning farce. He said:

"The planning machinery was fundamentally wrong in conception and defective in execution. Most of the planning was done outside the Department of Planning and Development than within it; the Department was supposed to co-ordinate plans made by others besides making industrial plans, but it did not have the necessary power and authority either to direct planning by other governmental agencies or to co-ordinate planned activities effectively. This resulted in a bewildering multiplicity of so-called plans without a uniform policy of common purpose."

Sir, I will not take any more time over this Planning Department. I have only to say that the most significant aspect of the present industrial planning is that panels have been formed to plan development but no panel for the cottage industries has been set up which can solve many of our economic losses, if we would only promote spinning and weaving, etc., on a nation-wide scale.

My Honourable friend Mr. Siddiqi said that because we have passed the demands it does not lie in our mouth to reject the Finance Bill. Sir, I do not agree with that view. As a matter of fact, the manner in which these demands are brought before us and the way they are discussed is a sufficient justification for our throwing it out at the consideration stage. We have passed all the 86 demands in four days, and it was all done in 15 hours; which means that for each demand we got not more than 10 minutes. So it is a fact that these demands could not be considered and scrutinised properly, and therefore that fact should not deter us from rejecting the Finance Bill. As a matter of fact it was through a clerical error that the demand for external publicity was not included in our cut motion. What happened was that my Honourable friend Mr. Ayyangar asked the party office to include some items in the cut which would come to 1 crore and 15 lakhs. But the office clerk calculated these heads and put down 93 lakhs and left the rest. As a matter of fact, the External Publicity Affair deserved the axe more than anything else.

Sir, I will refer to a pamphlet called "*India Tells The World*" which is a confidential document and meant for official use only. There it is said:

"The Kuomintang and Congress have much in common. They are both a kind of quasi-totalitarianism,—a kind of oriental fascism. Both have as their rallying cry opposition to a real or hypothetical enemy. The enemy of the Kuomintang was formerly western imperialism, but it is now the Japanese. Both tend to hold their leaders above reproach with the result that in both countries there are reactionary and dictatorial plans which appeal to the privileged few and to the masses for quite different reasons."

Sir, I will conclude by quoting my Honourable friend the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League party who said last year while opposing the Finance Bill:

"Mr. President, the policy of the Muslim League with regard to the Finance Bill has been consistently uniform since 1941. We have always opposed the measure on the ground that so long as we have no real share in the power and authority of the Government, we cannot take the responsibility of placing funds at their disposal to be spent in any way that they may like. Some people seem to be under the impression that the Muslim League has changed its policy with regard to this matter only since the presence of the Congress party in this House. It is not so. The number of votes or the result of division is not the consideration with the Muslim League. If we believe in a principle we stand by it irrespective of the fact whether the votes are a dozen or whether they are one hundred."

If there were good reasons for throwing out the Bill last year there are greater reasons for it this year. There was an appeal made by my Honourable friend last year that the Finance Member should take the party leaders into confidence; that was not done. This year while the Finance Member expects that these leaders will take office he did not have the courtesy to consult them. It means that the appeal made by my Honourable friend last year has not been heeded. Sir, I oppose the Bill.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Labour Member): Mr. President, I must at the outset thank you for the opportunity that you have given me to intervene in the discussion on the Finance Bill. Sir, I say so because the points on which I propose to dwell are not points which refer to the Labour Department of which I am in charge. In fact, so far as the discussions on the Finance Bill have gone, I am glad to say that no serious comment has been made against that Department. But I rise because I feel that my Honourable friend, Pandit Govind Malaviya, yesterday in speaking on the Finance Bill made certain observations with regard to the project of a college for the scheduled castes. Sir, ordinarily that matter I should have left in the hands of the representative of the Education Department to deal with because that project was examined by them and the Finance Department sanctioned it. All the part that I have played was to initiate the measure. But, Sir, the reason why I have thought it necessary not to leave the defence of that project in the hands of the representative of the Education Department is because I find that in presenting the case against that project I think my Honourable friend sought to give it a political colour. It is because of this that I have risen today to reply to the comments that he made.

My Honourable friend started by saying that he was amazed at the project, and when I read his speech I found that the amazement which he felt was based upon his understanding that this was nothing but the introduction of a sectarian spirit in the educational field. Sir, there is a proverb, and a very well known proverb, that a man who lives in glass houses should not throw stones. I wonder whether my Honourable friend, Pandit Malaviya, recognizes this fact. I am far more than amazed—I am astonished—that Mr. Malaviya should have risen up in his seat to preach nationalism to me or to any Member of this House. It is not a new thing to anybody that, so far as his personal habits are concerned, I think it is true to say that he will not even take water not only from an ordinary Hindu but I know he will not take water even from a Brahmin of another caste.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras Ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): He does equal justice!

Shri Sri Prakasa: Even Brahmins can be stupid!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: His ideals, if I may say so, are the ideals of a rat who believes that in order to keep his personal purity he must live in a hole by himself without any contact with any human being. And I should have thought that a man who believes in that kind of a thing should certainly think twice before talking against sectarianism or preaching nationhood to the people of this country. I should have thought that he ought to have known that he was or he is a great deal concerned with an institution which we all know as the Benares Hindu University. If it is not a sectarian institution, I would like to know what is a sectarian institution. Sir, I know and I can say that this University is not even a Hindu university; it is a University which is managed by the members of a single community—I shall not particularize it—and is managed in the interest of that particular community. I would like to ask my Honourable friend whether it is not a fact that on the staff of the Benares Hindu University there are hardly any non-Brahmins.

An Honourable Member: There are.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I would like to ask him whether there is not a standing resolution of the Benares Hindu University Court passed in 1916 whereby a non-Brahmin, no matter how well he is educated in Hindu dharma (in Hindu Law) is not entitled to function as a Professor of Hindu Religion. I would like to ask him whether he has forgotten that only a few months ago a Kayastha girl had to go on fast because she was refused admission in the Benares Hindu University in the Faculty of Theology. If that is not sectarianism, I would like to ask what it is.

As I was reading the proceedings of the debate yesterday, I found my Honourable friend, Mr. Ayyangar, uttering an exclamation, which is recorded by the Official Reporter, on a separate college for the Scheduled Castes. I wonder whether he is aware of what has recently happened in that town of Salem. He probably is forgetful of it.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I do not know.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Or he is so much preoccupied with politics that he did not know what his own community members are doing. I like him to peruse the papers of the 'Hindu' of Madras, not of some past year but of the 12th of this month. He will find that Salem Brahmanis met in a solemn conclave for the purpose of establishing a Brahman Sangh, for the purpose of protecting the interests of Brahmanis, for the purpose of starting a college for Brahmanis, for the purpose of starting industries for Brahmanis. And who was the President of that Conference? The great man Sachivotama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayer.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Your erstwhile colleague.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I do not know. When everybody in this country while talking of nationalism is practising sectarianism. . .

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: I am sorry for both.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: . . . for Members to come here and to tell a struggling community like that of the Scheduled Castes, who for the first time in their life have become conscious of their disabilities and are trying to found educational institutions in which they will be able to get higher education that they are acting in a sectarian spirit to my judgment is nothing short of impudence. I would like to tell this House that it is complete misnomer to say that this is a Scheduled Caste college. It is a college which like any other college is open to every community. There is no bar to any body.

Pandit Govind Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What is stated in the Budget?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Budget was before you for full one month, and you ought to have put a short notice question to ask for full details before you got up to oppose it. Now, as I said this is an institution which is open to every community. The college is not only open to all but the staff selected is also cosmopolitan. There are Hindus, there are Brahmins, there are non-Brahmins, there are Parsis, there are Christians, there are Muslims on the staff. And I like to tell the House that when the affiliation application came before the University of Bombay they had not the slightest hesitation to granting affiliation. In fact it was admitted that there was never such a project placed before the University of Bombay during all these years so well thought out. And if I may say so, this is the first instance in the whole history of the Bombay University where permission has been given to start a full-fledged college at the start. This is because, the organisation, the staff and the arrangements have been so good. The College therefore is in no sense a Scheduled Caste College. The only thing which the College will do so far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned is to give them preferential treatment in the matter of admissions and freeships and reservation in the hostel. I like to tell the House why the establishment of this college became necessary. Honourable Members are probably not aware that the Bombay Province at present is suffering from a terrible congestion of the student population. My Honourable friend, sitting opposite, Mr. Gadgil, will know that during last year nineteen new colleges were allowed to be opened by the Bombay University. That shows how difficult it is for boys to get admission. The Scheduled Castes boys suffered the most from this congestion because the Scheduled Caste boys after passing their matriculation were not able to get their admission in the different colleges. I therefore represented the matter to the Government of India that there should be an institution whose primary function should be to give preferential treatment to these boys. There is nothing else in this project which may be called sectarian or which may be called communal.

[Dr. B. R. Ambedkar]

Now, Sir, there was another matter which my Honourable friend introduced, and I am at a loss to understand why he introduced it. He introduced politics and he said that so far as the elections were concerned, I was a wash-out. I do not know what he wanted to convey. But I believe what he wanted to do was to give a hint that I should not have been listed to by the Government of India, or some such thing, which I do not know.

Pandit Govind Malaviya: Don't you?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, Sir, from what has happened in the elections it may be said that I am now a withered plant. But I like to tell my Honourable friends opposite that I am not dead at the roots. Not at all. My Honourable friend talked about the results of the election. He said that the Scheduled Caste seats were won by the Congress. Yes, they were. But what I like to ask my Honourable friend is, does he care to examine the ways and means by which this victory was obtained by the Congress?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: We are ready!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I would like to tell my friend of the ways and means that were adopted.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The usual accusation!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is not the usual accusation. It is a matter of proof which can be put to the test.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Do not tread on doubtful ground!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My Honourable friend ought to know that in many places the Untouchable voters have not been allowed to go even to the polls. I am referring to a case in the Satara District, which ought to be familiar to many Members of this House because in that district there was in existence what is called a parallel government. The Scheduled Caste voters from 361 villages were taken to the village Katcheri by the Hindu villagers. They were asked whether they were prepared to vote for the Congress candidate. When they refused, they were asked to sit in the Katcheri and a watch and ward was kept around them. They were not allowed to move. I can give many cases.

Pandit Govind Malaviya: Yes? please do!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Even the candidates of the Scheduled Caste opposed to the Congress were assaulted. Take a nearer case like that of Agra which has happened only recently. Fifty houses of the Untouchables were burnt on the day of election. Some twenty houses were looted in the absence of the voters who had been to the polls. In Cawnpore seven persons were murdered.

Diwan Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Who looted?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Hindus. Those are the ways and means by which these elections have been won. (Interruptions). I would like to tell my Honourable friend that the test whether the Congress has won these seats, or whether the Scheduled Castes Federation, which I represent, has won these seats, is to be decided not by the final elections. It would be stupid to do so. In a final election where the Untouchables sometimes form a microscopic minority of 5 per cent. as against a majority of 95 per cent. Hindus, it would be idiotic for any man to think that the final election was any test as to who represented whom. The real test is the test of the primary election. For the primary election is an election through a separate electorate of the Scheduled Castes. What has happened in the primary elections? Let me give my friends opposite some idea of the results of the Primary elections. In the Punjab there were three constituencies in which a primary election took place. In Bombay there were also three constituencies in which primary elections were held.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Out of how many?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Let me finish.

Mr. President: Let him proceed.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: In the Central Provinces there were four. In the Madras Presidency ten, in the United Provinces two. (Interruption). If my Honourable friend wants to know the fact, he ought to know that a primary election is not compulsory. Unless five people stand there cannot be a primary election and no Scheduled Caste wants a primary election because it involves a lot of expense and we have no black market money to finance it. (Interruptions). In all there have been 22 primary elections. They were all contested by the Congress. I want to tell the House that out of the 22 primary elections, 19 have been won by the Scheduled Castes Federation.

Diwan Chaman Lall: How many in the Punjab?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Wait a minute. In the Bombay Presidency—I cannot give the whole lot of figures because my time is short . . .

Pandit Govind Malaviya: It may go against you!

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: In the Bombay City there were two constituencies in which the primary election was fought. One was the Bytulla constituency. The Scheduled Castes Federation candidate got 11,834 votes and the Congress candidate got 2,096 votes. In the Suburban Constituency of Bombay City the Scheduled Castes Federation candidate got 12,809 votes and the Congress candidates got only 2,088. In the Central Provinces—I again take two constituencies for illustration

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The black market did not prevail.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: In the Nagpur constituency the Scheduled Castes Federation got 1,933 votes and the Congress candidate got 270. In Bhandara District the Federation candidate got 3,187 and the Congress candidate, including others, who were independent, got altogether 976. In the Agra constituency in the United Provinces the Scheduled Castes Federation candidate got 2,248 while the Congress and others put together got only 840. In the Punjab, Ludhiana—Ferozepur Constituency, I am taking one as an illustration—the Scheduled Castes Federation got 1,900 votes and the Congress got only 500.

Diwan Chaman Lall: There was no Scheduled Caste candidate in the Punjab.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Will my friend let me go on. I know more about these matters than I think he does.

Diwan Chaman Lall: My Honourable friend knows there was not one single candidate.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Scheduled Castes Federation who

Diwan Chaman Lall: It is a tissue of lies.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My Honourable friend will withdraw it. Sir, I seek the protection of the Chair.

Diwan Chaman Lall: I challenge my friend to deny the fact that there was not a single candidate of his Federation put up in the Punjab.

Mr. President: Order, order. It is no use introducing heat in the debate when the Honourable Member is giving the facts. The point was raised and the reply was invited and whatever he has to say must be heard patiently. I am not concerned with the question as to whether what he said is a fact or not but no Honourable Member of the House is entitled to or can say that what the other Honourable Member was saying was "a tissue of lies".

Diwan Chaman Lall: I withdraw it, Sir, and substitute for it "a tissue of terminological inexactitudes".

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I will give one constituency from Madras, viz., Amalapuram. The Federation candidate got 10,540 votes and the Congress candidate 2,683. That is the result of the primary election and I say that if anybody wants to apply an honest test, that test ought to be the test of the primary election. I want to tell my Honourable friends opposite that if what they have done in this election is of any value, it has to my mind substantiated and proved the case which I have been fighting for, that the electoral system is a humbug and that the Scheduled Castes must have separate electorates.

My Honourable friend, Pandit Malaviya, tried to make out another point. He said that the Hindu community has been taking interest in the Scheduled Castes and that they could subscribe a great deal of money for the moral and material advancement of the Scheduled Castes. Sir, I do not know

Pandit Govind Malaviya: On a point of order, Sir: May I know from you that if an Honourable Member of this House goes on misrepresenting and misquoting and stating utterly wrong facts about any other Member, who has already spoken and who is not likely to get a chance to reply to or expose those misstatements and terminological inexactitudes, may I know from you what is the way open to the other member to meet that situation?

Mr. President: The question is hypothetical and I do not think I need take the trouble of replying to it. But statement of facts is one thing and version is another and the Honourable Member need not confound versions with facts.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, I was dealing with the point which my Honourable friend made in the course of his speech that the Hindu community was taking a great deal of interest in the welfare and the material and moral advancement of the Scheduled Castes. All that I would like to say is that if one were to judge by what happens within the four corners of this House, I think it would be very difficult for any honest man to subscribe to the statement that my Honourable friend has made.

I have been, it is true, a member of this House for a very short time but I have been a very regular reader of the proceedings of this House and there is nothing about this House which I have not read, which is worth reading. And, Sir, having regard to the past, I think it is correct to say that it is very seldom that any member of the Opposition has ever asked any question of any member of the Government sitting here with regard to the many atrocities, tyrannies and oppression that have been practised upon the Scheduled Castes in every village from day to day. I have not seen it in the proceedings. I have never seen any Honourable Member moving a resolution

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: You would say that it is a Provincial subject.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: that certain things might be done for the uplift of the community. There was one occasion which I remember, in which Honourable Members opposite made a bold bid in order to abolish untouchability. I believe it was in the year 1932 or 1934, I forget exactly which

An Honourable Member: 1933.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: when a Bill was brought in for temple entry. And what a hullabaloo was made when the Viceroy refused to give his sanction. Men went on fasts and threatened to commit suicide if permission was not given to introduce the Bill. And when permission was given what happened? What happened was that these gentlemen threw away the Bill. They disowned it. They left Mr. Ranga Iyer with the baby in his hand. He abused them roundly for having betrayed him. There were only two occasions I remember when the question

An Honourable Member: You have not read the debates.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have read every thing about what happened in this House. I find only two occasions when this House discussed the question of the Scheduled Castes. One was in the year 1916 when Mr. Maneckji Dadabhoy, now the President of the other House, moved a resolution asking the Government to appoint a committee to investigate into the grievances of the Scheduled Castes and if my Honourable friend opposite who started this debate were to brouse into the proceedings of that debate, he will find that it was his father who turned out to be the most vehement opponent of that resolution. The other occasion was in 1927, that was when the late Lord Birkenhead happened to refer to the Scheduled Castes as a minority to be protected under the constitution. My friends opposite are very fond of me only when I try to make a political issue of my existence. If I ask for separate electorates, if I ask for reservation in the services, if I ask for an educational grant, then they know that I exist. Otherwise I am dead to them

An Honourable Member: Nothing.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: . . . and all social and political rights are denied to me because they say that I am a Hindu. If fraternity is to involve this cost, then I say that I am their cousin and not their brother.

The other thing that I would like to say is this and I would like to say it very positively. I want to tell my Hindu friends that I shall not live on their charity. I do not want their charity. I am a citizen of this country. I am entitled to claim from the Government Treasury whatever rights and benefit every other community is claiming for itself. I do not want charity; charity, the object of which is to enslave and demoralise me and my community. The Scheduled Castes want to stand on their rights and I take this opportunity to tell the House that if their claims are met with opposition, they will not hesitate to shed their blood in order to get their rights.

Pandit Govind Malaviya: May I, Sir, have two minutes just to give a personal explanation regarding the personal aspersion which have been made against me by the Honourable Member who has just resumed his seat? I shall just need two minutes.

Mr. President: What is the personal aspersion?

Pandit Govind Malaviya: Everybody has heard it. Like the man who has a bad case the Honourable Member has done very little except abusing us.

Mr. President: But what is the personal aspersion?

Pandit Govind Malaviya: The personal aspersion is as to what I would do and what I would not do in my personal habits and life and therefore that I am not in a position to speak on nationalism or take a straightforward attitude about things.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is arguing. What is the personal aspersion? He can deny that aspersion. He may say that he is not doing those things in personal life and the matter ends.

Pandit Govind Malaviya: May I have a couple of minutes to say that? The Honourable Member said a number of things about myself and about the Benares Hindu University which are absolutely baseless and wrong. I need not repeat that they are terminological inexactitudes. I would simply say they are utterly unworthy, baseless and wrong. We have not been trained, and we have not got the habit of unnecessarily making personal attacks.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has taken two minutes and the personal explanation is given.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European): Mr. President, as I rise to speak on the Finance Bill and as I remember that in these discussions we are concerned not merely with the dull technicalities of finance but with the whole field of administration and with every aspect of public policy, my thoughts necessarily travel to a distant country and a remote period. I remember how in my own country, when the knights from the shires and the burghers from the boroughs were first summoned to grant supplies to the king, they laid down one inflexible principle, the principle that redress of grievances must precede grant of supplies. In that principle lay the germ not only of the liberties of England but of those very considerable liberties which we in this country are already enjoying and the very full liberty which India is about to attain. We in this House, and still more those who will follow us in the first sovereign legislature or legislatures of this country, will be in a very real sense the spiritual and the spiritual heirs of those sturdy Englishmen who first hammered out the functions of the parliamentary system of government. This practice of making the Finance Bill an opportunity for consideration of administrative problems seems to me to be particularly appropriate today when we stand at the parting of ways. We stand at the close of an epoch of administration, and it is equally appropriate that we should seek to review the past on the one hand, and on the other try to face up to these problems which will be the first to confront the new government of this country. I want to deal in particular this afternoon with two problems with which, it seems to me, the new government will have to grapple without delay.

The first of these problems is the problem of eradicating corruption. When I speak of eradicating corruption I am not merely thinking of some temporary measures to deal with the evil which is now so rampant. I am thinking of something deeper than that. I am thinking of building up the social sense and of strengthening the administration in such a way that the kind of orgy of corruption which we see throughout the country today will become impossible. I am not suggesting that corruption is new or that corruption is a commodity of which India has a monopoly. As long as greed and dishonesty are found amongst human beings, corruption will show its ugly head from time to time throughout the world, but as a rule, and in most countries, corruption is, and to some extent must be, checked by restraints of various kinds. There are external restraints, restraints imposed by the law, and internal restraints, restraints imposed by conscience and by public opinion. But from time to time, in one part of the world or another, those restraints seem to be relaxed and corruption then flares up in a most virulent form. At such times special remedies have to be applied to deal with it. Today we are in this country at a stage where corruption has reached unparalleled heights. One of the first things that we have to do, and one of the first things which the new government will have to do, will be to find out how to deal with corruption. Let us first get quite clear in our minds what we mean by corruption. I am not thinking of petty tipping, of the fact, for instance, that every time an official receives a visit some chaprassi has to be paid Rs. 2. I am not thinking of that. Heaven knows, I took it seriously enough in my youth and tried hard enough to stamp it, but I always failed. I realize now that that is not the kind of corruption that really matters. That is not the kind of corruption that shakes the foundations of society, that destroys public morale. The kind of corruption which is destroying the body politic and which we have to root out, is the kind of corruption that is taking place today in one or two ways which I will illustrate just now. Look round anywhere in this country. What do you find? You will find men who were never dealers in cloth getting licences as cloth dealers, because they have paid money, men who have no storage capacity obtaining storage licences for grain—It is happening not in one province but in every province. You will find officials in police stations levying a species of Dane geld month by month from black-marketeers and profiteers for granting immunity to those offenders.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Are high officials also guilty?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Of course include high officials. This is the kind of corruption which has to be stamped out if freedom, if self-government, is to mean anything to this country. We do not want to live in a country which is only nominally self-governed on which only self-government will be in name only because the real government will be in the hands of the black-marketeers and the profiteers. Surely, the stamping out of corruption must be one of the very first tasks to which the new government will have to address itself. I speak with some feeling on this matter because for about a year I was concerned with this task in one province not very long ago. I admit that in spite of the utmost vigilance on my part and in spite of many days devoted to this problem, I failed. I knew to a very great extent who the culprits were, but for reasons which I will tell you presently I failed to catch them. I want to examine briefly what are the causes of corruption and consider equally briefly today what we can do about it. Some of the causes are obvious. The war with its two-fold effect of increase in expenditure and, at the same time, a necessary relaxation of treasury control, was necessarily a cause. That was followed by that dilution of the civil service, which had the same effect on the civil service as dilution has in any profession. In normal times the higher ranks of the civil services are filled by tried men of proved integrity. When war comes, the governmental organisation has to be expanded tenfold or twentyfold. Temporary Government servants have to be taken in. Unknown, untried men have to be put in positions of responsibility and they have before them the great temptation arising from the fact that they are in their jobs only for a short time.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Don't blame them alone.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I am not trying to allot the blame. I am much more concerned with discovering the truth than with allotting the blame.

I come next to the second contributory cause, namely the very large number of controls which became necessary because of the shortages. If there is one thing which is true in this country it is that for every control you introduce there goes along with it a body of corruption. My friend, Mr. Tyson, spoke the other day of the glorious army of controllers. Everyone of them has with him a large section of camp followers who live by battenning on the public. Where you have controls there you will have, and you do have, corruption. What can we do about all this? It seems to me that there are two or three things which we can do. The first is of course the speedy restoration of strict treasury control. There can be no doubt, and I am sure the Honourable the Finance Member will agree with me, that strict treasury control is the foundation of the integrity of public service. We do press that that control should be restored as speedily as possible.

The second remedy would seem to me to be the speediest possible contraction of the bureaucratic machine. It cannot be done all at once, but just as fast as it can be done let us get rid of all these extra temporary people; let us get back to the permanent frame work of the civil service.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Associate the public with them at every stage.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Of course; that should apply to every act of Government.

Then the third thing we can do is, as speedily as possible, to get rid of these various controls. They cannot go all at once: you cannot get rid for example of all rationing controls; there are many controls that have to continue; but let there be a systematic examination of all existing controls with a view to finding out which must be kept and which can go; and as for every control that can go, let it go as fast as possible, because we in this House know that controls in practice mean corruption.

Shri Sri Pradasa: Particularly self-control.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: That, I hope, some day my Congress party friends will cultivate. Having taken these preliminary steps, there remains still something of a somewhat different character, which has to be done if we are to deal with

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the problem of corruption; and that is a very considerable tightening up the law. As the law stands at present, you may know perfectly well that a particular officer is corrupt and yet be powerless to touch him. Let me give you one or two illustrations. Some years ago, I had serving under me in a certain district a revenue officer: his pay, I think, was Rs. 550 a month; he had a very large family. That officer kept two cars and three ponies and he had no private means. I knew and the whole district knew that he was corrupt, but because we could not connect him specifically with the receipt of money from any particular individual, because in other words we could not prove a specific charge of bribe taking, that officer stayed there; in due course, I believe, he even got promotion; and it was quite impossible for me to do anything about him whatsoever.

Diwan Chaman Lal: Is he here in the Secretariat now?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: He has gone to a better world than the Secretariat. Another case of a more recent nature. I am going to speak carefully about this, because it would not be fair to indicate who the individual was; but I had a case not very long ago where a certain officer who had long been suspected by me of receiving bribes from contractors, was found on a particular ceremonial occasion to have received presents worth Rs. 20,000 from three people, each of whom was a contractor who had been given contracts the previous year. Once again though the facts were known it was impossible to prove that he had received the presents from these three people. The law dealing with accretions of property in war time did not fit in this particular case and the officer could not be touched. Everybody who has been concerned with administration knows that, in the present state of the law, you cannot deal adequately with corrupt officials; and I want to plead that, if only as a temporary measure there should be some tightening up of the law in this respect. If you find that a man of Rs. 200 a month has acquired a house worth Rs. 50,000, the law must be such as to compel him to explain where he got that property from or where the money came from. You must reverse the normal position with regard to the onus of proof and provide, with respect to Government officials, that they shall be held strictly and legally accountable for unexplained accretions of property

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: What about others?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: There are many other classes to be dealt with but I cannot deal with all classes in one speech. At the moment I am concerned with the causes of the present growth of corruption in Government services. During the war it has grown on an unparalleled scale; and moreover it has begun to affect a very much higher class in the official world. Whereas in the past it was generally true that when one found corruption, it was amongst petty subordinates; that is no longer the case. Something has to be done to scotch this evil, and it is my considered view that the main factor in producing that effect can be by tightening up the law in the sense of putting upon the Government official the onus of explaining where and how he acquired any particular property. I do urge that every one of us, irrespective of party, irrespective of politics, should regard this business of eradicating corruption as one of his primary tasks as a citizen.

I pass on from that to another administrative question, the general question of the efficiency or otherwise of the administrative machine of the Central Government. This new Government coming into power will have to lean very heavily upon its official machine. It will consist of men who, however great their ability and however vast their experience of public life may be, will not have had that grounding in official procedure and administration, which many of my friends now on these treasury benches have had. It is therefore of first class importance that they should have behind them a really efficient administrative machine. Have we got one today? I think the only impartial answer to that question must be 'No', that we have an extremely inefficient, clumsy, out of date—I almost said ante-diluvian—machine on which to depend for carrying out the processes of government

An Honourable Member: Who is responsible?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: When I say that, I expect my friends on my right to applaud me—a thing which they are generally averse to doing!—to point an accusing finger at the Government benches and accuse them of being the cause of inefficiency and so on. But I want to remind them that efficiency in Government depends on two factors: one of these is the political factor, and the other is a matter of the mechanics of administration

Prof. N. G. Ranga: And colour also.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Are you suggesting that some correlation exists between colour and efficiency? I want to deal today mainly with the mechanical side of the question—administration pure and simple. But before I do so, I must say a word in passing about the political aspect of this matter. In my view, even if seven or eight archangels were sitting on this side they could not make the machine of government work efficiently under these conditions; when you have men in office who are always cried down and belittled whatever they do, who are called traitors because they are doing what nobody else is willing to do, because they are making the machine work when nobody else is willing to make it work, how can you expect from this particular body of men, the drive and the dynamic energy to make things work? For my own part it is my considered view that the country owes a debt of gratitude to these men, especially the Indian members on the front benches (*Honourable Members:* No. no) who have been willing to take this work on. We ought to be grateful even though gratitude may not be a very common human virtue particularly in some parties. Whether we like it or not—and I take it none of us likes the present constitution—the machine has to be kept going, until such time as the new constitution takes its place and I for my part consider that these men have put the country under an obligation. But having said that, I would not expect efficiency from them

Diwan Chaman Lal: They have put you certainly under an obligation.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: I turn now to the question of the mechanics of administration. I suppose everybody who has had anything to do with government is accustomed to take it for granted that anything that has to be done will be done very slowly: there will be delays at every possible stage because of unwillingness to take decisions; and there is certainly lack of drive; and observers will be puzzled because they look at the individuals and see that they are very much above the average in ability and they wonder why it should be that men of ability cannot make the machine work better. I think there are four main reasons which need examination. First of all is the simple fact that any large organisation wants periodical overhaul; it grows unwieldy; the procedure becomes dilatory, and somebody has got to come along and overhaul it; and I believe that stage has now been reached and it is time for a complete examination of the mechanism of the Government of India. As far as I know there have been only two examinations of that kind attempted in recent times: one was in 1919, and the other, which was over a limited field, was by Sir Reginald Maxwell—I forget the exact year when it took place. Many of the recommendations of these reports have never yet been fully implemented. Taking for example the 1919 report which amongst other things deprecated the habits of noting on files instead of doing most of the necessary references personally by inter-departmental consultation. That point has been raised again and again and every now and then somebody comes along and says "This noting on files is all wrong; it must stop; let us have departmental consultations"; and for three or four months there is a bit of a change but gradually officials drop back into the old rut and fall into the way in which they worked twenty years before. I do think the time has come for a full scientific examination of the mechanism of government.

Sir Archibald Rowlands has recently with very great effect carried out such an examination in Bengal. Those of us who were in touch with what was happening in the Bengal Administration today, can already see some results

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beginning to emerge from his work. Why should there not be a Rowlands Committee here, a committee to examine searchingly in all aspects the administrative mechanics? When the Honourable Finance Member hands over his heavy and unpleasant charge to his successor, why should he not stay on special duty and do the examination himself? But if he is not willing to do that—and I mean this suggestion in all seriousness—do let us have some first class brain, assisted by other first class brains, getting down to this business of finding out what can be done to improve the administrative machine

Prof. N. G. Ranga: We shall certainly find these first class brains in India.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: Of course you can. I really cannot understand why my friend Professor Ranga is so frightened of a simple thing like that, that he has to tell me on the floor of the House that there are first class brains in India.
(Interruptions.)

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: If I may interrupt my Honourable friend, is it a first class brain, not another first class brain?

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: That was merely a slip on my part. I meant another first class brain.

I must pass on from this point; but there are other aspects of the mechanism which seem to require examination. I believe that when the committee gets down to brass tacks they will find—though I know my friends will not believe it—they will find that in the highest grades of the civil services—secretaries, deputy secretaries, joint secretaries and the like—the ranks are far too thinly manned. I say that from some personal experience. In many Departments of the Government of India today, there are not enough responsible officers to do the job. I won't enter into details because that is a matter which the Committee I am suggesting will have to go into.

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

Then there is another question germane to this—are we building up our services on the right pattern. Take, for example, my own late service, the Indian Civil Service. I am not now thinking of political or racial issues but I am thinking of the technical and administrative aspect of the matter. How should we build up the pattern of service that is required? The essence of the I. C. S. is the man who joins as a youngster and is trained as a general administrator. His main job for some years is in a district and then he is switched, more or less by accident, to one department or another to deal with whatever particular section of Government happens to fall to his lot. That was all right in the old days when administration was fairly simple, when any man with a good brain and general experience could tackle the problems of almost any department but it has ceased to be all right now that the work to be done is infinitely complicated and requires specialised knowledge. I am inclined to think that the time has come when, at any rate for most posts, we should get away from any kind of general administrative cadre and should have cadres of specialists or cadres of men, who like the Civil Service, in Britain enter a department as youngsters and spend their lives in it. Here again these are questions with regard to which I cannot dogmatize, but they are questions that I want to see examined by the committee I have in mind. I would like that committee also to consider the question as to whether an open competitive examination is really the right way of recruiting civil servants or not. I personally have always doubted it. I do not believe there is any necessary co-relation between ability to do the differential calculus or to write a piece of Sanskrit verse and administrative ability. I think it is the experience, both here and in the U. K. Civil Service, that what you tend to get in the civil service is plenty of brains but a lack of personality and dynamic qualities and it may well be that the system of recruitment under which we operate at present is a contributory cause

of that state of affairs. These are some of the many points which it seems to me ought to be examined at a very early opportunity by some committee of the kind that I have described and I do hope that Government will find it possible to consider this suggestion, and if they agree with it, to implement it at a very early date.

There is one branch of the administration to which I must turn briefly and that is publicity and I must say that I myself was infinitely distressed at the cut which this House effected the other day in some of the most valuable parts of the Government's publicity machine, I felt that when this House decided to dispense with the Indian films of information, it was cutting off its nose to spite its face. I would like to tell the House something about the origin of that organisation. I can speak from personal knowledge because I was one of those concerned with its inception. It was built up originally with the idea of being of assistance in spreading knowledge of facts about the war but before it had been in existence very long, we realised that it had very much wider possibilities than that. Just at that time when we were beginning to think of using the films as a means of prestige publicity for India, there came to the helm of the Information and Broadcasting Department that grand old man, Sir Akbar Hydari, the father of the present Member and day in and day out Sir Akbar began to press on me the fact that even more important than war publicity was prestige publicity for India. He was never tired of saying to me—that we must get these films developed on right lines, as a means of showing to the world what India really is. We began to try to do this. At first we failed because our technique was not good enough. As time went on we learnt to improve our technique and we developed an effective means of showing the rest of the world what India is like. A few weeks ago I happened to be at home in my own country and I saw some of these films being shown to British audiences. In particular I saw one of them being shown to an audience of British workmen and one of those men, after having seen the film called 'Our Heritage' came to me afterwards and said "I did not know that India was like that. I thought it was all jungle and tigers. Now I see that it is a place of great beauty and civilisation. That man then turned the tables on me and asked this question. "If India is a country of that kind, so great and so civilised, why cannot it govern itself?" That is the kind of effect which our prestige publicity films produce when they are shown abroad. I do entreat my friends of the Congress Party to think again about this matter, to see whether they can devise some means by which this most creative and valuable vehicle of publicity can be replaced and then to discuss with Government what scheme can be devised to allow, even now, the effects of that cut to be negatived. If my friends of the Congress Party are willing to do that, I am sure—though I have no authority for saying this—that Government will go a long way to meet them and devise some formula by which it can be done. (*An Honourable Member*: "This is all counter propaganda"). I ran these films for two years.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: You were the head of it. You did not do it freely.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths: My friend Mr. Ranga has a great gift for misunderstanding and misinterpreting. He tells me that I did not do it freely. What would he say if when I was working with the Information and Broadcasting Department I paid no attention to the Member if I had gone on my own policy irrespective of his wishes? In fact it was a co-operative effort, an effort which was inspired by the vision of that grand old man Sir Akbar Hydari. I am anxious that some way should be found for restoring this instrument which can be made to serve as a powerful means of enhancing the prestige of India. (*An Honourable Member*: "It was all abused".)

So far I have been talking of subjects about which I have some special knowledge. I now turn to a matter with regard to which, in comparison with my Indian friends I am as ignorant and innocent as a new born baby. I mean that tortuous and sometimes unhappy subject of Indian politics. I may remind the House that the Group of which I am the leader has consistently given its

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support to the proposals for complete self-government for India since their inception and I may remind this House of a declaration which I made many years ago, speaking from a seat further back on these benches. I said that if any Government either in this country or at Home resiled from the promise contained in the Cripps Offer, that is the promise that India should have her own Government framed by herself if any Government here or at home went back from that promise I would join the Opposition or, if I were allowed to, I would lead it. I did not make that statement lightly. Nor did I make it in the fear that circumstances would arise which would force me into that strange political conjunction which I had described. I made it because I was confident that the British people were inflexibly determined to see this country governing itself. I have been twice home since then and what I have seen and heard there has only confirmed my belief that the people of Britain are determined once and for all that this country is to govern itself further confirmation of this has been afforded by the statements that have been made here yesterday, and a few days before in London, with regard to the British Cabinet Delegation. We in this Group stand completely behind the intentions and purposes of that delegation. In our view that attainment, without delay of complete self-government by this country is essential to peace and progress and to all we hold dear. Our position in this country will be that of traders working in collaboration with our Indian business colleagues and we believe and we know that we shall be welcomed. We are not prepared to be expropriated. I shall not discuss that in detail today. I just state it as a fact—and we know that responsible leaders of political opinion do not wish that such expropriation should take place. What you want is, what we want is, and what every sensible man wants today, is not so much dissociation, but increasingly close association; everything that can be done to draw our two countries closer together is urgently required at this moment. After all taking a rational view, getting away from the temporary excitement of political discussions, there is nothing in the past relations between our two countries which ought to make it difficult for us to draw together in ever closer association. I know that in the heat of political debate, bitter and acrimonious things are said, but I am equally confident that when this transition stage is over, when my Honourable friends on those Benches have the destinies of this country in their hands, I am confident that they will look back and recognise that on the whole, with some exceptions, Britain's record in this country is one of just and humane government. I cannot stop to prove this thesis. I state it as a fact. I, for my part, am satisfied after a not inconsiderable study of history, that never in the history of a foreign rule, has any foreign ruler governed a country with such justice and with such humanity. I am not arguing the question as to whether one country ever ought to govern another—in 1946 there is no room for two opinions about that. Because we are of the same opinion as other Honourable Members here, we lend our full support to the speedy transfer of power from Britain to India.

Finally, I would like to end by pleading that the utmost possible effort should be made to strengthen and maintain good will between our two countries during the forthcoming weeks. Those Cabinet Ministers who have come here to wrestle with problem of framing a new constitution, have before them a task of complexity, delicacy and incredible difficulty. Whether they can succeed in that task or not depends not primarily on them but on us. To a great extent it depends on how far we can maintain a calm and dispassionate atmosphere and how far we can refrain from saying things which will cause tempers to rise and judgment to be warped. As far as we, in this Group are concerned, we will do everything in our power to facilitate a settlement. If there is any way in which we can help, we will do so. Above all, we shall refrain from giving provocation by thought, word or deed in any way. I do appeal to my Honourable friends on all sides of the House, and to my friends of the Press to try to observe the same restraint. Let no word be said to mar the harmony in which these discussions must take place. If we can make

a self denying ordinance, if we can remember not to say all the pretty, clever things we think of—and nobody enjoys saying such things more than I do—if we can remember not to say those things, but to hold them back because there is one thing that matters now, that is the maintenance of that calm atmosphere in which these negotiations can succeed—if we can do that; we shall make a not unworthy contribution to the solution of this great problem, we shall be going some way towards ensuring that drawing closer together of India and Great Britain which is so essential to the needs of both.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Meerut Division: Muhanmadan Rural): Mr. Deputy President, the Finance Bill has been under fire for the last six days. Some of the Honourable Members have looked at it from the financial point of view, while others have discussed it from a political angle. I propose to deal with this not so much from the financial aspect as from the political aspect. Sir, the Muslim League party in the past has opposed the consideration motion since 1941 whenever it came up before the House. On those occasions, it was my privilege to explain the attitude of the Muslim League Party with regard to the motion which was then before the House. Sir, in the past sometimes when the Muslim League party was alone and was carrying on the burden of the Opposition in this House, we did not succeed in throwing out the Finance Bill because of the number of votes. On other occasions, when the Congress Party sometimes officially and sometimes, unofficially decided to attend, we were able to throw out this motion. Sir, as I explained on those occasions, the attitude which we had taken up was that as on account of the exigencies of war, expenditure was mounting up by leaps and bounds and as the Government were not mindful of the opinions and of the advice which were given either inside this House or outside with regard to expenditure, and as in spite of the fact that the Muslim League had from the very beginning of the war realised the importance and the necessity of Indians being in charge of the affairs of the country, and as in spite of the helpful attitude, in spite of the co-operative attitude of the Muslim League, the Government had refused the hand of co-operation, we felt that we could not take the responsibility of putting any burden on our people. Therefore, we opposed the Finance Bill. If we had no voice in the expenditure which as I have just stated was mounting up every day by leaps and bounds, especially with regard to defence, then we felt that it was the responsibility of the Government, and they must take the full responsibility for any burden which they wanted to put on the taxpayer. But Mr. Deputy President, since then the war has come to an end. I think it will be recognised that the present budget is not a war budget in the sense in which the late budgets used to be. As a matter of fact, after hearing the debate for six days, I do not think it would be a wrong conclusion to draw from the speeches that have been made on the merits of the budget that the budget which has been presented by the Honourable the Finance Member is not really so bad as some Honourable Members have tried to say while not feeling so. Therefore, this time the Muslim League party has decided to see, if it is possible, by means of bringing gentle pressure on the Government, to reduce the burden of the masses. Sir, every Honourable Member of this House has described this budget as a rich man's budget and yet, I am sorry to note that the Congress Party have decided to throw it out at the consideration stage knowing full well that the effect will be that it will be certified as a rich man's budget. Therefore what we feel is that we should try and see if it is possible to reduce the burden of taxation, specially on those articles which affect the poorer masses. Sir, I do not want to make a secret of it but I have had talks with the Finance Member and I gathered from him—as a matter of fact, if I mistake not, he himself made an offer while speaking on the budget—that he would be willing to make certain reductions which would take the load off the back of the poorer classes to a certain extent. There are articles like kerosene, betel-nuts, matches and postcards etc. on which a reduction of taxation would certainly benefit the poorer classes. I hope the Finance Member when he gets up to reply to this debate will be good enough to indicate what the proposals of Gov-

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ernment are with regard to reduction of taxation, on what articles and to what extent. I hope he will also tell the House what would be the effect of the concessions which would be made in the case of reduction of the various taxes. I attach importance to the acceptance of this principle of reduction of tax on certain articles by Government because in the present situation, even if this House made any reduction on any particular article the Finance Member could go and get it certified. Therefore it is not so much what we can do when we come to the consideration of the clauses—if we reach that stage—but what Government are prepared to accept in the way of reduction of duties on certain articles. Sir, I stated that in the past we had another grievance apart from the expenditure mounting up, and that was that Government were not prepared to associate with authority and power the non-officials of this country. It might be asked—and I think one of the Honourable Members of the Congress party did refer to it—why it is that this time the Muslim League has decided not to support the motion for rejection of the consideration of the Finance Bill in spite of the fact that the Executive Council today has practically the same personnel as it had last year. My reply to that is that the war is over. I am no longer thinking in terms of the Executive Council. I feel that now what we have to tackle is not the reconstruction, reconstitution and recomposition of the Executive Council but the transfer of real power from the hands of the British into the hands of Indians. And therefore the composition, the personnel, the complexion of the Executive Council does not interest me any longer. I want that now we must tackle the real question and the real issue of the freedom of India. We must tackle the real issue whether it is to be one united India or whether it is to be a divided India. Therefore, Sir, I do not mind if the present Executive Council continues for another three month or six months or whatever it may be. As a matter of fact it should be the desire, the ambition and the effort of every Indian in this country to scrap the present constitution as soon as possible and not think in terms of co-operating or holding power under the present constitution.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: We are opposing the budget under the present constitution.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: My Honourable friend Mr. Saksena says that they are opposing the budget under the present constitution. That is perfectly true; but does it mean that we should not make an effort to do away with the present constitution? Does it mean that because we are under a particular constitution today therefore we should go on associating ourselves with the machinery under that constitution to prolong its existence? Sir, my Honourable friend is sitting here under the present constitution; so if he objects to considering the budget on its merits I think his place should not be inside this House but somewhere else. Sir, I wish to make it clear that the Muslim League,—and when I refer to the Muslim League I mean the Muslims of India because there is not the slightest doubt now that the Muslim League today speaks for the Mussulmans of India (*Voices of "Question"*)—Sir, I cannot give sight to those who are blind or hearing to those who are deaf. If after seeing the results of the elections my Honourable friends to my right still question my statement that the Muslim League today represents the Mussulmans of India, all I can say is that I am sorry for them.

An Honourable Member: What about the Frontier elections?

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil: That is the skeleton in the cupboard.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: My Honourable friend is talking of skeletons in the cupboard; I see so many skeletons here on my right.

I was saying that the Muslim League is as anxious for the freedom of the country as anybody else, either in this House or outside. Sir, the Mussulmans desire the freedom of India more than the community whose representatives are sitting on my right, because if any community or nationality has

suffered most under foreign rule it is the Mussulmans of India. They have lost everything whereas the other community has gained everything. Therefore, Sir, what I am saying is that there is no difference of opinion as far as the question of India's independence is concerned; the difference is as to who is going to exercise that power which India will get under the charter of freedom. That really is the issue which is before the country. Mr. Deputy President, it is evident that India is not a nation. It is a land of nationalities and if anybody, if anyone of the Honourable Members sitting on my right have any doubt about it, I would request them to read the speech which Mr. Ghani, a member of their Party made this morning. That speech is nothing but a justification of the stand which the Muslim League has been taking.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: You have misunderstood him.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I have not misunderstood him. In your wishful thinking you have put an interpretation on that which does not exist. I entirely agree with Mr. Ghani. It is a fact that it is only the force of British bayonets that is keeping so many nationalities throughout the country together and that is why we from various parts of India are sitting in this House. Mr. Ghani was perfectly right when he said that it is only the force of British bayonets which is keeping him from the North West Frontier and Mr. Gadhil from Bombay together in this place.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: If you allow me to give a personal explanation. I said we are a different people. We have no common bond either with the Indian Muslims or Indian Christians or Hindus, because we have no cultural bond. I did not put the emphasis on religion. The Muslim League has got the emphasis on religion. My emphasis was on economics, poverty and all such things.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I am very glad that my Honourable friend has explained himself. So apart from religion, we have all these other differences! Sir, what I was saying is this: that it is not going to help India if we are only going to think in terms of what we want India to be. India, as I have stated just now, Mr. Deputy President, is a land of nationalities and unless you have a constitution, until you have a constitution which will create a stake in the country for every nationality, you cannot have freedom of people and you can never defend India against foreign aggression unless you have the different nationalities enjoying, not only freedom, but enjoying the right to rule in this land. Therefore I suggest to the Congress Party, not only in this House, but outside, that if they really desire the freedom of India, if their object is that freedom should not mean domination of one community over everybody else, if their object is that freedom should mean freedom for the Hindus, Muslims and others, then they should look at this problem not from the narrow point of view but they should look at this problem from the practical point of view.

Mr. Deputy President, the conditions in this country are different from what they exist in other countries of the world and therefore the remedies which we have to find, which we have to apply, must also be different. I would request the Congress to give up this wishful thinking of desiring the British to by-pass the Muslim League or by-pass the Scheduled Castes or by-pass somebody else. Give up that idea. You will never achieve freedom any you will be responsible for the subjugation of all the nationalities in this country. Give up that idea. Instead of thinking in those terms, let us think in terms of co-operation. Let us think in terms of what it is that we can do to bring about a unity amongst the various nationalities and devise a scheme which would secure freedom for every nationality in the land. Mr. Deputy President, the British Mission has come to India. They have come with the intention, and according to their statement, with the determination of trying to find a solution of the Indian problem. According to their declarations, it is the wish and the desire of the British people to hand over power to India. Sir, the Congress have lost so many opportunities in the past. I remember what was offered to the Congress and the Muslim League in 1939 by Lord Linlithgow and it was rejected by the Congress at that time because they wanted that the British should make a declaration that India shall be independent, as if by means of declarations you can achieve independence. What was offered in 1939 and what was

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rejected by the Congress then, was accepted by the Congress in Simla. Does it not show

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: When?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: In Simla when we had the Simla Conference.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: A different thing altogether.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: It was nothing of the kind. As a matter of fact, Lord Linlithgow had offered to the two leaders—and the Honourable Member can go and refresh his memory—that if the Congress and the Muslim League can come to some arrangement in the Provinces he was willing to go as far as it was possible to meet them in the Centre. We never reached that stage of examining the details of his proposals because they were rejected offhand by the Congress, saying that these are minor matters. We want a declaration of the independence of India said the Congress Leaders. Now, Sir, I would say that if the Congress had accepted in 1939 what they were willing to accept in Simla, this country would have made a great advance towards achieving its goal. Let me tell them that in 1939 the things were different to what they are in 1946. But unfortunately my friends rely more on words, phrases and resolutions than on actions. We missed opportunities in the past. Let us not miss this opportunity. Let us recognise the right of each other. Let us give up this idea of wanting to dominate over everybody else.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Who has got that idea?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: As long as Congress thinks in terms of being rulers in this country and dominating over the Muslims and others, India shall never get freedom. India can only get freedom when these two major communities, nationalities, nations—whatever you like to call them—Hindus and Mussalmans, when they can feel that both of them are rulers in this land and one is not under the domination of the other.

Mr. P. K. Salve (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadian): What about all the other communities?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, it is unfortunate that the Congress has not really made any effort in the past, during the last few years, to try and find a solution. They have been thinking of plans whereby they could stifle the voice of Muslim India. What happened in these elections?

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: It is a matter of opinion.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: My Honourable friend's opinion, I know, are not his own.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I am afraid I cannot agree. My opinion is entirely my own anywhere and everywhere.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Here, hear! Look at these elections. The whole object, the whole policy of the Congress during the last few years has been to disrupt the Mussalmans, to destroy the unity that the Mussalmans of India have achieved by hard struggle during the last few years.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Sir, if I may be allowed just a moment

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, I cannot allow. I am very sorry. Is it a point of explanation?

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Yes, Sir. It has not been the policy of the Congress to disrupt. Its policy has always been entirely to unite the communities.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: My Honourable friend says that it has not been the policy of the Congress. I only wish their actions and professions went side by side. What has been the policy of the Congress during the last elections? Have you not tried to disrupt the Mussalmans of India?

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: No, Sir.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Have you not tried your worst to break up the unity that has come amongst the Mussalmans of India. There is the black market money which you have acquired and which your patrons supplied you with and which you have used freely against the Muslim League.

(At this stage an Honourable Member crossed the floor of the House.)

Mr. Deputy President: Order, order, the Honourable Member cannot cross the floor of the House like this.

(continued interruptions)

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I wish Honourable Members would have a little patience. We could also interrupt their leader when he rose to speak. We could also not allow him to speak

Diwan Chaman Lal: What does the Honourable Member mean by this threat?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: When my Honourable friends were speaking we listened most attentively.

Diwan Chaman Lal: We are also listening to you very attentively.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: The Leader of the Honourable Member's party is going to speak after me. It is not that I am the last speaker from this side. Sir, I was saying

Diwan Chaman Lal: The Honourable Member held out a threat.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I did not hold out any threats. I am sorry if my Honourable friend understood that it was a threat. It was not uttered as a threat but as a reciprocal compliment.

I was saying what has the Congress done really to create friendliness in the country? Take these elections. Is it not a fact that in the recent elections the Congress machinery has been used against the Muslim League? I could understand and I would give every credit to the Congress Party, if they put up Muslim candidates on the Congress ticket

An Honourable Member: We did put up.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: And every one of them got defeated barring one. I could understand that, because it is the right of a party to put up its members as candidates in elections and support them. But what they have done is that in most of the Provinces they had not had the courage to put up a single Muslim on the Congress ticket. In others they have succeeded in securing one here or one there. But what have they done? They have financed, used their money to create disintegration amongst the Mussalmans and corruption amongst them. And this, I think, Mr. Deputy President, is a very sorrowful tale for any responsible decent party to do. We have scrupulously kept ourselves out of the Hindu elections.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What else can you do?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: It is not difficult to put up a candidate by giving Rs. 250, in which case every one of you would have been opposed.

An Honourable Member: He would have lost his deposit.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: The Honourable Member asks what else could we do. That is true: I agree with him. We could not do any indecent thing. That is perfectly true. But all that I am saying is that these are the conditions that are existing today when the British Mission has arrived in India. The bitterness in the country today is greater than what it has ever been, and therefore I do appeal to the Congress and to all others and say to them "Do not let us think now in terms of trying to down each other. Do not let us think now in terms of wanting the British to by-pass the Muslim League or by-pass the Congress. Let us think in terms of taking the fullest advantage of the offer which the British people have made to India. Let us take their word for it and let us try and see if we cannot achieve real freedom for every nationality in the land." I appeal to the Congress. Let us agree to divide the country and unite to achieve freedom for us all.

• Sir, there are occasions in the history of a nation, in the history of a country, when we have to do things which we do not very much like and

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this is one of those occasions in regard to which the Congress should take stock of the situation in the country. They should once for all know that it is not possible to get freedom for India unless the Hindus and Muslims unite on a certain proposition

An Honourable Member: On Pakistan?

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Sir, if my friend knows what division of India means, he should know that it means nothing else but Pakistan. Unite to achieve freedom; divide to remain united.

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil: What a joke!

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I am glad my Honourable friend says "What a joke". I am indeed glad that he thinks that it is a joke that we can unite. Sir, I repeat again that as far as the Mussalmans are concerned we have decided, we are convinced that if India is to be free, if India is to achieve freedom at the earliest opportunity it can only be done by dividing India into Pakistan and Hindustan. We are convinced that there is no other way of achieving India's freedom. I would make an appeal to the Congress that now is the opportunity. Let us make another effort to see if we cannot achieve freedom. I see nothing, Mr. Deputy President, but division and misery in a United India, and I see unity and prosperity in a divided India.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. Deputy President, immediately after the Honourable the Finance Member delivered his Budget speech I was asked as to what my impressions were. What I said on that occasion was: "It is a skilful budget and its approach to India's problems is somewhat different from that in previous budgets. But looking at it from the point of view of the poor, there is nothing very much in it to be enthusiastic about. On the expenditure side, civil and military expenditure continue to be extravagant. These are my first impressions". A closer study of the Honourable the Finance Member's speech and his financial proposals has confirmed my first impressions. I shall proceed to make a rapid survey of the financial proposals and an equally, rapid criticism. But before I do so, I desire to say a few words with reference to the observations of my Honourable friend, the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in this House. In the course of his speech he said that the Congress wished to by-pass the Muslim League. Let me tell him with all the sincerity and all the emphasis I can command that the Congress is not out to by-pass anybody in this country, whether Muslim or Sikh or Budhist or Jain or Christian. The Congress has endeavoured in the past, and is still endeavouring, to bring about unity, an indissoluble unity, among the different communities inhabiting this vast land of ours—unity which will be proof against the machinations of the Western imperialist powers and, may I add, which will be proof against the designs of people who are out to subjugate and dominate India in their own interest. My Honourable friend further said that the Congress wished to dominate the Muslims. I am inclined to think that in his heart of hearts he believes that the Congress is not out to dominate anybody or disrupt any community.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: No, I don't. I believe what I said.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: Then he laid down the rather paradoxical proposition, 'Divide to unite'. Sir, here in India we have unity in the midst of diversity; but this paradoxical proposition 'Divide to unite' I have never been able to understand. I will not refer in greater detail to the observations of my Honourable friend; but, before I conclude dealing with his observations, I may tell him that, if he is willing to extend the hand of real and friendly co-operation in order that India may have a constitution, a national and independent constitution of her own we on this side of the House will grasp it with alacrity and enthusiasm. What we want—and I believe all Indians want, whether

they be Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees or Jains—is unity of India under a free and independent constitution. If his co-operation extends to enabling us to have a national and independent constitution under which we shall be free and independent citizens, the Party which I have the honour and the right to represent in this House will certainly not be found lacking in extending its hand of co-operation to members on my left.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Accept Pakistan. The hand of co-operation is there.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I have not the time, nor have I the inclination, to devote any portion of my speech this afternoon to Pakistan. I have expressed my views repeatedly on this subject without any reservation; and I do not think any useful purpose will be served by bringing in a discussion of Pakistan into the debate on the financial proposals.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: But the hand of friendship is there.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I may tell my Honourable friend that that subject I am prepared to discuss with him day in and day out in order that he may have an opportunity of convincing me that I am wrong, or that I may have an opportunity of convincing him that he is wrong.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: I cannot convince those who refuse to be convinced.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: Nor can I.

Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Then join with us in proclaiming a loud Pakistan.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: Coming to the financial proposals, I have said already that, looking at it from the point of view of the poor, there is nothing very much in it to be enthusiastic about. What is it that the Honourable the Finance Member has said in his Budget speech regarding the poor? He has said: "Some of the Honourable Members opposite will be wondering whether I propose to do anything for the poor man". He did leave us wondering as to whether he was going to do anything for the poor man; and to our wonder we found that these were what he was prepared to do for the poor man! Firstly, duty on salt; secondly, duty on matches; thirdly, duty on tobacco; fourthly, duty on betel-nut; and fifthly, preservation of the inland postage rates as before. I do not know whether in his talks with my Honourable friend, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, secret or otherwise, he was prepared to recant and cut out a portion of the duty on salt, or a portion of the duty on matches, or a portion of the duty on tobacco or betel-nut, or to reduce the inland postage rates. Well, I am not in the Honourable the Finance Member's confidence and I do not know what he was prepared to do. I can only proceed by the written word. By 'written word' I mean his Budget speech and his financial proposals. Proceeding by the written word, I have no doubt, Sir, that his financial proposals, such as they are, cannot call for acceptance from this side of the House. There is one matter to which I wish to refer in connection with the poor man and that is the cottage industry. I have not the time to dilate on the subject. But may I remind the Honourable the Finance Member that cottage industries in our country are the industries of the poor? What has he done to encourage and promote cottage industries? There is scarcity of cloth, but hand-loom weaving has not been encouraged. There is scarcity of paper, but manufacture of hand-made paper has not been encouraged at all.

Then I come to what the Honourable the Finance Member describes as the man of moderate means—what we generally describe as the middle-class man. He says: "Now, I turn to greet the ordinary direct tax-payer", whom he later on refers to as the man of moderate means. What is the relief he has given to the man of moderate means? Very little indeed. Is the Honourable the Finance Member not aware that the value of an income of Rs. 2,000 a year today is nothing more than the value of Rs. 500 before the war, that the value

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of an income of Rs. 3,500 a year today is nothing more than Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 before the war? What is the relief he has given to the man of moderate means? I believe I am not guilty of exaggeration of any sort or kind if I say that the only relief the Honourable the Finance Member has given to any class of human beings is to the capitalist and the industrialist, people who
5 P.M. did not need immediate relief. The abolition of the Excess Profits Tax was not really called for this year; if it had been carried on for another year or two, the Honourable the Finance Member would have been in possession of funds to devote to nation-building Departments. Similarly, the relief to industrialists, meagre though it is, is not such as is calculated to benefit the poor at all. I wish I had the time to explain all that I have in mind with regard to the abolition of the Excess Profits Tax and the small relief given to the industrialists; but, unfortunately, I am racing against time at the moment and I must resist the temptation of going into those matters.

Then, I would come to civil expenditure. I have already said that civil expenditure continues to be extravagant. In fact, it has been mounting year by year, and the main reason why it has been mounting up is the taking in of more and more British personnel. Our civil expenditure,—if I were to go into the figures I can satisfy the House—can be reduced appreciably if we had only Indian personnel, and we have every right today to have only Indian personnel. But, of course, I know that that cannot suit the British imperialist; that cannot suit the system which was described about two decades ago by a Secretary of State for India—I mean the late Edwin Samuel Montagu—as a system “which is wooden, which is inelastic, which is ante-diluvian”. Sir, that system exists today. That system has been responsible for all the outrages and atrocities that have been committed during the last four decades in the name of law and order, including those that were committed in the year 1942 and in the succeeding years. That system has been responsible for vast Draconian enactments in this country, beginning with the year 1908 and ending with the year 1945, and has introduced and is still continuing a reign of terror in this country. Acceptance of the financial proposals and along with it the Bill for civil expenditure means acquiescence in that system. We on this side of the House refuse to acquiesce in such a system.

Then, coming to military expenditure, no doubt there has been a great drop in the military expenditure. But that is not really due to my friends opposite; it is due to the end of the war. But, here again, may I ask the Honourable the Finance Member how much of this expenditure is due to maintaining foreign personnel in this country in the Army, Navy and Air Force? I would like to have an answer to this question when the Honourable the Finance Member rises to reply. How much of these Rs. 244 crores goes to paying British personnel in the Army, Navy and Air Force? That is a pertinent question to ask

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I can give the answer straight away: it is Rs. 20 crores.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I take the Finance Member at his word. We can therefore reduce the estimates by Rs. 20 crores immediately. I have taken—and my Party has taken—a very definite stand in this matter. We do not need any outside help today in defending our country. We would spurn it: We know we have the human material necessary to defend ourselves; and, as for the equipment necessary, we are confident that we can have it within a short time.

Now, take the Air arm of the defence services. At present there are about 1,600 Indian officers. I understand—and the Honourable the Finance Member will correct me if I am wrong—that 700 out of these 1,600 officers in the R. I. A. F. are going to be demobilised. My Honourable friend Mr. Asaf Ali says, ‘Much more’. But even taking the figure of demobilisation at 700 Indian

officers, in whose interest are they going to be demobilised? In the interest of the British personnel which is sought to be maintained and perpetuated in this country. Demobilisation of Indian officers in the Air Force becomes necessary only because Britishers are being retained; and I may add that at the Air Headquarters India unit, Britishers are today holding all the key positions, and Indian officers are not being given any responsible job at all, though most of them shared the burdens of the last war and gained valuable experience in Europe, in Burma, in Malaya, in China and elsewhere. When we come to the Army, the same state of affairs exists. When we come to the Navy, we find the same state of affairs. And when I hear the talk about the coming change of power, I feel surprise that far from replacing British personnel by Indian personnel, attempt is being made to maintain and perpetuate the British personnel in this country in all the services—civil and defence. In the civil services, recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service is going on. In the defence services, whether it is the Army or Navy or Air Force, maintenance and perpetuation of British personnel is going on. The truth of the matter is that my Honourable friends opposite do not yet dare to remove the army of occupation from India; and that is the reason why, in spite of the end of the war, the defence expenditure has not been cut down to the extent to which it ought to be cut down. When I consider the civil expenditure and the defence expenditure for the year 1946-47 I recall to mind the words of that great French savant, Monsieur Romain Rolland. His words were: "The British leopard has dug its claws into the sides of India so thoroughly that it can no longer either withdraw them or live cut off from its prey".

What I find in civil and military expenditure leads me to think and to say quite publicly that they are calculated to help the British leopard to dig its claws deeper and deeper into the sides of India. The Honourable the War Secretary in the course of his speech this morning asked us whether we wanted evolution or revolution. I am glad he put that question to us. I shall reply to him straightaway. We have heard and we have been hearing this word 'evolution' ever since British imperialist domination began in this country. It has been thoroughly sickening to us on this side of the House. The whole world is going through a revolution and at a tremendous pace. There is no reason why we Indians should not reject evolution for revolution and thereby speed up the progress of our country. We do want to create a revolution in the minds of Indians. We do want to create a revolution in their ways and methods. And I shall tell the War Secretary that we are distinctly in favour of a silent, non-violent revolution which will in no time enable India to come into her own.

Now, Sir, it is the usual thing in the course of a speech on the financial proposals to talk about planning and development. I have searched in vain the Honourable the Finance Member's speech on the budget and his financial proposals for any real schemes for planning and development. Just consider that there has been a drop this year of about Rs. 400 to 500 crores in military expenditure. Now, what is the contribution to planning and development? A total of 50 crores! Money in hundreds and thousands of crores could be found all these years in the United Kingdom and also in India for war expenditure, but when it comes to planning and development, all that the Finance Member promises to us is a sum of Rs. 50 crores, a mere pittance as compared with the vast amount that India needs for planning and development. Here again, I say I do not, and this side of the House does not, take the Government of India's schemes for planning and development seriously. As far as this side of the House is concerned, nationalisation is the key-note and should be the key-note of economic development in India. It is the key-note of all economic developments in the West except possibly America. But the slogan of nationalisation is an unknown slogan so far as members opposite are concerned. The Bank of England may be nationalised, a bank with a hoary past and great traditions, but the Reserve Bank of India cannot be nationalised, because so long as British imperialist domination continues in this country, it cannot

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possibly be nationalised. Coal mines can be nationalised in England but in India they cannot be nationalised, because British imperialist domination does not want to tread on the corns of European industrialists and capitalists in this country. I have already said, and I desire to repeat, that nationalisation should be the ke-note of all economic development in this country; and as long as that is not accepted, all these so-called schemes of planning and development will vanish into thin air. They will not benefit the masses in the least. They will create a number of capitalists and a number of industrialists, whether white or brown, but they will not touch the real problem, the problem of poverty in this country.

As regards the policy of my Party, I desire to quote the words of the election manifesto on the strength of which our Party came into this Assembly. The relevant words of that manifesto were these:

"It will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups, to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing, and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity, so that free India may develop into a co-operative commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance, must be regulated in the national interest."

That is our policy and that is the policy to which we shall adhere to the last. I am reminded in this connection of the speech that Sir Gurnath Bewoor delivered yesterday. When I heard his speech I felt I was living in the early 19th century. He was at some pains to impress upon us that private enterprise was much more efficient than State enterprise. I was wondering whether he had forgotten that during the last war private enterprise was practically stopped in all the countries of Europe and the State took them over for the benefit of the people. May I ask him: Was it for the sake of inefficiency that the State did so? The old policy of *laissez-faire*, which is still the policy of the Government of India, will not do. That old policy still inspires all their plans and schemes for planning and development. That is an exploded policy. We subscribe to the policy of nationalisation and if we come to our own, as I hope we shall very shortly, we shall introduce the policy of nationalisation into every sphere of economic activity in India.

Sir, I have not the time to devote myself to the speech of the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar or to the speech of the Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava. I have already made my suggestions on the food problem. I remember the Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava saying that he welcomed my suggestions. There were six concrete suggestions which I made. I looked in vain for anything that might show that those concrete suggestions, which had been welcomed on the 30th January last, had been put into action in any shape or form, partially or otherwise.

Sir, I shall not devote more time to planning and development. I shall sum up the Government of India's policy in the words of one of the greatest men of modern times, I mean George Bernard Shaw. George Bernard Shaw in his book, "Everybody's Political what's what", has said:

"Nowadays the capitalist cry is 'nationalise what you like, municipalise all you can, turn the courts of justice into courts martial and your parliaments and corporations into Boards of Directors with your most popular mob orators in the Chair, provided the rent, the interest and the profits come to us as before and the proletariat gets nothing but its keep'."

That is the policy of the Government of India today. George Bernard Shaw proceeds:

"The great corruption of socialism threatens us at present. It calls itself Fascism in Italy, National Socialism (Nazi for short) in Germany. New Deal in the United States and as clever enough to remain nameless in England."

I do not know whether I should add the words, "is equally clever to remain nameless in India too."

Bernard Shaw goes on:

"But everywhere it means the same thing: socialist production and unsocialist distribution."

Let me say, Sir, in one word that what we want in India today is socialist production and socialist distribution. It is on that principle that our plans and our schemes for planning and development must be made. What we have in view and what the whole country should have in view is not merely socialist production, but socialist distribution as well. We do not want to make the rich richer; we do not want to create more capitalists in India; we do not want to create greater industrialists in India; we want to look to the masses of our people and we can only do so by our plans of socialist production and socialist distribution.

Sir, I have no desire to go at length into the so called schemes for planning and development. I wish I had the time to do so. I believe I can resist the temptation today, because in the near future, I shall have time to examine these schemes for planning and development in greater detail. I think I have said enough to show that this side of the House cannot acquiesce in the financial proposals which the Honourable the Finance Member has placed before us. Whether it is a matter of giving relief to the poor, or whether it is civil expenditure or military expenditure or planning and development, nowhere do we find any intention whatever to benefit the masses of our people.

Sir, it is not for nothing that we have waged a long warfare against British imperialist rule. That warfare we have carried on for the last sixty years, and that warfare we are still carrying on. That warfare we have carried on against British imperialist rule, its crimes, its vices, its enormous, almost overpowering, corruption. I have had appeals addressed to me that we should not reject the financial proposals because the British Cabinet Mission is here. I do not know what the presence of the British Cabinet Mission has got to do with the consideration of the financial proposals.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Nothing at all.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I am glad the Honourable the Finance Member said 'nothing at all'. The Honourable the Finance Member has asked us to consider his financial proposals on their merits.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Only for once.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I have ventured to examine them on their merits. The motion for the rejection of the Finance Bill, which was moved from this side of the House, was moved on a consideration of its merits. Sir, friends and allies of last year may desert us today.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: Because you have declared war on them.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: They may be impressed by small offers of reduction of one anna here or two annas there; but, our course is clear, our road is straight. That is the course which my Honourable friend the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party appreciated so much last year on the 26th March. Sir, this is what he said then:

"Mr. President, the policy of the Muslim League with regard to the Finance Bill has been consistently uniform since 1941. We have always opposed the measure on the ground that so long as we have no real share in the power and authority of the Government, we cannot take the responsibility of placing funds at their disposal to be spent in any way that they may like. Some people seem to be under the impression that the Muslim League has changed its policy with regard to this matter only since the presence of the Congress Party in this House. It is not so."

I hope the Muslim League has not changed its policy in this matter this year because of the presence of the Congress Party in this House. As I have said, friends and allies from the year 1941 and onwards may desert us . . .

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan: You were not here then. You have come after we have won the battle.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose: I have examined the Finance Bill within the short time at my disposal. I say with the utmost emphasis I can command that it is not a Bill which can call for acceptance from this side of the House. We are not troubled, as I said just now, we are not concerned with any offer of reduction of an anna here, or two annas there or three annas elsewhere. The whole of the Finance Bill is to be considered and considered in the light of the tests which I have already applied; and applying those tests, I say, that the Finance Bill does not merit consideration by this House. Sir, I move for rejection of the Finance Bill by the House.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 27th March 1946.