

4th March 1946

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

Official Report

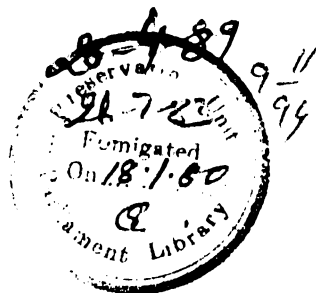
Volume III, 1946

(28th February to 14th March, 1946)

FIRST SESSION

OF THE

SIXTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1946



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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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Deputy President :

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

SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, M.L.A.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, the 4th 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.

MEMBER SWORN :

Mr. Nivarty Sundaresan, O.B.E., M.L.A., (Government of India: Nominated Official).

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS †

WRITTEN ANSWERS

CAPACITY OF CEMENT FACTORIES

616. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development please state the existing capacity of the cement producing companies belonging to the A.C.C. and the Dalmia Group, and the capacity of independent cement companies?

(b) Is it a fact that Government have decided to permit an increase of three million tons over the existing capacity and that they have apportioned out 1.75 million tons to the A.C.C. and Dalmia?

(c) How do they propose to distribute the rest of the tonnage?

(d) In order to enable building operations to start on a large scale and to open up a field of employment to those who will be thrown out of work, what steps have Government taken in order to get cement prices reduced?

(e) Is it a fact that the cement prices are fixed by monopolistic concerns on the basis of maximum profit and minimum turnover?

(f) Who has examined the position from the public point of view and what was the last report made by this gentleman?

(g) Do Government propose to place a copy of the report on the table of the House?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) A. C. C.—18,62,000 tons per annum.

Dalmias—5,60,000 per annum.

Others—3,60,000 per annum.

(b) Yes.

(c) A statement is laid on the table of the House.

(d) The price of cement for sales to the public is fixed by negotiation with the Cement Industry. The price was fixed first in March 1944 at Rs. 70 per ton f. o. r. destination. It was revised in December 1944 to Rs. 68/12 and has been reduced once more from November 1945 to Rs. 68/12.

(e) No. Prices are fixed by negotiation on the basis of such information as is available regarding cost of production.

(f) Government have frequently examined the position from the public point of view, and the last review resulted in the reduction of price from November 1945, already referred to. Investigations are made by Government Cost Accountants.

(g) There are no formal reports. Investigations by Government Cost Accountants are made on the understanding that the material collected by them will be kept confidential.

†The question hour for the day having been dispensed with, the answers were laid on the table of the House.—*Ed. of D.*

Statement giving details of the Allocation of Cement Quotas

| Assam | New Unit | Expansion |
|--|---------------------------|-------------|
| Assam Bengal Cement Co. Ltd., Calcutta | | 75,000 tons |
| Bengal— | | |
| Two factories (to be selected by the Provincial Government). | 1,00,000 tons 20,000 „ | |
| Bombay— | | |
| In the absence of information reg. the availability of raw materials, no scheme has yet been sanctioned. | | |
| C. P.— | | |
| One factory (to be selected by the Provincial Government). | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Madras— | | |
| 1. India Cement Ltd., Madras | 1,00,000 tons | |
| 2. Andhra Cement Co. Ltd., Bezwada | .. | 30,000 tons |
| Punjab— | | |
| Punjab Minerals Co. Ltd., Calcutta | 1,00,000 tons | |
| U. P. | | |
| National Cement, Mines & Industries Ltd. Ranchi. | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Bihar— | | |
| (At Sindri—to be run by Government) | 2,00,000 tons | |
| Bhopal State— | | |
| One factory (to be selected by the State) | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Gangpur State— | | |
| One factory (to be selected by the State) | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Sirmur State— | | |
| One factory (to be selected by the State) | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Tehri-Garhwal State— | | |
| One factory subject to a technical examination of the suitability of a cement factory in that State. | 1,00,000 tons | |
| Mysore State— | | |
| Mysore Iron & Steel Works, Bhadravat, | .. | 30,000 tons |
| Navanagar State— | | |
| Messrs Digvijaya Co. Ltd. Jamnagar | 1,00,000 tons | |

CONTROL OVER INVESTMENTS OF CEMENT COMPANIES

617. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state how many applications representing how much capital were rejected by the Finance Department (Capital Issue Control) since the control was instituted?

(b) Were reasons given for such refusal? If so, what were they?

(c) In how many cases was the consent given to registration of new companies accompanied by a condition that a substantial part of the capital would be invested in Government securities?

(d) What is the total of such investments in Government securities brought about through the condition imposed by the Capital Control Section of the Finance Department since it was instituted?

(e) What are the grounds on which Government propose to continue the imposition of this control?

Mr. B. C. A. Cook: (a) In the period between the establishment of the control and the 31st December 1945, 965 applications were refused, relating to a total amount of just under 105 crores of rupees.

These figures do not include partial refusals in cases where consent was given the total amount involved in such partial refusals up to the same date was 87½ crores of rupees.

(b) Reasons were given when asked for by the applicants. They were to the effect that, in various ways, the applications failed to pass the test that it was in the public interest to encourage the devotion of the proposed capital to the objects set forth in them.

(c) In 257 cases, up to the 31st December 1945.

(d) The total of amounts so invested which had been reported up to the 18th January 1946, was 9 crores and 42 lakhs of rupees.

(e) The object of the continuance of the control of capital issues is to ensure that money seeking investment is directed into enterprises in such a way as will produce the maximum economic and social benefit to the country.

ACTION ON RESOLUTION RE REMOVAL OF COMMERCIAL SAFEGUARDS

618. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development please state the action taken on the resolution passed by the Assembly on the 4th April, 1945, relating to the removal of commercial safeguards in favour of Britain?

(b) What communications were made to His Majesty's Government and what were the replies received?

(c) In what form was approach made and in what form was a statement made on behalf of India to organised British commercial bodies by (i) Sir Ardeshir Dalal, and (ii) Sir Jeremy Raisman, who was appointed special officer to help the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal?

(d) When the Labour Government came into power, was an approach made to His Majesty's Government again? If so, what was the reply?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) A full text of the debates in the Legislative Assembly was forwarded to the Secretary of State. Further, the then Member for Planning and Development proceeded personally to London to discuss the issues involved with H. M. G. and British Industrial interests.

(b) In view of the personal visit which the then Planning Member paid to the U. K., no correspondence on the subject has passed between the Government of India and H. M. G.

(c) The approach was personal; for purposes of discussion a brief was presented to British commercial bodies.

(d) Yes, by Sir Ardeshir Dalal in London. He was informally given to understand that, in view of the discussions which were shortly to come off covering the entire Constitutional relations between India and England, it would be difficult to consider the restricted issues which Sir Ardeshir had brought to London.

PROPOSED DELETION OF SECTIONS 111 TO 121 OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

619. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Planning and development please state the reply of organized British commerce and the reasons given by them for not accepting the proposal for the deletion of sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, 1935?

(b) Were any non-officials taken with the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal for this purpose when he went abroad last year?

(c) Was advantage taken of the presence of the Industrial Delegation in the United Kingdom, including Messrs. Tata and Birla for this purpose?

(d) If the answer to (c) is in the negative, why were they not associated when approach was made to organized British commerce?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) No formal or written reply has been received from the representatives of British Industry; but at the meeting held with the Committees of the Federation of British Industry and the Association of Chambers of Commerce, the Members took the line that the proposals communicated to them by Sir Ardeshir Dalal would not only not attract, but would deter British industrialists from assisting in the industrialisation of India and that therefore the proposals were contrary to the interests of India.

(b) The answer is in the negative.

(c) and (d). The answer is in the negative. Sir Ardeshir was fully aware of the views of Indian industrialists and there was therefore no need for him to discuss the matter in London with the Industrial Delegation.

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION ACT

620. *Mr. Manu Subedar: Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development please state whether His Excellency the Viceroy in the address, which he gave to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in December last, said:

"I do not think that there is any likelihood of the complete removal of the safeguarding clauses of the Act until there is a general revision of the Constitution Act and a commercial treaty between Great Britain and India"?

Is this the position of Government on this subject?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. As regards the second part, I draw the Honourable Member's attention to the reply to clause (d) of his question No. 618.

ACTION BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA RE DELETION OF SECTIONS 111 TO 121 OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

621. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Did the Honourable Member for Planning and Development on the 23rd of January, 1946, in dealing with the adjournment motion on the subject of Government's failure to report progress of steps taken for the deletion of sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, 1935, say, "I think it is due to the House that some information should be given"?

(b) What is the 'action' and 'further action' which has been taken by the Government of India as the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal informed this House on that day?

(c) Have they conveyed to His Majesty's Government the very strong feeling on this subject in this country?

(d) Have they emphasised the need of early action on this subject and the desirability of not delaying a settlement of this subject on the ground that planning and development in India "cannot proceed unhindered" (the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal's words) so long as these sections remain?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) Yes.

(b) I have just given the facts in answer to Question No. 618.

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes.

REPRESENTATION FROM BRITISH SHIPPING INTERESTS AGAINST DELETION OF SECTIONS 111 TO 121 OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT

622. *Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development please state if it is a fact that pressure has been brought on the Government of India by British shipping interests and by organized commerce in (i) India and (ii) Britain, not to urge the deletion or even modification of sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as demanded by all Indian Parties throughout the country?

(b) Has any representation from bodies concerned with British commerce in India or in U. K. been received by the Government of India on this subject? If so, what are they?

(c) Do Government propose to place a copy of such representation on the table of the House?

(d) What was the reply, if any, sent by Government to these representations?

(e) What is going to be Government's next step in implementing the resolution of the Assembly on this subject?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) Not on the Government of India.

(b) No.

(c) and (d) Do not arise.

(e) This matter awaits the issue of the Constitutional discussions which, as the Honourable Member is aware, are now imminent.

SCHEMES FOR EMPLOYMENT OF MUNITION WORKERS

623. *Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development be pleased to place in the Library of the House for the information of members their publications regarding projects, if any, for the promotion of industrial schemes; roads and railways that are to be built and slums to be cleaned, and such vast irrigation schemes, combined with Hydro-electric projects which Government have promised to put on hand at once in order to provide work for hundreds of thousands of munition workers who would otherwise be unemployed now that the Japanese war is over?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: I invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the information given in the Finance Member's Budget speech, and will have any publications on the matters referred to by the Honourable Member which are not already there placed in the Library of the House.

ARTICLES IN MAHRATTA WEEKLY RE 'BLOOD BATHS' IN INDIA.

624. *Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state whether his attention has been drawn to the allegations contained in the article by one Mr. C. L. R. Sastri in the Mahratta Weekly paper published by the Tilak Press in Poona of December 21st, 1945, and in particular to the paragraph contained in the said article where it is clearly alleged that the people of India, since 1919, have experienced "blood baths" compared with which the horrors of Belsen and Dachau, "*pale into complete insignificance*"?

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if there is any truth, in these allegations?

(c) Does the Honourable Member propose to appoint a small Committee of six members drawn from all parties of this Assembly to enquire into these allegations?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) to (c). As the allusions are merely to Jalianwala Bagh, following on the victory of 1918, and to unspecified episodes following on the victory of 1945, there would be no point in either denying them or enquiring into them.

PROFITS TO GOVERNMENT UNDER DEMONITIZATION ORDINANCE

625. *Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:

(a) the total sum of money for which the High Denomination Notes, as defined by the 'Demonetization Ordinance', had been issued by Government;

(b) the amount which has been claimed from the Reserve Bank by Members of the public in exchange for the notes;

(c) the amount which Government expect to be able to confiscate as a result of the notes not having been tendered for exchange; and

(d) what, if any, other profits the Government have made by the issue of this Ordinance?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) Rs. 148-97 crores.

(b) Rs. 120-08 crores upto 9th February, 1946.

(c) The question has not yet arisen, and when it does arise, appropriate action will be taken.

(d) The Ordinance was not designed to make any profit, as such. The main objects underlying the Ordinance have been explained in my answer to Starred Question No. 417, by Mr. Manu Subedar, on the 21st February, 1946.

EXAMINATION OF BANK VAULTS UNDER DEMONITIZATION ORDINANCE

626. *Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:

(a) if it is a fact that certain officers were deputed on behalf of the Reserve Bank of India to examine the Vaults of various banks to make sure that the returns made by them under 'Demonetization Ordinance' were correct;

(b) if in the course of such examinations any discrepancies were found in any banks; and

(c) if any exceptions were made in favour of any banks in the matter of such examinations, if so, why?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a), (b) and (c). I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the answer given by me to the short notice question, by Mr. Manu Subedar, on the 7th February, 1946.

SALE OF HIGHER DENOMINATION NOTES

627. *Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Finance Member be pleased to state:

(a) if instances have come to his knowledge of the High Denomination Notes, as defined by the Demonetization Ordinance, having been bought and sold for less than their value after the issue of the Ordinance;

(b) the amount that Government think has been made in the blackmarket by such transactions; and

(c) if Government are satisfied with the actual results that have ensued from this Ordinance?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) No, Sir.

(b) Government have no information.

(c) It is too early to attempt to assess the results of the operation of the Ordinance.

CENSORSHIP OF PRIVATE LETTERS

628. *Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) the various types of censorship that private letters in course of transit can be subjected to, and the laws under which this is done;

(b) if some letters are secretly opened and re-closed, and if others are opened without any secrecy and sealed with the words "Opened by examiner before delivery";

(c) if it is a fact that letters secretly opened are very clumsily re-gummed, resulting in their having to be torn out of their envelopes by the receivers thereof; and

(d) if Government will consider the desirability of having only one system of censorship and to open letters without any attempt at secrecy and close them by a separate piece of paper?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a), (b) and (d). Censorship of private correspondence has been abolished. Powers of secret interception under Section 26, Post Office Act of 1898, are however still exercised.

(c) I am aware that such complaints have been made.

PURPOSE OF CENSORSHIP ON PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

629. *Shri Sri Prakasa: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

- (a) the purpose for which censorship on private correspondence passing through the post is being maintained;
- (b) the number of letters that are being thus censored on an average per year;
- (c) the powers of the Central and Provincial Governments in this behalf; and
- (d) the list of names of those whose letters are so censored by the Central and various Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) and (c). The powers and purpose of interception are defined in the section of the Post Office Act that I have just quoted.

(b) and (d). As regards the Provincial Governments I have no information. But in any case the purpose of interception would be defeated if I gave the information.

INSTRUCTIONS RE RECOGNITION AND EXTENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES OF PEOPLE

630. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) if any new instructions or advice have been issued to provincial Governments after the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the recognition and extension of civil liberties of the people, especially in regard to processions, National and All India Days avowedly organised in a peaceful manner in furtherance of peaceful policies and programmes of the people concerned; and

(b) whether there is any difference in the official attitude (Central and Provincial Governments) towards the civil liberties of the people between the period before June of 1945 and thereafter?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) In the process of consultation between the Central Government and Provincial Governments from time to time in the last few months views have been exchanged on various matters affecting, or likely to affect, public order. Instances are—electioneering activities and the celebration of the so-called Independence Day.

(b) The policy of both the Central Government and Provincial Governments, whether before June 1945 or after that date, is, as I told the Honourable Member on February 7th, to permit the full enjoyment of civil liberties consistently with their responsibility for the preservation of public order.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION AMONG CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF SECRETARIAT OFFICER

631. *Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) the total strength of Secretariat officers dealing with service and establishment cases; and

(b) how many of them are (i) Muslims, and (ii) Non-Muslims?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) There are 244 Secretariat officers who deal in some degree with service and establishment questions.

(b) (i) 40; (ii) 204.

MUSLIMS IN CENTRAL SERVICES

632. *Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please place on the table a statement on the working of the Govt. Resolution of 1934, fixing 25 per cent. of Muslims in the Central Services?

(b) What is the proportion of Muslims in all the Central Services?

(c) Do Govt. propose to appoint a Muslim I.C.S. Officer to review the working of this resolution?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) A statement is placed on the table of the House.

(b) Muslims are represented to the extent of 20.67 per cent. in all the Central Services taken together.

(c) I will consider the suggestion.

Statement

Since the issue of the Resolution in July 1934 the proportion of Muslims and "Other Minority Communities" in the Indian Civil Service and the Central Services has increased as follows :

| Name of Service | Percentage increases from 1st January 1935 to 1st January 1945 | | Proportion on 1st January 1945 of— | |
|------------------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Muslims | Other Minorities | Muslims | Other Minorities |
| | | | (Percentage) | (Percentage) |
| I. Indian Civil Service . | 5.03 | 1.95 | 20.23 | 10.5 |
| II. Central Services--- | | | | |
| (Class I) . | 3.22 | —2.75 | 16.05 | 13.8 |
| (Class II) | 3.75 | —14.73 | 18.32 | 13.86 |
| Subordinate Services . | 1.42 | .23 | 21.66 | 7.46 |
| Superior Railway Services . | 2.0 | .14 | 15.21 | 27.14 |
| Subordinate Railway Ser- vices. | 3.20 | 2.54 | 20.04 | 11.47 |
| All Services together . | 2.55 | —1.66 | 20.67 | 9.86 |

(The figures for Railway Services are as on 31st March 1944.)

The increase in the representation of the minority communities would probably have been more marked but for the war. During the war a large number of new posts requiring special and technical qualifications were created suddenly and it was not always possible to find suitable minority candidates at short notice; and the attractions of military service reduced the numbers available for civil posts. The extent of the problem is indicated by the war-time recruitment to the Subordinate Services where the number of temporary posts increased from 4,519 on 1st January 1939 to 46,720 on 1st January 1945.

2. All permanent recruitment to Central Services was, however, stopped from June 1942, 70 per cent of permanent vacancies being reserved for 'war service' candidates and the remaining 30 per cent. for temporary employees under Government. Government have issued instructions that in filling the 70 per cent. reservation for 'war service' candidates and the 30 per cent. reservation for temporary men the rules regarding communal representation should be strictly followed. Government have further directed that, where retrenchment is necessary, the temporary staff should be so discharged that the composition of the persons retained is, as far as possible, in accordance with the communal ratios prescribed for recruitment.

EXPERTS FOR DEVELOPING INDIAN INDUSTRIES

633. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development be pleased to state:

(a) if Government have invited experts now in the employ of various industrial concerns of Government and private enterprise to study certain special problems concerning the possibilities of developing Indian industries that they are capable of planning and making plans for setting up and executing the industrial plants and concerns needed; if so, how many such experts have been approached and for what industries;

(b) the nature of remuneration and encouragement offered to them to give their best in preparing the requisite plans; and

(c) if no approach has been made to experts whether Govt. now propose to consider the advisability of approaching our available experts to place their constructive ideas and proposals before Government for the advancement of our national planning without their having to abandon their present jobs?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) and (b). As the Honourable Member is aware, a number of Panels have been appointed to make recommendations to Government regarding the development of industries, both existing and new, to enable them to prepare a detailed plan of industrial development for the whole of India. The Panels are composed of persons prominently associated with the industry concerned, and one or two experts, and those who by their general knowledge of Trade and Industry are likely to be useful as members. They work in an honorary capacity, getting only travelling allowances for their journeys on panel work.

(c) The Government of India consider that the procedure now being followed is suitable and does not call for any change.

SELECTION OF EXPERTS FOR PLANNING

634. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development be pleased to state:

(a) how many experts are today employed by his Department as whole-timers, and how many of them are Indians;

(b) how many of them are qualified for specific expertness and knowledge of the subject entrusted to them;

(c) who is the authority to see that only those who are really competent and useful experts are chosen for their particular lines of planning;

(d) whether any steps are being taken to make these experts gain the specific expertness needed for the line of planning entrusted to them by making any special study of modern developments; and

(e) whether any steps are being taken to get the requisite number of scientists and technicians trained in time to execute the plans now being formulated by Government; if so, what they are and where they are to be trained?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a) Nine; all are Indians. Two experts from the U. S. A. were also employed for some time, but these have now left after completion of their task.

(b) All of them.

(c) The Member in charge of the Department.

(d) All of them are expected to study modern developments in the subjects entrusted to them and no special arrangements for this purpose are considered necessary.

(e) Yes. I draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the brochure giving details of the Education Department and Labour Department training schemes of which a copy is available in the Library of the House.

REPORTS RE POST-WAR PLANNING

635. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Member for Planning and Development be pleased to state:

(a) from how many and from what Provinces the post-war planning reports have been received;

(b) the total sums of money their planning estimates amount to in different main lines of development, say agriculture, industries, commerce, rural reconstruction and urban development;

(c) how they compare with each other;

(d) whether Government of India is shaping its plans in relation to these Provincial plans;

(e) in regard to what lines of planning the Central Government's plans are ready, and how much they are expected to cost; and

(f) whether they are sanctioning the floatation of joint stock companies, the purchase and import of industrial machinery etc. in the light of (a), (d) and (e); if so, the industries in which such development is now going on?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: (a). Draft Five-year Plans have been received from all Provinces. Some have been finalised by the Provincial Governments and some have yet to be.

(b) and (c). I lay a statement on the table indicating provisional figures.

(d) That is the intention.

(e) I lay a statement on the table indicating provisional figures.

(f) In sanctioning capital issues and registering applications for the import of capital goods, these factors are taken into account. The Honourable Member will be interested in the Press notes issued recently on the development of the Cotton Textile and Cement Industries of which copies are available in the Library of the House.

Statements

Total proposed expenditure of all Provinces on each Major Head

In crores of rupees.

| | Agriculture | Industries | Public works | Medical & Public Health | Education | Miscellaneous | Total |
|------------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| Madras | 8 | 2 | 70 | 14 | 31 | 11 | 136 |
| Bombay | 15 | * | 25 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 60 |
| Bengal | 26 | 5 | 80 | 14 | 13 | 31 | 169 |
| U. P. | 11 | 3 | 60 | 18 | 13 | 9 | 114 |
| Punjab | 6 | 5 | 67 | 12 | 10 | 16 | 116 |
| Bihar | 9 | 3 | 52 | 10 | 9 | 37 | 120 |
| C.P. & Berar | 2 | * | 10 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 30 |
| Assam | 2 | 4 | 57 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 82 |
| N.W.F.P. | 1 | * | 6 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 18 |
| Orissa | 1 | 1 | 15 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 33 |
| Sind | 9 | | 28 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 46 |
| Total | 90 | 23 | 470 | 90 | 105 | 146 | 924 |

* Less than 1 crore.

Statements

Central Post-war Plans

Estimated total cost up to March, 1952,

| Department | (Crores) |
|-----------------------|----------|
| Agriculture | 15 |
| Education | 20 |
| Health | 19 |

| | (Crores) |
|--|------------|
| Information and Arts— | |
| Broadcasting | 17 |
| Films | 3 |
| Labour— | |
| Subsidy for Housing, Social Security Schemes, etc. | 18 |
| Vocational Training etc. | 30 |
| Planning and Development | 4 |
| (Grants to Council of Scientific and Industrial Research) | |
| Posts and Air— | |
| Posts and Telegraphs | 36 |
| Civil Aviation | 30 |
| Meteorology | 1 |
| War (Resettlement on Land) | 2 |
| War Transport (National Highways) | 20 |
| Centrally Administered Areas | 10 |
| Total | 225 |

Railways

about 250 crores

CASUALTIES CAUSED BY MILITARY VEHICLES

636. *Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: Will the War Secretary be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of (i) deaths and (ii) other casualties in (a) the City of Madras and (b) other parts of South India caused by military vehicles from January 1940, to January 31, 1946;

(b) whether any compensation has been paid in any case; if so, the number of persons who have received compensation and the total amount spent by the Government on this account; and

(c) whether any action has been taken by the military authorities against the drivers of the vehicles who caused these accidents; if so, in how many cases, and the nature of action taken?

Mr. P. Mason: (a), (b) and (c). I am afraid that these statistics are not available and that to collect them would involve a very great expenditure of time and labour.

I may, however, inform the Honourable Member that a Claims Commission was set up by Government on the 1st January, 1945, to consider and deal with all claims made against the Armed Forces in respect of traffic accidents involving military vehicles on duty and civilian third parties, and that in all cases since the 1st January 1945, where claims have been made and it has been found that the blame for the accident was that of the military driver, fair and equitable compensation has been or will be paid as a matter of grace. Before the 1st January 1945, the settlement of such claims was the responsibility of the local service authorities.

Disciplinary action is taken in all cases where a driver of a military vehicle has been found to be at fault.

POLICY OF FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION RE ADVERTISING IN NEWSPAPERS

637. *Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan: Will the Honourable the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) the policy of the Federal Public Service Commission in advertising, in newspapers, inviting applications for posts;

(b) the actual number of days allowed in each case after the insertion of advertisements in newspapers and the last date notified for sending the applications;

(c) whether candidates living in places distant from Delhi and Simla like remote villages in South India are given any consideration in the matter of application; if not, why not;

(d) whether the Secretary of the Federal Public Service Commission has received any complaints regarding the insufficiency of time given; and

(e) whether the Honourable Member proposes to instruct the Commission to give at least one month's time to candidate from places which are more than two day's Railway journey from Delhi, for sending their applications, and see that application forms are despatched to candidates immediately the Secretary receives requests for them?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) The policy of the Federal Public Service Commission in advertising in newspapers asking for applications for posts is to give the widest possible publicity in the various provinces to the vacant posts so that recruitment can be made from the largest possible pool of suitable candidates.

(b) One month from the date of the appearance of an advertisement in the *Gazette of India* is allowed for the receipt of applications. The advertisement appears in the newspapers either on the same date or very shortly afterwards.

(c) Late applications are usually considered if practicable and if the delay is not due to the candidate's own fault.

(d) Occasionally.

(e) The Commission are well aware of the necessity of allowing ample time for the receipt of replies from distant places.

CONFISCATION OF SHRI GANDHI SEWA ASHRAM, MEHRAULI

638. *Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

(a) whether Shri Gandhi Sewa Ashram at Mahrauli was confiscated during the 1942 Civil Disobedience Movement;

(b) whether any list of the property was prepared at the time of confiscation;

(c) with whom that list was kept; and

(d) whether that Ashram has now been returned; if so, to whom; whether all the items of the property were properly checked at the time of handing over?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) The Gurukul Ram Tal which I understand was also known as Shri Gandhi Ashram was notified as a building used for the purposes of an unlawful association.

(b) Yes.

(c) In the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Delhi.

(d) The building was restored to the villagers of Kathwaria Serai. Some of the articles which were recovered from the Ashram were confiscated under section 17-B of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act and the remaining articles were returned to Master Tula Ram, Manager of the Ashram, on 11th December, 1942.

DETENTION OF I. N. A. PERSONNEL UNDER THE MILITARY SAFETY (POWERS OF DETENTION) ORDINANCE

639. *Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the War Secretary please state:

(a) how many persons are now being detained under the Military Safety (Powers of Detention) Ordinance, 1944, and how many of them were members of the I.N.A.; and

(b) whether the following persons are still being detained in the Montgomery Central Jail: (i) Sardar Sher Singh, (ii) Sardar Kartar Singh, (iii) Sardar Amar Singh, and (iv) Sardar Dalip Singh?

Mr. P. Mason: (a) Orders have been issued for the release of all those who were detained under the Military Safety (Powers of Detention) Ordinance, with the exception of one person, who was not a member of the I. N. A.

(b) No, Sir, Nos. 1 and 3 were released on the 15th January, No. 2 on the 29th January and No. 4 on the 20th December last.

ACTION ON ADJOURNMENT MOTION RE HANDCUFFING OF DEMONSTRATORS ON ABDUL RASHID DAY IN DELHI

640. *Sardar Mangal Singh: Will the Honourable the Home Member please state:

(a) whether Government have taken any action on the adjournment motion carried by the Assembly on the 13th February 1946 about hand-cuffing the prisoners who were arrested in Delhi in connection with the Abdul Rashid Day demonstrations;

(b) whether Government propose to issue instructions that in future normally political prisoners will not be handcuffed;

(c) whether any allowance is being paid to their dependents;

(d) whether it is contemplated to release them at an early date; and

(e) whether they are permitted to interview their relatives, if so, how many times they have availed of this privilege, and when the interview was last held?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a), (b) and (c). No.

(d) None of them is now in custody.

(e) During the short time they were in custody they were allowed frequent interviews with relatives and legal advisers as permitted by the rules.

SECRET DEAL FOR IMPORT OF RADIO SETS

641. *Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: (a) Will the Honourable Member for Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state whether during the course of the war the Government of India made a secret deal with a British firm for the import of Radio Sets?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, what is the number of sets so ordered?

(c) Did any such set or sets arrive in India? If so, what is their number?

(d) How did Government use the sets during the war?

(e) Now that the war is over, have Government cancelled the contract wholly or in part?

(f) If the answer to (e) is in the negative, how do Government intend to use or dispose of the sets as and when they arrive and which have already arrived?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable the Member for Industries and Supplies. It has accordingly been transferred to the final list of questions for the 11th March 1946, when it will be answered by the Honourable Member for Industries and Supplies.

W. A. C. IS. APPEAL AGAINST 'UNBELIEVABLE SCANDALS' PUBLISHED IN Hindustan Times

642. *Mr. Ramayan Prasad: (a) Has the attention of the War Secretary been drawn to the W.A.C.Is pathetic appeal against "unbelievable scandals" published in the *Hindustan Times* of the 17th February 1946?

(b) Are Govt. aware that a letter signed by 100 W.A.C.I. members has been sent to the Parliament and the members of the Central Legislative Assembly making serious charges that they have been pitilessly and criminally neglected and in the service itself they were ill cared for, fitted for nothing except drinking, dancing, necking and fraternizing with the officers and B.O.Rs. and appealing them to investigate?

(c) Are Govt. aware that there have been cases without number of rape, forced motherhood, abortions, venereal diseases and suicide?

(d) Are Govt. aware that Indian Officers were not permitted to improve the lot of their subordinates and that they are now 'gagged' by the Defence of India Rules from telling the story except before a proper accredited investigation?

(e) If the answers to (a), (b), (c) and (d) are in the affirmative, do Government propose to take any steps to investigate the matter and to clerk the evil?

Mr. P. Mason: Sir, I have two starred questions Nos. 642 and 653, on the subject of the W. A. C. (I), for to-day. With your permission I propose to deal with these questions together.

No. 642.—(a) Yes, Sir, and I am glad to have the opportunity of contradicting this slur on a fine Corps. The article refers to a letter purporting to have been signed by 100 members of the Corps. I shall be prepared to believe in its authenticity when I have seen the original letter and have checked the signatures.

(b) It is alleged that the supervision was inadequate. All hostels were supervised by officers who were responsible for the well-being of the auxiliaries. There were rules for the admission of visitors. The girls were under orders to be in their barracks by 10 P.M. and lights out by 10-30 P.M., but two late passes were permitted a week to enable them to go to Cinemas or dances if they wished. The statement that W. A. C. (I)s were forced to attend any form of entertainment or compelled to attend dances, etc., for the amusement of male officers or British Other Ranks can only be described as a malicious and incorrect statement. Where parents expressed a special wish, auxiliaries were permitted to leave the hostels only with persons approved by their parents.

The standard of food and accommodation is high and the rates of pay are at least as good as most of the girls are likely to earn in civil life. I should add that there has been some criticism on the grounds that the pay was too high. The great majority were anxious to stay on in the Corps and were disappointed at the decision that it should be disbanded.

The statement that the women of the W. A. C. (I) are to be let loose on the unemployment market and that Government will do nothing about them, is wholly incorrect. Resettlement plans and post-war plans apply to this Corps as much as to the rest of the Army and special schemes for this Corps have been framed.

There have also been allegations of racial discriminations. It is true that the majority of the officers are Europeans, with, Anglo-Indians for the second largest number. The reasons for this are, I think, obvious. It is only comparatively recently that Indian women have begun to earn their living independently of parents, and it is still an exception rather than a rule for an Indian girl to except to do this. Among Europeans and Anglo-Indians on the other hand, it is an exception for a girl not to expect to earn her own living. Those who have in the past earned their own living are obviously more likely to become officers than those who have not. This preponderance of two communities among the officers was one of the principal reasons for deciding on the disbandment of the Corps, so that when it is formed again, as I hope it will be, it will be possible for all communities to have an equal start.

(c) The article stated that there had been cases out of number of rape, forced motherhood, abortion, venereal disease and suicide. The facts are that the total strength of the Corps was 9,567 on the 1st January 1946. Since it was formed in 1942, two alleged cases of rape have been reported to the W. A. C. (I) Headquarters. In both cases a Court Martial on the person charged found him not guilty. I am unable to distinguish between forced motherhood and rape. Since December 1944, 65 cases have been reported in which W. A. C. (I) personnel were about to have illegitimate children, a percentage of about 0.7 per cent. It is however, possible that there may have been a few other cases in which the person concerned obtained discharge on other

grounds and did not reveal her condition. With regard to venereal disease, 25 cases have been treated in military hospitals since the Corps was formed in 1942. The strength of the General Service Section of the Corps is 3,400 and these women could not attend hospitals except on leave. There may have been cases which have not come to light among the 6,000 Local Service women who live at home and can go to private hospitals. There have been two cases of reported suicide in the history of the Corps. In neither case has the result been fatal.

It has also been stated that personnel of the Corps were accommodated in the same hostel as British Other Ranks. Owing to shortage of accommodation, this did happen in one case only throughout India. The women were on one floor, the men on another. Special arrangements were made for supervision in this case, but the arrangement was never considered satisfactory, and was abandoned as soon as possible. The arrangement lasted one year.

(d) I think the statements that have appeared in the Press are sufficient to show that no one has been gagged.

(e) In view of the facts just explained, and of the decision to disband the Corps, Government consider that it would be a waste of public time and money to hold a public enquiry.

No. 852.—(a), (c) and (d), have already been answered.

(b) Complaints have been received from time to time, and have been investigated as they occur.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN POSTS OF EXAMINERS IN ORDNANCE INSPECTION DEPOTS

643. *Nawab Siddique Ali Khan: (a) Will the war Secretary please state the number of posts of Examiners of different grades held by the members of various communities in the Ordnance Inspection Depots under the Master General of the Ordnance?

(b) Is it a fact that the number of members of the minority communities in these grades is far below the percentages prescribed under the Home Department's Resolution of 1932? If so, why was the communal order not maintained at the time of recruitment?

(c) Do Government propose to give an assurance that in the forthcoming retrenchment no member of the minority communities, particularly Muslims, will be thrown out of employment until proper communal representation is secured?

Mr. P. Mason: (a) and (b). Owing to abnormal expansions due to the war and the difficulty of obtaining recruits specially from minority communities, it was not possible to maintain the usual communal proportions in respect of Examiners employed in Ordnance Inspection Depots who are recruited locally on a "casual" and "as required" basis. No record of their strength by communities is therefore available.

(c) Yes, Sir, as I have already done on several occasions.

GRANT OF MONOPOLY FOR EXPORT OF SALT FROM SAMBHAR AND ELSEWHERE

644. *Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state in what essential respects the method of production and distribution of salt in India was altered and brought under control during the war time?

(b) Is it a fact that special agents in different areas during the war time were appointed by Government who were granted sole monopolies over salt distribution in their respective areas? If so, what margin of profits was allowed to such agents?

(c) Are Government contemplating to grant monopoly of salt export from Sambhar and other salt producing centres in various Provinces in India to any

particular individual or incorporated company? If so, to whom, and what terms?

(d) What are the advantages of that scheme?

(c) In the future scheme of salt distribution, will there be no place for free private trade whereby traders could, as before, directly import from the salt producing centres? If not, why not?

Mr. B. C. A. Cook: The question should have been addressed to the Food Secretary. It has accordingly been transferred to the Final List of questions for the 6th March 1946, when it will be answered by the Food Secretary.

PROFITS EARNED BY UNITED KINGDOM AND SOUTH AFRICAN UNION BY EXPORT OF GOLD TO INDIA

645. *Mr. P. B. Gole: (a) Has the attention of the Honourable the Finance Member been drawn to the statement made by the Finance Minister of the South African Union Government regarding the profits earned by the Union Government by export of gold to India?

(b) If so, what share of that profit was earned by the United Kingdom?

(c) Have the Government of India any share in the profits?

(d) What Commission has been earned by the Reserve Bank for selling the said gold?

(e) Why was any share of the profit given to His Majesty's Government?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) to (e). I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the replies I gave to Mr. Ayyangar's starred Question No. 314, on the 18th February 1946, and to Mr. Gadgil's starred Question No. 325, on the same date.

IMPORT OF GOLD INTO INDIA BY PRIVATE COMPANIES

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

(a) whether any other Government or private company was allowed to import gold into India, if so, on what terms; and

(b) whether any Indian firm doing business in gold prior to 1939 was allowed to import gold after the war; if not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) Yes Sir, the Bank of Ethiopia was allowed to import gold for the payment of purchases in India.

(b) With the above exception and petty imports from the Persian Gulf, no Sir. Imports involving payments of foreign currency were refused for exchange reasons.

STERLING AREA COUNTRIES

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

(a) the countries included in what is called the Sterling Area;

(b) the amount due to the countries by the United Kingdom;

(c) the total amount available for immediate distribution amongst the countries in the Sterling Area, either in gold or dollars; and

(d) if it is a fact that less than 10 per cent. of the sterling balances would be paid in gold or dollars immediately and that the payment of remaining balances would be postponed indefinitely?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) (i) His Majesty's Dominions excluding Canada and Newfoundland; the British protectorates and protected States;

(ii) Any territory in respect of which a mandate has been accepted by His Majesty and is being exercised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom or in any Dominion;

- (iii) Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan;
- (iv) Iceland and the Faroe Islands;
- (v) Iraq; and
- (vi) Hongkong.

(b) On the 30th June 1945, which is the last date for which information is available, the sterling balances held by the countries of the sterling area amounted to £2,723 millions.

- (c) Government have no information.
- (d) Not so far as I am aware, Sir.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION OF DELHI PROVINCE

648. *Srijut Dharendra Kanta Lahiri Choudhury: Will the Honourable the Home Member please lay a statement of income and expenditure of the judicial administration of the Delhi Province for the years 1943-44-45 and 1946 to date on the table of the House showing *inter alia*:

- (i) the pay of officers in each class, grade, or scale;
- (ii) the pay of the establishment in each class, grade or scale;
- (iii) the sale of judicial stamps;
- (iv) the sale of judicial papers;
- (v) the sale of court fee stamps;
- (vi) amount of Diet Money of Witnesses;
- (vii) costs for adjournments;
- (viii) costs of the suits and cases including appeals, etc.; and
- (ix) the expenditure on Copying Department?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: A statement is laid on the table showing the details asked for in items (i) to (vi) and (ix).

It is not possible to furnish the figures required in items (vii) and (viii) for which no separate record or register is maintained.

Statement showing the income and expenditure of the Judicial Administration of the Delhi Provinces for the years 1943-46 (up-to-date.)

| | Scale of grade | INCOME | | | EXPENDITURE | | |
|--|--|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| | | 1943-44 | 1944-45 | 1945-46 (up-to-date) | 1943-44 | 1944-45 | 1945-46 (up-to-date) |
| | | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. | Rs. |
| 27—Administration of Justice— Pay of Officers— Non-Voted— District & Sessions Judge Voted— Subordinate Judges including Judge Small Cause Court | Rs. 1000—3000 300—30—500/30 —600—40—720/40 —800—50—850 | ... | ... | ... | 20,269 | 21,992 | 21,200 |
| Establishment | 150—5—225 100—5—175 100—5—150 75—5—125 45—2—95 35—14—75 35—1—55 ... | 10,42,260 | 9,05,179 | 6,69,550 | 71,731 | 69,834 | 69,463 |
| Sale of non-Judicial Stamps | ... | 10,35,449 | 11,05,454 | 10,04,222 | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale of Judicial Stamps (Court fees Stamps) | ... | 6,292 | 5,610 | 6,140 | ... | ... | ... |
| Sale of Judicial paper (Plain paper) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Amount of Road & Diet Money of Witnesses | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Income & expenditure of the Copying Agency— (i) Deputy Commn.'s Office— Establishment (ii) Dist & Sessions Judge— Establishment (iii) Judge Small Cause Court—Establishment | ... | 34,880 | 39,722 | 34,270 | 19,094 | 22,171 | 21,340 |
| | ... | 4,967 | 7,274 | 5,043 | 3,330 | 3,935 | 3,940 |
| | ... | 3,068 | 2,640 | 2,865 | 1,431 | 1,474 | 1,613 |
| | | | | | 30,935 /2/- | 41,348/12/- | 36,339/1/6 |

COST PER HEAD OF TRAINING, EQUIPPING AND MAINTAINING OF INDIAN AND BRITISH SOLDIERS

649. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state the average cost, during the war years, of raising, training, equipping and maintaining Indian soldiers per head in India, according to the various categories of soldiers in the fighting services?

(b) What has been the average cost, during the war years, of raising, training, equipping or maintaining British forces per head in India, according to the various categories of British persons in the fighting services?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: To calculate properly weighted average costs of raising, training, equipping, and maintaining Indian soldiers of various arms over the whole war period would involve a considerable amount of research the labour. Moreover the result would be of little significance owing to the wide variations from year to year in the rates of pay and allowances, price levels, scales of equipment, periods of training, and training establishments.

The following are the costs for the year 1944-45. The figures exclude the value of imported stores which were supplied free by His Majesty's Government for expansion forces.

(a) (1) The cost of raising, training and equipping an Indian soldier for each of the principal arms of the fighting services is:

| | Rs. |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Indian Armoured Corps | 2,325 |
| Indian Infantry | 1,485 |
| Indian Artillery | 1,307 |
| Indian Engineers S. & M. | 1,963 |
| Indian Signals | 1,459 |

The annual maintenance cost is:

| | Rs. |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Indian Armoured Corps | 1,305 |
| Indian Infantry | 1,039 |
| Indian Artillery | 1,043 |
| Indian Engineers S. & M. | 1,324 |
| Indian Signals | 1,150 |

(b) No expenditure is incurred by India in raising, training and equipping British soldiers. The annual maintenance cost of a British soldier in 1944-45 for each of the principal arms of the fighting services is:

| | Rs. |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Royal Armoured Corps | 2,824 |
| British Infantry | 2,518 |
| Royal Artillery | 2,648 |
| Royal Engineers | 2,910 |
| Royal Signals | 2,771 |

LIABILITY OF INDIA FOR INITIAL COST OF RAISING, TRAINING AND EQUIPPING OF FORCES UNDER THE 'FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT'.

650. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please refer to the principle embodied in the Financial Settlement that "any forces now being raised that India may agree to send for services overseas cease to be an Indian liability on leaving India, and whole initial cost of raising, training and equipping such forces as well as subsequent recurring charges are borne by His Majesty's Government", and state the amount borne by His Majesty's Government under this clause for the war years?

(b) What has been the amount of expenditure, if any, incurred by India in maintaining, raising, training or equipping British forces and forces of other nationalities stationed in India, during the war year?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) It is not possible to ascertain from the accounts, without an undue amount of labour, the expenditure borne by His Majesty's Government on the raising, training and equipping of forces sent from India to overseas theatres.

(b) This part of the question would seem to assume that British forces and forces of other nationalities serving in India are raised, trained and equipped at the expense of India. Such an assumption is incorrect as these forces are actually trained and equipped before they arrive in this country and their recurring costs alone are borne by India.

Here again, it is not possible to separate readily the total cost to India of maintaining these forces from year to year.

PAYMENT TO INDIA UNDER THE FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT ON ACCOUNT OF WAR EXPENDITURE.

651. *Mr. K. O. Neogy: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state the total amount paid by His Majesty's Government to India under the Financial Settlement, on account of war expenditure, from 1939-40 to 1945-46?

(b) How much of the above represents payment for services and supplies in India, and how much capital assets constructed in India?

(c) What is the total value of surplus stores belonging to His Majesty's Government in India? Are negotiations being carried on in regard to the disposal of these surplus stores? If so, what stage have these negotiations reached, and when can a full statement clarifying the position be expected?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) The total amount paid and payable by His Majesty's Government to India under the Financial Settlement from 1939-40 to 1945-46 is estimated at Rs. 1,733 crores (figures for 1945-46 are based on the latest estimates).

(b) Payment for services and supplies in India (including pay and Indian troops overseas to the extent to which it is actually disbursed in India) amounts to Rs. 1,568 crores and the cost of Capital assets constructed in India to Rs. 165 crores.

(c) Stores belonging to His Majesty's Government in India which become surplus are, in accordance with an agreement reached with the United Kingdom authorities, disposed of by the Government of India and the rupee proceeds are credited to His Majesty's Government. The total value of stores which will ultimately be declared surplus is not known and no negotiations in respect of such stores have been undertaken.

TAX ON BUSINESS INCOME IN TRIBAL AREAS

652. *Maulana Zafar Ali Khan: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

(a) Whether it is a fact that Tehsil Nokhundi and Tehsil Kulu (Baluchistan) are in tribal areas;

(b) Whether it is also a fact that under section 1 of the Income Tax Act, 1922, no tax is leviable on business income in tribal areas; and

(c) If the answers to (a) and (b) be in the affirmative, why is the Income Tax Act enforced in the Baluchistan Tribal areas?

Mr. B. O. A. Cook: (a) Yes; they are both Sub Tehsils in Tribal Areas.

(b) As the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, has been applied to these areas, business income in these areas is liable to tax under the applied Act.

(c) The primary object in applying the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, as also several other enactments of British India, to these areas was to secure uniformity of legislation between British India and the Tribal Areas.

ENQUIRY INTO THE COMPLAINTS BY W. A. C. I. s.

†653. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the War Secretary be pleased to state:

(a) if he has seen the message, published in the *Free Press Journal* of the 16th February, of revelations published first in the *Blitz of Bombay* of the 16th

February i.e., the open letter to Indian M.L.As. and British M.Ps. by 100 W.A.C.Is.;

(b) if the Government authorities concerned had received any complaints from the members of the W.A.C.Is. during the last few years, if so, how often and from how many, and what action was taken thereon;

(c) whether Government have any material in their possession to refute the complaints made by the 100 W.A.C.Is. in their open letter; and what they are; and

(d) in view of the serious nature of the complaints made, including the dishonouring of India's women, resulting in the breaking up of homes and suicides whether Government propose to appoint a public or Purdah Enquiry Committee with the representatives of the All-India Women's Association forming a majority, to enquire into these complaints and to suggest ways and means by which the Defence Forces relations with our women, inside or outside the Forces may be regulated with due regard to the honour and health of our women?

ALLOWANCES FOR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

654. *Hajee Chowdhury Mohammad Ismail Khan: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether the rates of dearness/war allowance for the (i) low-paid Central Government servants, and (ii) Imperial Services are being increased? If so, by how much? If not, why not?

Mr. B. C. A. Cook: Certain proposals relating to this matter are under consideration.

REORGANISATION OF FINANCE DEPARTMENT

655. *Mr. Nagendranath Mukhopadhyay: Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Finance Department is being re-organized; if so, when the re-organization is likely to be completed;

(b) whether any new cadre of junior officers on the lines of Whitehall is being introduced; if so, what that new cadre is, and how the recruitment to that cadre is to be made; and

(c) whether it is intended that the departmental staff will, as is the practice, be promoted to at least 50 per cent. of the vacancies in that cadre; if not, why not?

Mr. B. C. A. Cook: (a) The re-organisation of the Finance Department has already begun. It is not possible to say when it will be completed.

(b) and (c). Yes, Sir. The details of the cadre have not yet been worked out. Recruitment will be made by competitive examination. It is however, intended that as a temporary measure a certain number of posts in the cadre will be filled by selection from suitable persons already employed in the Finance Department. There is no intention of reserving any percentage of vacancies to be filled by promotion. The new service will be a Central Service, Class I, and the existing practice in the matter of promotion from posts of clerk to posts of Assistant will not, therefore, apply.

REPATRIATION OF CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF I. N. A. FROM SIAM

656. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Home Member be pleased to state:

(a) if his attention has been drawn to the report sent by Mr. T. G. Narayanan, the *Hindu* correspondent, published in the *Hindu* of the 17th February under the caption "Civilian Members of the I. N. A. from Siam. Government of India opposes repatriation";

(b) whether it is true, as he says, that the Government of India "when informed to be ready to receive the I. N. A. contingent (700) sent away from Siam on board the *Jaladurga*" flatly declined to accept such troops of the I. N. A., as they did not formerly belong to the Indian Army;

(c) whether this Siam contingent refused for seven days to get down at Singapore as they were anxious to go back to India;

(d) whether before they had actually boarded the steamer at Bangkok, they were given to understand that they would be taken to India but that the Government of India threatened to prevent their landing in India, if need be, by force;

(e) whether it is a fact that none of the South East Asian countries where they had formerly been and from which they were recruited into the I.N.A. is willing to take them back; and

(f) if the Government of India propose to let them come to India and find sanctuary in India, the homeland of either these I. N. A. troops or their forefathers?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) I have seen the article.

(b) No. The Government of India merely requested that these persons should not be sent on until full particulars about them had been furnished.

(c) At first they refused to disembark but were later persuaded to do so.

(d) Their destination was, and still is, India. The allegation that the Government of India threatened to prevent their landing by force is incorrect.

(e) Does not arise.

(f) Yes, as soon as their particulars have been received.

RESTRICTIONS ON PUNJABIS AGAINST BUYING CARTRIDGES FROM DELHI FIRMS

657. *Hajee Chowdhury Mohammad Ismail Khan: (a) Is the Honourable the Home Member aware that the Punjab licence-holders in form XVI are debarred from buying cartridges from Delhi firms unless a special permit is brought from their District Magistrates? If so, what are the reasons for this restriction on the Punjabis only out of the whole British Indian subjects?

(b) Do Government propose to remove restrictions on the Punjabis and allow them to purchase on production of their licences up to the quantities allowed therein? If not, what are the reasons for this treatment to the Punjabis?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) Yes. The restriction referred to was imposed at the request of the Punjab Government.

(b) The restriction in Delhi will be removed when the Punjab Government remove the same restriction imposed by them in the Punjab.

DISCONTENT AMONG INDIAN SOLDIERS DUE TO WITHHOLDING OF DISABILITY AND FAMILY PENSIONS

658. *Babu Ram Narayan Singh: (a) Will the War Secretary please refer to his reply on the 7th March, 1945, to starred question No. 781, declaring that "the subject of Military pension is not a matter of legislation; it falls entirely within the scope of the Royal Prerogative. Such pensions are in the nature of gifts and bounties from the Crown and may, therefore, be granted or withheld at pleasure" and state if it is a fact that to the persons enrolled for 1914-18 and 1939-45 wars with liabilities to render "active service" in any part of the world, the enrolling officers had not read out and explained or caused to be read out and explained the conditions that pensions on account of deaths and loss of limb may be withheld at pleasure or that "pay" and "retired pay" will depend on the pleasure of the Executive Government?

(b) Is he aware that there is a great discontentment amongst Indian soldiers and their families in that their disability and family pensions have been withheld to the prejudice of Section 137(3) of the Indian Army Act, Section 51, 43(h) and 43(h)(v) of the Indian Army Act and Section 800(2) of the Government of India Act, 1935?

(c) Does he propose to give relief to the persons referred to in (b)?

Mr. P. Mason: (a) Enrolling officers are required to read and explain to any person desirous of being enrolled, or caused to be read or explained to him in his presence, the conditions of the service for which he is to be enrolled and to put to him the questions set forth in the prescribed form of enrolment. Enrolling officers can hardly be expected to be aware of the legal basis for determining the grant or withholding of pay and pensions.

(b) No, Sir.

(c) If the Honourable Member will quote specific cases, I will have them looked into.

FORFEITURE OF PENSION, PAY AND RANK BY A NON-JUDICIAL BODY

659. *Babu Ram Narayan Singh: (a) Has the attention of the War Secretary been drawn to the fact that forfeiture of pension, pay and rank is the function of Court Martial in pursuance of Sections 43(g) and 43(h)(i) of the Indian Army Act, but that this function has, in the case of Indian Forces, been carried out by a non-judicial body, which has taken no notice of the limitations imposed on the extent of power by the Indian Army Act?

(b) If the reply to part (a) be in the affirmative, will he please make a statement with reference to letter No. Des/16834/2/94, dated the 26th September, 1945, of the 19th Hyderabad Regimental Centre, Agra, for allowing functions of Court Martial to be done by a non-judicial body as referred to in (a)?

Mr. P. Mason: (a) Yes, Sir, my attention has repeatedly been drawn by the Honourable Member himself to the point he wishes to make, but I cannot agree with his view of the law. Penal deductions amounting to forfeiture of pay and allowances can under Section 50 of the Indian Army Act be made by certain specified authorities other than Courts Martial.

(b) I have not yet seen the letter in question and have taken steps to obtain a copy.

COURT MARTIAL OF PERSONNEL ABSENT FROM DUTY IN 1942-45, IN MALAYA, SINGAPORE AND BURMA

660. *Babu Ram Narayan Singh: (a) Will the War Secretary please state if a court of enquiry, in pursuance of Section 72 of the Army Act, has been held on the Indian personnel, who had been absent from their duties in 1942-45 in Malaya, Singapore and Burma on account of their being taken prisoners of war?

(b) If the reply to (a) be in the affirmative, were the personnel referred to in (a) shown on the roll of His Majesty's Indian Forces as prisoners of war or as deserters?

(c) Is he aware that the personnel referred to in (a) are being court martialled and reference to their being prisoners of war or deserters is not being made?

(d) On what date had the captivity of the personnel as prisoners of war referred to in (a) terminated with reference to para. 115 of Chapter XIV of "the Laws and Usages of War on Land"?

Mr. P. Mason: (a) No Sir. Section 72 of the Army Act deals with persons subject to the Army Act who are absent without leave and not with those who are absent as prisoners of war.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) No Indian prisoners of war subject to the Army Act have been court martialled since their recovery.

(d) Captivity as a prisoner of war ends when the prisoner is recovered from the enemy or when he escapes.

STRIKE BY RATINGS OF H. M. I. S. TALWAR IN BOMBAY

661. *Seth Govind Das: Will the War Secretary kindly state:

(a) whether it is a fact that all ratings of the H. M. I. S. Talwar, Bombay, have gone on strike on the 19th February;

(b) reasons given by the strikers; and

(c) what action Government propose to take to prevent the repetition of such strikes?

Mr. P. Mason: I would refer the Honourable Member to the discussions on this subject which took place in the House on the 22nd and 23rd of last month.

STRIKE BY R. I. A. F. UNITS IN DELHI

662. *Seth Govind Das: Will the War Secretary kindly state:

(a) whether it is a fact that all the R.I.A.F. Units stationed in Delhi have struck work;

(b) whether Government are aware that niggardly treatment has been accorded to them in service;

(c) whether Government are aware that in spite of repeated promises, nothing has been done by way of increase in salaries, and improvement in the quality of food; and

(d) whether Government are aware that the British Air Force personnel are treated better than the Indian in regard to salaries, allowances, etc.?

Mr. P. Mason: I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply on the 22nd of last month to a short notice question.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

MANIFESTO *RE* FURTHER ISSUE OF NOTES AGAINST STERLING

56. Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Has the Honourable the Finance Member seen the manifesto of twenty-four eminent economists of India and the recommendation that the further issue of notes against sterling and the accumulation of sterling assets should be stopped?

(b) Has he received a representation from the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry to the same effect?

(c) Have Government represented to His Majesty's Government the desirability of stopping the use of this method of financing the purchases for U.K. and Allied armies?

(d) Did Government consider at any time the desirability of suspending the operation of section 40 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, under which the Reserve Bank is bound to give rupees against a tender of sterling?

(e) Did the Reserve Bank make a suggestion to this effect at any time?

(f) Do Government propose to introduce the necessary legislation for this purpose during the current sessions?

(g) If the reply is in the negative, will Government state their policy on this subject and the reasons why they have thought it proper to disregard the advice tendered from so many quarters?

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: (a) and (b). Yes.

(c), (d), (f) and (g). The whole question is under the consideration of Government

(e) As I have said on a previous occasion, I regret I am not able to disclose what correspondence has taken place between the Reserve Bank and the Government of India.

EMPLOYMENT IN INDIA OF EVACUEE GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

57. Raizada Hans Raj: (a) With reference to the answer to my starred question No. 94 regarding the employment in India of evacuee Government servants, given on the 7th February 1946, will the Honourable the Home Member please collect and lay on the table the information as to the total number of Burma Government servants employed under the Central Government in various offices and organizations?

(b) Will he also please state the names of the nine persons employed in the General Headquarters and Medical Directorate specifying the appointments held by them and the dates on which they are likely to be repatriated?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) The information required is not available, nor is it possible to collect it now.

(b) The particulars required are laid on the table of the House. The probable dates of repatriation of these nine persons are not known at present.

| Name | Appointment held by | General Headquarters Medical Directorate |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Mr. H. N. Chatterjee . | Temporary Upper Division Clerk | Chief Administrative Officer's Office |
| 2. Mr. V. David Baliati . | Temporary Lower Division Clerk | Quarter Master General D. R. |
| 3. Havildar M. A. Nair . | Temporary Steno-grapher | Quarter Master General/Tn. Dte. |
| 4. Havildar T. K. Nedangadi . | Do } Enrolled Indian Engineer | " " |
| 5. Havildar K. L. S. Iyer | Do } | " " |
| 6. Mr. M. S. Vauthi . | Temporary Punch Operator . | Med./D. M. S.—2 |
| 7. Mr. T. M. Valaynathan | Do | " " |
| 8. Mr. C. Subramaniam . | Do | " " |
| 9. Mr. M. S. Muthuswamy | Do | " " |

POWERS OF HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE CIVIL SERVICES (CONTROL AND APPEAL) RULES

58. Srijut Dharendra Kanta Lahiri Choudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Finance Member please state whether there have been cases wherein the conditions of service of a Government official appointed permanently for duty at a specific station in a certain scale of pay, with concessions of free quarter and free electricity, water and furniture have been changed without his consent to the detriment of the individual's or services? If so, in which cases?

(b) Is there any provision in the rules empowering the Heads of Departments or appointing authorities to counteract the provisions of Rule 22, Part II, Civil Services (Control and Appeal) Rules? If so, which specific rule or rules provide such powers?

Mr. B. C. A. Cook: (a) The information is not readily available, nor can it be conveniently collected.

(b) No, Sir. The concessions referred to in part (a) of the question are however, in the nature of compensatory allowances to which an officer has no title when he ceases to hold the post to which they are attached. Rule 22 of the Civil Services (C. C. and A.) Rules, which is designed to protect Service rights has no application to such cases.

RECRUITMENT IN CERTAIN DEPARTMENTS FROM PROVINCES OUTSIDE DELHI

59. Srijut Dharendra Kanta Lahiri Choudhury: (a) Will the Honourable the Home Member please lay on the table a statement showing the appointments in each category of the scales of pay (Gazetted and Non-Gazetted) given to persons imported from Provinces outside Delhi and from the Government of India, respectively, in the Departments of Food and Rationing, Price Control, Law and Order, Enforcement, Education, Medical, Judicial, Executive and Area Rationing in Delhi from 1942 to 1945?

(b) Will Government explain why in each case the appointment was given to an outsider in preference to a local talent?

The Honourable Sir John Thorne: (a) The collection of this information would be a very heavy task, and the value of it when made would not compensate the labour involved.

(b) The Delhi Administration has no gazetted officer cadres of its own and has to borrow such officers, and even some non-gazetted officers, from other provinces or the Government of India.

ENQUIRY INTO THE SCANDALS OF W.A. C. IS. AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

80. Mr. Manu Subedar: (a) Has the War Secretary seen a representation by 100 WAC(Is) in the issue of the "Blitz" of Bombay, dated February 16, 1946?

(b) Is the fact represented in the following quotation correct:

"All the thousands of Indian women whose names are now mud are to be let loose in the unemployment market, Government having disowned all responsibility of peacetime reconversion of the corps.

This—after making a public scandal of the honour and fair name of India's womanhood!"?

(c) If not, what are the correct facts on this subject?

(d) How many British and Dominion women in any service of any kind in connection with the War Department, India, or the South East Asia Command, are being maintained in India at India's expense, and why are they being so maintained?

(e) Do Government propose to order an enquiry into the scandals of the WAC(I) and the racial discrimination? If not, why not?

(f) Do Government propose to issue a press note, traversing the various allegations made in this representation? If not, why not?

Mr. P. Mason: (a), (b), (c) and (e). These parts are covered by my reply to Starred questions No. 642 and 653 given to-day.

(d) There are 1,737 British members of the W.A.C.(I) in India Command and ALFSEA. There are 143 members of the A.T.S. in India and about 258 in ALFSEA. As I have already explained, none of the expenditure on the Forces in ALFSEA is charged against Indian revenues and the incidence of the expenditure in India on the members of these women's services, whatever their nationality, is the same as the expenditure on the units in which they are serving.

(f) The answer to questions Nos. 642 and 653 is intended to take the place of a Press Note.

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT

REDUCTION IN CLOTH RATION AND CONTINUED EXPORT OF CLOTH

Mr. President: I have just received notice of an adjournment motion sent by Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and Sri Venkatasubba Reddiar, who want to discuss a matter of definite and urgent public importance, namely, further cutting down in cloth ration and the continued export of cloth to foreign countries. I should like to know how the matter is urgent.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, in yesterday's *Dawn* we find that the cloth ration has been reduced from 12 yards to 9 yards, and the heading is, "Less Cloth while Export Continues". I should like to have a statement from the Honourable Member whether the ration has been reduced and whether export continues.

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari (Member for Information and Arts, and Planning and Development Departments): Sir, in the absence of my Honourable colleague the Industries and Supplies Member I would like to explain this matter. So far as I know, the cut only applies to Delhi. The cloth ration has not been reduced generally in India, and the reason why this ration has been reduced in Delhi was that the local administration had allotted more than 12 yards in the past; and now in order to level up things they have had

temporarily to reduce the cloth ration. It is a purely administrative measure taken by the Delhi Administration and there is no reduction in any other part of India.

Mr. Manu Subedar (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Sir, that statement in '*Dawn*' says that "Congress keeps mum while cloth is being exported". I may point out that it was I who brought to the attention of Government that under the weekly export list thousands of cloth bales were listed as going out of India to the middle east and other countries.

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: That is in accordance with the policy explained some time back. In 1944-45 India's export quota was six hundred million yards a year. As a result of negotiations with His Majesty's Government by the Mission I took to London this quota was reduced to four hundred million yards for 1945-46; and these exports which my Honourable friend opposite refers to are in fulfilment of that quota. There is nothing new about it; the reason why this small quota is still being maintained has been already explained.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Guntur *cum* Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): This thing certainly is new that for the first time we learn that Government go on changing their quotas from month to month and from quarter to quarter, and expect consumers to go on accumulating their cloth supplies in order to be able to make up whenever these cloth rations are not down.

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: Sir, with due respect that is an incorrect statement. Government do not change the quota from month to month.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What have you done here?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: I have already explained that this action is, as far as I am aware, limited to the Delhi Administration. I am no longer in charge of the subject but I believe it has been done by the Delhi Administration in order to make up for the cloth additional to the quota which they issued in the previous month.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: That is exactly the trouble. In one month you give more. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order; this cross-talk will not do.

Mr. Manu Subedar: Sir, in view of the general shortage of cloth in India I had urged by means of several questions that further export should be stopped, and now I find that the new has arisen—I want Government to deny it if it is not true—of giving cloth in return for some foodgrains for this country. If there is such need, is it not time when Government should stop exports to countries from which we are not importing any food?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: My Honourable friend knows the reasons why this export of cloth is continuing. But for the information of the House I might mention that the export of cloth during the war years and just now is done by arrangement with His Majesty's Government. The reason is that the countries to which the cloth is exported are in very great need of cloth, specially the countries in the middle east. Therefore if we in India were now to say that we are not going to export any further cloth we would ourselves be in difficulty in maintaining our production because all the mill stores which we get, the spares which we get, mostly come from the United Kingdom. And if we refuse to act in co-operation with other united nations, they will take action against us. The whole basis of the discussion, was what was the least that we could give to the United Nations in the way of cloth, in return for which we would get the wherewithal to maintain our production. That was the reason.

Mr. Manu Subedar: What about the sixty million yards which we rear are being sent to Siam? And if we have to send these sixty million yards,—I do not dispute the necessity,—is it not necessary to cut down the quota going to other countries?

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: This hardly arises out of the adjournment motion.

Mr. President: I should like to know what Mr. Ayyangar has to say on the point of urgency.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The Honourable Member said that this policy of exporting was laid down as early as 1944. He has misunderstood my Honourable friend Prof. Ranga's objection. The objection is that though the policy of export was laid down in 1944 the policy of rationing and cutting down is going on from time to time. The policy may have been laid down at a time when there was no need to cut down so much. But we have cut it down enormously now, and therefore as and when cutting down takes place the urgency arises.

Mr. President: I understood the Honourable Member of Government to say that there is no permanent cutting down of the rations, but a temporary cut merely to adjust the previous excess.

The Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari: That is correct, and it is only for Delhi.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: The same consumers may not be affected either by the earlier one or by the later one. There were certain people who had taken on earlier orders; thinking that the same thing will continue, the other people did not purchase their cotton cloth. Now, when they come to purchase it, they find that this new orders has come into operation. In addition to that, our later information is that they have changed their export quota from 400 to 500 millions. About three weeks ago my Honourable friend, Mr Vadilal Lallubhai wanted to give notice of an adjournment motion, but in deference to the general wish that we should not crowd the House with too many adjournment motions, he abstained from doing so. But now we would like to have information whether they have not increased the quota from 400 millions to 500 millions.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): I know from my own personal knowledge that there are hundreds of bales lying in Indian State Ports. Why they should not be exported and British India quota cut down?

Mr. President: That is a discussion on merits. I am at present concerned with the admissibility of the adjournment motion.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: This will give an opportunity for discussion.

Mr. President: Order, order. For that there is a remedy by way of Short Notice question.

Prof. Ranga has, by what he pleaded, given up his case of urgency. I do not think the matter is of such importance and urgency as to justify my consent to this motion.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: It is important but may not be urgent.

DISPENSING OF QUESTION HOUR

Mr. President: Now we proceed further with the business of the House. Do I understand that there is a general agreement on not having the question hour?

Mr. Leslie Gwilt (Bombay: European): That is correct Sir, but I would with respect submit that arrangements of this nature would be the more satisfactorily made if Party Whips or Party Leaders could meet you before the General Budget or before the Finance Bill. I am not objecting, Sir, to the programme, but on Friday evening I was asked to agree to a programme of the time of speeches and I was told that it was a general wish of the House that questions should be asked. On the strength of that I informed my Party accordingly. I am this morning asked to agree to the question hour being

abolished and for a difference in the programme. Members of my party, unfortunately, are not here, and whilst we agree to the time that has been allocated to us, I would respectfully submit that it will be better in future if these programmes be discussed with you before agreed either with Party Leaders themselves or between Party Whips.

Mr. President: I do not know what help I could give in the settlement of questions of this type which depend more or less upon mutual convenience. I agree, however, that the Party Whips should do it earlier. But that is a different question, and I believe the Honourable Member only expressed his wish for future guidance. I believe there has been a long-standing convention in this House not to have the question hour during the general discussion on the budget or supplementary grants, or cut motions. But that does not mean that the Parties are bound to what has been done in the past. It is a matter of their convenience and agreement. So I take it that for today and tomorrow members do not wish to have the question hour.

Mr. Leslie Gwillt: I am not objecting to the elimination of the question hour but what I am asking, Sir, is that all party Leaders or Whips should be given an opportunity of discussing this matter with you to a finality, and once a programme is decided upon that we follow it and not change it from day to day.

Mr. President: There is one difficulty: I should not like to make this matter the subject of the President's Orders or rulings. It is a question of individual Member's right of putting questions which he may have tabled; and while I am prepared to help for a general agreement by negotiations, I do not think I could pass any orders on the subject, or should pass orders even if I could. That is my view of the matter. However, I am at the disposal of the Honourable Members and I am prepared to help in any way they want. So on this occasion, I take it for granted that for today and tomorrow there will be no question hour.

Some Honourable Members: Yes, yes.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): Would today's questions be answered day-after-tomorrow?

Mr. President: They will go in today's proceedings.

Mr. President: I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 Noon on Friday, the 1st March, 1946, the time fixed for receiving nominations for the purpose of election of one person to represent the consumers on the Indian Central Tobacco Committee, in place of Mr. Satya Narain Sinha, resigned, only one nomination was received. As there is only one candidate for the vacancy, I declare Sri V. C. Vellingiri Gounder to be duly elected to the Committee.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

First Stage

Mr. President: Before we proceed with the general discussion of the Budget, I should like to invite attention of the Honourable Members to Rule 46 of the Legislative Rules so that the scope of discussion may be clear to the Honourable Members. This is what the Rule says:

"The Assembly shall be at liberty to discuss the Budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein, but no motion shall be moved at this stage. . . . etc., etc."

Any reference to individual grievance etc. will come at a later stage, and Honourable Members will get the opportunity when the Finance Bill comes in. For specific items of the Budget they will get an opportunity when the cut motions are there. So the present scope of discussion is clear, and that is general discussion on the Budget as a whole as also any question of principle involved in the Budget.

[Mr. President]

I believe, in the statement which I am now going to make there is a general agreement of the Parties. If there is any mistake, I may be enlightened on the point. In all, during the two days, including question hours, the House gets 9½ hours of which I am setting aside, or propose to set aside, an hour and a half for the Government Members to reply as also to say whatever they may have to say. I believe the War Secretary is also going to make a statement explaining the policy of the War finance, and sometime is likely to be taken up by any miscellaneous discussion. So roughly the House will get 8 hours. The time limits which I propose are about—I am saying 'about' so that I may exceed by a few minutes if I think it is necessary to do so—about 80 minutes for the principal speaker of each Party, and about 15 minutes to each individual speaker, and in case any more time is taken up by any Member of a Party that will be a cut on that Party's time, as time for each party is proposed to be rationed. I propose to allot the time of 8 hours as follows:—

- Four hours for the Congress Party;
- Two Hours for the Muslim League Party;
- One Hour for the European Group; and
- One Hour for unattached Members.

Of course these are not very hard and fast limits; a few minutes here or there will be a question of adjustment, but the time limit will be controlled. I believe the House is agreeable to these proposals.

Sardar Mangal Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I would like to make a submission. The time allotted to the unattached Members is, I feel, short. The number of the unattached Members is about 20 and they represent various important interests, and therefore everyone of them, or at any rate most of them, would like to speak. The time allotted to the European Group comprising of about 9 members is equal to them. I suggest that the time allotted to the unattached Members may be increased.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan (North-West Frontier Province: General): The nominated Members are attached to the Government; they are not unattached.

Mr. President: There are elected unattached members. It is not a question of merely nominated members. I do not know whether it would be proper to say of the nominated members that they are necessarily attached to Government at all times and on all questions. However, I appreciate the point raised by Sardar Mangal Singh, but I think it is a point more for adjustment by members. There is some advantage in grouping and if I were to adjust time on the number of speakers perhaps it would be a premium for not being attached to any party. Well, it is a matter for Honourable Members to consider, and I believe the three principal groups in the House will keep in mind what Sardar Mangal Singh has said and it is for the Parties to adjust. A due share of time should be given, looking to the number of members of the various Parties.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Will this schedule be adhered to?

Mr. President: I hope with the co-operation of the House it will be adhered to.

Sardar Mangal Singh: It is not acceptable to us.

The Honourable Sir Edward Benthall (Leader of the House): Do I understand that the first four hours will be allotted to the Congress Party?

Mr. President: Not necessarily. I shall keep a record with me as far as practicable and see that only the time allotted as now will be utilised by that Party. However, I am making allowances for adjustments.

Sardar Mangal Singh: If a Nominated Member of the Government speaks, will it go to the Government quota or the unattached?

Mr. President: The Government quota.

Sardar Mangal Singh: What about the time allotted to the unattached Nominated Member?

Mr. President: I cannot decide. I do not know which Members are attached or unattached!

Shri Sri Prakasa (Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Come here and attach yourself again to us.

Mr. President: I understood that the Honourable the War Secretary was going to put before the House the Finance Member's proposals with reference to war expenditure.

Mr. Mann Subedar (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Considering that the Finance Member has omitted his usual remarks on this subject which he gives in his Budget Speech and that he has put the burden on the War Secretary, may I not suggest that a statement by the War Secretary at this stage would be more useful?

Mr. President: That was why I put that question.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands (Finance Member): I would consult the convenience of the House about that. There have been two explanatory memoranda on the matter but if it suits the convenience of the House for him to make a statement

Mr. P. Mason (Government of India: Nominated Official): I do not think it would now.

Mr. President: I might just explain the position. If he speaks now he won't have the right of reply. That will be the difficulty. That was why it was suggested he should have a written memorandum supplied separately to Members. I believe that has been done. So it is better

Prof. N. G. Ranga: (Guntur *cum* Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): That memorandum is not very helpful.

Mr. President: That is a different matter. It is a matter of views and understanding.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): I think my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, has been very fortunate to present this budget just after the war and the budget is not like the budgets we have had in the past. There is a great deal of change in the budget which we are dealing with and discussing today. I also congratulate the Honourable Member for having shown that he has got a broad vision for the improvement and progress of the country as evidenced in his budget speech.

Sir, there are some observations on the budget which I have to make for eliciting the opinion of the Government later on. But I want to impress upon the Government that these things to my mind do not appear in the budget which ought to have been properly explained and which are really needed for the improvement of the country in future. Sir, I would like to know why this explanation is not given when Rs. 10 crores are being saved as a surplus in the Postal Department and no grievance has been met of the small postal employees. The postal employees who have been getting very little salary have to make two ends meet, they ought to have been given a great relief when through their earning and through their work the Post and Telegraph Department is going to make such a revenue out of which Rs. 10 crores are supposed to be surplus. The Railways and Posts and Telegraphs should be treated mostly on the commercial basis, and if the post office is not totally a commercial concern, at least those who were not properly paid should have been given some kind of relief. But I find that nothing has been said about it and there is no response by Government to the demands which these people have been making. I would like to know for elucidation and for the purpose of these postal employees whether they will get their demand later on.

I find that in the Department of the Crown Representative there is no explanation forthcoming. In 1944-45 we had a budget of Rs. 1,52,14,000. In

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1945-46 there was a budget proposal of Rs. 1,75,87,000. This was objected to last year on the ground that there was no necessity shown why there should be an increase of Rs. 25,00,000. But we find that in the actuals for 1945-46, as expected, there will be a budget for Rs. 1,99,07,000. That is nearly Rs. 2 crores. There is a big jump of about Rs. 50,00,000 in the expenditure on the Department of the Crown Representative. I do not know why the Indian taxpayer should be paying this huge sum for the purpose of increases in a Department over which it has no control whatsoever and with which he is not concerned. The Department of the Crown Representative is beyond the touch or beyond the criticism of the House. It is increasing. . . .

An Honourable Member: It is untouchable!

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: . . every year. There should be some kind of explanation in the budget, and if it is an omission, I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will take note of this and tell the House why this increase has been made and what are the reasons why the taxpayer should be asked to pay Rs. 50,00,000 more than it did last year. This year, too, the Honourable Member has proposed that there should be a grant of Rs. 2 crores—Rs. 1,98,00,000, which is nearly Rs. 2 crores. This means that from 1944-45 to 1946-47 there is again a big jump and I do not know why this increase has been made. There ought to have been some kind of reduction after the war is over. Instead of that there is an increase of expenditure. I remember that there used to be a lot of negotiations with the States but when the States do not allow British Indians to have anything to do with their States, why should the Indian taxpayer be made to go on paying heavily every year. The British Indian taxpayer is really badly treated in this matter and I do not know who are the people employed and why they should not be employed out of British Indians.

Sir I find that there is not much of a decrease in the budget as far as the Information Department, goes. On account of war exigencies the Information Department had expanded. It is true that last year the Information Department was very necessary for the purpose of giving full information on behalf of the Government to the public. I find that this Information Deptt. is still being heavily loaded with a lot of personnel even after the war is over and there seems to be no decrease at all in this Department. Last year we know some kind of pamphlets were issued to the Members and were being distributed free to the public also, which were neither relevant nor wanted, but that continues even this year. There was necessity for propaganda during the war. Now that the war has ended and the necessity for propaganda has ceased, there is a lot of scope for making retrenchment in this Department. The Information Department, must come back to the pre-war level. We should not go on expanding this Department, beyond the capacity of the public exchequer. The country may be able to pay this year but probably will not be able to pay in future. Therefore we have to lay down some kind of principle regarding retrenchment in this Department.

I find in the Budget that there is provision and there are many people who are superannuated people that are still in employment. There is no justification for this. When the Railway Budget was discussed what I understood was that the Honourable the War Transport Member said that it was the accepted policy that nobody will be kept in employment who is a superannuated person. But in this civil secretariat and in other departments there are many superannuated persons who are re-employed after they had retired. It is time that our younger people who are going to be thrown out of employment should be employed rather than those people who have had their time and had done their service and are entitled to their pension. They should be made to retire immediately and no extension should be given to them after the 31st March. This kind of provision for the re-employment of superannuated personnel should not find a place in the Budget at all.

Sir, in the Agricultural Department much research work is being carried on but I find that the Government pay very low salaries to their scientists as compared with other departments. India being chiefly an agricultural country we must give all encouragement possible to the people who make researches in agriculture. A man with general qualifications who has passed some general examinations gets a better salary than people who are scientists. It means that we do not attract the proper class of people. It should be our policy to attract better class of people and encourage our scientists to acquire better knowledge and turn out better work. Therefore I would like to impress upon the Honourable the Finance Member that we should pay better salaries to the scientists who are engaged in agricultural research and more money should be provided for the betterment of agriculture.

Sir, in the Geological Survey, I find that there is not much improvement this year, although we stressed last year that geological survey should be taken seriously in hand by Government. We have a lot of minerals in this country lying unused and unexplored. There is a lot of scope here and if we employ expert scientists who can make researches and discover the mineral wealth that lies hidden in the land, India can become independent of outside imports in many matters. We will not then require to import many things, which we import now, provided we work our mines properly. I think Government should give proper attention to the development of geological survey and exploit the mineral wealth of the country in a proper manner, for it is on our mineral wealth the entire future industrial development of the country depends. The provision which has been made in this behalf in the budget is very scanty and should have been more.

Now I come to a really very essential service, the Civil Veterinary Department. This service is not run properly and we find that superannuated people are given extensions, because some people could not get a passage home. This policy should be put an end to at once. India is not a charitable place to find employment for people who cannot go home for want of passages, thus depriving younger men of the opportunity to get employed. This must be most discouraging to younger people. Though there have been many scandals in this Department, they have not been inquired into. The Government have been ignoring the complaints and the Civil Veterinary Department has been going on in a hopeless manner.

Another item on which I stressed last year is the Ecclesiastical Department. I do not know what is going to be the policy of the Government in future but I think it is time that this department should be put an end to. Why does it exist? I do not know who wants this Ecclesiastical Department. If anybody wants to have clergies, mauvies or Brahmins, let them pay. It is not for the Government to pay out of the public exchequer the salaries and emoluments of any kind of clergy, whether they be of one denomination or another. The Ecclesiastical Department should be abolished at once. I find further that not only does the Ecclesiastical Department exist, but it is un-touchable too. It is non-votable. I do not know why the general taxpayer should be asked to contribute any money under this head and be taxed for this purpose at all. I think it is time this is abolished and I hope in the next year's budget this will not find a place.

My Honourable friend has not explained about the surplus goods lying here under lend-lease terms, whether they have been taken by the government as a whole or not, what their value is, at what price they are assessed today, and whether Government will be able to dispose of those articles in the market at the price at which they are being sold to the Government. These things require very careful attention. We know that many goods were brought into this country by the Americans for war purposes, which are still their property: they were entitled to take them back if they were not paid out of the Indian exchequer. If they have been bought by the Indian Government, then of course that is a different question—they become India's property. But if they

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belong to the United States and not to India and India did not pay anything for them, then a fair price should be paid, but only for goods which are saleable in the market. Otherwise why should India be made to purchase goods which are of no value to India or of higher value than they can be disposed of in open market? This ought to have been properly explained by the Honourable Finance Member. We want to know the real position. I understand that some goods have been disposed of by the U.S.A. to private firms here at ridiculous prices; and if those goods had been allotted to India as India's property, then their sale to private firms was not justified, and Government should have kept a proper eye on them.

I am glad that the Honourable Member is reducing the duty on kerosene, but the reduction is not very helpful—it is so small. It may not help the poor man as the Honourable Member contemplates. There is still scope for the middleman to make a lot of profit. Now that Burma has been retaken from the Japanese, there is a lot of scope for trade in kerosene oil in the next year and I think a greater reduction was possible in order to induce the poorer man to begin using this oil instead of the oil which he has been using. The other oils which he has been burning can be better used for the purpose of human consumption. Indians cannot get proper milk, they cannot get ghee; they cannot get anything: so these vegetable oils are really needed for their nourishment. But they have been forced to burn a quantity out of this for lighting purposes because kerosene oil was not available. Therefore I think the anxiety of the Government should be to bring in as much kerosene oil as possible and bring the price down as low as possible, to save the oil which is now being used in villages for illumination, which could be used to much better purpose.

Then again I do not see why this betel-nut has been chosen by my Honourable friend for the purpose of enhancement of duty. The price of betel nut has gone up very high.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer (Bombay Southern Division: Muhammadan Rural): The Honourable Member has not tasted it yet!

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: I would be very pleased if the Honourable Member tastes it, but I myself have never done it so far . . .

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: My Honourable friend is quite inaccurate.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: I have never tasted it myself; but it is a necessity to a great extent among the poorer classes. Of course it may be somewhat of a luxury with the richer classes but I find that many poor people use it. It is habit or custom which forces us to use it. Betel nut which used to sell at about 12 annas a seer before the war has gone up to Rs. 3-8 . . .

Mr. Mohammad Nauman (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Five rupees!

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: I stand corrected. It has gone up very high indeed. Now if there is a tendency to import some betel nut from outside, it should not be stopped by putting on it such a high duty that it will affect imports and keep up the high prices which we want to be brought down. I find there is a great deal of criticism on this point and I hope that the Honourable Member will see his way to accept a cut on this, if any cut is moved . . .

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: You have to settle this problem with the Congress Party.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: Probably they may. I cannot foretell what will be the decisions of the different parties; but I would advise my Honourable friend that if it does, he will give way on this point.

Again I find an invidious distinction this year to which great exception was taken last year, and that is that incomes between 1,500 and 2,000 are going to be charged though not in the case of earned income. Unearned incomes are being taxed. I brought to the notice of Government last year that there are

cases of hardship. I know many such cases: there are many families of widows whose living depends upon the small property they have got. Take for instance Delhi city. If the property is bringing in, an income of Rs. 150 a month, its rent could not be raised on account of rent control, but prices have gone up four times the pre-war rates. If a widow and two or three children have to live on Rs. 150 now, it really means she requires Rs. 600, as Rs. 600 now is equal to Rs. 150 pre-war. There is therefore no justification why these poor people who have no other means of livelihood should be taxed; while a person who can earn himself—may be he is a bachelor—Rs. 150 is not taxed. The big family finds no place in this budget. I think for the poorer classes there should have been some relief, when they have to depend entirely on unearned income and when there is no earner in that family. A government which is responsive to the views of the public and is aware of the calamities that have overtaken this country would have chosen first to give relief to these poorer people. I cannot find any justification for taxing people with an income below Rs. 2,000 at all. For one thing it will not be an easy matter to gather such taxes. If a man has an income of Rs. 10,000 I do not mind his being charged between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000. But if the income is between 1,500 and 2,000 or even 3,000 or 4,000 rupees, it is a hardship to such persons to be taxed: it is the greatest hardship which the Government can inflict on anybody. They have taken no notice of what had been brought up last year. Only if there had been no rent control these people would have adjusted themselves. A labourer can adjust himself. If he was getting 7 annas a day before he is now getting Rs. 1/4. A carpenter who used to get Rs. 1/4 a day now gets Rs. 3. A property owner cannot get a single penny more out of his rent, although he has to pay double or treble the amount for the maintenance of those properties and at the same time he has to pay the tax which was not in existence before. There was want of vision or sympathy on the part of the people who had introduced the Budget last year and this ought to have been put right this year. I hope the Honourable Member will do away with all the income tax between the incomes of 1,500 and 2,000. It does not matter what the nature of that income is.

Then, Sir, the surcharge on income tax has been mixed up with the basic tax. If this is only for one year, it may not be dangerous but if it involves a principle for the future, I think it is a dangerous principle. There should have been no mixing up of the two things. One is no account of emergency. Another is a permanent thing. If you want to mix up a thing which is permanent with a thing which came on account of emergency, it means you lay down a principle for the future that this process will continue. Probably there will be another surcharge coming up over this combined thing in future. This is a very dangerous principle. I at least cannot support this principle as it stands and I think there is scope for its revision.

As regards the Grow More Food campaign, I do not know why Government have not taken notice of very valuable land lying vacant in Assam. There is only the question of what is the line on which they could go and could not go. I do not know who is responsible for this policy of not using this valuable land. When we need food badly and cannot import it from outside countries, we find that Government is not allowing cultivation on every tract of land which could produce food in this country and lot of misery could have been saved if these tracts could be utilised. This is not the right policy to adopt and I want the Government to at once take up the cultivation of these lands which could produce food.

As regards defence expenditure, I would like my Honourable friend the War Secretary to give further explanation. What are the reasons for this scanty decrease in expenditure which is proposed in this budget. Only 18 crores are saved for the future and the budget is still so high. If the Honourable Member proposes to retrench a very large number of soldiers in accordance with the declared policy of Government, then what is the necessity of keeping the budget at this high figure of 244 crores. This means that there is no serious

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attempt on the part of the Government to reduce war expenditure in the next year. I thought that during the current year it may not have been possible to reduce expenditure, because the War stopped suddenly during the year and no Government could foresee that the war would come to such a sudden end as it did. But there should have been a substantial reduction for the next year. This is all non-votable. We have no right to vote this or criticise the details. I brought this point last year and I bring it up again this year. There is lot of waste of money which would have been tolerated in the war years but there is no justification for tolerating these items of expenditure now that the war is over. These things are noticed by the public every day. We know how the army is wasting money. There is the Defence Consultative Committee. I want to know whether the Honourable Member will place the budget before them for scrutiny. The Standing Finance Committee can do nothing. The House can do nothing. Does the Honourable Member propose to take the advice of the Consultative committee as to what items of expenditure can be retrenched and where curtailments can be made. Is he ready to do this or not? If he is ready to curtail, then he will find help from these people. It is not my intention to suggest that you should stop any expenditure which is necessary. The war must be fought and won at any cost whatsoever. I am however against waste of money. If you can do a thing with one rupee, you should not spend three rupees on it. Now the war has ended. I do not want to be unjust to the personnel who went outside India to lay down their lives. I do not want you to tell them that they are no longer required and that they must go home at once. No, the policy is all right. I do not disagree there but where I disagree is that when you can do a thing for a small amount you do the same thing at the expenditure of a larger amount and money is being wasted in this way in many matters where it is not necessary. I do not see any justification why the officers or soldiers should go out in Government lorries for lunch and squander petrol. Why should there be so much petrol coupons sold in the black market. Where do all these things come from? All this petrol charge is debited to the Defence Department, although it is never used by the Defence Department. There are many contracts which are given out at very high rates. There are many buildings which are being built. Many articles are purchased which are useless for the war. The Supply Department, we used to hear, was doing it not on behalf of the Government of India alone but on behalf of other Governments also. We thought that this money will be paid by some other Department. So the taxpayer of this country was not going to be hit badly. Now, we know that the position is changing. The threat is coming that sterling may be liquidated. Some responsible people in England have started saying that India charged exorbitant prices. India did not charge exorbitant price. It was done by their own officers and they allowed certain goods which should not have been allowed. There were people who were found guilty of corrupt practices. There were officers who were found to have taken bribe and they were prosecuted. They were let off on flimsy grounds. They were allowed to go home while the other prosecutions were going on in this country in connection with the same case. That is a ridiculous thing to do. To a man who is trained in the legal profession, everything must be done justly. To me these things appear abominable. I do not think anybody or any country can survive after it becomes corrupt like this, unless it puts down its foot at once on anything which is wrong. Therefore, I think that this expenditure which is still there must be curtailed for the future and there should be a proper scrutiny of the expenditure connected with the defence. If my Honourable friend and the Government are anxious to hand over everything to India, is it not the time that Indians may be allowed to have a peep into this matter because they will have to decide whether this taxation will be proper or not? Therefore, I hope the Honourable the Finance Member in consultation with the Defence Committee or the Consultative Committee or some *ad hoc* Committee will take action at once and put things right.

12 Noon

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: May I interrupt the Honourable Member? Government have already agreed that defence expenditure will be discussed in the Standing Finance Committee.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: What I am suggesting is not merely the consultation about the new expenditure but that he should place before the Standing Finance Committee the whole expenditure including the details so that they may go into it and find out where savings can be effected. There are many people who know how the money is being squandered and they can suggest how the expenditure can be curtailed. If we can save even 4 crores of rupees out of 244 crores, his taxation proposals will be reduced to that extent.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: The deficit will be less.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: Then, there is another thing which I would like to bring to his notice. I forgot to refer to it when I spoke about the Posts and Telegraphs Department. I find that letters are not properly delivered because they are short of staff. I learnt only a few days back that there has been a dumping of about 2 lakhs of letters only in the Lahore Division. This means that the R.M.S. could not handle two lakhs of letters properly, which have been shunted from one place to another. That is why we are receiving our letters late by two or three days.

Lt.-Col. Dr. J. O. Chatterjee (Nominated Non-official): They have made a new Peac. Letter Office.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: I hope not. So, the saving of this 10 crores of rupees is a bad economy which is to be handed over for general purposes, especially when the Department is not working properly. If the Honourable Member will look into the figures of all the Divisions, he will come to know that crores of letters have been dumped in these Divisions. This he should try to relieve. Though the work is decreasing now, it may increase next year. There is no necessity of retrenchment yet because there is a hopeful sign of an increase in the revenue. Therefore, there should be no decrease in the expenditure.

Another thing which I would bring to the notice of my Honourable friend the Finance Member is the huge amount of loan which he has collected. It may be said that this will certainly be paid in instalments, but where is he going to find the money for interest from? The capital may be paid after some time but the interest will have to be paid every year out of the revenue. My Honourable friend has collected 1,600 crores of rupees in the shape of loan and even if he pays interest at the rate of 8 per cent, how much it will come to? Even if the loan is paid after 50 years, he will have to pay the interest every year for that period. This is a clumsy aspect of the whole thing. I think the time was very valuable and there were many other loans which were available. He could have wiped off the 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. loans at that time. There is still scope for getting money which is even now very cheap because there were people who had accumulated in their pocket 1,000 and 10,000 rupee notes and they would have invested their money at a cheap rate of interest because they had no use for that money and had been keeping it in their homes. Probably in most cases this money was not honestly earned. I hope the Honourable Member will take serious action wherever he finds a flaw to keep up the moral of the country and to keep up the good traditions and prestige of the country. I trust he will allow no relaxation and I am sure he will have good support in this House if he deals properly with all these recalcitrant people.

Then, Sir, there is one more point to which I would like to refer. I believe an adjournment motion was also going to be moved about it. I find that there is a scarcity of cloth in Delhi and the petty dealers have no scope for their work. I think that the policy which has been laid down by the Government is wrong. The mill-owners should not be allowed to open petty shops. A mill-owner, who is the manufacturer of cloth, is not allowed anywhere in the world to keep a petty dealer's shop but here in Delhi I find that this policy has been going on and the Honourable Member has not taken any notice of it. The

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Honourable Member should take notice of it immediately. In England it can never be heard of that a Mill keeps a petty dealer's shop. It won't be allowed to sell a single cut piece cloth. He is the manufacturer. Here the manufacturers are allowed to open their shops, which means depriving the common petty dealers of their bread and butter. I hear that a man, by the quota which is given to him can earn only up to Rs. 20 a month, including the rent of his shop. That is his quota. Now, the Government's policy is going to kill these petty people who are engaged in the trade. I think it is completely wrong. The Government should take notice of this evil and should remedy the same as it encourages black market.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: The millowners have the monopoly of everything, they are the manufacturers, they are the sellers, they are the suppliers of Government. They are everything.

Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan: I have brought all these defects to the notice of the Government. I cannot deal with them at great length in the general discussion. It can be dealt with in greater detail when the Finance Bill comes. I cannot support this policy any longer. I suppose people may be escaping their tax by putting up small business houses and making huge amounts in retail shops through black market which profits are not included in the profits of the mills. If the Honourable the Finance Member goes in to tax these people on the profits of the whole concern, then this system will stop. Sir, I have finished and with these general observations, I resume my seat.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali (Delhi: General): Sir, I find myself in some difficulty, on account of the fact that the general discussion, some how or other depresses the House to such an extent that you generally find the Benches empty and you address those who have left their ghosts behind and have gone, wandering elsewhere.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (Lucknow Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): The Government Benches are empty.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: But my purpose here today is not to address merely Honourable Members of this House, but a larger public outside and therefore, whatever remarks I may have to offer are not intended merely for this House.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths (Assam: European): Don't forget us altogether.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We heard the other day the budget speech of the last British Finance Minister, at least so he professed that he was

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: No doubt about it.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I have not the slightest doubt about it. I can assure my Honourable friend on that point. He presented his first post war Budget. Before I come to the broad outlines and the principles with which I may have to deal, in connection with the Budget I should like to say a word or two about the Honourable the Finance Member's assurance to this House and to the outside world, I suppose, that the word 'Britisher' as far as the Treasury Benches are concerned may be considered as an obsolete one within a very short time. But, Sir, I can assure you of one thing that India cannot and shall not be content with the thought that these Benches will not have British Members of Government but will have Indian Members instead. What India demands today is the disappearance of the word 'British' in connection with the Government of India. The phrase 'British India' should cease to exist, India should be just 'India'. India can no longer put up with the humiliation of being called 'British India'. It is outrageous, it is revolting, it is repugnant to the self respect of a great country and a great people. Today after the conclusion of this last war, particularly when it has given rise to a new spirit and a new sense of dignity and self respect to the people of the world all over, it is outrageous in this new context to hear of any country—leave alone, India,—as a country subject to another. No one will tolerate it. When the Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands presented his Budget, in the first few short, pithy,

and pregnant sentences of his speech, I felt that he was describing an external and an internal picture of the country which was either based on an insufficient appreciation of the actual facts or perhaps based on their deliberate omission or oversight. In the second paragraph of his Budget speech, the Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands said:

“Though our external foes have been overthrown, the world, and particularly, India is confronted by a whole array of dangerous and enduring enemies.”

I do not know why he calls them enduring enemies, enduring in the past or enduring for the future.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Enduring in the present.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I agree that poverty, squalor and ill-health, illiteracy under nourishment and under employment are our enemies. Of all these the most formidable is poverty. I wish to say something about it in a few moments. I first take the first picture. “But though our external foes have been overthrown” he says and I pause. Whose external foes? Our external foes? India’s external foes? I say, imperialism is the greatest of our foes in this country and it has got to be laid to rest once and for all. Therefore, whatever may have been the external picture, as far as India is concerned, the Honourable Sir Archibald Rowland’s mind seems to have worked on an insufficient appreciation of the actual facts.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: In loose language.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Let us be more precise now. Then, Sir, I come to the other enemies which the Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands has recounted.

Mr. Manu Subedar: One hundred and fifty years of British rule.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I regret to say that he has only recounted the number of enemies which imperialism has created in India, which means that even these enemies can be disposed of only if India is free from subjection. This is our first, target, our immediate objective, and once we have disposed of it, I think we can go further in our march, towards what he has described as the ‘triumph over these foes’. It is not in a spirit of bitterness or of acrimony that I say this but these are facts which we cannot afford to ignore. All the enemies we find here have come down to us as a legacy of 150 years of ‘British rule in India.’

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: They also exist in China and places like that.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Yes poverty undoubtedly. But then there is squalor, ill-health, illiteracy. Let us take illiteracy in India today. Russia liquidated her illiteracy in 15 years, and 150 years have not sufficed in India to liquidate that big foe. Then with regard to under-nourishment and unemployment, here is a country where we find even today one-third of the entire cultivable land lying fallow. It is amazing that in spite of all the efforts that were made during the regime of an agricultural expert who came out as Viceroy, I mean—Lord Linlithgow—this little gap in our national economy has not been bridged. He stayed here for 7½ years—and he had studied the conditions before that,—but during this period not even this item of our national economy was tackled, although it is so vital in every respect, because after all food is the first necessity of human beings and it is the primary duty of every Government to see that the people of the country get food to start with and all other necessities of life after that. This was not done. To whose account are we to put this down? Not surely to the account of the poor idle creatures of India who live in squalor and ill-health and under-nourishment. They cannot help all this unless Government plan out their life in such a way that they may find useful productive employment and find all that they need for their progress. But all these things have to be planned out by Government. The people are what they are as a result of the policy which the Government follow. In so far as we on this side of the House are concerned, I cannot do better than read out a portion of our election manifesto where we also voice the same thing; only:

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we say something more and it is in the light of what we have said that we judge the actions and policies of Government and in the light of which we must judge the content of this budget. We have said:

"The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of the masses. It is by their well-being and advancement that it (i.e., our party) has judged every proposal and every change, and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public utilities must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self-growth without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefiting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level, removing unemployment and adding to the dignity of the individual."

This is our criterion and it is by this standard that we judge everything. Now I should like to cast a glance at this budget from this point of view and try to see what projects have been undertaken by Government to produce these results. But before I do that I should like to revert, once again to the external picture. I regret to say that the picture which the Honourable the Finance Member has presented of the external world, appears to be too complacent; it is almost delusive, and is likely to mislead people. When he says the external foes have been laid to rest or have been utterly destroyed he seems to forget that today the world seems to be in a state of very serious ferment. There are dangers all round, and in so far as India is concerned, the dangers are much nearer home than we could ever imagine before. We hear of disturbances going on in South China today; you see the newspapers and you find that a big civil war has already started on the north-eastern borders of India. Beyond the north-west we find certain operations going on—I should not like to mention them because every one knows what they are—which cannot possibly induce in us living in India a sense of complacency or even a feeling that we are safe. But let me make it perfectly clear to every one that India in her present state of mind is a very serious danger to the world. India in subjection, struggling against foreign domination and presenting a picture of discontented people is a temptation to others. It is our immediate purpose therefore, that we should place India on a firm footing of complete independence, so that the world should know that this country at any rate, great as she is, will throw her weight into the scale of peace. She will be the policeman of the East, and she will be the arsenal of the East if it is necessary. But all that can come about only if India herself stands on her own feet.

We know that a Delegation of British Ministers is coming out to India to negotiate most probably, let us hope, the final solution of the Anglo-Indian relationship. But let me make it perfectly clear once again that we can meet them only as free people and as equals. These negotiations should be on the basis that India today is at least a *de facto* free country, and the representatives of India are *de facto* free people negotiating with another country with whom they would like to come to terms as regards the relationship which may subsist from this moment onwards. I am not talking of constitutional limitations; constitutional limitations notwithstanding, this is the position on which we can negotiate—and on no other basis.

This morning I happened to come across a very illuminating statement made by Lord Halifax in America. It is about the constitutional position which India occupies today, and it says what intentions the British Government have towards India. It is a very conciliatory kind of statement, but I do not like in the reference to trusteeship. This is why I was saying that negotiations can proceed only on the basis of representatives of two free countries meeting. He talks of trusteeship. India has finished with trusteeship; there is no question of nonage; nonage was over long long ago. India stands on her own feet, dignified, self-respecting, looking towards a great future, and India today faces the whole world not as a subject race—although an army of occupation still occupies our country,—but as a free people who are today only wanting that the Army of occupation should disappear and we should stand in our own right

and negotiate with the rest of the world relationships which pertain to free peoples all over the world. That is the kind of picture that I have in my mind as far as our external relations are concerned.

I recognize that Sir Archibald Rowlands, is a very able Finance Member, has handled the legacy of the past with great ability and with great skill; and he has presented us with a Budget which, I suppose, in the language of orthodox experts of finance would be called a 'safe budget'. It shows trends of a newer approach—slightly different from those with which we have been familiar. But these trends are, I believe, dictated by two considerations: Number one. India is still a subject country. I am very glad that Sir Archibald Rowlands by his gesture repudiates that suggestion. I shall willingly accept that repudiation, but this is how it appears to me. The country to which India today happens to be subject, fortunately has a socialistic Government—I would not call it a Socialist Government yet—

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras Ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadian Rural): A labouring Government!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: . . . and I take it that Sir Archibald Rowlands would naturally like to reflect the tendencies of that Government here too, so that when the Ministers come out they may be able to say at any rate in regard to labour, industrialization, etc., etc., that a new trend has come into being and it can be developed. To that extent I welcome it. But that is not enough. We have got to proceed in these directions a very long way further than indicated by Sir Archibald Rowland's Budget. The whole life of the country has to be reconditioned, it has got to be reconstructed and the programme of reconstruction requires a colossal amount of courage, courage which may be backed by popular support. I recognize that the present Government is incapable today of attracting any kind of support of a popular nature, and therefore I see the difficulties of the present Government

Mr. Manu Subedar: They have got to a dies.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: . . . and I recognize also the fact that perhaps the Finance Member thinks that if he is sure that he is going to be followed by others who are likely to have popular support, he should like to leave to them a legacy on which they can build a superstructure. If that is his view, I have no fault to find with it. But if by any chance he wants or the Government whom he represents want that they should tie the hands of those who are likely to follow them, then to that extent not only do I take objection to the limitations that have been indicated, but I should like to break all the barriers. I would like to hie them down.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has about five minutes.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I am sorry that I have exhausted my time in generalities. But after all I am dealing with principles and outlines and I think these outlines are good enough for my purpose so far as the general discussion is concerned. After all specific items and questions can be taken up later. Well, I think I had better proceed to a rapid reference to a few important points which require to be touched upon. Before I come to the Budget, I welcome the assurance of Sir Archibald Rowlands in so far as the question of sterling balances are concerned, but I wish to say one word about it. When the question of repayment comes up, let it be quite clear that I am not going to follow my friend, Mr. Manu Subedar who would like to own the Savoy Hotel or some other such building in England.

Mr. Manu Subedar: They own the railways in India!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: (Pointing to the European Group): I am not looking towards their property either. I am looking towards the immediate needs of my country, in the present circumstances of the world. My immediate needs are a good navy and a good air force. I want ships, I want aircraft. Let them give us all that they possibly can so that I may start off from tomorrow and stand entirely on my own legs, independent of them and of every one.

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It is there that they can repay the debt and put us on our feet. Sir, it is not in terms of pounds, shillings and pence that I am thinking. I am thinking in terms of the needs of the situation in the world and of India's needs, as a stabilising factor in the scheme of world's peace. It is in those terms that I am thinking.

Next, Sir, I welcome the suggestion of Sir Archibald Rowlands about the tax structure enquiry committee. It is a move in the right direction. But it is not enough. The finances of our country have got to be overhauled completely. It is not merely a question of tax that we have to think of. We have got to think of the entire picture of national economy and the success of this enquiry committee will depend on the personnel and the terms of reference and its powers which must be considered carefully. We should like to have really, a council of economists who should go into the entire question not only today but continuously so that we may be able to deal with our problems from time to time in the light of all the statistics and data that may be available by then. Today we are in an exceedingly poor way. Statistics of unemployment in this country are not available. We do not know how many unemployed people are going about. Something has to be done, and some measure has to be adopted to obtain the necessary statistics.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: They are afraid of preparing statistics.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I come to the next question. I was talking about the poor of the country, the masses. I see that the Finance Member has made but a very slight concession.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: You have not understood the budget.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Perhaps I have not understood the budget. It is quite likely. I should like it to be explained later on. I am sure when the Finance Member gets up he will be able to explain to us in how many directions relief has been offered to the masses. The immediate needs of the masses which can be satisfied and which should be satisfied lie in certain directions, viz., Salt.

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

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: . . . oil. How much relief have you given in kerosene? One pie per bottle! Is that relief I ask you?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: It is labourism!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We have to look at this problem from another angle. If you remove completely the salt tax, if you remove some of the other smaller taxes which bear heavily on the poor—I do not think the entire amount would go beyond Rs. 22 to Rs. 25 crores at the outside—that amount of money can be found from somewhere. It ought to be found from somewhere. It is a small amount.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Small per head!

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: Even the E. P. T. was not enough. If you ask me I should like to get a little more out of these gentlemen wherever they may be because they have amassed wealth. Let that money come out of them and let relief be given to the poor.

An Honourable Member: They have made their wealth from the poor of the country.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I want to industrialise my country as quickly and as speedily as possible. But at the same time I do not want bloated bank balances lying somewhere while these poor people who can get some little relief do not get it.

I have left to the very last—I am omitting many other points on which I could touch but within the limited time I have I must economise my points too—defence expenditure. Now in regard to defence expenditure and expenditure on External Affairs Department, before saying anything about the

expenditure as such, I should like to invite the attention of the War Secretary and the External Affairs Secretary (who is not there) to two facts. The memorandum which has been circulated to us this time—and I believe it is an improvement on the memoranda that have been presented to the House during the last five years of the war—is a very slender one. It is not sufficiently explanatory. If you go back to the years 1935, 1936 and 1937 you will find a much better volume, much more explanatory, which gives you facts and figures, which enlightens you about the whole subject. But here you leave everyone wondering about many things. For instance, I am still wondering about the proportion of the British and Indian troops in India. If you could only just tell me, and if I can get the actual figures, I could tell you where you could economise. For instance, every one knows that the expenditure on British forces comes to something like four times the expenditure on an equal number of Indian forces.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: That is wrong.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: I will proceed on a purely hypothetical basis. Supposing there happened to be 2 lakhs of Indian troops and 50,000 British troops. If you withdrew the 50,000 British troops altogether you would save half of your expenditure straightaway and that half can be spread over other services. For instance, we want to develop our air force, we want to develop our navy. These are immediate needs. We certainly want to have a thoroughly mechanised army. We want to have tanks and all the other equipment for a modern army to be able to defend our country without anybody else's help. All the money which is being spent on the British forces can be saved and utilised in building up a first class Indian defence force. I need not go into further details. This is the main point which I want to stress.

As regards the question of demobilisation, I know it is said that there are difficulties in the way of very speedy demobilisation but I should still point out that the speedier the demobilisation the greater the saving and that saving ought to go elsewhere. I do not know what may be the difficulties in the way of speedy demobilisation but that is a question which should be examined carefully.

Regarding the External Affairs Department I should just like to point out two things. (1) I want a similar explanatory memorandum for the External Affairs Department expenditure. We know nothing about this Department. At least we have got this memorandum about the defence services, but what about the External Affairs Department?

Mr. Manu Subedar: It is a purdah baby.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We must have an explanatory memorandum in respect of the External Affairs Department too. I find that the expenditure shown in respect of the External Affairs Department does not indicate any change of policy. The policy that has been pursued in respect of external affairs in the past has been criticised by us times out of number, particularly the treatment of the so-called Tribal Areas. It is an extraordinary position. You find in the North West Frontier—and in the North East also, though up to a point—but in the North West Frontier you find three different regions—the settled districts, the tribal belt and the independent area. The money expended on the tribal belt and the independent area is a sheer waste, as it is paid today. On the other hand, if the Honourable the Finance Member could lend the North West Frontier Province say 15 crores of rupees straightaway to improve their economic condition, we could then easily save one crore of subvention that we have to give every year and most probably this Province would become a prosperous province in itself. There are at least 300 miles of land lying absolutely in a desert condition—300 miles long and nearly ten to 15 and sometimes 20 miles in depth. All that land needs to be irrigated and the river Indus is close by. It is only a question of lifting the water and irrigating this land. If they did that, I can assure them that it would mean prosperity to the Province, prosperity to the tribal area and also greater amenities to all those who live in the independent area. All the predatory tribes

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would learn better ways, if only they have to live next to a prosperous North West Frontier Province.

These are but bare outlines which I am indicating. I hope I shall have time to go into some of the details later on, if I choose some of those subjects for some of our cut motions. I should not like to detain the House any further. You, Sir, had reminded us right in the beginning that we have to deal only with outlines and principles and I hope I have adhered to that, and have not gone into details.

As regards deflation and inflation, I confess I do not understand much about these things. I do not like to pretend to know and say things which are beyond my province but I certainly would like to say one thing. The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands in the beginning of his speech has given an indication of what we may expect in future in respect of the expenditure incurred on the defence services or rather on the army. There is going to be a drop of about 600 crores of rupees. In so far as that is concerned, let me invite the attention of the Finance Member to what Lord Wavell himself suggested sometime ago. It is a very good observation which might guide us in the right path. He said, "It has always seemed to me a curious fact that money is forthcoming in any quantity for a war but that no nation has ever yet produced the money on the same scale to fight the evils of peace"—the same evils which the Finance Member has recounted in his speech—"poverty, lack of education, unemployment and illhealth". That is a cue which might be taken up by any Finance Minister. It naturally means that the technique which you have learnt of raising money during wartime ought to be applied to peace time also.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I have done that in my budget.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: You do nothing of the sort.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We should consider this country in a state of war, not in a state of peace, because we have got to war against all these evils which are preying upon the people. In order to be able to vanquish them we should follow the methods pursued during wartime of raising money and deal with all the evils that devastate our unhappy land.

Mr. President: I may remind the Honourable Member of the time limit, which is not more than 15 minutes in any case. I hope the Honourable Member was present in the morning when this was decided.

I may also remind members of parties speaking that whatever time is taken up by any of the speakers will be debited to their party's account.

Lt.-Col. Dr. J. C. Chatterjee: Mr. President, in the good old days—some people described them as the good bad days—it used to be the custom that whenever speakers spoke on the Finance Bill or on the Finance Member's speech, they began, at any rate by force of convention, by showering bouquets on the Finance Member. Budgets may have deteriorated or improved; but in the last few years there have been very few bouquets showered on the Finance Member. On the contrary speakers have felt that the more vehement they were in their denunciations the better they were serving the interests of the country and their cause. It is no use my trying to shower bouquets from this back bench on my friend the Finance Member because it would mean very little to him; but all the same I would like to say this; that although I may be a very humble back bencher, I have listened to a large number of speeches of former Finance Members and read them and the explanatory memoranda they had prepared; and even though this

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méed of praise may come from a very very humble quarter, I would like to say that this year we have had a refreshing speech and a refreshing budget; and in my humble opinion, the strong sun of India has not had time to turn the present Finance Member into a sundried bureaucrat so that he has approached the finances of this country in a very healthy and if I may say so, in a very cool-headed spirit; and as my Honourable friend has just mentioned it denotes something which is really a new approach to the finances of

this country and he has made an honest effort to put our finances, whatever might have been the heritage of the past, on a more sound basis. I feel sorry that he should be here for so little a time—he has been with us for only a year and he threatens to go away.

I remember the words on the portico of the Royal Exchange in London which are:

“The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof.”

They are surprising words to be put on the British Royal Exchange and have often been paraphrased as the earth is the Englishman’s and the fulness thereof. So unfortunately we cannot confine the present Honourable Member to stay on in India and serve under the new order of things. But I hope that it may yet be possible that we may have the benefit of his great ability and his great reputation in the field of finance, so that he may help India, in a different capacity it may be to help the finances of a nation that is now coming into being by his advice.

Having said this, there are one or two points in this budget to which I would like to draw your attention and the attention of the Honourable Member. I shall deal with only one point, because I think it is no use reiterating a number of points, and my point is the question of increase of expenditure in the civil budget.

In his budget speech, the Finance Member said that the civil estimates of this year are going to be 5½ crores more than the budget figures of last year. That is a point to which I wish to draw particular attention. My Honourable friend opposite speaking generally on these points has referred to the great need of decreasing expenditure on the side of the army. He has also said that relief is necessary for the poor. Now, in the first place, I shall refer to the income side very briefly. I do recognise that the Finance Member has given us a certain amount of relief. Petrol is going to be cheaper by 3 annas a gallon, and kerosene oil only by nine pies and income-tax for people like me is going to be cheaper. But I cannot agree with him that this complete withdrawal of the E. P. T. at this time is really justifiable. In his own country—and after all he knows the finances and financial condition of his own country very much better than I do—the E. P. T. has only been reduced by 50 per cent. And although I may be blamed for trying to rob other people of their money I feel that in my own country if half of the E. P. T. had come down on a sliding scale and the Finance Member had followed the principle followed in England, it would have been much better. He should have taken off only 50 per cent. now and the other half later on. That is the only point regarding revenue that I wish to mention.

I would now draw attention to the ever increasing expansion of Government Departments. Later on in the same budget my Honourable friend has said that for the rest, the increase in the revised estimates is due mainly to the strengthening of central revenue organisations and to expansion in a number of departments, mostly those which are popularly called nation-building. I am fully aware that a certain amount of expenditure has been provided for the expenditure of these departments which are called nation-building and also for subventions to provinces. But I fear, as I fear nothing else, the creation of these new departments in the Government of India. The moment a new star is born in the firmament of the Delhi Secretariat there is great increase of expenditure, which may be called the illumination which surrounds the star and this goes on increasing and increasing in its brilliance. The creation of a new department, however beneficial it may be, is like the birth of an octopus. The octopus spreads its legs and its tentacles and spreads and spreads and catches what it can get. What happens? Immediately a new secretary is to be appointed. Take for instance this Department of Education, Health and Lands. Now we gather from the speech of the Honourable Member that this department has been tri-furcated—I do not know what that means exactly: but in practice it means that it has become three departments instead of one, and therefore all the paraphernalia of secretaries, additional

[Lt.-Col. Dr. J. C. Chatterjee]

secretaries and joint secretaries and endless advisers have been appointed. I agree it may ultimately be to the good of the country. But the amount of money which is taken away, by what I may call the multiplication of bureaucracy. On this question I would invite the attention of my Honourable friend to an article written by Jules Romain in the September number of the American Readers Digest almost under that very caption. It is not written about India; it is written about France. But he describes admirably how the moment you create a new Government Department what a mighty and ever-going organisation in itself the new department becomes; and that is what I fear. I remember in the old old days—I have lived in Delhi myself all my life so that I can speak with knowledge—I remember in the old days before the first war when Delhi was made the Capital of India, just one secretariat was built towards Kingsway. That Secretariat still stands and in size it may probably be one-sixth of the present secretariat. We were then told that that secretariat would be demolished as soon as the permanent secretariat was built. I think the old secretariat was built in 1910 or 1911. But, Sir, not only does that secretariat still remain but it has now become a series of secretariats: buildings have risen like mushrooms and these buildings have been crowded into all sorts of places—tents and tin sheds and all kinds of housing devices have been added to accommodate more secretaries and their array of assistants advisers, deputy advisers administrative and liaison officers and private secretaries, each demanding scores of clerks. If the ever-expanding secretariat is not cut down the result would be disastrous. This beautiful city of New Delhi is now absolutely crowded with these mushroom and most ugly buildings. Even the beautiful squares inside the Secretariat buildings have been built up. What is the point in all this? We have got an army of officers, an army of very well paid officers who, as I have said before, are removed from the everyday life of their countrymen by the comfortable jobs they have been given and by the large salaries they receive. Their main work is to go on adding more waste paper to waste paper. Sir, is there any one who will deny that there is more waste paper in the city of Delhi than in any other capital in the world? Well, Sir, what do these new departments do? They write to each other. One officer writes to the other and so on and so forth, and the cycle goes on. Sir, I would very strongly advise my Honourable friend to take note of this ever increasing expansion. Take another department with which I am familiar. Resettlement, it is called. If you look at the figures for this Resettlement Department you will see that up to now the resettlement has been mostly of officers in this Department who have been settled in comfortable jobs. People who were appointed on Rs. 1,500 have been suddenly raised to jobs carrying salaries of Rs. 3,000 or 3,500. That has happened in all these new departments. Why is this kind of thing happening before these departments have actually got on to or done work of any national importance. I do not want to be personal but I could give the Honourable the Finance Member a number of cases in which a man has been brought in on Rs. 600 or 800 into a department. For some reason or other, he has been promoted to Rs. 1,500 in one year and I could give instances where officers draw treble the salaries they used to draw in these so-called national building departments. Even the Public Service Commission has not been consulted. Many of these new jobs have been given to superannuated men, I understand some people may have to be found comfortable jobs but why at these high prices. My fear is that these departments go on increasing and the salaries which are being paid are at a rate which a poor country like this cannot afford and should not be burdened with. If this process continues then there will be very little money left for what is described as nation building.

My friend, of course, is a financier. I have no pretensions of being a financier. He has pointed out the real dangers of letting out a large army of clerks on to the field of unemployment. I agree with him. I agree that the release of these men should be regulated and gradual, and these poorly paid men should not be turned on to the streets all at once. What I object to is this endless addition of officers in these new Secretariats, and that is the

point to which I want to direct attention. I said I would quote certain passages but before I do so I would say this. When the Honourable the Finance Member has shown a laudable desire to put our finances on a sound basis he should not permit the burdening of the finances of this country with new offices on scales of salaries which might have been justifiable in the old days but which are no longer justified under present conditions. The danger is that on the eve of the transfer of authority a number of these officers have been given long contracts. Some have been given five-year contracts on salaries ranging from 1,200 to 3,500 or even 4,000. Some have been given three years' contracts and some shorter in order to avoid appearance before the Public Service Commission. This is impoverishing the country and laying on us certain obligations which we have to fulfil. I am not one of those who will say that the sanctity of contracts should be broken. I do stand for the spoken and the written word. If people have been given guarantees, those guarantees should be kept. It is therefore all the more dangerous that these so-called nation building departments or other departments should expand at this great speed and that contracts should be given to newly appointed officers at such high rates which the country will be unable to bear. The closing words of the article to which I referred to earlier admirably describe the danger of this multiplication of Bureaucracy:

"A certain excess of Bureaucracy in time of war is probably inevitable, and, to the extent that actual results correspond to it, it is justified. The particular thing to avoid is the perpetuation, after the return of peace, of practices justified only by a state of war. It is, Bureaucracy's crafty habit—unless it is jolted—never to relinquish liberties it has once taken.

The years to come, with all the terrible problems they will present, will not be endurable for man unless he takes extreme measures to prevent the degeneration of administration into bureaucracy."

I say that the degeneration of administration into bureaucracy is typified in excelsis in India and I hope my friend will take steps to avoid its further growth.

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.

Sri V. Gangaraju (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, as the Honourable the Finance Member said, this is not a poor man's budget. He himself said:

"My Honourable friends opposite will be wondering whether I propose to do anything for the poor man in the field of direct taxation I can obviously do nothing since he does not pay direct taxes."

The Honourable Member himself has said that he has not done anything for the poor man, anything which could have benefited him. So, it is not a poor man's budget. Also, from the agriculturist point of view there is nothing in it which goes to improve his lot. The talk of rural upliftment and the raising of the standard of living is meaningless without doing anything for the rural areas. In that way they can never raise the standard of living or solve the problem of unemployment.

For a long time the salt tax has been condemned and it has been asked many times from this side of the House to abolish this tax. But even up to this time this tax has not been abolished. Moreover, we are importing salt from other countries, which is fetching us a revenue of more than a crore and a half. It is very obnoxious to say that we are importing salt from other countries especially when we have got thousands of miles of sea shore where we have got all the facilities to produce salt. Still, we are not ashamed of saying that we are importing salt from which we are getting nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of import duties. That means we are spending more of our money on the salt of other countries, whereas we can prepare it ourselves and the benefits can be enjoyed by the rural areas. By abolishing the salt tax, you can solve to some extent the unemployment problem in this country by foregoing this 7 or 9 crores of revenue by salt. By that way you

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can tackle this unemployment problem in the rural areas and you can raise the standard of living of the poor in the rural areas. Also, salt is essential for the health of the cattle. From that viewpoint also, if you want to improve the cattle wealth of India, you have to abolish this tax very soon and thereby help also the cattle improvement.

Then with regard to the excise duty on agricultural commodities. You have got this excise tax on tobacco and areca nuts. The clever merchant always tries to throw this burden upon the grower and he exempts himself from the tax and he never faces it. In that condition, the poor agriculturist is not as well organised as the merchant or the middleman. So, he is himself bearing this excise tax. So, I appeal to the Government to abolish this excise tax when the commodity is in a raw condition. You can put this excise upon the finished products. By that way you can distribute the burden of the tax on all classes who use the finished goods. But if you tax it when it is in raw condition, the only person who pays it is the agriculturist and not the middleman or the other people. So, it is most essential for the Government to see that this tax should be abolished when these commodities are in a raw condition.

Then, the Honourable the Finance Member has raised the tax on gold also with the result that the innocent people will be encouraged to sell their gold at a higher rate in the market now and he has not given them any advice or provided for any alternative method to invest that money. So, this tax also by merely taxing and raising the price of gold will not do. Immediately, the Government has to give their advice to the poor people to invest their money in safer methods than by keeping it in these metals.

Sir, in this budget nothing is said about the improvement of the rural industries. The peasant population in the rural areas are without work for a long time in the year. So, in those areas if you want to raise their standard of living you have to introduce some cottage industries and you have to start them now. It is already late because on account of this war the expenses of the rural people have been raised. So, to meet all these expenses and to keep their standard of living on this higher level, they must have some rural industries to supplement their agricultural income. He said:

"India is still confronted by a whole array of dangerous and enduring enemies—poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, undernourishment and under-employment."

If you want to solve all these problems, you must look at the rural areas and start your methods of giving relief from that side. The Famine Committee report said that the population used to get previously $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per head and now you have reduced it to $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per head. That means that you have cut it down by half. As you cut down the rations, the nourishment also goes down. So, generally people lose their health. The Government, therefore, have to take immediate steps to accelerate the production of food crops immediately. Now, some Provincial Governments have offered some remuneration in the shape of a subsidy of Rs. 15 per acre. But that is nothing. The food crops are not so remunerative as commercial crops and therefore the loss resulting from a substitution of commercial crops with food crops will severely strain the economic position of the cultivator so the operation of the suggested crop control needs to be replanned so as to secure a proper distribution of the incidence of sacrifices among all the provinces. When you want them to produce food crops immediately, they have to forego their profits from commercial crops and when they are fetching 400 to 500 rupees per acre as their income, they are not going to cultivate for this paltry sum of Rs. 15 in this hot weather in the months of April and May. You have to give them better prices and still higher subsidies to make up their loss.

In the case of posts and telegraphs, you have made it a business concern and every year, the Government is making more and more money from this department and you utilise the same for general purposes. Instead of making it a commercial concern, you have to make it a public utility service and give more facilities at cheaper rates to the public. So, the postal rates should

somehow or other be reduced and more facilities should be given to the poor people who use the posts and telegraphs services.

Sir, to reduce the burden on the Indian economy, the Honourable the Finance Member himself said: "he can search the world in vain for a more able, a more loyal or a more devoted body of public servants than those who serve in India's Finance Department and who are predominantly Indian". Of all the Departments of the Government of India, the Finance Department is the most difficult to administer. In such a Department, if the Government have been able to find such able men, why can't they find similar able men and put them in the place of high-salaried imported foreign officials. These high-salaried foreigners can be sent back to their country and thus save us from this heavy burden. This is a very easy means of reducing the heavy expenses which India has to bear.

Finally I would appeal once more that all steps should be taken to raise the standard of living of the poor people and see that they lead a better life in rural areas.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Sir, I do not know where to begin. I feel, Sir, that this budget is only making the rich the richer. I find that the budget proposals have been received here and outside this House with a note of welcome. Why? The Press is in the hands of capitalists. They are the people who manage the entire propaganda of this country and naturally when relief is given to them it is being appreciated. I do not suppose Sir, any other budget could have been produced if Birlas, Dalmias or Tatas were in charge of the finances of this country;

Mr. President: Order, order. I might suggest that it would be better if the Honourable Member does not mention names, particularly names of people who are absent from this House.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I was talking of capitalists generally.

Mr. President: He need not mention names.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I feel, Sir, that relief has been given on the Excess Profits Tax. True, these capitalists have thrived on the miseries of the world war. Who are the people who thrived most? If there is any section who has become prosperous, it is the industrialist and the industrialist alone. Was this excess profit justified at all? The very word indicates that the industrialists were making profit much above normal share on their investments in this country. They have thriven at the cost of 400 million people. They have thriven at the expense of making thousands and millions of people naked, famished and starved. For driving the poor people to this miserable condition, the capitalists are helped by the Finance Member in the shape of relief from Excess Profits tax. That is the present which the Finance Member gives in his first post war budget, namely wiping out 95 crores of tax from the capitalists. Instead of giving any relief, direct or indirect to the general tax payer and the poor man, the Finance Member gives relief to the industrialists. And he does it not in one way only. Probably 95 crores is only the incidence of taxation on Excess Profits. The Finance Member also gives facilities in the matter of import of machinery, import of raw materials. In the name of development, I do not know how much consumers will have to suffer. What is the real position of the consumers in India. Now I come to the proposed duty on betel nuts, which is the poor man's luxury, if at all it can be so termed. The betel nut is taxed to the extent that import into this country may not be possible or may be restricted very much and the growers of betel nut may thrive well. Again at the consumers cost Government is making a few people thrive and get rich. Is it realised that the cost of betel nuts has risen from twelve annas per seer in the pre-war period to something like Rs. 5 per seer today. At a time when competition from foreign import is not great, at a time when it was possible for growers to have thought of bringing their price to world parity prices, the Finance Member has come to the rescue, rescue of whom, a handful of growers, at the cost of 400 million people in this country, mostly poor

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 consumers who cannot enjoy liquor or anything of that kind, but who can revel in the luxury of only betel nuts. This Government refuses to them. That is the typical position of the budget which has been placed before us.

Another direction in which tax is levied is the gold and Government proposes to put a tax of Rs. 25 per tola of gold. I hope the House will realise that it was distress gold of this country which was taken away from us, nearly to the tune of 300 crores at a mere cost of Rs. 35 per tola on the average. Now, when India's position to take back some of this gold is bright, Government imposes this tax of Rs. 25. That is the jugglery of the finance. Honourable the Finance Member wants to convince us that he has done something so good and so nice. A plea has been advanced that the people will learn to invest in industrial undertakings. But you cannot change the habits of a people and a country with a magic wand in a country, where gold has been one of the chief items of luxury or investment in the shape of ornaments. The plea does not hold good; it is only a piece of financial jugglery. You took away distress gold from us and now if we want it back we will have to pay another 300 crores, to bring same to this country in the shape of duty, an indirect taxation.

Sir, I now come to the vexed question of the financial settlement. The Honourable the Finance Member said that England is more anxious to get away from this than we are. That may be but we object to it because it was done behind our back and without consulting the legislature. In the budget session of 1943 I said that it is impossible for this country to bear this hard burden, although Government of India insisted on its assertion that that it was a good bargain. The Government of India as the agents of Whitehall may think so but we have never felt that it was to our advantage. This financial settlement, Sir, is directly or indirectly connected with the question of the piling up of the sterling balances. The issue of these balances has been fully debated here in connection with Bretton Woods; I will only say that we cannot agree to any scaling down of these assets. Our feelings about these sterling assets are very strong and uncompromising as well. They must not be whittled down; they represent our hunger, starvation, nakedness and all the miseries which have accrued to this country on account of these sterling balances. We were made to deliver our goods and it cost us all that. Sir Jeremy Raisman in his Budget Speech of 1942-43 said that we have got only eight annas worth of gold and silver reserve against every hundred-rupee note issued; still you insist that we should have confidence in this inflated currency. The notes had been reduced to a *hukumnama* of the British Empire supported by bayonets. If this had happened in any other country there would have been a revolution and Government must have changed and we did not do that; we only said it was not the correct thing to do for Government of India and our suspicion then was that even after the war some plea would be found out to delay the payment and continue un-stablized condition of currency. Our apprehensions were not unfounded. I said all this in my speech in 1943 and the position has not changed very much now. Of course it was said that England cannot repudiate this loan. They say so even now; but do you realise that we have starved, gone naked and this pile of sterling has now grown up to this size of nearly Rs. 1,800 crores. We cannot now allow ourselves to be mere spectators of this juggler's trick before our eyes. Let England act honourably and discharge the debt which was advanced at such tremendous cost to the creditor. We went through misery and even famine over this and three million lives of India was lost; and now this debt of honour is being delayed and payment deferred. Different formulas are being put forward as to how this payment can be made. But if England is honest about paying these debts it will not take two minutes to do so. Englishmen have ample assets in this country which can be mobilised and liquidated. If these assets be not sufficient let the factories and shops and industrial enterprises in England be obtained by the Government of India and let those industries be owned by this country. Why cannot that be done? If England is honest about it she can do it today or tomorrow. Mr. Lloyd George

said in 1914: "Like a fraudulent bankrupt perjuring his way through difficulties" in reference to German's dealings but now it seems that it applies to England herself. Englishmen say that they hold this country for the benefit of the people of this country. I will not speak about poverty reference of which is made by Finance Member in his speech and which has been so ably dealt with by my Honourable friend Mr. Asaf Ali who, referred to it as a legacy of 150 years of British rule. But I will only say that if you are honest...

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Sir, may I know whom the Honourable Member is addressing? Is he addressing the Chair or is he addressing me as a representative of the United Kingdom or a representative of the Government of India?

Mr. President: I had just a mind to tell Honourable Members of this House that they should always address the Chair and therefore speak about Government in the third person. But I found the habit of addressing Government to such an extent in this House that I thought I would wait a few days before insisting on Government being addressed in the third person.

I will further remind the Honourable Member that he has only two minutes more to finish his speech.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I can have a few minutes more from my party's share.

Mr. President: Yes, if the party has no objection.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I have told the party.

Mr. President: It will be debited to the party's account.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I was trying to convey our views through the Government of India who at the moment are agents of Whitehall. They may deny it but the facts are there. Even a truthful man can be proved to be a liar, but facts prove my statement that they are the agents of Whitehall. If Englishmen are patriotic and earnest let them prove their sincerity by making a gesture of the kind I have indicated. Mr. President, I want to convey this to Whitehall and to His Majesty's Government through the Government of India and through you, Sir, that we shall be satisfied if we find that the Government of India takes up the course which this House desires and if it adopts the attitude which we feel is the right one. We know of course that we cannot impose our will on this Government and we have no powers to do what we like. We are like powerless creditors who can do nothing else but supplicate while the debtors know that they are doing something which they should not have done. If they are honest about it they can pay the sterling

3 P.M. balances immediately by mobilizing the entire British assets in this country and further by selling factories in England against these sterling balances to Government of India. This important suggestion ought to be placed before His Majesty's Government through the Government of India's agent who represents here.

Now, I come back to the Budget once again. The question is what has been done for the poor? I have shown, Sir, that their burdens have rather increased.....

Mr. President: They have.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: Yes, Sir. They have rather increased the burden by way of increase in the import duties of betel nuts and further they have not given any relief in the matter of other taxes which were called wartime measures or, shall I say, wartime babies, like the tax on tobacco, for instance. As some other friends have suggested, the Finance Member would have been well-advised in only reducing a part of the E.P.T. and giving relief to the general public on lines that we want Government to give relief in this country. He has suggested relief of three pies on kerosene oil and three annas on petrol. It is like giving relief on a certain commodity which is not available. It is like your promising to pay to a certain individual, say, Rs. 20 on a certain happening

[Mr. Muhammad Nauman] of event which you know will not happen. The Government of India knows that under the present conditions they are probably not going to have a good flow of kerosene oil or petrol in this country and knowing that full well, they have given a meagre relief. The Honourable the Finance Member is probably feeling proud of it and was thinking that he will be applauded for it. But I feel that he ought to be ashamed for the manner in which he has drafted this Budget, a rich man's budget designed to make rich the richer, and poor the poorer. That in nutshell is the criticism that I have to level on this Budget.

With regard to Posts and Telegraphs, they have got a profit of nearly Rs. ten crores. I do not wish to indulge on the question of dearness allowance to employees and such other things, as that has been debated in this session few days ago in this House. I would only say that the general tax payer and the poorer section expected some relief on this account as well. It is not a commercial concern; it is a public utility service, and no Government in the world has any right to make profit out of Posts and Telegraphs Department. If they make profit out of this department, then I only wonder from which department they would not like to earn money at the cost of the general public. Sir, I suggest that the Honourable Member should give some relief to the general public in respect of this department by reducing rates of Postcard and letter stamps.

Then, Sir, not a word has been said regarding the management of different departments. My Honourable friend, Sir Mohammed Yamin, has given details of one department after another and I do not wish to repeat that. I will just take one department—Industries and Supplies—and say a few words with regard to it. This Department is probably run on the same lines as the Budget itself—it makes rich the richer, and poor the poorer. What actually happens is this: Small quotas are given to the provinces out of the total production of Industries in this country. The consumers of this country are not to take full advantage of production in India and majority of it is exported. Why? Because that will bring more money to the exporters of cotton goods and other goods which we require most for our own nationals.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: On a point of order. Is it not necessary that the Members in charge of Departments with respect to which my Honourable friend is speaking ought to be present in the House? Are we speaking in the air? This is what we have been noting since this morning. We are addressing the Government as a whole and Members in charge of departments should be present. It is an insult to the House.

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: That used to be the practice; they used to be in their seats.

Mr. President: Order, order. Personally I should have wished that when criticisms are being levelled against Departments of Government, some person in charge of the department should be in the House just to hear what the criticism is. I would not necessarily insist that he should be the particular Councillor in charge, but there should be at least some person who is responsible for the department. That is my view of the matter, but I am making one thing clear that absence of a Member does not necessarily mean an intention to insult the House.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Lack of interest.

Mr. President: May be, but I would like to make one further remark, that I wish the speeches are more to the point.

Mr. Muhammad Nauman: I was speaking on the Industries and Supplies Department. I feel, Sir, that the quota given to the provinces is fixed arbitrarily on the one hand, and on the other the Honourable Member in charge ought to be ashamed of the fact that cotton goods and other goods are allowed to be exported when in this country sons of the soil are going about naked and are not able to get even one-quarter of their requirements. Then, I would like

to point out another factor in regard to distribution: What happens is this: Mills who have manufactured those goods monopolize all the different functions in the trade. They are the manufacturers, they become the stockists, they are the contractors to the Government of India, they are the exporters through some agency of their own, and they are also the retail sellers at their selling depots. This is most curious. I do not wish to dilate on this point any further, but I do wish to say that particularly the Director of Industries and Supplies in Delhi has behaved in a manner most prejudicial to Muslim interest. I will discuss this matter fully when I come to the cut motions, and prove to the house how he is manoeuvring to wipe out Muslim merchant from Cotton Cloth trade in Delhi. With these few words, Sir, I finish my speech.

Mr. President: I am just informed that as regards the presence of representative members of Government in this House at the time when a speech is being made with reference to a particular department, there has been a practice in this House of previously informing the Government Whip, as to which department a particular Member wishes to refer to in the course of his speech. That is what I have been informed, and, I believe, reliably informed.

Some Honourable Members: No, Sir, no Sir.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: That is not correct, Sir. The point is this. During cut motions with reference to a particular Department, we give intimation which departments are to be under discussion.

Mr. President: I am referring to several discussion.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: There is no such practice. I have been here all these years.

The Honourable Sir Asoka Roy (Law Member): I do not know whether there is any fixed practice. I think in the past some Members have been in the habit of intimating beforehand that they wished to criticize particular departments.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha (Darbhanga cum Saran: Non-Muhammadan): This has never been the practice.

Mr. President: Order, order. Whatever may have been the practice, I would wish the representative Members of Government to be present here. Some responsible person should be here.

Honourable Members: Hear, hear!

Mr. President: That is only one side of the picture. At the same time, I do wish that the speeches in respect of general discussion on the budget do also make points definitely and not vaguely and generally. If the speeches are going to be very vague and general, I myself do not see the utility of the Members sitting here. But that does not mean that speeches of that general type are being delivered. All I wish to point out is that the responsibility is not one-sided. It is two-sided and while I insist upon the representatives of Government being here, I would earnestly request Members to see that their speeches are definite and not too general and vague.

Shri D. P. Karmarkar (Bombay Southern Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I make one suggestion. So far as the recorded debates go, just when a speaker rises to speak he happens to mention the Departments he is going to touch on and then the debates show that those Members are present.

Mr. President: That is actually confirming what other members say was not the practice. Whatever it may be, let us not go into that. (*An Honourable Member:* "He is a new Member.") He is a new Member but he refers to previous records. Whatever it may be, let us not go into that practice. We are entitled to have a new healthy practice established. Whatever the old practice, if we want a change, we are entitled to have it.

Mr. Ahmed E. H. Jaffer: What is the difficulty for the Members not to be here?

Mr. President: Order, order. Honourable Members may not feel but I feel some difficulty about it. I think the proposition had better not be discussed any further. I have already expressed myself by saying in short that the responsibility is on both sides of the House.

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: I am dealing with the Foreign Affairs Department chiefly. But the Whip is missing! (*Honourable Members:* "He has come".) I am really going to try and make my maiden speech. A few days ago I did say a few words when I tried to make you see the urgency of the cloth situation in my province. Then I was under the innocent impression that if six million people were urgently in need of cloth, it was really urgent enough for this House to discuss. I am a wiser man now. I know now that this august House may spend days and days in serious matter of substituting "whereas" for "threat" in clause (b) sub-clause (e) of sub-section (g) but in a serious matter of clothing six million semi-naked Pathans is just not good enough. I said a few words that day but I knew all the time that you were waiting to hear a little about it before you ruled it out of order so I tried to say too many things and as always happens to all shy people I managed to say nothing. Hence my claim, Sir, that I am going to make my maiden speech. As I have the honour to be the youngest Member of this House, I hope the House will give me the greatest amount of indulgence.

I have the honour of representing the smallest, the poorest, the most peculiar and the most backward province of India. We have the smallest number of schools and the greatest number of murders. The only industry that we can boast of is the rifle industry. But if you are caught with this product of our sole national enterprise, you will be sent to jail for three years. It is the only province in India where lakhs of people have to travel on donkeys and camels for ten to fifteen miles every day to get drinking water, and lakhs more have to drink from stagnant ditches with their camels and cattle. In this twentieth century under one hundred years of the great and beneficial rule of the white man, we have not been able to get drinking water.

It is the only province in India that has no University. We are taught English in Urdu and Urdu in Pushto. That is a clever arrangement for popularising education. We have the distinction of having no technical school or college, although we Pathans made the first great highway of India, the Grand Trunk Road from Kabul to Calcutta which was built by Sher Shah. But today we have the smallest mileage of road per 100 square miles of area. The last though not the least, we have the smallest number of representatives in this House.

Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: You are the tallest!

Khan Abdul Ghani Khan: What can one man do. He can just cover one subject efficiently. All the other provinces count their representatives in dozens.

I hear a good deal of talk about the forthcoming arrangements whereby England is going to give us our independence on a golden tray with love and kisses. I have a suggestion to make. I hope that in the future Assembly of India the least number of Members from each province should be five or six, say one for Food, one for Industries, and one each for all the various highly technical departments. I do not mean exceptional men like some of my Honourable friends in this House who are experts in everything. But I am talking of ordinary human beings like myself. We cannot even cope with one subject. But the state of affairs being as unsatisfactory as it is, I would like to turn my attention to the most important of the serious problems that faces our province today.

Just try and imagine our Province. We have long stretch of area that is called the Settled Area. It is not usually very settled. It has a few towns and a moderate sort of business. After that you have the Political Agencies where the brown man is taught to worship the white god. His word is law, his pleasure heaven and his displeasure hell. Here the white man can play god in peace and comfort. Technically and legally these agency Pathans are

supposed to be semi-free but literally they are the most terrible slaves in India. The baby Czars who rule these absolute monarchies are completely independent of the Provincial Government and usually out of sympathy with them, although the problems that the political agencies present are chiefly provincial.

The Secretary of State in London and his agents here know how to deal with my cousins the Afridis. A tamed one who is sitting opposite, my friend Sharbat Khan, knows much better than we who live with them and are one with them.

Between the agencies and the Afghan territory there is that romantic belt called the Tribal Territory, a land of wild men and wild stories, a land which is in the habit of throwing up vicious Faqirs, but usually at the right time and the right place. You find these gentlemen coming to the tribesmen and asking them in the name of Allah and for the sake of heaven to attack the British. At the end of the show the British always somehow or other manage to get a strategic pass or mountain and most of the poor Pathans get Heaven: they are killed. The tribal territory people are very nice except that they come and burn our villages, they murder us, they kidnap us, they burn our bazaars and carry away our brethren ever since the Englishman has become the masters of the Frontier and not before.

The problem before us is and always has been now to protect the land and lives of the ordinary law-abiding people of His Majesty's Government from these wild tribesmen. To a normal ordinary man with a little commonsense there would be three solutions:

(1) Disarm the tribesmen as you have disarmed us (amalgamation).

(2) Arm the people of the Settled Area and let them protect themselves as you have failed to protect them.

I assure you that there are as good Pathans and as brave Pathans on this side of the border line as there are on the other side. We have got possession of the most fertile area from our cousin tribesmen, because at one time we were the most powerful. As we have now been disarmed we have to depend on the might of the British Empire and we pay for it. If they would return to us our arms, then we will not make any further noise about it: we will deal ourselves with the Waziris and the Mohmands.

The third solution is conversion, to persuade these marauders that we are the same people as they, that we are of the same flesh and blood and colour as they and that they have no reason to murder us and kidnap us. But does the Government choose any of these methods? They choose their own way, a combination of bribery and force. I would call it murder and corruption but its parliamentary name is "Subsidies and the Forward policy". I do not want to say anything about this notorious forward policy, because a great deal has been said about it on the floor of this House and besides it is all quiet on the North Western Front, and I hope it will remain so. But I would like to say something about subsidies. Let us look at a few figures now. They are very vague and I shall not call them accurate figures. I have tried to put in some questions but I am sure I will get no answer, because people who have tried to get these figures have always failed and I am sure that I will fail too. Anyhow the subsidies amount to 1,63,000 and the total subsidies all over India amount to 6½ lakhs. Entertainment, 4,20,000, which I suppose represents tea and biscuits. Schools nil, hospitals nothing, public works, zero. The total that is taken from the Indian exchequer is three crores 61 lakhs. I am not now talking about the Maliks, who are well fed and well kept by the Political Department and they are not the people who commit the dacoities. I am talking of the common man, the Afridis and the Mohmands, the ordinary man who counts. They get Rs. 2 per head among the Afridi tribes per year, not per day and the Mohmands get Re. 1 per head per year, with which to look after himself and his wife and children and be at peace with himself and the world. If you were strong and virile and your children were hungry and naked, living in a hard and mean land that refused to feed you or clothe you and your neighbour had an abundance of

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every thing and nothing to protect himself with, would you not feel tempted to stretch your hand and help your dear ones to a little. At least I know I would, unless I were taught to do otherwise and behave differently either by force or education.

But do Government really wish to stop these things? There are many circumstances that force one to draw very strange conclusions. These dacoities are committed either for Heaven or for money. They are either fanatical or economical. If they were fanatical, they ought to have stuck to the Englishman, whom they hate, because they say they are *kafirs*. In his dealings with the tribesmen the Englishman has always started with the "sermon on the mount" and ended up with the high explosive bomb. He has machine-gunned them, burnt their crops with phosphorous bombs, mowed down their cattle and confiscated thousands of acres of their good land. Naturally the hatred of the Pathans should be directed towards the Englishman. Yet the tribesmen do not carry away Englishmen. There was that famous Miss Ellis case a few years ago, but after that there were many Hindus and Muslims but no Englishman. If these dacoities are the result of sheer bleak want, even then their natural victim should be the Englishman, who may be worth nothing on this side of the border but is surely worth his weight in gold on that side of it. Every tribesman knows that if he can get five thousand rupees for an Indian he can get as many lakhs for a whiteman and yet they keep off them. Why? They won't go near one. The only conclusion one can arrive at is that these dacoities are controlled. I do not mean that my friend of the Foreign and Political Department sends in a requisition for a raid but there is bound to be an indirect control: otherwise why should they scrupulously avoid one man and attack another. You may say that the Englishman is harder to get at. But is it not the duty of the Government to make me also as hard to get at either by a raider or a thief? The real reason is that the Government have made it plain to the tribesman that they will not tolerate any monkey tricks with their own kith and kin. Ajab Khan who carried away Miss Ellis was hounded out of tribal territory. He was pursued even into Afghanistan and was last heard of in Turkistan. His village was burnt. Why should not the Government take just as strong a stand on behalf of its poor native subjects? The fact is that the whiteman's burden is all white, it has not got even a speck of brown or black on it.

Is there a solution for all this. I have given three solutions and we will take them one by one. Can we disarm the tribesmen? Yes, we can but I do not want them to be bombed and atomised because they are my own flesh and blood. A conquest of the tribal territory is out of the question now. The English conquered all these thousands of miles of mountains and rivers, why should they not take a little more territory, instead of leaving it there as a sort of boiling pot. Arming the people in the settled areas and make them capable of looking after themselves is another solution. But that is not likely to be accepted, because we cannot be trusted by our foreign masters. So, I will turn to the third and last solution, the longest, the most difficult but the only one tried by us and proved effective. The first time the people of our Province tried to solve this tribal problem was in 1930. The then Governor of our Province admitted that the Government's attempts for almost a century to solve the tribal problem were a complete failure. So the leader of our people Badshah Khan suggested an alternative scheme of schools and dispensaries to serve the tribesmen and thus establish a point of contact between them and us. The Governor agreed and came to Delhi to see the Viceroy. On his return the first thing that he did was to arrest Badshah Khan and put him into prison for an unspecified length of time and exiled him to Hazaribagh (Bihar). That was how our first attempt ended. In 1942 when the British Empire was at its weakest and tottering, we found that these tribesmen were organising themselves into gangs and, collecting arms. The price of a cartridge which used to be three pices or less than one anna each was selling at Rs. 2/-. An ordinary rifle that was used to get for Rs. 10 from the tribal territory went up to Rs. 400 and 500.

because they were all arming and collecting rifles and looking forward with longing and hungry eyes at the fertile plains of India. We approached the Government but the Government could not do anything. The Government were worried about themselves and so did not worry about us. Our protectors were thinking of their aeroplane journey to some safer spot. We approached the Government and asked them to allow us to send peace missions. It was a desperate measure but we wanted to protect our people. The Governor agreed in a weak moment to send our people to the villages of the Waziris. They spent three years there. They were ordinary poor Pathans and half educated. They knew only one thing. They had to talk with these people and try to make them peaceful. In the beginning the Government did not say anything. In the meantime the world situation changed. These people risked their lives. They were abused in the name of religion, they were called the hired servants of the Hindus and *kafirs* and some of the old hands used against Amanullah were re-employed again. But in spite of all that they achieved a measure of success. We found that in our contact with those people they would listen to us. We feel that we can make them listen to us.

Now, the point and purpose of my giving you this history of these missions—I cannot give you the history because it is so long, but that is the gist of it—is not to get applause for my party, the Khudai Khidmatgars, but to impress upon the Government that a unique experiment has been carried out and that has proved beyond any doubt that the job can be done. If the Government would trust us and let us approach these people freely, to get to know them and convert them, I am certain that, with the co-operation of the Government, we will accomplish in a year what they have failed to accomplish in a century. But the question is, is the Government willing to co-operate with us? Is it willing to accept our help? Does it really desire a solution of this tribal problem? I would like any one from that side to give me a straight and clear answer to that question. Thank you.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Sir, I congratulate my Honourable friend Mr. Abdul Ghani Khan from the Frontier on his very interesting maiden speech. Like my Honourable friend, Col. Chatterjee I do not shed any tears if our friend the Honourable the Finance Member quits India as soon as possible. That does not mean any personal reflection on him. Unfortunately he represents in this House a system of bureaucracy which has for the last several hundred years squeezed this country and reduced this country to a state which can be no longer tolerated. I confess this budget is a very clever budget. The Honourable the Finance Member has brought a new approach to the framing of this budget. But while he was framing his budget, his one eye was on Delhi and the other was on the cabinet mission.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I had never even heard of it at the time I framed the budget.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Although he poses only to be a Finance Member, he was all the time acting as a politician. He was making the way of the cabinet mission smooth in his own way, and from that point of view this budget, if I may say so, is an appeasement budget. But he has appeased only a section of the population of the country. He has appeased only my Honourable friend Mr. Manu Subedar or men of his way of thinking.

Mr. Manu Subedar: He has not appeased me, as you will find out.

Sardar Mangal Singh: He has tried to appease big business in this country by doing away with the E.P.T. immediately. Of course I am glad he has done it, but my point is that he has not done anything for the poor. While he started well in his opening part of his speech—he talked of poverty, squalor, illhealth, illiteracy, under-nourishment and under-employment—I waited in vain to hear or find out from his speech throughout, any effective plan to remove these things from this country. He was very liberal to big business; he lifted the E.P.T. he granted concessions in the matter of importing raw materials; he gave them liberal remissions in the matter of income-tax. I do

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not grudge them all that. My only complaint is that he has not thought of the millions and millions of this country who are suffering from all these ills which he mentioned in the opening part of his speech. What has he done? In his speech he said "Well, now I have done something for the taxpayers, something for the industrialists; let me turn to the poor man who does not pay any income-tax." And what does he say? Instead of 4as. 6p. he says 3as. 9p. on kerosene oil. That is the only relief which he gives to the poor man and what is it? Do you know how much kerosene oil the poor people get in the villages? He has not thought of that probably. I do not think the relief would come to more than two or three pice for a household.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: May I interrupt? This point has been raised several times. It may save a lot of debate if I call attention to a sentence of mine:

"The main advantage which he, the poor man, will derive from particular proposals will be through the schemes, economic and social, which will be financed by the yield of the taxes contributed by the wealthier sections of the community."

Prof. N. G. Ranga: That is a figment of your imagination. Nothing more.

Sardar Mangal Singh: If my Honourable friend had waited, I was coming to that also. This is the only item of relief he has given to the millions and millions of poor men who live in the villages and who are on the brink of starvation.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: And he continues to collect more and more.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I do not think that his budget will fit in properly with the new scheme of things. Personally, I think that after three months we will have again to meet here and frame another budget because this budget creates a situation in the country which will be most difficult for the new Government. He talks of a reduction of expenditure in the following year. What does that mean? It means unemployment. It means less consumer goods. It means so many difficulties for the country that the new Government will not be able to face them. My Honourable friend the Finance Member probably does not want to take any discredit for any measures which could only help the country but which might displease certain vocal sections of our countrymen. I maintain whether it is this Government or any other Government, if you do not realise money by a capital levy the Government of this country cannot raise the purchasing power of the masses of the country. If the Government of this country sits back and thinks only of limited companies and big business and the E.P.T. and the industrialists and the raw material coming in from outside, the government will not be touching even the fringe of the question. The real difficulty can only be solved by having a capital levy in this country. For all these schemes we have to raise money and the money has to come from somewhere: it can only come from the rich people. My Honourable friend the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party gave expression to similar feelings, but I can realise his difficulty; he was sitting with my Honourable friend Mr. Manu Subedar . . .

Prof. N. G. Ranga: He has no difficulties. We are one with you. Come and join us.

Sardar Mangal Singh: He gave expression to those feelings in a suppressed manner: he did not give out frankly that these people are going to hand over the country to Birlas and Tatas. This object only means this: that these millions of our countrymen, the masses, are being handed over to the joint exploitation of the white bureaucracy and my Honourable friends the mill-owners. I would not allow my country to be jointly exploited by Indian big business and the British big business. This budget is only the offer of a partnership. In plain English this budget is an offer to Indian big business, saying "We cannot hold this country ourselves any longer; we ourselves cannot exploit the masses of this country alone; come along, Mr. Manu Subedar; come

along, join with me and let us exploit together." It does not mean anything else, and I am sure the people of this country are not going to allow such a *golmal* between the British businessman and the Indian businessman. I most strongly protest against this. I see his difficulty. He himself admits what the real remedy is. He says: Victory will not be achieved without sustained effort, without sweat and tears, without money or without leadership. Now, Sir, this Government lacks the leadership which is necessary to take the country forward. This Government does not know its own mind. They are simply marching time. Therefore, I think this budget will have to be reconditioned, overhauled by the new Government which will come into power in due course. Dynamic leadership is required to tackle the problem. My Honourable friend, this Finance Member lacks that leadership and cannot do it.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: That is my whole point. I am hoping that an Indian leader will come along.

Sardar Mangal Singh: That is why you are offering partnership to these people. You cannot solve the problem yourself. The best thing would be to straightaway say 'Sorry, we cannot do it. We go away. Come and take our place'. That is the straightforward, honest way of solving the problem.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may miss his other points. He has only three minutes more.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I may take some weightage!

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has no bank balance of time on which he can draw.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I will give him five minutes of my own time.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I am glad that the Honourable the Finance Member has announced the formation of a tax inquiry committee. I wish to warn him about framing the terms of reference. I wish him to include the revision of the land revenue system in this inquiry.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: Yes, Sir. Certainly.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I do not want that the inquiry should be like the inquiry which the Government held in 1924 and 1925. That committee refused to consider the land revenue question—the question that the land revenue should be abolished as a system of land revenue. I claim, Sir, that land revenue is very unjust. By this system, you tax the poorest man even if he earns Rs. 50 a year. I say that there is no moral foundation for this tax. I therefore submit that in the terms of inquiry the revision of the land revenue system should be definitely and categorically included and in our programme we will advocate that this land revenue should go as a system. In 1935 this House carried a Resolution that land revenue should be abolished and in its place tax should be put on the land on an income-tax basis. I think that is quite fair. I am prepared to pay taxes on my income from whichever source it is derived.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: On the contrary, we might want nationalisation of land straightaway.

Sardar Mangal Singh: Including land, factories, mills? Ask your friends. I am prepared but first let us nationalise this part of the House. My Honourable friend interrupted me and said that he has got some schemes but he could not even reduce the price of the post card. During the last several years, this House has been passing Resolution after Resolution that the price of the post card should be reduced from three pice to two pice, the post card which is largely used by the villager, the poor man, who does not pay any income-tax. Then he forgot salt altogether. Then he has not done anything for the rural uplift. I know what is passing in his mind. Then my last point is sterling balance. I entirely endorse the remarks made by Honourable friend Mr. Asaf Ali when he said that the amounts lying with His Majesty's Government in the form of sterling balances should be immediately repaid, at least in

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part by handing over some good ships in good condition—not rotten ships or broken ships or leaking ships but ships in proper running order or some air machines, so that as soon as we take charge of this part of the House we stand before the world as a first class political power, with our navy and air force complete in every way.

An Honourable Member: Army?

Sardar Mangal Singh: The army is already there. It is the navy and the air force we want and if we could create them out of these sterling balances, I think it would be a blessing in disguise. Otherwise this sterling balance is a blood bank of my country. The Government without our permission and without our knowledge and asking has taken away the goods, worth crores and crores of rupees, while our people were starving and dying like flies. This huge sterling balance which has now risen to about 1,800 crores is really a blood bank, the blood of my country sucked by the Government. I am very much perturbed by this news that the British Government would talk about sterling balances after the American loan has been sanctioned. What is the significance of this. Supposing the American Government does not agree to give any loan to His Majesty's Government, what will happen to our money. Suppose there is World War No. III tomorrow and something happens to England, what becomes of my money. Therefore I say that whatever is to be taken is to be taken immediately. When a creditor goes to a debtor, he takes hold of all the things the debtor has, buffaloes, cows, grain—anything which he can get hold of. In that attitude, I am anxious that I should get hold of anything which can be immediately taken over. I am not going to purchase a hotel in England.

Mr. Manu Subedar: They have had your railways for a hundred years.

Sardar Mangal Singh: I would like to have as many things as I possibly can. I would like to have immediately the assets possessed by the British nationals in this country. That is a very regular and accepted form of payment. It has been resorted to in other countries. As an Indian, I would not like to have mortgage in other countries but that position should also be considered—whether we can get hold of a country or part of a country—a few districts in England until this loan is repaid.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has exceeded his time limit. I will give him half a minute to complete.

Sardar Mangal Singh: On the next occasion, when I have time, I shall make more concrete proposals. For the time being I give the Finance Member these hints to think over. This heavy loan should be liquidated, if England is honest and they mean business with us.

Shri D. P. Karmarkar: Sir, before I make my observations on this budget, I must say that I am in entire agreement with my Honourable friend Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. We, the elected Members of this House are supposed to be here to represent the interests of our constituents. And now we are supposed to say something about the budget proposals that have been placed before the House by the Honourable the Finance Member. Incidentally, also, we are supposed to comment upon the adequacy or inadequacy of the steps taken in the interests of the popular weal by the various Departments. You were good enough, Sir, to throw a hint to the Government benches that somebody connected with each of the Department should be present in the House. That suggestion, in the fitness of things as they conceive it, has not been accepted. Hence, it appears as if we, who are making observations on this very important subject, namely, the financial proposals for the next year, appear to be speaking, firstly, for our own benefit; secondly, for the benefit of those who are not listening to us here, namely, the public; and, thirdly, for the benefit of the President. Apart from that, what we say appears to have very little effect upon the Government Benches.

With that brief preface, I now turn to the budget. Certain opinions expressed in the press fully demonstrate how sometimes the budget seems to be for our benefit and a few of the budget proposals are likely to mislead us. With regard to his budget proposals, I should say that the Honourable the Finance Member has followed the method which appears to be very popular at the present moment in all the Departments of the Government of India, namely, to veneer with the little good that they might be doing a large amount of propaganda. The Honourable the Finance Member has placed before us a budget which envisages a reduction in taxation. Now, he has so nicely coloured it and so nicely presented it as to make it look as if the whole population has been benefited by it. What are the broad facts? Above all, this year's budget provides for an expenditure of 391 crores of rupees which compares certainly favourably with the expenditure of last year, which was about 543 crores of rupees. The reason is quite obvious. The war they were on has now ended and it was inevitable that they should not have kept the expenditure at the same level as that of last year. Then, again, in the place of the deficit of 144 crores that was there last year, we have a deficit of 44 crores this year, which was also inevitable, because they could not go on spending on nothing. Simply to be guided by the fact that this year's budget presents a less deficit than last year's and that the expenditure is less than that of last year leads us nowhere. Then, again, there is a proposal of reduction in taxation to the tune of about 21½ crores, which I shall presently have the privilege of showing hardly touches the masses.

Now, Sir, I am not tempted to believe that the budget in any way makes any significant departure from any one of the previous budgets that have been presented to the House on behalf of a regime which is here not in our interests but in the interests of Imperialist domination of India. While on that point, I should like to say that I entirely agree that the Honourable the Finance Member has very pithily described the condition in which we are at present. There is one sentence in the Budget speech which my Honourable friend the Deputy Leader of my Party had occasion to refer to, in which the Honourable the Finance Member correctly describes the condition of India in the shortest possible words. He says:

"India is suffering from poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, under-nourishment and under-employment."

Now, I will view his budget from this standpoint and from the criterion which he has himself so very kindly mentioned. When I look at these proposals from the point of view as to how far these proposals tend towards removal of poverty, squalor, ill-health, illiteracy, under-nourishment and under-employment, I find that the least is done to remove these things by the present Government. And all that has been done by way of reduction in taxation is to help those people and those interests which they found very precious during the war and which they may find equally precious again in another war when it may come on. They are of no use for the masses. I am very sorry to say that except to recruit them in hard times and to send them to the war fronts, there are no proposals in the budget which can be said to be of any use to them. When I look at these proposals and when I consider the small mercies that are shown to the masses, I find there are two things which help the masses. One is kerosene. There was a point made by one Honourable Member, that the reduction in taxation is not sufficient, but our Honourable the Finance Member does not know that this reduction in taxation is not going to help the poor at all because if you were to visit any rural areas, you will find that, as a matter of fact, it is not the question of the price of the kerosene oil. The question is of getting it. They do not get kerosene oil at all and this reduction in its taxation is not going to help them.

Then, there is another mercy which is shown to the betel-nut growers. It was said during the last war that Russia, while helping herself, also helped the

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Allies. The same remarks can very well be applied to the betel-nut taxation. He knew that the betel-nut would be coming from Singapore and Malaya and therefore he would derive more income from it. In truth, therefore, he has only helped himself and incidentally he has helped the betel-nut grower as well. I very much appreciate his frank recognition of facts when he says that the taxation during the last two years, instead of being passed on to the consumers, has fallen on the growers. Having realised that, I am not prepared to believe for a moment, that a very capable Minister like the Honourable the Finance Member, who has produced this budget, could not have found some means to see that the injustice that had been done to the grower could not be corrected now. He had all the statistics at his command and surely he could have given some relief to the poor grower, by way of subsidies or the like. When one comes to the end of his budget one feels not very much depressed because we are oppressed, suppressed, depressed and mystified by this Government and we are all now used to this sort of thing.

When I scanned this budget, the only thing I could notice was this. They have now come out of a war which has meant a great hardship to them and they are expecting another war, if not immediately, within ten years and so they have thought of devising the Government machinery and maintaining its activities in such a manner as to be helpful to them permanently. They are merely helping themselves should any crisis come to them again.

As I am limited by time, I shall only refer to one or two brief aspects of the budget. Much has been said about planning and development. Wisdom has dawned after 150 years that they have thought of some schemes for planning and development. I was myself waiting with curiosity as to whether the planning and development would go on according to the plan of the Bombay economists or according to a plan like the one prepared by Principal Agarwala. What do we find in the Planning and Development Department? The Indian Government have just come out of a war. In view of their bitter experience in regard to I. N. A., they would very much like to placate the Indian soldiers. And the first step they have taken is to rehabilitate the discharged personnel. What do we find in a budget of 8 crores odd? I should like to say that that head is a very huge camouflage in a budget which covers about 8 crores. One crore and 81 lakhs has been assigned for development and planning proper. Then there is a very humerous thing if it was not so tragic.

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

They say the amount is for schemes contemplated for the following purposes and then follows a list of subjects, agriculture, forests etc. They have been drawing up schemes. A list of books has been circulated to us which I should say, I have not had the good luck or bad luck of going through. After I go through them, perhaps it would be too late for me to realise that it is all a waste of time for having read them. I saw a list of some books which happen to be circulated to M.L.A.'s. free and they deal with reports on post-war road development, post-war planning and so on. All that they have been able to do is merely draw up plans and achieve nothing. No positive achievement is to their credit. There are only some schemes which are under consideration and some schemes are not under consideration. There are certain training centres, there are schemes for rehabilitation of discharged personnel and several other activities connected with rehabilitation of ex-soldiers. That is one point. I would submit if the Government were really to do some real planning, then there will not be a single man or woman in this country who would not support that scheme. If the planning was real and *bona fide*, if it would only help the development of future generations, we shall not grudge even new taxation. We shall not lag behind to contribute our blood for the cause, so that they can form a blood bank for our posterity to draw upon. Provided there-

is nothing in the shape of propaganda for Government's cause we shall not be found wanting to support any good cause.

Now, Sir, let me turn for a moment to the Department of Information and Broadcasting. This Department has bloated beyond measure, as if all the woes and misery of India is due to lack of information and all that is wanted is more and more information, more and more broadcasting and more and more propaganda. That is a very clever device formulated by Government. If I were on those Benches, I should perhaps congratulate those who have been responsible for publicity of all kinds, publicity in Planning, publicity in Information, publicity in War Department, publicity everywhere, including publicity in Publicity. Coming to their plans, we know they will take a long time to come to any conclusion. In this Information and Broadcasting Department, what do we find? Just at this moment, I would refer to the new nomenclature adopted by that Department. Sometimes one wonders at the conception which the Government of India have with regard to this Information and Broadcasting. The Government is bound to provide information to the public, Government is bound to give broadcasts, Government is bound to conceive of new purposes, especially with a famine threatening us, and with the fear of lakhs of people dying. I have probed into the publications of this Department and I have not yet been able to probe into the significance of the change in the nomenclature of the Department from "Information and Broadcasting" into "Information and Arts". I do not know whether they intend to display all the fine arts. I rather suspect that the word 'arts' includes such items as amusements for troops which were a special feature during the war period and which now form part of the civil administration in this country. This means that expenditure on such items will hereafter be shown under civil departments instead of under the Defence Budget.

Now, Sir, when we are dealing with this year's budget, we cannot compare it with last year's budget, we can compare it only with the budget of 1939-40. The civil expenditure in 1939-40 was 10 crores, but today we see it has risen to 35 crores, about eight crores more than last year's. I have not the time to deal with it in detail. At this stage of discussion of the budget, one can only refer to it in general. Is it at all necessary to have such a large multiplication of officers in each and every one of the Departments. I will take up one Department, the Archaeological Department. I see there is one Additional Director General. Is there any extension in the activities of this Department? Unhappily there was a Director General who did not know any of the Indian languages, obviously as if to stop our mouths, a popular Indian Director is brought in as Additional Director General. This is out of a sense of kindness to expert to save him from criticism from the Indian public. Whatever may be the reason, we find this Department also is expanding. Where there were Superintendents, I find in this year's budget, that eleven more are added and they call them Assistant Superintendents for each circle. God alone knows what they are going to do. I will not touch on that subject further, except to simply observe that in many departments, we find increase in the number and in the cadre of officials concerned. Judged from that point of view, I would respectfully submit that this budget is certainly not a poor man's budget, but it is a rich man's budget.

When we come to scan those various items that have been incorporated in this budget that has been presented to us, one thing that strikes us most is this. The Honourable the Finance Member and the Government which he represents also look upon this year also as a war year. This defence expenditure of 243 crores is to be compared to pre-war year's defence budget, which on an average was 47 crores. The only explanation that I can think of for this is that the Government are visualising the contingency of another war, they are thinking of the possibility of still retaining the huge army which they are contemplating of disbanding to the tune of 17 lakhs of persons. But they are not able to

[Shri D. P. Karmarkar]

disband these people on account of the apprehensions, rightly or wrongly held that there may arise another crisis in the very near future which may compel them to retain a large number of this personnel. Therefore, it is, I think that the Government are finding it so hard to reduce the defence expenditure which they would have done long ago, had they been inspired with a *bona fide* desire to help the people of India to reach the goal of prosperity and happiness.

In conclusion, I do wish to say that this budget is neither a better nor a worse one, except for the one fact that the Honourable the Finance Member has been frank, but mere frankness does not lead us towards our goal of prosperity. I would only finish by saying that this budget should be looked upon neither more kindly nor unkindly than all the other previous budgets which were remarkable demonstrations of the 150 years of British rule in India along the most unsympathetic and imperialistic lines, working for British interests and not the interest of the people of India, with these remarks, I close.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda (United Provinces: Landholders):
Sir,

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member can speak only for ten minutes.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: I do not belong to any party, and so you may have no occasion to credit my time to that of any party.

Mr. M. Asaf Ali: We would like to own you.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: Sir, this budget is slightly better one than the one I have seen in the past. But it does not travel sufficiently in favour of the poor and so I am constrained to oppose it. I dare say the Honourable Member who blamed this budget could have done much more but for the fact that he is surrounded by highly paid and glorified I. C. S. officials and so he feels that he is more or less helpless. Sir, I find that in this budget, the military expenditure remains just as high as before. The war is over, but in spite of that we find that the military are lording it everywhere swallowing a large portion of our revenues. The purpose for which they are kept here is obvious. Calcutta and Bombay are soaked in blood. Is it for that purpose that the military is staying here? Is it for that purpose that we are paying for their upkeep? Then, again, civil expenditure is just as high as ever. It is said that this Government will merge into a National Government and that they will hand over the baby to Indians. A National Government is intended primarily to care for the welfare of the country and of the people. If you are going to bequeath to them an emasculated budget and the resultant dirty work, it is unfair and there is no scope for a free hand. Ninety per cent. of the population in India are poor and possibly about ten per cent. are well to do. Here, this budget has brought about many banquets and dinners among the rich. Even the Stock Exchange has gone up, and people have made money on it.

Coming to the taxes imposed in this budget, betel-nuts have been taxed. Is betel-nut a luxury? Can the poor people be denied even this small luxury, if you call it one. I do not think you can call this nut a luxury. For instance the Englishman now goes in for chewing gum. I do not think it can be called a luxury.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: No, Sir.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: The Americans use the candy? I do not think you can call it a luxury. Why do you tax the poor people in this country? The poor man can boast of very little luxury in this country. If he cannot even buy a betel-nut whenever he feels tired and wants a little respite, what is the use of having such a Government at all? For instance, in postcards there might have been some reduction and so some kind of relief to

the poor. There is to be a taxation inquiry committee and I hope even at this late stage Government will have a non-official body consisting of elected members of this House and, if you like of the Upper House as well.

Sir, the country cannot possibly bear the salaries of the glorified I. C. S. and other services. We have been saying this in and out of season but without any result. Nevertheless it is our duty to register our protest and say that India when she is free will not have such highly paid services.

With regard to the food crisis Mahatma Gandhi plainly said that all this black-marketing and hoarding can be properly dealt with only by a Government that enjoys the confidence of the people. The present Government cannot do anything really useful. If they cannot is it not high time for them to ask us to take up the budgets before even the Secretary of State comes here? There is no need to wait for the Secretary of State at all. The black-marketing and hoarding will go on despite all that we hear from that side of the House and the food crisis will I am afraid remain as it is.

With your permission, Sir, I will read just half a dozen lines from an editorial in the famous '*Amrita Bazar Patrika*' which says that a distinguished member of the Parliamentary delegation which recently toured India:

"expressed the view that the British Government in India had so long been run mainly in the interests of the rich and on the sufferings and privations of the poor."

Here is an unbiassed Englishman who comes out and finds all this glory and luxury confined to the well-to-do. I hope this will be an eye-opener to our Honourable friends on the other side.

We understand that there is going to be an Indian army of occupation in Japan. I should like to know why? We do not believe in making enemies of people and we are not inimical to Japan; we had nothing to do with the war. Why should our forces be sent there and why should we be burdened with all that expenditure? This is what our great '*National Herald*' says:

"We strongly object to the Indian army of occupation in Japan not only because it throws an additional burden on our finances but also because politically and morally it is undesirable and unjustifiable."

I strongly object to Indian forces being sent outside our country and there is no reason why we should do this.

Then, Sir, I should like this new committee to inquire also into the zamindari system. I have the honour to represent this unfortunate class. I do not say all zamindars are good people, just as all Congress or League people are not. There are good zamindars and bad zamindars; and to say that the entire landlord system should be abolished overnight would, in my opinion, militate against the well-being of the country. If with the League and the scheduled castes and such other sectional interests of the country you are going to have zamindars in the same category, then good-bye to a united India. I am all for good legislation, legislation by which zamindars will be made to look after their properties and take more interest in their tenants and in the well-being of the poor, but to abolish them with one stroke of the pen would be suicidal. This system of zamindars has existed from time immemorial; it is not a creation of the British Government. And I should like to take this opportunity of saying a few words about it. It is said that during the budget debate one can talk on anything under the sun.

Mr. Deputy President: No, that is not so.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: I beg of you to give me a minute over this point. It has been said that these zamindaris are a British creation.

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member has just one minute more.

Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda: The zamindari system is not a British creation. In our *puranas* and other religious books we read of many kinds of rajahs and jagirdars, and so on; and it will not be for the good of the

[Maharajkumar Dr. Sir Vijaya Ananda]

country to abolish this system as is often threatened. I can assure you, Sir, that we zamindars are going to march with the times; we shall join the rest in the 'Quit India' cry. When this country gets freedom we can settle our household differences and put our house in order. But before we get that freedom if we are to have more divisions in this country and if we are going to jump at each other's throats, I do not think that will be conducive to the well-being of our mother Land.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the budget speech of the Honourable the Finance Member has given me my life's puzzle because it has dealt with many things but has not touched the real problem with which we are faced today more than ever before, namely, the major problem of food, cloth and health. As far as we understand, the budget is supposed to give a reflection of the Government's appreciation and assessment of the major problems of the day and how Government approach them. The Honourable Member delivered a closely printed and well-written speech of 27 pages which he read very well with occasional sips from the glass; but in his eminent humour and wisdom he has not been able to give more than a sentence and a half to this question of foodgrains and textiles, and he has not touched the question of health at all. Today at least the problem of India's food has assumed international importance; but how is it that the Finance Member could not devote a little time or pace to this question? On page 2 of his speech he has summarily disposed of the matter. He says:

"Outstanding examples are textiles and foodgrains. . . . I do not propose to deal with the foodgrains situation since that is only too well-known to the House."

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: I am not the Food Member nor the Member for Industries and Civil Supplies. There will be plenty of chance during the demands for grants.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: My grievance is that since we are in the midst of an unprecedented food crisis we expect Government to outline their policy. Even if the Finance Member has no time to devote to this subject we can at least be pardoned if we claim that we should be given some outline of Government's policy, the more so because different speeches of responsible members made from time to time are adding to the intriguing character of the situation. For instance, some weeks back the Food Member said that the shortage was to the tune of three million tons; but only the day before yesterday at a press conference over the week-end he stated that the shortage was six million tons. Let us know where we stand and where we are going. This sort of conflicting and varying statements only adds to the panic. At the same Conference it was said that no reports have yet been received of deaths due to starvation. It is not enough to say that. He could not say that any such suggestion was out of the question, nor could he say that all these things are being tackled in a way which will prevent such mortality. Sir we want an assurance from the Government that they will not allow a single man to die of starvation.

The Honourable the Food Secretary dealt with this matter a few weeks ago. He outlined the policy as a policy the basic plan of which was merely transport from one province to another, procurement and rationing. So far as that basic plan is concerned, namely transport from one province to another, I submit it only distributes starvation or the impact of starvation over the whole country. It does not touch the problem itself. So far as procurement and rationing is concerned, I am sure you will agree that these are only immediate questions, but they do not deal with the long range question of food supply so that people may not die of starvation. Procurement itself has dangers as we have seen in the past. The other day some Members from this side put a question regarding the wastage and destruction of food storage. The Honourable the Food Secretary avoided the issue by only saying that this was the concern of the Provincial

Governments. Food is the concern of the Central Government, food supply is the concern of the Central Government, and the Provincial Governments only act as their agents. It will not do to say that it is the concern of the Provincial Governments. As a matter of fact, we know—and I am speaking from my own experience in my province—that several thousand of tons of foodgrains were destroyed on account of imperfect storage arrangements. Are these things going to be repeated? Even today if we could scratch information from Midnapore and Khulna you will know that there even today food is stored in places which are giving offensive smell and you cannot go anywhere near those stores. If our food is so stored, I submit that the food position which is already bad enough will become worse.

Coming to the question of procurement from another point of view, if monopoly procurement is adopted by Government, the very first thing that the Government ought to see is that they should give fair price to the agriculturist. The Government only will purchase, nobody else will; there is no competition in the market; there is no free market. That cuts at the very root of the agriculturist's capacity to stand upon himself. There must be a fair and equitable price determined, and there must be a guarantee that this price is actually received by the agriculturist. From our experience we know that in the past even paper prices were not allowed to be availed of by the agriculturist on account of certain manipulations which were made by official and non-official agencies standing in between the Government and the agriculturists.

Coming to the question of ration, is it enough that ration should be adopted? It is said that it will solve the problem. But is it fair that there should be a further cut on the ration of people? Our agriculturist and labouring classes are already suffering from the effects of malnutrition. There must be some classification. People of the upper classes who can afford to have substitutes, who for example can take food in the form of fruits, eggs, meat, butter, and all that, are not hit so much if they have to undergo some cut because they can forego the ordinary standard cereals to some extent although not without much difficulty, but there is no question of the same standard of cut being made applicable to our lower classes and lower middle classes. They are already emaciated on account of malnutrition, and they cannot afford to get their rations cut any further.

What is more important is the question of long range policy of food products. What is going to be done by the Government in the matter of seeing that we get such quantity of output that we can have enough and to spare? There is the question of bringing under cultivation uncultivated lands. There are large tracts of lands which are now lying fallow. The Grow More Food campaign has not done anything. Mere scratching the surface of earth as a matter of propaganda will not solve the problem. We have to bring under cultivation large tracts of fallow lands which are either left for want of water or crops upon which are destroyed by floods. Is it not a tragedy that at the same time and near about the same place some part of the land refuses to grow on account of want of water whereas other parts of land with golden crops on their bosom are washed out. You have to deal with this problem more seriously than before. Petty doles to Provincial Governments for small irrigation works here and there are good patronage, but this is not the real treatment of the problem. The Government must have an all round planning of irrigation policy. It may be on the basis of five or ten years planning, and that must be the starting point and against that planning and against that programme the entire country must be made to travel. If these rivers and irrigations problems are tackled successfully, they will not only give us more food than we require, it will also serve what is known as multilateral purpose. It will give us hydro-electric power, it will give us better health, better sanitation, better river service as a means of communication and transport, and it will also give more employment.

There was a talk of river commission sometime ago. These commissions are in the paper; these commission are not doing anything. In our Congress

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Manifesto we have made it clear that we must have river commission so that we can undertake the task of rehabilitating land in order to provide irrigation, and ensure an even and continuous supply of water. That is the thing which we want to hear from Government in all humility. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will not give his usual reply that popular Government is knocking at the door and everything will be all right. This recent jugglery of phrase is a bit intriguing. My idea is that when they say that the popular Government is coming they are thinking in alternate terms. They are giving E. P. T. relief because in the event of popular Government being introduced they will line up with those persons who are commercial magnates and big financiers so that their trade and commercial interests may be safeguarded. Therefore they are giving relief to blackmarketeers so that they may give them their blessings. But so far as the poor people are concerned, they are not given anything. There is another way of calculation: They feel that if these negotiations which are coming up fail, there may be another movement. Therefore they think that the people must be kept stuck up in the mud of starvation so that they cannot get into a popular rising. I submit, Sir, that this is wrong. I hope the Government knows the I. N. A. spirit and the recent spirit that has grown out of it. The toleration of people has reached its last degree, and, Sir, when the hungry millions know that they have been tricked into it, their agitation will not only consume the last vestige of British power here, but it will make the worm in Great Britain turn in his grave. There is no use talking of this. I will only refer to one paragraph of the Honourable the Finance Member's speech where he has stated that we must solve these problems as problems of war. He said that they have conquered the war outside, but the war inside is there. These things have to be tackled as wartime measures.

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member has spoken for fourteen minutes.

Mr. Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal: The Honourable Member must make the Government go ahead in the spirit of war-time activity. They must bring more food to our people. They must arrange for more cotton cultivation so that we can have more cloth to protect ourselves against the weather. They must go into the question of the recommendations of the Bhore Committee which have been published today. Our mothers and children have been driven to the walls. We cannot talk of industry and commerce when they are dying. We do not mind deficits if our people still live. If they die then nobody can live. It is clear mockery to indulge in phrases which lead us neither to prosperity nor near to a solution of our problems.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): When I took it upon myself to speak on the budget, I found myself in the position in which the father of the ex-Premier of England, Mr. Churchill, found himself. He said after scrutinising the budget papers: "What are those damn dots"? I cannot claim any knowledge of finance or economics, yet I feel I should say something which, though it has been repeated in the House by many speakers, yet may bear repetition once again. Sir, an esteemed friend of mine during a budget debate on a previous occasion said about the then Finance Member that he was suffering from the inflation of his "Ego" and the deflation of his intelligence. After having very carefully read the Honourable the Finance Member's speech, I can honestly say that such diatribes cannot be hurled at him. His budget oration breathes of sincerity; and what little I have heard of him, and seen of him, has convinced me that he is out and out a gentleman, a sincere, honest gentleman, who wants to tackle those huge, complicated, knotty and difficult problems which this global war that has ended has left as an accursed legacy. According to his best lights, he has tried to make the best of a bad job. He has, though immersed in figures—a

dry business indeed—not lost that broad human sympathy which is seen in the opening sentences of his budget speech. All the same, Sir, as I said, it is a bad job that he had to tackle and perhaps he could not do it better, situated as he was. Under a free India, if we have him as our economic expert, perhaps he may be able to do much more than what he has been able to do in his present circumstances. Though he has tried to set at rest that financial equilibrium which has been violently shaken by the last Armageddon, yet I find that he has not succeeded and while paying my tribute to his sincerity of purpose I think I shall be failing in my duty if I do not indulge in a little plain speaking.

As a result of this war we find ourselves in a deplorable condition. This land of ours, which has been described by our poets as *sujalam suphalam malyaj-sheestam*, a land flowing with milk and honey, has been suffered immeasurable devastation. Our manhood has been stunted. Our finances have been shattered and we find ourselves in a quandary. In the words of the Finance Member, our industries, our machines have been worked almost to a breaking point. Now, Sir, this being the case, we have to take into consideration how is it that our country which had nothing to do with this war was yet dragged into it. It is not the time for me just now to say anything about those compelling circumstances which were responsible for getting our country dragged into this war. And yet, we cannot feel thinking that all this could have been avoided, if from the time of the end of the last war the British foreign policy had been worked on right lines. I think it was that policy which was responsible for bringing about this conflagration. From 1918 to 1939, we find the British foreign policy in a state of flux. The one desire at that moment, during those years, was somehow to do Russia in the eye, with the result that Germany was egged on to pursue that will-o-the-wisp of *Drang Nach Osten*. The supine policy of appeasement and of the consequential effects thereof ultimately set the world ablaze. Now, Sir, that was not of our seeking but that certainly came upon us all the same. The Congress' stand in this respect was very clear. We hated Fascism, we hated Nazism and we hated Jingoism of every sort. We were prepared to shoulder the responsibility of fighting for the common cause knowing as we did that our present masters were not capable of doing the job properly, and yet our offer of co-operation was thrown to the winds.

Sir Stafford Cripps came and so many talks followed and we found ourselves in the wildness at long last. Though the responsibility for this war, was not ours, yet we had to suffer all the same and the amount of suffering which our nation has undergone will be clear from those staggering astronomical figures which can be gleaned from the memorandum that has been supplied to us by the Honourable the Finance Member.

During the 7 pre-war years 1933-34 to 1939-40 if we add up the net revenue, we find that it amounts to 558.79 crores. I have purposely taken the year 1939-40 also in this group, because it gives me a group of 7 years and 1939-40 was a semi-war year. And if we look at the figures of the 7 war years, 1940-41 to 1946-47 we find that our revenue has increased to 1612.32 crores, which is nearly three times as much as the pre-war revenue. It means that our people were bled white, that our nation had to pay through her nose, that many of our nation-building activities had to be curtailed and that many of our people had to die of starvation. This is ultimately what it has meant. Look at the defence expenditure. The net defence expenditure during those 7 pre-war years 1933-34 to 1939-40 amounts to 322.26 crores; but during the 7 war years 1940-41 to 1946-47 it amounts to 1766.28 crores, which is 5 times more than the pre-war figure. This is not the end of the story. Our sterling holdings with the Reserve Bank of India have amounted to 1,677 crores and that reckless prodigality with which the Finance Department indulged in production of notes has resulted in sending into circulation notes worth 1200.19 crores up to the end of December 1945.

[Pandit Balkrishna Sharma]

When I take only the defence expenditure I find that there are many things as the Deputy Leader of my party has pointed out, which are not given. But there is one item which can give me and the House an idea of the nature of this defence expenditure. It is said that we shall have 10 R. I. A. F. squadrons in our country and 9 R. A. F. squadrons for our defence purposes. The cost of these 9 R. A. F. squadrons comes to Rs. 3,50,11,000, whereas the cost of the 10 R. I. A. F. squadrons comes to Rs. 1,34,13,000. This alone shows what a costly affair it is to have the foreign element in our army.

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member has spoken for 14 minutes.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma: Sir, my friend on my right will be good enough to forego 3 or 4 minutes of his own and therefore I hope you will kindly permit me to have a few more minutes.

Out of a total of Rs. 4,84,24,000, if we abolish altogether the luxury of having these 9 R. A. F. squadrons we can have 35 R. I. A. F. squadrons.

The Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands: You are wrong.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma: Our leader pointed out that a third world war is now in the offing. So far as India is concerned, we are not very anxious to fight with anybody and no one is anxious to fight with us. Russia is not our enemy. China is not our enemy.

An Honourable Member: Britain is not our enemy.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma: For thousands of years we had our frontiers unprotected on the North East side and we never feared an invasion from China. Russia with all her ideological fervour is certainly not an imperialist power as some friends try to make out. Of course for her own self-preservation she has to do something but that is not by way of imperialism. Therefore I say a third world war is in the offing and if the British Government think that they can drag us into that war also, all I can say is that they will not find us willing partners. Of course we want our borders to be protected but we want the Indianisation of our army also. The Honourable the War Secretary in his memorandum has said at one place that the Wilcox Committee was set up towards the end of 1944 to report on the size and composition of the army and the air force required in India after the demobilisation and he also said that till today that report has not been made. Perhaps it is in the War Department . . .

Mr. Deputy President: The Honourable Member is not allowed to read books here.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma: Perhaps, Sir, he (Sir Archibald Rowlands) might be consulting some books.

The Wilcox Committee has not reported even till today as to what the composition of our army is to be and what is to be its strength. That is the position in which we find ourselves. I will not touch upon many aspects of the budget because I think my Honourable friend will not permit me to take up any more of his time. I have many observations to make, but I can only say today that the budget as it has been presented, though it has been prepared with a sincerity of purpose, yet has failed to achieve the objective which the Honourable Sir Archibald Rowlands had before him.

Sri Jagannathdas (Balasore cum Sambalpur: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I do not like to go into the details of the budget as it has been covered by my friends before me. Neither am I going to criticise the Finance Member because I know that he cannot do what he wants. The momentum of the pendulum cannot be changed at once; and so I at once refer to the speech made by my friend Col.

Chatterjee there. He said that Delhi is full of waste paper—more so than any other city in the world. I think these waste papers must be made by the budget estimates of which our friend Sir Archibald Rowlands is an adept. I have heard our friend Sir Edward Benthall while introducing his railway budget that this was his last budget. So also our friend Sir Archibald Rowlands says that this is his first and last budget. Why should this be his last budget? Why should they be so much defeatist in their mentality? Why should they not frame many more budgets, but they must quit India as they are now our masters, but nobody denies them a place here as our servants, to suffer the squalor and disease and illiteracy; that is all

Prof. N. G. Ranga: They do not want to do that.

Sri Jagannathdas: Why should they not do it? They were strong enough to fight this war without money because they had that sincerity. I ask them to be sincere now and to be one of us like ourselves and fight this squalor and this disease and this illiteracy. The background of exploitation must be given up. We want them to quit India in that sense. They have given us literature, they have given us history and everything for which we praise them; but we hate them when they become our masters and exploit us. So in the budget that impression must be interpreted—they cannot give it up. Mahatma Gandhi says that when the National Government comes they can tackle this problem. successfully—the food problem. The food problem is a serious problem, though the Finance Member has mentioned little about it in his budget speech. The food problem is such that it is not very easy on the part of this Government, with their supply and control departments so elaborately organised, to tackle it. The control by these officers must go because by these control they fill their own pockets, because they are the direct employees of these exploiters and so they exploit as much as they can these poor people. We are very eager to supply food to whom? To those who produce the food, to those who produce these comforts. It is a paradox, it is a tragic paradox that those who produce the food do not get it. We are talking about the supply of food. They are nobody; they cannot ever get anything. We control, we sell, we hoard, we do everything to deprive them of their proper share. In this Food Department, statistics were laid on the table by Sir Jogendra Singh in 1943 and those statistics give us food for thought, though not for our stomachs. This statement which was placed in the Council of State on the 12th August gives an account of the average production of food-grains as well as the imports and exports thereof in the case of each major province in India, their respective position, as regards food supply every year. This will show how effective is our system, how we do not care for anything besides figures. We do not go into the real meaning of things. In the case of Assam the *per capita* production per year stands at 4.89 maunds as against a *per capita* consumption of 4.6 maunds. In Bengal it is 4.14 maunds and 4.15 maunds respectively. The corresponding figures in Bihar are 4.26 maunds of production and 4.42 maunds of consumption. In Bombay the figures are 4.87 as against a consumption of 5.28. The C. P. produces 7.39 maunds per head per year the consumption being 6.33 maunds. In Madras the figures for production are 4.46 maunds and 4.92 maunds for consumption respectively. In N.-W. F. P. the production is 5.47 maunds against a consumption 5.51 maunds. In the case of my own poor province, Orissa, the production per head is 5.45 maunds where as her consumption per head stands at the very low figure of 3.61 maunds. In the Punjab the corresponding figures are 5.95 maunds and 4.85 maunds respectively. Sind has a *per capita* production of 7.94 maunds and a consumption figure of 5.71 maunds. In the United Provinces the figures are, production 5.06 maunds and consumption 5 maunds.

The figures of consumption worked out per adult male unit per day stand as follows (in ounces): Assam 22.1 ounces, Bengal 20 ounces, Bihar 21.2.

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

Sri Jagannathdas: I shall finish. My friend took a few minutes more; I shall take only a few minutes. Bombay 25·3 ounces, C. P. 30·4 ounces, Madras 24 ounces, N.-W.F.P. 26·5 ounces, Orissa, 17·3 ounces, Punjab 23·8 ounces, Sind 27·5 ounces, and U. P. 24 ounces. From these statistics it appears that judged by standards of consumption, as compared with production, Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Madras are deficit areas. The deficit in N.-W. F. P. being almost negligible. Of the remaining five provinces Orissa produced the largest surplus per head of population by imposing a very miserable standard of consumption upon her own population. The C. P. come next in point of surplus and it is remarkable that the standard of consumption in the case of C. P. is also the highest of all the provinces in India. The above figures indicate the varying degrees of urgency of the examination of the food problem in each province, from the point of view of attainment of self-sufficiency and improvement in the standard of consumption. From these figures it appears that we care very little for our food problem. We have got our departments, we have got our agricultural institutes, and research institutes and everything. But what do they produce except figures? As you, Sir, said this morning that more pay will attract those who bring better brains in to the service for better work. But what can better brains do when they are faced with a stone wall? The stone wall must be broken first. I ask Sir Archibald Rowlands to be one of us to break the wall of exploitation first and then be with us in framing as many budgets as may be necessary for future Independent India.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 5th March, 1946.