

Wednesday, 15th March, 1944

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

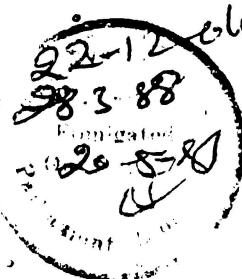
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(15th February to 6th April, 1944)

SIXTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1944



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COUNCIL OF STATE

Wednesday, 15th March, 1944

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

SUPPLY OF FOODGRAINS TO TROOPS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN INDIA.

147. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: With reference to my question No. 115 of the 20th November last, will Government now kindly state the result of their representation that the United Nations should feed their own armies in India, and thereby release sufficient stocks of foodgrains for the civil population in this country?

THE HONOURABLE MR. B. R. SEN: The quantity of foodgrains imported into India in the last four months already exceeds the total annual requirements of United Nation's troops, other than Indian troops, in this country.

PRODUCTION OF TEXTILE MILLS.

148. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government lay on the table a Statement of the production of Textile Mills in the last three calendar years or cotton years or financial years, giving figures in yards of Cotton Cloth and pounds of yarn?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: I lay on the table a statement showing the production of cotton cloth and yarn by Indian textile mills in each of the calendar years 1941, 1942 and 1943.

Statement showing the production of cotton cloth and yarn by Indian textile mills in each of the calendar years 1941, 1942 and 1943.

	1941	1942	1943
A. Cotton cloth (in millions of yards)	4,530.8	4,013.85	4,755.24
B. Yarn (in millions of pounds)	1,637.65	1,513.50	1,666.44

DISABILITIES, ETC., AFFECTING INDIANS IN THE U. S. A.

149. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government state the disabilities and restrictions affecting Indians in U. S. A. and the steps taken to remedy them?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: A note on the disabilities and restrictions experienced by Indians in the United States of America is placed on the table of the House. As regards the second part of his question, the Honourable Member is referred to the reply given on the 21st February, 1944, to his question No. 57.

Note regarding disabilities experienced by Indians in the United States of America

The United States of America, Immigration Act of 1924, places restrictions on aliens going to that country. The following are the principal restrictions placed on the entry of Indians into the United States of America:—

(1) Indians legally admitted to the United States for permanent residence prior to the date on which the United States of America, Immigration Act of 1917 became operative (i.e., 1st May 1917) and who have retained a permanent domicile in the United States, are allowed to depart temporarily for a limited period but are required to obtain a re-entry permit.

(2) Indians admitted to the United States subsequent to 1st May, 1917, as belonging to one of the exempt classes mentioned in Section (3) of the 1917 Act and who have maintained their exempt status, are allowed to depart temporarily for a limited period and are re-admitted under one of the exempt categories on a re-entry permit.

(3) Indians have been declared ineligible for citizenship and cannot be admitted to the United States of America under the United States of America Immigration Act of 1924, unless they come within one of the following exempted categories:—

(a) Non-immigrants, i.e.—

(i) Government officials, their families, attendants, servants and employees.

(ii) Tourist or temporary visitor for business or pleasure.

Note.—Questions in the name of the Hon. Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh were put by the Hon. Mr. V. V. Kalikar.

- (iii) One continuously transiting the United States of America.
- (iv) One lawfully admitted to the United States who later goes in transit from one point of the United States to another, through foreign contiguous country.
- (v) *Bona fide* alien seaman temporarily entering the United States solely in pursuit of his calling as a seaman.
- (vi) One entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under, and in pursuance of, existing treaty of commerce and navigation.
- (b) *Non-quota immigrants*, namely :—
 - (i) An immigrant previously lawfully admitted into the United States, who is returning from a temporary visit abroad.
 - (ii) An immigrant who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of his application for admission into the United States has been, and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of carrying on the vocation of, minister of any religious denomination, or professor of a college, academy, seminary, or university; and his wife, and his unmarried children under 18 years of age, if accompanying or following to join him.
 - (iii) An immigrant who is a *bona fide* student at least, 15 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labour.
- (4) Category (vi) mentioned in paragraph 3(a) above does not apply in practice to Indian traders, as there is at present no such treaty between India and the United States of America.
- (5) Visas are in practice granted for a period of six months only to Indians entering the United States, and although renewals are granted without difficulty, Indians engaged in business are not permitted to remain indefinitely in the United States of America.
- (6) An immigration quota of 100 per annum was originally fixed for the entry of Indians into the United States of America, but Indians having been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States of America to be ineligible to citizenship, are now not entitled to any quota.

JAPANESE TREATMENT OF INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR, AND CIVILIAN INTERNEES.

150. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government make a statement regarding Japanese treatment of Indian prisoners of war and civilian internees ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOÓN: Government have nothing to add to the communiqué already issued to the Press on January 28, 1944.

MR. FRANK PARR, MR. E. D. McCALLUM AND MR. P. C. YOUNG.

151. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Is it a fact that Mr. Frank Parr, Mr. E. D. McCallum and Mr. P. C. Young have been appointed to the posts of Steel Commissioner, his assistant and Coal Commissioner, respectively ?

(b) Is it a fact that these gentlemen were closely associated with the British and American industries ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: (a) Yes.

(b) In regard to Messrs. Frank Parr and E. D. McCallum the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by the Honourable the Defence Member on the 16th February, 1944 to question No. 21 by the Honourable Mr. Kumar Sankar Ray Chaudhury. The answer to the question is in the negative so far as Mr. Young is concerned.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: To what post has he been appointed then?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Coal Commissioner.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU. Why were only Europeans chosen for these posts? Did Government make the slightest effort to find suitable Indians for them ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: That part of the question, so far as the first two gentlemen are concerned, is answered in the reply of the Honourable the Defence Member to which I have referred. So far as the Coal Commissioner is concerned, it was considered necessary to have certain qualifications, which were not available in India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: What were those qualifications?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Primarily, the experience of production and experience of distribution under war conditions.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Where did he get this experience?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Member is not to cross-examine. This is cross-examination, not asking supplementary questions.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is ignorance of Indian conditions a recommendation?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: That is an argument.

SALE OF GOLD BY THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA.

152. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: (a) Is it a fact that gold is being sold by foreign governments through the Reserve Bank of India to the public?

(b) Is there any other country in which Allied Governments sell gold to the public at such a high price as £14 per ounce against the exchange parity of £8 8s., the London price?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: (a) Yes. The Reserve Bank of India is selling gold on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America.

(b) Wherever allied Governments are selling gold it is sold at the local market rates. Such information as is available to Government indicates that the market rates in India are lower than in any of the countries in which gold is at present being sold on behalf of any allied Government.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Can the Honourable Member indicate what proportion is being sold by H. M. G. and what by the U. S. A.?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: I am afraid I am not prepared to answer any question which indirectly leads to a disclosure of the amounts of gold that are being sold.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: For what reason?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: The public interest.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: How is it prejudicial?

(No answer.)

PURCHASE OF LINSEED BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

153. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state whether there is still an agreement with His Majesty's Government for the purchase of linseed? Has the former price of £12-10-0 per ton fixed in 1940-41 been increased, if not what steps have Government taken or propose to take to get a favourable price to Indian agriculturists in view of the general rise in prices in India?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. The Ministry of Food are now paying market prices which are much higher than the minimum price fixed for purchases during the season 1940-41. The last portion of the question does not arise.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Could the Honourable Member give an indication of the average price paid?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: I cannot quote the exact figure prevailing today, but I think it is in the neighbourhood of £20 per ton.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is this purchase made by the Supply Department?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: No.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Or the U. K. C. C.?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: Not by the U. K. C. C.

DISPOSAL OF BROAD GAUGE LOCOMOTIVES IMPORTED FROM THE U. S. A.

154. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state in detail the disposal of broad gauge railway engines imported from America, and how many have been allotted to each railway for (i) goods, and (ii) passenger traffic?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: No passenger type engines are being imported from America.

The distribution of goods engines is arranged to meet the traffic conditions obtaining at the time of delivery.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Have all the engines imported been assembled, or are they still lying unassembled?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Some have been assembled, and some are being assembled.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: How many American engines have been imported up till now?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I have not got the figures for American engines separately, but I gather that there are about 40 engines which have been imported within recent months.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Broad gauge?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Yes.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: And metre gauge?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I must ask for notice of the question, Sir.

IMPORT OF STEEL COMPONENTS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF RAILWAY WAGONS.

155. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state the steps taken to import steel materials for railway wagons and passenger carriages from U. S. A. and U. K. and when they expect deliveries?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: (a) In consultation with the Supply Department orders have been placed in U. S. A. and in the U. K. for steel components to supplement the indigenous capacity for the manufacture of such components and augment the outturn of railway wagons. Deliveries are now being made and will, it is hoped, continue on the scale necessary to ensure a maximum output of wagons.

(b) Steel material for passenger carriages is not being imported.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will the Honourable Member indicate what is the maximum number of wagons which they are going to produce?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Speaking from memory, the production will be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 700 wagons a month by the end of this year. At the present time, I think it is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 200.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Does it include both metre gauge and broad gauge, or only broad gauge?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I must ask for notice, Sir.

COAL RATIONING SCHEME.

156. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: (a) Will Government give the full details of the scheme to send coal by ships to Madras and Bombay?

(b) Why is Karachi not included in this scheme?

(c) What would be the saving in ton miles by this scheme?

(d) Is any arrangement for carrying miscellaneous goods by ships contemplated?

(e) Is it a fact that miscellaneous goods in full wagon loads are now responsible for nearly 60 per cent. of goods traffic (loadings) and all the coal and coke for less than 20 per cent?

(f) What will be the percentage of coal transported by ships?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: (a) and (b). The coal rationing scheme, to which presumably the Honourable Member is referring, is based on an average daily wagon supply of 2,700 wagons in the Bengal and Bihar coalfields. In order to achieve this target it is necessary for 268,000 tons of coal to be moved into the Calcutta Docks. Out of this, in addition to bunkers previously carried by sea, 60,000 tons are for Madras, 30,000 tons for Bombay and 15,000 tons for Karachi.

(c) The saving of rail transport under this scheme is approximately 112 million ton miles a month.

(d) Yes. Arrangements have been made and are in full operation for the co-ordinated employment of ships on the Indian Register as well as those controlled by H.M.G. plying round the coast for the carriage, in priority, of cargo

required for the efficient prosecution of the war and for the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the life of the community. Miscellaneous goods can be carried in coal ships returning to Calcutta.

(e) During the year 1943-44, the loading of wagons classed as "Miscellaneous full wagons" has averaged about 50 per cent. (and not 60 per cent. as stated by the Honourable Member), the loading of coal and coke averaging about 18 per cent. of the total loadings. The net "Ton miles" of coal in the first six months of the year 1943-44, however, represented 39 per cent. of the total broad and metre gauge ton miles which is about the level of the past few years.

(f) About 5 per cent.

STOCKS OF COAL HELD AT GAYA, ETC., BY THE E. I. R.

157. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state the average stocks and the stocks on 31st January, 1944 of loco coal at the following East Indian Railway junctions: Gaya, Moghalsarai, Cawnpore, Lucknow and Tundla?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I lay on the table a statement of the information which is available.

Statement.

The stocks of coal held by the East Indian Railway were as under:

	North of Moghalsarai.	Moghalsarai & South thereof.
Average stocks during January	15,863 Tons	24,416 Tons.
Stocks on 31st January	12,558 "	18,739 "

Government do not maintain detailed information as to the stocks held at the individual stations detailed.

NUMBER OF COAL MINERS EMPLOYED IN THE COALFIELDS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR.

158. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state the number of coal miners working in Bengal and Bihar coalfields and stocks at pitshead at the end of each quarter of 1943?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR: It is not in the public interest to disclose these figures.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is there any substantial increase or decrease in the number?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR: Again I must decline in the public interest.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Does the Honourable Member object to stating the quantity of coal at the pitshead or even to stating the number of men engaged in the Bihar and Bengal coalfields?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR: I have already said, Sir.—

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Both?

THE HONOURABLE MR. H. C. PRIOR: Both, in respect of different dates.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will the Honourable Member give the latest figures that are available?

(No answer.)

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: If he cannot answer, what is the use of pursuing the question?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: He cannot give the proportion for different dates. He is prepared to give the information for any definite date.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He is holding his seat; so he is not prepared to answer.

PURCHASE OF A STEAM POWER PLANT FROM THE U. S. A.

159. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state whether it is a fact that—

(a) a Provincial Government was informed that an electric generating set (second hand) can be had from America at less than a hundred thousand rupees;

(b) the same set has been bought or agreement for purchase been entered for about Rs. 7,00,000?

Who was responsible for this high price being paid and what are the full facts ?
 THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON (on behalf of Supply Department): (a) A Provincial Government was informed that a second hand American steam power plant could be made available at a cost estimated not greatly to exceed Rs. 1 lakh.

(b) No. The plant as it stood in America was bought for 20,000 dollars. It required dismantling, re-conditioning and re-winding of turbo-generators before being suitable for use in India. The heavy charges in this connection, and in the cost of freight, are under reference to the India Supply Mission. It cannot, therefore, be said what the final purchase terms will be, but in any case they do not approach the figure of Rs. 7 lakhs mentioned.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Could the Honourable Member give us some approximate figure of the landed cost?

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: Here are some figures which may interest the Honourable Member:—

	Dollars.
Purchase price	20,000
Dismantling charges	28,900
Insurance	375
Repairs	351
Inland freight	6,462.82
Transportation tax	193.89
Reconditioning and rewinding of turbo-generators	17,308
Beyster Engineering and travelling expense	9,897.42
Marine freight	37,648.32
 Total	 121,136.45

But these are only rough estimates and they are still under negotiation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Is it about Rs. 6 lakhs rather than Rs. 7 lakhs?

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: Well, I do not know the exact exchange. But roughly 121,000 dollars means three and a third times 121,000 rupees. It would not be anywhere like Rs. 6 lakhs. It is very difficult to say exactly what will be the cost. Everything is under negotiation.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Is not the dismantling charge very exorbitant? For a machine costing 20,000 dollars the dismantling charge is 28,000 dollars.

THE HONOURABLE SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON: The figures that I have mentioned were the ones reported to us from America. But I have told you that these matters are under negotiation.

CONTROL AND DIRECTION BY AMERICANS OF TRAFFIC OPERATIONS ON CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE B. & A. R.

160. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is it a fact that the working of the Bengal and Assam Railway has been handed over to the American authorities? If so, on what terms?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Traffic operation on certain sections of the B. & A. R. will be handed over for control and direction by the Americans who will employ a number of their own army railway personnel. The General Manager of the Railway will, however, continue to exercise general control.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Who will pay the cost of the military personnel employed on this Railway?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: The Americans, so far as I am aware.

LENIN'S BOOK *The Revolution of 1905*.

161. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government state if they have proscribed the book entitled *The Revolution of 1905* by V. I. Lenin published by Lawrence and Wishart, London, or any reprint or translation or extract therefrom? If so, why?

THE HONOURABLE MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH: Yes—because the book contains instructions in the tactics of violent revolution.

UNBRA.

162. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Have Government any information to indicate that Indians born or permanently resident in Burma and the Far East, who have sought refuge in India as a result of the war, are entitled to receive help of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association on their return home in the liberated territories after the end of the war? If so, what are the conditions, if any, and the measure of help to which such Indians will be entitled?

THE HONOURABLE MR. N. R. PILLAI: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given by me on the 18th February, 1944, to part (a) of question No. 29, and to the documents referred to therein, copies of which have already been placed on the table.

TERMS ON WHICH THE U. S. A., ETC., ARE MAKING PAYMENTS FOR RUPEE DISBURSEMENTS.

163. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state the terms on which U. S. A. and U. K. are making payments for their Rupee disbursements in India?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: I presume the Honourable Member wishes to know how the U.S.A. Government and His Majesty's Government obtain the rupees necessary to meet their disbursements in India. The U.S. Government obtain rupees partly by selling gold in India through the agency of the Reserve Bank of India and partly by selling dollars to the Reserve and Imperial Banks. Purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government are paid for partly from the proceeds of sales of gold in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and partly in sterling.

PAYMENT BY THE U. S. A., ETC., TO IRAN IN GOLD.

164. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Are Government aware that the U. S. S. R., U. K. and U. S. A. Governments have agreed to pay for 60 per cent. of their requirements in Iran in gold? Have the Government of India tried to secure similar terms from His Majesty's Government and U. S. A.? If not, why not?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: Government have no information on the matter raised in the first part of the question.

The answer to the second part of the question is in the negative.

As regards the last part of the question, the U.S. Government are already defraying such expenditure as they have to meet in this country from the proceeds of sales of gold and dollars through the Reserve Bank of India. Part of the expenditure on behalf of His Majesty's Government in this country is likewise met from the proceeds of sales of gold belonging to His Majesty's Government. It would, however, have been unreasonable to demand that 60 per cent of that expenditure should be met in gold. In the first place, His Majesty's Government had already early in the war mobilised their gold stocks for the purchase from outside the sterling area of goods essential to the prosecution of the war. Secondly India, unlike Iran, lies within the sterling area and, lastly the magnitude of His Majesty's Government's expenditure in this country is of a different order altogether from their expenditure in Iran.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Will Government make inquiries regarding the payment in gold to Iran and then place that information before the House?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: That, Sir, is a matter entirely outside the purview of the Government of India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will the Honourable Member state the proportion of payment made by U.S.A. in gold and in dollars?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: No, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Why does not the Reserve Bank indicate their dollar resources in their weekly statement?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: I suggest that the Honourable Member addresses this inquiry to the Reserve Bank of India.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Is the Reserve Bank authorised to hold foreign exchange other than sterling?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: The Honourable Member is aware of the working of the sterling area group.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Does the Reserve Bank of India refrain from giving figures with regard to its dollar holdings under instructions from the Government of India?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: No Sir.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Would we be correct in understanding that all the dollar resources placed in the hands of the Reserve Bank are remitted to His Majesty's Government and we take sterling in exchange thereof?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: By and large that is the working of the sterling area system but there would naturally be a time lag in which the Reserve Bank will be holding a working balance of dollars and exchange.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Have Government received any information from the Reserve Bank as to its dollar holdings?

THE HONOURABLE MR. C. E. JONES: Its dollar holdings from time to time are not communicated to the Government of India. As I say, they would be no more than just a small working balance.

CREATION OF THE POST OF DIRECTOR OF TELEGRAPHS, BIHAR AND ORISSA CIRCLE.

165. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Will Government state why the post of the Director of Telegraphs has been newly created in the Bihar and Orissa Circle in these days of financial stringency?

(b) Do Government propose to abolish this post?

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: (a) The post was created on a temporary basis for a period of one year from May, 1943, in order to provide in a most important area the additional technical supervision and control which had become necessary due to greatly increased traffic and constructional work.

(b) The further retention of the post is under consideration.

ANTI-SUBMARINE SCHOOL.

166. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Is it a fact that "somewhere in India" a well equipped anti-submarine school, called the H. M. I. S. "Machlimar" was opened by the Royal Indian Navy about a year back; and hundreds of officers and men of the R. I. N. have already qualified in anti-submarine warfare in this institution and have proceeded to sea to join in the defence of India's sea routes and shipping?

(b) What is the proportion of Indians to other nationalities in this institution, who have received training and are under training in this most advanced course of sea warfare?

HIS EXCELLENCE THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Up to the 15th of January, 1944, the approximate proportion of Indians to non-Indians was:—

Officers	:	:	:	:	:	:	2 to 1
Ratings (that is other ranks)	:	:	:	:	:	:	22 to 1

CONSTRUCTION OF A ROAD FROM EAST PERSIA TO INDIA.

167. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government make a statement with regard to the construction and total cost to India of a broad motor highway over 600 miles from India by the East Persia route along which about 1,000 lorries with military supplies from India are rolling into Russia?

HIS EXCELLENCE THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: A road, which is presumably the one referred to, runs from India to East Persia. This road has been constructed and is being maintained by His Majesty's Government and has cost India nothing.

MOLESTATION OF WOMEN BY MILITARY PERSONNEL.

168. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government state: (a) whether they have received any report of molestation of women by

certain members of the armed forces near Adyar (Madras), (b) the facts of the case and (c) action taken in this connection ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) Yes, Sir, an incident has been reported, but it has not yet been established that the culprits were military personnel.

(b) and (c). The matter is under investigation by a Court of Enquiry.

COMMUNAL RATIO IN THE MILITARY ENGINEERING SERVICES.

169. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Will Government state the communal composition of M. E. S., giving separately the figures of gazetted officers upper subordinates, lower subordinates and menials at the close of each of the last three years and whether the communal ratio is applicable to these services ? If not, when and by what order of the Home Department these services were so exempted and why ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: As regards the first part of the question, the information is not available here, and the time and labour involved in collecting it from units and formations would not be justifiable in war-time. The communal ratio is applicable to the Military Engineer Services.

SLAUGHTER OF CATTLE IN BENGAL FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

170. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an agreed Resolution passed unanimously by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on or about the 4th February ?

"This Assembly is of the opinion that in view of the importance of cattle for all agricultural purposes and of milch cows for health, and in view of rapid decimation of cattle due to indiscriminate slaughter for abnormal food supply for military purposes, a representation be made by the Government of Bengal to the Government of India to stop the purchase of cattle in Bengal for the military."

Have Government received any representation on the subject as indicated above and, if so, what steps have been taken or are proposed to be taken to stop the purchase of cattle in Bengal for the military ?

(b) Are Government aware that a situation more or less similar to that which exists in Bengal due to the slaughter of cattle for military purposes, prevails in Bihar, United Provinces and other provinces also ? Are Government prepared to stop the purchase of cattle for the military, and arrange for the import of cattle, or cattle meat from other countries whose armies are stationed in India ? If not, why not ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: (a) Yes, Sir, Government have seen the text of the resolution, but have received no representation from the Government of Bengal.

(b) As regards the first part of the question, Government are not aware of any serious shortage of cattle due to the slaughter of cattle for military purposes in the provinces named. I may add that the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar have issued notifications under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting the slaughter of certain categories of cattle, whether for civilian or army consumption.

As regards the latter part, plans have been made for the importation of frozen meat from abroad for troops in India and importation will commence as soon as cold storage facilities have been installed. This is expected to result in some reduction of the amount of indigenous meat required for the armed forces.

COST OF PRINTING THE *Seac*.

171. THE HONOURABLE RAJA YUVERAJ DUTTA SINGH: Will Government state whether any part of the cost of printing and publishing the daily paper *Seac* for troops in Calcutta will fall on Indian revenues ?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: No, Sir; the cost is borne entirely by His Majesty's Government.

STANDING COMMITTEE FOR THE CIVIL DEFENCE BRANCH OF THE DEFENCE DEPARTMENT.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: With reference to the announcement made by me on the 18th March, 1944, regarding nominations for election to the

[Mr. President.]

Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Civil Defence Branch of the Defence Department is concerned, I have to inform the House that the Honourable Raja Charanjit Singh, has since withdrawn his candidature. As there now remain the following three candidates for three seats, I declare them duly elected.

1. The Honourable Mr. Khurshid Ali Khan.
2. The Honourable Mr. Chidambaran Chettiar.
3. The Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Singh.

RESOLUTION RE MANUFACTURE OF BROAD GAUGE LOCOMOTIVES
—contd.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: We will now proceed with the further discussion on the following Resolution moved by the Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to manufacture broad gauge locomotives in India."

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces: General): Sir, this question was debated so many times in the Central Legislature during the last 12 years and I find complete unanimity in India on this problem amongst non-officials of all groups, of all shades of opinion. But I find, Sir, that the Government is persistently resisting the public demand for manufacturing locomotives in India. I moved a similar Resolution in this August House in 1939, in the Simla session and then I was asked by the then Chief Commissioner for Railways to wait for some time as an expert Committee had been appointed and the Committee was going to make a report soon. The then Chief Commissioner of Railways, Sir Guthrie Russell, said in his reply to my Resolution that the demand for manufacturing locomotives in India will be favourably considered by the Government after the report is published. He then stated that the railways were experiencing some difficulty about some raw material but at that time he stated that he would be able to get the raw material in India within two years' time. I am quoting his words. He said:—

"I understand, however, that within two years it will be possible to obtain acid steel in India for boiler plates, and it will be possible to obtain acid steel for wheels and axles, and that wheels and axles will actually be manufactured in India. I have great hopes of being able to take up the question of boiler tubes also. The difficulty there is this. The quantity required is small and it will be difficult for any factory to set up which could live on our requirements. But I believe even that will come in the future".

After this statement the expert Committee published a report and they decided that locomotives could be manufactured in India at a cheaper cost, that raw material was available in India and that skilled and unskilled labour was also available for manufacture of locomotives in India.

We know, Sir, that locomotives were manufactured in India as long ago as 1885. I find from page 1 of the Humphreys-Srinivasan Report that from 1885 to 1923 broad gauge locomotives were manufactured in India and their number was 214. So this demand is not a new demand. It is for the revival of an old industry. The Government of India issued a communiqué at the end of the last war in 1921 and they stated in their communiqué that they wanted to make Indian Railways self-sufficient in this matter. We know, Sir, that after that the Peninsular Locomotive Company was started and that that Company was abolished within a very short time and the shops erected by this Company at Jamshedpur were used for other purposes.

Sir, to me it appears that either the Government of India is over anxious about the vested interests of foreign countries or that the Government of India is dominated by Whitehall and therefore they do not bring about the manufacture of locomotives in India. As I stated, Sir, this demand has been going on for a very long time. The then Railway Member, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, stated in reply to a debate in the Assembly that it would cost more to manufacture locomotives in India. Then another point was made and that was that the raw material was not available and then, Sir, it was also stated that the requirements of the Indian Railways were not such as to start a

factory in India which would produce locomotives at a cheaper cost. All these allegations, all these statements, have been very carefully examined by the Humphries-Srinivasan Committee and they have come to the decision that locomotives can be manufactured in India at cheaper cost. They say that for manufacturing a broad gauge locomotive in India you will have to pay £s. 98,000. This is a statement made by them on page 46 of their Report. The locomotives that we purchased in 1940-41 cost us Rs. 1,86,882. This is not a statement of a politician or an industrialist but it is a statement made by an expert Committee. So, Sir, the ground or the point that was made out in past debates—that we would have to pay more for manufacturing locomotives in India—falls to the ground. We know, Sir, that this question was also referred to the Tariff Board and the Tariff Board decided that on economic and national grounds the industry ought to be started and started soon. I know that the Tariff Board refused to give protection to that industry because at that time under the Inchcape Committee's Report the old stock was utilized and the Indian Railways did not require a large number of locomotives. But, then, Sir, all those questions have been very thoroughly examined by this expert Committee and the expert Committee have come to the decision that the requirements of Indian Railways, or rather their annual average requirements, are 162 broad gauge locomotives. So we require according to their estimate 162 locomotives per year and according to their calculations we can produce locomotives cheaper than the cost which we are required to pay for importing them from outside. We have skilled and unskilled labour available in India and we have got raw material also for manufacturing the locomotives. I know, Sir, that it may be said on behalf of the Government that we have to import some raw material, as the Committee has stated, for some time but they say:—

"The following items will have to be imported for some years in any case though there are distinct possibilities of their being eventually manufactured in India:—

Copper plates for boilers,

Copper rods for boilers,

Copper pipes for boilers,"

and so on.

Now, Sir, the question is whether we can start manufacturing locomotives in India in one of our workshops. The expert Committee has stated in its Report that at Kanchrapara we can manufacture locomotives, and produce locomotives of the best type at a cheaper cost. So then there can be no objection to start manufacture of locomotives in India.

Now, Sir, the question is about the war—whether we can get plant and machinery for manufacturing locomotives in India and on that question, Sir, if we refer to page 54 of the report we find that the Committee has decided that we can get plant and machinery provided the Supply and War Transport Departments take into their heads to expedite and give priority for importing machinery and plant for this very purpose. On this point, when there is complete unanimity of opinion on the part of experts as well as non-experts, I myself cannot understand why the Government has been persistently resisting this demand for the last so many years. We know, Sir, to what great annoyance the public in India is put for want of locomotives. We know that many of our locomotives have been transferred to the Middle East and other theatres of war. If this factory had been started two or three years ago, as stated in this Resolution, we would have had sufficient locomotives at our disposal and the annoyance that is caused to the travelling public would have been mitigated. The Government has ignored the insistent demand of the public, and also has not in any way taken into consideration the annoyance and inconvenience caused to the travelling public in India. I think, Sir, the debate on this Resolution is quite useless unless the Government take some action in this matter. I have great pleasure in supporting this Resolution, and I hope even now, when the Government, according to the reply given by them day before yesterday to my Honourable friend Mr. Kumarsankar Ray Chaudhury's question, require about 545 broad gauge locomotives, they will start manufacturing locomotives at

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

Kanchrapara. I hope they will expedite the matter so that at least the travelling public will have the satisfaction of having some broad gauge locomotives placed on the line for removing the inconvenience that is being caused to them.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, the Resolution recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to manufacture broad gauge locomotives in India. The expert Committee has already recommended that broad gauge engines can be manufactured in India, also that boilers and necessary component parts can be got in India. That Committee was appointed by the Railway Board, and the Railway Board accepted its recommendations. There is no dispute between the Government and ourselves on the necessity of manufacturing broad gauge engines. There is, however, a time-limit. The Railway authorities want to take their own time and do things leisurely, or as it suits them best. But in the meanwhile war has come and an emergency has arisen, and the result of it is that they have to indent large numbers of engines from the United States—not only large numbers of locomotives, but also the boilers and the necessary accessories. This is because a large number of the existing engines had to be sent over somewhere else for war purposes, and the supply in India is depleted to a great extent by this transfer to the Middle East. It is said that those locomotives are being returned to India. But we can easily understand in what condition they will be returned.

But the point is this. It has been accepted that the Kanchrapara Workshop could be so altered as to make it suitable for manufacture of broad gauge engines and also of the accessories that are required for steam engines. Having accepted that proposition, Government ought to proceed with it immediately. What is it that prevents Government from proceeding with it immediately?

THE HONOURABLE MR. R. H. PARKER: Nothing but the war.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Yes; nothing but the war, says my Honourable friend. But, then, Government have actually undertaken to manufacture a certain number of narrow gauge engines. If narrow gauge engines could be manufactured, the same materials could be utilized for the manufacture of broad gauge engines. Therefore, the war does not come in the way. On the other hand, the war should give a stimulus for manufacturing these engines at Kanchrapara. It seems a tragedy that so many engines should be imported and that Indian manufacture should be neglected. Indian manufacture has been neglected thoroughly. They do not care whether local material is available or not; all that they want is importation from the United Kingdom or from the United States. They do not take the trouble to manufacture them in India where there is necessary material available for such manufacture.

It may be said that to build a new factory for the purpose will take many years. But we have got a completely equipped factory at Kanchrapara. In fact, the manufacture of locomotives there could commence immediately, and need not be held up for want of materials or of experts. It seems to me a tragedy that the Government, even at this time when there is an emergency, should neglect Indian manufacture and prefer importation. What is the number that they would import? About 500 locomotives. And what is the kind of engine they will get? The life of a steam engine is said to be 30 years. But are these engines which are imported guaranteed to last 30 years? No. They cannot last so long, because they have been constructed in such a hurry. Then what will be the condition of these engines at the end of the war, or at the end of five years? The engines will simply be thrown out as so much useless material. The cost of manufacturing a locomotive in India is said to be Rs. 90,000. The locomotives that we get from outside cost us 20 per cent. more, even if we take the ordinary price of materials. We can manufacture here at 20 per cent. less cost. The materials are also available in India. Then what is there to prevent their manufacture at Kanchrapara? My friend says the war is going on. But the war should give a stimulus to the manufacture

in the quickest way possible. Therefore, there is absolutely no ground whatever for saying that war is standing in the way of manufacturing things here. Both the Honourable the War Transport Member and the Honourable the Chief Commissioner for Railways, in their speeches have unequivocally indicated that manufacture is to begin in India and that they are, as an urgent measure, importing now 200 engines, because we have given away our engines to the Middle East and we have to replace them. We accept war necessity. But why not begin work in India itself? Why waste so much time? Begin work at Kanchrapara. Do not waste time. I am sure the Honourable Sir Satyendra Nath Roy will accept this Resolution whole-heartedly and that a beginning will be made for the manufacture of engines in India. The Honourable the War Transport Member has said that it is only as an urgent war measure that they are importing some engines but that otherwise the Kanchrapara Workshop is suited to the manufacture of best engines, and when these engines will cost 20 per cent. less, why should we go and import these engines at all?

*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Mr. President, there is a common ground between this side and the Government on this question. They have accepted our demand in principle, but what we want is that their acceptance should be translated into action and I hope that even this Government will wake up to the conditions of the world. To plead that it is impossible to have the manufacturing machinery imported really begs the question. We have seen how America, in almost the twinkling of the eye, has changed over all its plants and from manufacturing automobiles they have started manufacturing jeeps and other military cars. They have started manufacturing aeroplanes at a rate which was unimaginable before the war. Even when England was buying, the rate used to be about 1,400 or 1,600 aeroplanes a year but when America itself embarked on this war, they started manufacturing at the rate of 70,000 per annum and at the moment the rate is in the neighbourhood of 90,000 per annum. This is the scale at which work is being done. Manufacture of locomotives is not purely a civil affair. It is one of the special needs of the war situation, and if you were to press your demand under that category on America for machinery, I am sure you will succeed. But it only requires a real heart in the game. I am afraid the Government of India suffer, when they deal with other Governments, from an inferiority complex. They feel that whatever they say will fall on deaf ears. They realise that their weakness lies in not representing the people and as such they have not that amount of pressure to exert on the foreign Government which a Government having the backing of the country in which it rules would have. The shipping space required for the 545 broad gauge locomotives which it is proposed to import—I am reading from a reply which was given the day before yesterday to question No. 140 in which the Honourable the War Transport Secretary said that the requirement of broad gauge locomotives was 545. He has given a list of the demands placed by Railways for locomotives and wagons to be imported and in that list it is given. The space required for the 545 locomotives could have been much better utilised by importing machinery. The machine tool industry of America has made such strides that it would be easier for them to send the machinery, and it would not be like the statement which the Honourable the Defence Member read out today—that the machinery costs 20,000 dollars and the dismantling charges will be 28,000 dollars. There will be no dismantling here. You have simply to get the machinery. The time required to erect the machinery has also been immensely shortened in America. The whole period from the time of conception to the time of starting manufacture has been reduced to nine months or some times, as the extreme limit, one year. New plants are working on liberty ships. What was the duration of erection plant? Everything is being done at the speed of aeroplanes. But my Government believes still in the bullock cart and it cannot move faster than that. The question therefore simply boils down to execution. The Government feel that because of their weakness they will not be able to get supplies. They

[Mr. Hossain Imam.] feel that even if they get supplies, they cannot start working because of the inefficiency of their own people. They have not got men of the type of Kaiser starting manufacture at the rate of one a day. You have been importing enough of experts. If you import a really good man, I think we would not mind it, provided he does something. We wish to see this industry started in right earnest. We complain that even the metre gauge industry is at a standstill. Even metre gauge engines are not being manufactured to their full capacity. I therefore earnestly appeal to the Government not to be so down-hearted as to see defeat. They should be assertive as they are on us. They should be assertive with the foreign Governments as well and press on the United States Government the necessity of giving us supplies and starting the work in right earnest.

Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY (War Transport Secretary): Sir, from the remarks which fell from some of the Honourable Members one would have thought that Government have not accepted the recommendations of the Humphreys-Srinivasan Committee. That, of course, is not the case. It is perfectly true that the question of locomotive building has had an unfortunate history, and that has resulted in a good deal of misconception as to Government's intention. I was not present on the day when this debate opened. But I have read the speeches of my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru and the Honourable Mr. Motilal and I notice that both of them went ~~2 NOON~~, into past history in order to lend point to their argument that Government are only too delighted to see the evil day when locomotives will be manufactured in India postponed. I hope to show that if there had been delay—and there undoubtedly has been—in making any progress in this matter it is largely due to changes of circumstances, to changes of personnel and of ideas. In order to do this, I too shall have to delve into past history a little, but I shall do it very briefly. As Mr. Kunzru pointed out, Government issued a Communiqué in 1921 notifying that tenders for locomotive manufacture would be called for in India and our demand was then stated in that Communiqué as 160 locomotives and 160 spare boilers for 1923-24. The intention at that time was—and I think it was recognised that that was the right course to follow—to encourage private enterprise to come forward to undertake manufacture and the Communiqué had from that point of view the desired result. A company known as the Peninsular Locomotive Company was incorporated about 1923 or 1924, but it was found that their tender price was higher than the price at which locomotives were imported. That has a bearing on certain statements which have fallen from other Honourable Members here. I am merely mentioning that in passing now because they asked for protection for this reason. The matter was referred to the Tariff Board who presented a long report on this subject. I shall refer to what they said in a moment. But I want to emphasise what I said a moment ago that the apparent slowness of Government has been very largely conditioned by circumstances. Within these three years from 1921 to 1924 circumstances had already changed. When the Tariff Board held its enquiry, against the 160 locomotives which had been stated in the Communiqué as the Demand for 1923-24, Mr. Hindley, who gave evidence on behalf of the Railway Board before the Tariff Board, stated that the requirements would be 60 and he said that for the following five years he could not foresee the demand rising above 100 in any year. How had that come about? What had happened was that after 1921 the Inchcape Committee had come out armed with the axe of retrenchment and at their instance the whole question of requirements for replacement was reviewed. The result was that means were devised to utilise to better advantage the locomotives that the railways already had. A second factor was the scheme for electrification in the Bombay area; and a combination of the two reduced the locomotive demand from the figure which Government had announced in their Communiqué to the figure that Mr. Hindley gave. Now, quite obviously from the point of view of the private enterprises such changes in demand would make it very difficult for them to embark on a new industry. It might

be argued that it should have been possible to start a locomotive workshop as an economic unit with a turn-out of much less than 100. But at that time the general impression was—and it was an impression confirmed by the Tariff Board's own report—that the economic unit was 200 a year and that demand could not be foreseen.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Did the Tariff Board say that even for a railway workshop the economic unit would be 200?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Yes, for a locomotive construction industry. This is what they said.

"For the reasons which we have given we are unable to make any recommendations for the grant of protection to the locomotive building industry. We consider it desirable on national grounds that the industry should be established in India, and we believe that this could eventually be done, provided substantial assistance were given by Government in the earlier years. But the existence of a sufficient market for locomotives in India is an indispensable preliminary condition, and at present this condition is not satisfied".

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: But this has been over-ruled by the expert Committee's recommendations. They say all these are objections.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: If the Honourable Member had had experience of dealing with experts that others have had, he would not be so ready to play one expert against another.

"If protection were given now, the country would carry a heavy burden during the next five years, and at the end of that period the progress made would be insufficient to justify the sacrifice".

I am not quoting that against the proposal that India should build up a locomotive industry. I am merely quoting it to show why Government have found it so difficult to make progress and to disprove my Honourable friend Mr. Kunzru's charge that Government wanted to block the progress of locomotive manufacture and Mr. Kalikar who says we are resisting locomotive manufacture. However, that was the position in 1924 and what I was trying to show was that circumstances in three years had so altered that it was found impracticable to proceed at that time. Nevertheless from 1924 to about 1930 enquiries continued on a different basis. What is the minimum out-turn required for a financially sound economic unit? Was it better to embark on boiler manufacture as a preliminary step? Enquiries of that kind went on from 1925 until 1930. It cannot be said that these enquiries were not justified. If in 1924 Government had come to the conclusion on the authority of an authoritative body like the Tariff Board that we could not embark on the manufacture of locomotives unless there was a sufficient market, if at that time we could not foresee any demand above a very small number, surely it was incumbent on Government to investigate other alternatives, and in the years that I have mentioned this was what was being done. Technical experts differed as they often do differ, as to whether boiler manufacture was worthwhile what was a proper economic unit and by 1931 Sir George Rainy, despairing of private enterprise because of the difficulties that I have mentioned, called for a scheme for a Government sponsored industry. A scheme was prepared. Again, there were differences of opinion but by that time the period of depression had started and financial considerations stood in the way of any further progress. There was, however, one happy feature in these years—and when I say "happy" I am talking of the happy feature in connection with the setting up of an industry for locomotive manufacture—and that was that Government were buying a very small number of locomotives. I believe the average of the last 15 years before the war was something in the neighbourhood of 25 locomotives a year, so that conditions were being created, although not consciously for this purpose, which made it inevitable that a period of very large replacements must soon follow.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: When did this become clear to the Railway Board?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I do not think it became clear to the Railway Board until the Humphreys-Srinivasan Report was received, but on looking back upon it, that is how it strikes one.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Do you mean to say that they were totally unaware of it in 1938 and that they only became aware of it towards the end of 1939?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I said that in 1930, and later, they were still thinking in terms of very few locomotives. My Honourable friend expresses surprise at this. Now will it surprise him if I point out that in 1937, an expert Committee with Sir Ralph Wedgwood as Chairman reporting on the "locomotive stock position" said:—

"The stock of locomotives is excessive and should be capable of reduction. Even in the event of a substantial increase in traffic we consider it unlikely that for the present at any rate there will be need to face any considerable programme for the purchase of additional locomotives".

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Did the Government accept that recommendation?

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: If the Honourable Member will have patience he will soon see what they did.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He is explaining the cause of the delay if you have followed him. He is saying that there were some grounds for the delay and he is explaining them.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: Well, Sir, that was in 1937. Now if Government had been really hostile they would have just sat back comfortably. Actually what they did was that in 1939 they appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs. Humphreys and Srinivasan to survey the locomotive position and the possibilities of manufacture in India. They worked out the rate of replacements that would be required, came to the conclusion that it was feasible and economically feasible to start a locomotive industry here and in doing so the factor that I mentioned a little while ago must certainly have come into the picture, viz., that Government had been buying locomotives in very small numbers in the intervening years. When the Humphreys-Srinivasan Report was made Government accepted the recommendation about starting an industry. Although owing to various factors which have already been stated and explained both in this House and in the other House, a beginning has not yet been made, last year or the year before Government decided to take back one of their workshops from munitions production and to devote it to the manufacture of locomotives. What is now being done is to prepare a layout, drawings, &c., in consultation with the Board's Consulting Engineers and it is hoped to start manufacture as soon as machine tools, which are of a very complicated kind and are not so easy to obtain as some Honourable Members think, can be obtained.

Now, Sir, I come to the terms of the Resolution. That Resolution is, Sir, really beating a dead horse because it has already been accepted. Government have been acting upon it and will certainly reaffirm their desire to proceed with this scheme by accepting it once again.

My Honourable friend Sir A. P. Patro referred to Kanchrapara. It has been decided to use Kanchrapara for this purpose. The question of designs and layout is under correspondence with the Consulting Engineer and I can assure the House that Government are determined to push forward with this scheme whatever happens.

My Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru said the other day "Well, you are importing so many locomotives from England and U. S. A. Are you not going to reach the position you did before, that having imported them you will find that your requirements for locomotives in future years will be so small that it will not be economic for you to proceed?" Well, Sir, I am not a prophet and cannot say what the future will bring. It is conceivable that as the combined result of fall in traffic and a campaign of economy that kind of situation may again arise but Government have now committed themselves to the scheme and they must go forward whether that happens. If conditions are adverse, Government will probably incur a loss and I take it that the Legislature and Government will not grudge that loss. I therefore accept the Resolution, Sir, on behalf of Government only with this proviso that it cannot be immediately put into effect. Heavy and complicated machine tools have to be brought out

and those who have had any experience of extracting machine tools at this time from His Majesty's Government or from U. S. A. for the purpose of a development, which is unlikely to help the war effort, will realise how difficult it will be to obtain their release. Government will do their best. That is all that they can promise.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The Honourable Pandit Kunzru for a reply. I may just point out that the qualification which the Honourable the War Transport Secretary has made in his speech is quite consistent with the Resolution of the Honourable Member, which recommends Government "to take steps" to manufacture broadgauge locomotives in India. So, practically he has accepted the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: No, Sir. It is entirely at variance with the spirit of the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: I do not think so.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: The locomotives will be manufactured some time after the war has come to an end. That is of absolutely no value to me. For that, the assurance of the Honourable the War Transport Member himself in the other House was quite enough, and I did not want any further assurance from my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: The War Transport Member in the other House may have said so, but Sir Satyendra Nath Roy did not say anything exactly to that effect in this House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR EDWARD BENTHALL: May I ask the Honourable Member what is the precise assurance he would like?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: May I explain, Sir?

I have listened very carefully to my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy and I have also read very carefully the speech delivered by my Honourable friend the War Transport Member in the other House in winding up the Railway Budget Debate. The question of manufacturing locomotives arose during the debate in the Assembly, just as it has arisen several times in discussions relating to railway matters in this House. But all that the Government have been able to prevail upon themselves to say to us is that they have not set aside the objective of manufacturing locomotives in this country, but that the time for it is not yet. It is this "but" that has been a source of both annoyance and anxiety to us, and the statements that have been made by the Railway authorities up to date have not lessened this annoyance or anxiety.

Sir, my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy made a very skilful attempt to defend the Railway Board. He referred triumphantly in this connection to the Report of the Wedgwood Committee which came to the conclusion that the stock of locomotives in India was excessive. Now, I do not know whether the Wedgwood Committee was asked to consider the question of the manufacture of locomotives. I do not think it was. That question being outside its purview, it could not consider at what rate locomotives would require replacement in the near future. It is, therefore, not a very cogent argument to say that the Wedgwood Committee thought that for the time being, and even for some time later, it would be unnecessary to purchase new locomotives. The Railway Board, however, were in a different position from the Wedgwood Committee. The Railway Board consists of men who have been familiar all their lives with the working of the Indian Railways, who know their requirements from A to Z, and who are in a much better position to calculate the needs of the Indian Railways with regard to locomotives at any time. It is surprising, therefore, that the Railway Board should have made two successive Railway Members say that as far as they could see India would need neither locomotives nor boilers in such numbers as to justify the establishment of locomotive manufacture in this country. The needs of India were believed to be so small as to make the establishment of an economic unit for the making of locomotives in this country impossible. Now, in spite of the arguments urged by my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy it is hard

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

for me, and I think for any other member of the House on this side, to believe that the experts who constitute the Railway Board were unable to see in 1938 that within two or three years the renewal and replacement of locomotives would become necessary in pretty large numbers for the next 15 or 16 years. I personally think, and nothing that either the War Transport Member or Sir Satyendra Nath Roy has said has yet removed the impression, that our inability to manufacture locomotives up to the present time has been due to the slackness of the Railway Board and their failure to take that interest in this question which they should have done long ago.

Sir Satyendra Nath Roy has mentioned only one new thing today which is satisfactory in so far as it goes. We were all afraid that the importation of locomotives from America in large numbers every year might furnish a fresh argument to the Railway authorities in this country to put off the manufacture of locomotives.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Was not that your argument on the last occasion?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Yes, Sir; it was.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: He was answering that argument.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I did not say he was not. I said I was glad that we had an assurance from him on this particular point.

I was saying Sir, that we were afraid, and legitimately afraid; that the experience of the past might be repeated and that we might be told once more that we had so many locomotives already available that it would be uneconomical to establish a workshop in India for locomotive manufacture. My Honourable friend has assured us that even should that contingency arise, even should the manufacture of locomotives in this country prove more costly than in other countries, Government would still take steps to see that locomotives are manufactured in this country. I should like my Honourable friend the War Transport Member to repeat that assurance. But, frankly speaking, even this assurance, though it removes the particular apprehension that I expressed, is not completely satisfactory to me. What we wanted to know was whether the Government regarded the manufacture of locomotives in India at the present time as an urgent necessity or not? And my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy, I think, said today that Government were not prepared to regard it as a part of the war effort.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I said nothing of the sort.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: That is the impression I carried.

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: I am sorry I have to correct that impression. What I said was that those who had any knowledge of the difficulty of getting machinery out from England were well aware how much more difficult it would be to get out machinery for the manufacture of locomotives which are not going to be of use in the war effort itself.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I do not want to do any injustice to my Honourable friend, but having listened again to his explanation, I feel that I was not far wrong when I expressed the view that what he said meant, in effect, that the Government did not regard the manufacture of locomotives in this country as a part of the war effort. I remember, Sir, that when we discussed the importance of shipbuilding in this country about three years ago, we urged that Government should take all measures in their power to establish a vigorous ship building industry in this country. But Government refused to regard it as a part of the war effort, and my Honourable friend, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, justifying this view of the Government, said that Government could not regard ship-building as part of the war effort because, to use his own words, "We felt that we were not so unhappy as to have the war dragging on for more than three years. No ship built at that ship-building yard could be ready before three or four years". Well, Sir, the

war has gone on for three years since this was said. Had our demand been accepted, both the British Government and India would have been in a better position today in regard to sea transport. My Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy, instead of learning anything from the experience of Government in regard to ship-building, comes forward today and says that it would be difficult for Government to obtain machinery for the manufacture of locomotives when they would not be useful in connection with the war—

THE HONOURABLE SIR SATYENDRA NATH ROY: May I point out, Sir, that this does not affect the intentions of the Government of India. The machinery has to be brought out from another country and that country has to be satisfied of the importance of this particular scheme in connection with the war effort.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I agree that this is precisely the point that we have to consider. What does it mean? It means that the Government of India must make up their minds whether they are going to ask for the import of machinery for making locomotives in India as a part of the war effort or not. Have they, since the Humphreys-Srinivasan Committee's Report, looked upon this matter as an urgent task connected with the welfare of India during the war? Have they pressed for the import of machinery into this country on this basis or not? There is nothing to indicate that they have done what they could to make it clear both to the British and the American authorities that in their opinion locomotive manufacture in this country was essential during the war. My Honourable friend the War Transport Member referred to this question in his Budget speech of 1943-44 and also in his speech in the other House a few days ago to which I have already alluded. He referred to the desire and perhaps to the determination of the Government to start the locomotive industry in this country. But, so far as I remember—I have not got the speeches with me just now—he said in both of them that he did not think that we would be able to build a single locomotive during the war. He thought this would be possible only after the cessation of hostilities, and even then he could not tell us when the actual manufacture would begin. It is this state of things, Sir, that we find unsatisfactory. Whether we succeed in receiving the machinery we need or not is one thing. But to be told that the Government themselves were afraid that their request for machinery would not be treated as urgent is quite another thing. This means that the Government of India themselves are adopting a defeatist attitude, and if this is their attitude, we can expect no success whatsoever. We have no assurance even that year or two after the cessation of hostilities we shall be any nearer the attainment of our objective than we are today. For this reason, Sir, the acceptance of my Resolution by Government in the spirit in which my Honourable friend Sir Satyendra Nath Roy is prepared to accept it would not be of much value I would rather be opposed this Resolution outright than damn it with faint support. I want the authorities to say that they regard the manufacture of locomotives as essential even during the continuance of the war. If they can say so, then their acceptance of the Resolution would have a new meaning, a meaning different from that attached to it by the Honourable Sir Satyendra Nath Roy. But if they cannot say this, their acceptance of the Resolution is, in my opinion, valueless.

(The Honourable Sir Edward Bentall then rose to speak.)

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Before the Honourable Member begins, may I ask him a question?

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Let him have his say.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: That is my difficulty. Does the Honourable the War Transport Member regard the manufacture of locomotives in India as a part of the war effort or not? That is my question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Another question, which I would like him to deal with when he speaks, is this. What is the shipping space which will be required for the importation of the locomotives which have been ordered

[Mr. G. S. Motilal.]

out compared to the machinery which would have been required of Rs. 40 lakhs according to the Humphreys-Srinivasan Report?

THE HONOURABLE SIR EDWARD BENTHALL (War Transport Member): Sir, I regret that I was not able to attend this House earlier and listen to the debate owing to my duties in another place, but I am glad to have this opportunity of trying to make the position clear once again. Before I forget I will answer the last question in this way, that so far as I am aware, shipping space is not the difficulty at all. I think I have said in the House already that the difficulty lies elsewhere, in freeing the works, and getting the plant, but not in the shipping space required. As regards the question as a whole, I must confess that I have difficulty in understanding why the present policy of Government is not more acceptable. I quite appreciate the point that was made in this House by the Honourable Sir A. P. Patro on the last occasion when I spoke. He says "We will believe you when we see the engines". I quite understand that. But it is not possible for me to produce engines like rabbits out of a hat. We have to go through the process of getting the works laid out and equipped and I must ask for patience in that respect. We are faced with two problems in the matter of locomotives. One is to get a locomotive work, started and the other is to get locomotives onto the line to move the traffic which has been thrown on the railways owing to the war. That is a matter of extreme urgency. Everybody knows the condition of the railways, and we must get on. There are three ways of getting engines. One is by importation; another is by effecting repairs to the locomotives that we have got; and the third is by building locomotives. Getting locomotives for war purposes is a matter of extreme urgency. Ever since Japan came into the war and following events in the Far East, we have gone in for the policy of importing engines to meet the immediate requirements which two years ago the then Railway Board foresaw would come upon the country. Those engines are now being delivered and they are going far to save the situation. I read the Honourable mover's speech on this matter. He talked about the sorry plight of the railways. We should have been in a much sorrier plight, we should have been in a bad position, if we had not shown foresight two years ago and ordered these locomotives which are now saving the situation. The second step is to try to improve the repairs of the locomotives that we have got. Obviously if you can get a few per cent. more locomotives on the line and not under repair, it is equivalent to the manufacture of that number of new locomotives. There are something like 5,000, speaking offhand—broad gauge locomotives and one per cent. less engines under repair means 50 locomotives on the line, so that obviously it is much quicker to improve your repairs than to start getting out blue prints, getting machinery, and setting up new works. The question of repairs was seriously taken up and in pursuance of that we have also recently taken back Dohad works from munitions for the repair of locomotives and Kanchrapara works, as I mentioned in this House before now, is 80 per cent. on locomotive repairs. Obviously if you are going to set up locomotive construction works, you have got to make provision elsewhere for the repairs to the locomotives which are now being carried out in the Kanchrapara works, apart altogether from the vital war work that is also going on at these works. I will refer to that again in a moment. As regards the third alternative, the construction of locomotive works in this country, I cannot make it too clear that there is a definite decision of Government to go ahead as soon as ever we can with the construction of locomotive works at Kanchrapara. I said in my Budget speech last year that plans were actively being prepared to set up a locomotive construction works during the war if physically possible. That I think proves the point that Government are anxious to set up a locomotive works if they can during the war. But we are immediately faced with this problem. How soon can you fit up an up-to-date locomotive works? And the answer is that if you place orders today you would not get any locomotive coming out of this country for

two and a half years. Are we budgeting for a war two and a half years' hence? Will the United Kingdom or the United States give us machinery to set up our locomotive works for war purposes two and a half years hence or will they say "We will give you the locomotives"?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU. Will you ask for it on those terms?

THE HONOURABLE SIR EDWARD BENTHALL: That is the problem which has to be faced. It is no good brushing it aside and pretending it does not exist. You cannot produce locomotives out of a hat and you cannot produce them even with the same speed that you can produce shells or armoured vehicles or other less weighty and complicated articles. It is a big undertaking to set up a locomotive works and it has got to be treated with seriousness and not lightly undertaken in a *kachha* way, if I may say so. I repeat once again that we have definitely decided to go ahead with the locomotive works at Kanchrapara. We are finalising the blue prints. We shall place the orders for the plant immediately we finalise the blue prints. Whether we can get priority is another matter, but that would not deter us. We shall go ahead with the placing of the orders, so that we can get them at the earliest possible moment with a view to converting Kanchrapara works into a locomotive construction works. I do not think I can really be more specific than that. We shall place the orders and ask for priorities in order to get them to the country as soon as possible. Whether we shall be able to get them does not lie in our hands. I would like to stress further that in addition to the Kanchrapara works we are under negotiation with a private firm for a locomotive boiler works to be put up as a war project. For that purpose we have actually put out enquiries for the plant and we are proceeding with our negotiations to try and get these boilers made as a war project during the war. Again I cannot be more specific. Then, thirdly, as a result of our consultation with the Consulting Engineers—and there is nothing new in this, I have said it already—there will probably have to be a second locomotive works, in addition to Kanchrapara, because it will not probably be economic to enlarge Kanchrapara sufficiently to cater for all the locomotive requirements of India. That is obviously not quite so urgent as the first project and the second project. And fourthly, if any firm is prepared to come forward with any other schemes for the manufacture of locomotives or boilers, we are perfectly prepared to go into the question with them and see whether any satisfactory scheme can be evolved from their plans. What I have said is pretty categorical. We are doing everything we can to finalise these plans and to go ahead and I will give an undertaking that our efforts to get this through will be pushed forward with the maximum possible energy and speed. But I cannot say whether it will be physically possible to get the priorities and to get the plant. But nothing on our side will be left undone to try and push this scheme through. If we are successful with it, I hope that we shall have not only one workshops but two or three workshops going in a few years time. What precisely that time will be, as I have said before, does not lie in my hands. But if there is any delay it will not be the fault of Government.

THE HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENT: Resolution moved:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to manufacture broad gauge locomotives in India."

Question put and Motion adopted.

Council then adjourned for Lunch till Half past Two of the Clock.

The Council reassembled at Half Past Two of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss) in the Chair.

Resolution No. 2 on the List of Business, standing in the name of the Honourable Maulvi Ali Asgar Khan, was not taken up as the Honourable Member was absent.

**RESOLUTION RE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION TO REVIEW EXISTING
INDUSTRIAL SITUATION, ETC.**

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhummadan): Mr. Chairman, I beg to move:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to appoint an industrial commission with a non-official Indian chairman and a majority of non-official Indian members to review the existing industrial situation, to recommend measures for the full and rapid industrialisation of the country with the object of raising the general standard of living of the masses and to indicate the lines along which State ownership and control of industry should be extended."

Mr. Chairman, my Resolution deals with three important points. My first demand is that the present industrial situation should be brought under examination. The Industrial Commission which examined the question of the industrial advancement of the country reported about 25 years ago. We have since then taken no steps to find out to what extent we have made progress in the direction of industrialisation, what are the gaps that have to be filled up and what steps should be taken in order to make up the deficiencies that may be discovered. My second demand is that measures should be adopted for as full and rapid an industrialisation of the country as its resources permit. Every commission and committee has acknowledged that India possesses in abundance all those raw materials on which flourishing industries can be based. Yet it is a regrettable fact that India is one of the most backward industrial countries if it is compared with the advanced nations of the West. My last demand is that the Commission which may be appointed should consider not merely how new industries can be started or old industries expanded, but what measures should be taken to enable the State to own those industries which ought on principle to be completely State-owned and State-managed and to control such other industries as might be started by private enterprise. The object of this Resolution, in a word, is to increase the wealth in the country and to adopt proper means of securing a better distribution of the national dividend so that those who are unable even to get one full meal a day now may be able to live fuller and happier lives.

Mr. Chairman, the Industrial Commission which reported in 1918 drew forcible attention to the poverty and industrial backwardness of the country. We have made progress in certain directions since then, but our basic deficiencies still are what they were in 1918 when the Commission reported. The poverty of the country is as heart-rending as it was a quarter of a century ago. Millions live on the verge of starvation. On account of their inability to get sufficient food daily, they fall easy victims to diseases of all kinds. The result of this poverty and absence of adequate nourishment is that both adults and infants die at a much greater rate than in other advanced countries. The expectation of life in India is much lower than in any other country with which we would like to compare ourselves. While in the United States it is a little over 59 years, in England a little under 59, and in Japan about 45, in India it is only 27. This appalling state of things impresses on us the necessity of having a balanced economy more strongly than any other argument that could be urged in its favour.

What are the steps that we should take in order to utilise fully the resources of the country to increase its wealth? Sir, the Indian Industrial Commission had pointed out deficiencies of various kinds; the most important of them related to our inability to manufacture capital goods such as machines and machine tools, boilers, metal-working machines, oil-crushing and refining plant, agricultural machinery, textile machinery, etc. All these had to be imported from outside. Their manufacture was regarded at that time as being beyond our capacity. Even such things as sewing machines and typewriters could not be manufactured by us and in spite of the progress that we have made, we are in these respects practically where we were. A few sewing machines are now made in India and I understand that typewriters of a kind are also being made. But, generally speaking, in respect of the basic industries, i.e.,

those industries on which the establishment of industries required for the production of consumption goods depends, we are still in the same position in which we were 25 years ago. The last war impressed on us the necessity of improving our economy and reducing considerably our dependence on foreign countries. One would have thought, therefore, that the Report of the Industrial Commission would be made full use of in order to start heavy engineering industries in this country to enable us to manufacture many of those things on which both its security and well-being depend. Our hopes in this respect have however, been disappointed. The reason generally given for the failure of the Government to carry out fully the recommendations of the Industrial Commission are that the introduction of provincial autonomy or rather of the beginnings of provincial autonomy in 1921 divided the domain of industries between the Central and the Provincial Governments, and that in consequence the scheme suggested by the Indian Industrial Commission became out-of-date. This argument is not without force. But in respect of the establishment of industries for the manufacture of machines and machine tools, I think a great deal might have been done by the Central Government had it been willing to do so notwithstanding the partial independence granted to the Provinces. I think that it is the unprogressive character of the Central Government that is responsible for our present deficiencies. I am aware, Sir, that a few years after the Report of the Industrial Commission was published, the Indian Fiscal Commission was appointed. The recommendation of this Commission in favour of discriminating protection was accepted by the Central Government and has been given effect to on many occasions. But the acceptance of the principle of protective tariffs has enabled us only to seek help for the establishment of certain industries. It has not enabled us to take comprehensive steps to improve our industrial position as a whole. Apart from this, the principle of protection has itself been worked in such a way as to detract from the value that was rightly attached to it when the Indian Fiscal Commission reported. I shall give one or two illustrations to make my meaning clear. It is well known that the Fiscal Commission laid down three conditions which must be fulfilled by any industry before it can be regarded as being entitled to protection. Briefly speaking, the first condition requires that the industry must possess certain natural advantages. The second condition requires that the industry should be one which either would not develop at all or would not develop as rapidly as is desirable in the interests of the country if protection were not granted. The last condition requires that the industry must ultimately be able to face world competition without protection. These conditions are in some respects mutually inconsistent. I will give one illustration to show what I mean. How is the condition relating to the possession of natural advantages to be fulfilled? Is it to be regarded as an independent condition or as being fulfilled when the Tariff Board comes to the conclusion that the industry whose case has been submitted to it will eventually be able to stand on its own legs? If the latter view is accepted, obviously the first condition becomes redundant. Again, Sir, the Tariff Board considered itself at least on one occasion to be precluded from granting protection to an industry which had not actually been started. To put it very briefly, it said "there is no need for protection unless there is something to protect". The Honourable Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar speaking in this House about three years ago said that he was aware of the criticism that was levelled on this score against the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission and that he was considering the matter with a view to modifying the conditions in order to help industries whose establishment might be considered desirable during the war. I do not know to what extent that assurance of his has been carried out. But I think that the conditions that I have mentioned require to be modified generally speaking, and that considered broadly the only point which Government should regard as vital is whether the industry which applies for protection will be able to dispense with it after some time. In one case I remember, that of the glass industry, the Government refused to carry out the recommendation of the Tariff Board for a protective duty.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

on the ground that the most important raw material required, *viz.*, soda ash, was not manufactured in the country, as if the industrially advanced countries produce all the raw materials that are required for their industries and do not depend on imports from countries like India whose development has unfortunately been one-sided. This illustration too, Sir, forcibly brings out the need for a re-examination of the conditions on which protection should be granted. Let there be discriminating protection by all means. We cannot go in for putting duties on all foreign products. But we want to industrialize the country rapidly. Let us approach the problem not in a niggardly spirit, not grudgingly, but with a whole-hearted desire to put forward our best efforts to make as full and economic a use of the resources of the country as possible. The present war has in many important respects found us as unprepared as the Great War did and just as during the Great War hurried steps were taken to start a certain number of industries required for war purposes, so now measures of all kinds have been adopted partly to encourage the expansion of existing industries and partly to bring into existence new industries which were regarded as essential to the war effort. Industries connected with the manufacture of certain kinds of engineering goods, implements and tools, certain drugs and medicines, paper, aluminium, jute goods, etc., have benefited on account of the war. But in the first place, as I have already pointed out, our deficiencies in many basic matters remain what they were. I feel that even in war-time with our existing limited resources we could have done much more than we have done had Government taken as much interest in the matter as it should have done. Even at the present time it has been found possible to manufacture certain kinds of machinery required for the production of munitions in India. Similarly the Tatas are today, I understand, manufacturing the plant which they need for their chemical factory. If we can even at the present time manufacture machinery, there is no reason why the matter should not be further investigated and all possible progress made in this connection even during the war.

Sir, there is another important point that I would like to bring to the attention of Government in this connection. The industries to which I have made references have all been started in connection with the war and are doing well. But the most important point that we have to consider is whether they will continue to exist after the war or whether they will be allowed to languish as many industries were allowed to after the Great War. Now, Government have given certain assurances on the subject but they relate only to industries which have been brought into existence at their request or which they regard as vitally necessary for the prosecution of the war. I shall give only one instance in this connection and that is connected with the manufacture of chemicals and drugs. The question of the manufacture of drugs has been repeatedly discussed in the Central Legislature during the last three or four years. My Honourable friend Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar speaking in November last in the Legislative Assembly said on this point:—

"I have said on another occasion that I individually cannot believe that having allowed this drug industry to develop and having seen the necessity for the development of that industry, medical officers will go back to the old system of getting imported drugs just because they are slightly better or superior in quality to those that are manufactured here. Now all our hospitals, Provincial, State and quasi-State, are receiving these drugs and are content to receive them, and are only too happy to receive them, and, I believe, I have the assurance of the Director General of the Indian Medical Service that, so far as he is concerned, he will not allow the position to lapse back, so that this very necessary industry may not again be disadvantageously placed so far as our hospitals are concerned".

Yet, Sir, the President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce complained in his address that in spite of the assurance given by General Jolly, a Surgeon General in a Province had openly circularised all hospitals in his charge that they should not use the drugs and tinctures manufactured indigenously, which they have been doing during the last two years. I bring this point to the notice of my Honourable friend Mr. Hydari in order that he may tell us

whether this report is true and if it is why action is being allowed to be taken contrary to the assurance given by Sir RamaSwami Mudaliar? This illustration shows how justifiable our apprehensions are with regard not merely to the growth but the very existence of the industries that owe their establishment to the war.

Sir, I believe I have said enough to show that it is urgently necessary for us to plan our economy, to consider the various stages in accordance with which we should proceed and to take adequate measures to carry each stage to its completion. I have no doubt that the House is in entire agreement with me on this point and, if it is, I think I have fully made out the case for the appointment of an Industrial Commission the purpose of which will be to consider the situation of this country *vis-a-vis* that of other countries and to suggest measures which would not merely enable us to remove our deficiencies but to occupy a fairly strong position in respect of them.

Sir, there is just one more point that I should like to deal with before I bring my remarks to a close. I have asked in my Resolution that the Industrial Commission should indicate the lines along which State ownership and control of industry should be extended. Sir, it has become an economic axiom at the present time that the State should not allow all industries to be exploited by private industrialists. Happily in this country the most important means of communication—the Railways, the Post Office, the Telegraphs and the Telephones—are the property of the Government and managed by it. I suggest, Sir, that this principle should be carried further. For instance, all power producing industries should be owned by the State. The War Transport Member said during the debate on the manufacture of locomotive that he would be prepared to consider propositions from industrialists for the manufacture of locomotives. I was astonished to hear this. I should have thought that the State was practically committed to the view that it should start a workshop of its own for locomotive manufacture but even at the present time I find that those in charge of the subjects connected with railway transport have not yet learnt the lesson underlying the changes that have been made in India in connection with the State-ownership during the last 28 years and management of railway. I feel very strongly on this point, Sir, and I think that such things as oil, coal and the more important means of transport should be owned and managed by Government.

These illustrations, Sir, are not exhaustive. They are only meant to indicate what I mean when I ask that the Industrial Commission should in accordance with the trend of modern thought suggest how the most essential industries should be brought under State-ownership. An allied question is that of State control. In view of our individualist economy the State cannot be responsible for the establishment of every industry, but it is necessary, when plans are being formed, that proper steps should be taken for the assertion of the necessary State control. So long, Sir, as it was thought that our economic mechanism was self-regulating, these questions might have been left to be adjusted in a haphazard manner, that is through the play of the blind economic forces which have made a hash of human life, but as soon as measures are taken intelligently to plan our economy, social aims and objectives come into view. We find that we have to reconcile material progress with the ideas of social equity so that human well-being may proceed *pari passu* with an increase in our wealth.

Sir, a scheme has recently been prepared by a number of industrialists which has been placed before the country. I do not propose to go, Sir, into the details of this scheme, but it is quite obvious that the important business men, who are authors of the scheme, have been considerably influenced by the Russian example. This is evident both from the positive measures which they propose and the proportion of the national dividend which they want to invest in new industries. They have profitted by the Russian experience and taken account of the necessity of starting industries for the production not merely of capital goods but of consumption goods also. Their scheme has been criticised on various ground but they have made a highly commendable effort. It may be open to

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criticism in certain respects but it has given us no little food for thought. At any rate, no better scheme no scheme more comprehensive or more practicable has been placed before the country and the objective to which it draws our attention is one which ought to command the assent not merely of non-officials but also of Government.

Sir, just one word more and I have done. When the Report of the Industrial Commission was issued, Government published a summary of it, which concludes with the following words:—

"To sum up, the Commission finds that India is a country rich in raw materials and in industrial possibilities but poor in manufacturing accomplishments. The deficiencies in her industrial system are such as to render her liable to foreign penetration in time of peace and to serious dangers in time of war. The necessity of securing the economic safety of the country and the inability of the people to secure it without the co-operation and stimulus of Government impose, therefore, on Government a policy of energetic intervention in industrial affairs".

These remarks are as true today as they were 25 years ago. The attitude of Government towards our industries has been step-motherly during the last 25 years notwithstanding its adoption of the principle of protection. We have seen the progress that countries such as Australia and Canada have made in the brief space of 20 years. They have made this progress because an energetic Government stood behind the people and the two together having the same aim in view have made their countries as strong as their resources permitted. Had the Government of India regarded itself as a national Government, I have no doubt that our progress would have been much more rapid than it has been. But the failure of the Government to discharge its duty renders it necessary that we should not depend on the Reconstruction Committees which have been functioning for God knows how long. I do not know whether Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's hope that the inter-departmental committee set up in 1941 would prove very useful has been fulfilled; I do not know whether it has done anything at all. Anyway, it has now been superseded by a number of committees, regarding the work of which the public is absolutely in the dark. The time has now come when we should not leave our future industrial progress dependent on the dilatory measures of Government. Besides, the importance of the issues concerned requires that they should be publicly and authoritatively examined. If this is done, we may soon be furnished with a scheme even more valuable than that formulated by the Industrial Commission of 1918. For these reasons, Sir, I press my Motion strongly on the attention of Government and hope that they will not expose themselves to the charge of lavishing sympathy on us but doing nothing in practice.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. N. DALAL (Bombay : Non-Muhammadan) : Mr. Chairman, this country has immense possibilities for industrial expansion. During the last war a Royal Commission on Industry was appointed, but the recommendations of that Commission have even now not been fully given effect to. Much water has flown under the bridge since then. Many new industries have grown up. Thanks to the war and to the heavy strides that applied science has taken in our generation. India, Sir, is still backward in its growth of industrial expansion, and it is but meet to ask Government to appoint such a Commission for rapid and full industrialisation of this country with a view to investigating into past causes. The most cursory glance at our existing industrial system would reveal the many essential deficiencies in this country which should be remedied if India is to be classed on the roll of the great industrial nations of the world. After a century of railways in India, Sir, we have not an efficient passenger locomotive-manufacturing plant for broad-gauge railways. Our ship-building industry has not been developed on the same scale as the other Dominions. It required a world war of gigantic dimensions to start an aeroplane factory, whereas an automobile plant is still in its birth. We have no big chemical industry on a large scale, and we have not been able to make full use of our minerals and forest products. These are but a few of the crying lacunae which demand immediate attention. And India is entitled to be ranked as such. It has vast man power, huge sterling resources,

a tremendous market, and a very large scope for industrial expansion. And if there are limitations or handicaps in any of the essential factors for the regeneration of India, it would be the function of such a commission to review the situation and remedy the defects.

Sir, since the plaigning achievements of Soviet Russia and the totalitarian States, planning has been in the minds of the people of this country for a long time. Eight industrialists have come forward with a 15-year long-term plan for the economic development of this country. It is called the Bombay Plan. Some people call it the Bombay Plot. Whether it is a Bombay Plan or a Bombay Plot, it is a matter for Honourable Members of this House to judge for themselves. So far as I am concerned, I think it is a scheme very carefully considered, consisting of a mass of facts very carefully marshalled and weighed together. But, Sir, the scheme is not entirely free from blemishes which are in the nature of lacunae, omissions, perspective, proportion, due mostly perhaps to inadequate statistical data, which makes the scheme merely illustrative. His Excellency the Governor General, in his address to the Central Legislature, has said that Government are carefully examining the scheme, and the initial motive and the final objective of Government is identical with that of the authors of the Plan, namely, the industrial rejuvenation of India. We are aware, Sir, of the efforts of Government also, instance, on the Sargent scheme, the road development scheme and the public health committee plan which is on the anvil at the moment. We are also aware that these same eight industrialists are now making a second scheme in details for improving the general standard of living of the masses and for State control over industry. This is what the mover of the Resolution wants. But he presumably wants the efforts of Government to be co-ordinated with non-officials so as to produce immediately only one compact and comprehensive plan. Mr. Chairman, I am in agreement with the principle of the Resolution and I support it.

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMUNNI MENON (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, there will be no disposition in any quarter to minimise the importance of the subject that the Honourable Pandit Kunzru has raised in his Resolution. If I venture to offer a few remarks which might sometimes seem to conflict with his own views and at other times go beyond those which he has expressed, I can assure him that essentially there is no difference between him and myself. I think it is rather unfortunate that the Honourable Pandit Kunzru is so distrustful of an Indian when he becomes an official that he can find no useful part for him to play in a committee of the kind proposed by him. But my object at the moment is not to convert him to my point of view. Rather it is to inquire and find out from him whether by the terms of his Resolution he intends to exclude a field of choice which will be open to us otherwise. I wish to ask him whether he would exclude professors of Indian Universities—.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I do not regard Professors of Universities as officials unless they receive their salary from Government. In any case my Resolution does not rule out the possibility of having a Professor on the Commission. My Resolution does not even exclude officials.

THE HONOURABLE SIR RAMUNNI MENON: I am very glad to get that statement. It is welcome as far as it goes. Strictly speaking, a University Professor is not an official. I hope that point will be borne in mind.

Coming to the subject-matter of the Resolution, the Honourable Pandit Kunzru has not given us any very clear indication of the qualifications that he would expect of the members of his Commission, beyond the fact that most of them should be non-officials. I should like to mention one or two qualifications which I should regard as absolutely essential. To my mind, the fundamental attitude of mind of every member of the Commission and of the whole Commission should be the promotion of the welfare of the community as a whole and not of any particular section, industrial or commercial or agricultural as such. To secure this end, there should also be a negative condition. I do not wish the Commission to be over-weighted in any direction. If you are going to have a Commission composed largely of industrialists I think it will be very inappro-

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priate. If you are going to have on it anybody attached to any particular economic sector, you should, in order to have a balanced Commission, appoint other members who are equally interested in other sectors. For instance, I would welcome the appointment—in fact I think it will be absolutely essential if you are going to have industrialists on this Commission—of a man who is wedded to agriculture. The fundamental consideration which should weigh with this surveying Commission is this. We want future industrialisation of this country to proceed on a very broad basis. We want a widening and a more even distribution than exists at the present time of the industries of this country. I do not contemplate that the dominance of industrial, commercial and financial interests, which Bombay and Calcutta exercise now, should be a permanent feature of the economic life of this country. I should like the widest possible distribution of industrial units in this country, particularly from the point of view of the autonomous provinces. Otherwise, there is sure to arise a conflict of interests between Provinces and between the Centre and the Provinces.

One of the chief functions of this Commission will be to consider the industries that should be developed. That is a matter which requires the most careful attention. It is not because big industrialists are clamouring for a particular industry that we wish to encourage that industry. Our main consideration should be the general interests of the community at large. I shall mention an example. We have heard recently loud complaints that Government are not encouraging the automobile industry in this country. Considered by itself, the encouragement of automobile industry is a perfectly legitimate proposition. But when you look at the interests of the country as a whole, if we find that our resources are limited and they have to be distributed among essential industries and if we are convinced that the provision of, let us say, agricultural implements or domestic requirements, say hardware or metal ware or things of that sort, is much more important, I would rather have industries concentrating on these than on motor cars. After the war, it is conceivable that the number of motor cars which will be available in America will be so immense that many countries may find it in their own interest to import these cars rather than manufacture them. I am not expressing any opinion on this matter. I am only suggesting that the selection of industries for encouragement should be carefully made.

Then, the Honourable Pandit Kunzru raised the question of tariffs. I do not know whether free trade ever existed except in theory. In any case, free trade is dead and gone now and there will be no country in the world which will not find it necessary to establish some kind of tariff. But, at the same time, we should guard against the possibility of going in the opposite extreme. When I hear the word "Protection"—a very fine word, it suggests very fine moral ideas in one's mind—the one person that instinctively comes into my mind is the poor consumer. It is the poor consumer in this country who requires protection.

The Honourable Pandit Kunzru's succinct and cogent remark on Government's role in industry is so closely akin to my own that I feel I need not add anything to it. I fully endorse the views which he has expressed. With regard to the distribution of the national dividend I again agree with him. The Government control should be so devised and exercised as to bring about as far as possible an even distribution of the social income among all classes of the community. I would also go further and say that by appropriate taxation the Government should bring about a redistribution of existing wealth and income which will remove or tend to remove the gross inequalities of wealth and income that exist in the country at the present time. Pandit Kunzru said something about the Bombay Plan. On that subject I am not prepared at this stage to say anything except that the Bombay Plan has brought before the public a very important issue. I am not prepared to express any opinion either for or against it without knowing something more of the details. I have made these few remarks in the hope that the Government, if they appoint a Commission, will

bear the points raised therein in mind when giving directions to the Commission. With these few remarks, I support Pandit Kunzru's Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI (Industries and Civil Supplies Secretary): Sir, with the object of my Honourable friend the mover Government is in entire sympathy. We agree that we should take all measures calculated to assist the rapid industrialisation of the country with the object of raising the general standard of living of the masses. Where we are not quite certain is in regard to the method of attaining that objective. There is no difference of objective between this side of the House and that side of the House. But it is a matter for serious consideration on which Government have not yet so far made up their mind whether the objective can be best achieved by certain measures we are taking and which I will be quite prepared to explain to the House later at the next Session if necessary or by way of the appointment of an Industrial Commission. That does not mean to say that all these months we have been idle. Very little notice has been taken in the press of the very significant announcement that the Finance Member made in his Budget speech of the Government's willingness to finance the building of 5 national laboratories for industrial research at a total cost of a crore of rupees towards which 10 lakhs have been placed in the Budget for 1944-45. Surely one of the crying needs of the country is adequate industrial research. Over and over again members in this House and in the other place have alleged that the Government were making very paltry subventions to industrial research. Now Government have made this very handsome contribution towards a great need. If you look to either the United Kingdom or to Soviet Russia, you will realize how greatly their recent industrial development has depended upon industrial research; and without industrial research you will not get sound industrial development. Therefore I am not merely paying lip sympathy when I say that the objective which my Honourable friends opposite have is the same as we have. We have in this matter already given practical proof that we mean to carry out to the best of our ability, what you and we both wish to be carried out. We are now busily engaged in surveying the industrial development which has taken place during the war. Information is being gathered from Departments of Government and from industrialists themselves as to the industries which have been encouraged, under what terms those industries have been encouraged, what undertakings have been given to the industries and so on. I submit that without such information in the hands of the planners, whether they are an Industrial Commission or anybody else, it will not be possible to plan future industrial development. You must know what has been achieved so far, the actual facts, before you can plan for the future. You must know what are the obstacles which the Government should help the industries to surmount and so on. Therefore what I submit to my friend opposite who has moved this Resolution is that he might defer pressing his Resolution to a future date. Probably by the next Session I shall be in a position to explain what measures Government are taking and the House will then be able to express its opinion as to whether it considers those measures adequate or inadequate. As to whether an Industrial Commission is the best instrument for achieving our objective Government have an open mind. Anything which is said in the House in favour of having an Industrial Commission or against it will receive very careful consideration. In that connection let me just mention two points. No speaker so far—and I do not know whether any other speaker after me will—has referred to the difficulties in the matter of setting up an Industrial Commission. Are you quite certain that you will get the eminent men who should *ex hypothesi* be on this Commission to spare their whole-time services in time of war. The second is don't you think that perhaps what is required is action and not further talk. If you have an Industrial Commission, it means you will not get any action taken for another 12 or 18 months. It may be that that time is necessary before any action is taken. That is a consideration which you must bear in mind before you recommend whether to have an Industrial Commission or not. It is not going to be a thing which will bring you results in the next 3 or 4 months. It may

[Mr. M. S. A. Hydari.]
be after you have heard me when I next speak that some other method of approach than the appointment of a Commission may commend itself to you.

Now, again, let me say an impression might have been created by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru when he held an inquest into the past sins of omission of the Government that we might henceforward also work in the dark. I say with all the emphasis at my command that there is no intention whatsoever of Government keeping any of the plans by which they propose to attain our common objective secret. We would like as much public support for them as possible and we realise that there is no question of us working in separate compartments. We feel that we cannot attain the maximum good without public co-operation and naturally if we want to evoke public co-operation we must explain our views to the public. Therefore, I would urge that you come to no decision today as to what is the particular instrument best suited for achieving our common objective but defer this debate to another occasion. Sir, I have nothing more to say.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: May I put a question to my Honourable friend? He has asked us to defer the discussion of the subject before us till the next session. May I ask him whether it is a fact that the Finance Member has already issued orders that no industry which cannot be on a production basis by the 1st June should be started? If it is so, I should like to know what kind of scheme are the Government adumbrating at the present time.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: I do not know what my Honourable friend refers to nor that the Finance Member has issued any such orders; but perhaps what he is referring to is assistance to industries as a war measure. Such assistance on that ground could obviously only be given if it was probable that the industry in question would come into production while the war was on. This consideration has nothing to do with cases where no claim for assistance is made on this ground.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): I should like to make a few observations on the Resolution which has been moved by my friend Pandit Kunzru—

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA (Bihar: Non-Muhammadan): Mr. Chairman, I am just making a suggestion to you in the interest of the debate that has been started. The suggestion was offered, and I think it is acceptable to most of us on this side of the House, to postpone the debate till the next Session and if that is agreed upon then the Debate may not be terminated today but may be postponed till the next Session as Mr. Hydari has suggested. I think if the mover agrees we had better postpone discussion till the next Session.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): What you suggest is that this should be postponed till the next Session?

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): I also endorse this suggestion. It would be a better course if we postpone further discussion till the next Session.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): If the rules permit.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR (Madras: Non-Muhammadan): I suppose there is nothing in the rules which prevents our moving that this debate at this stage be adjourned till the next Session.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Do you agree to that Mr. Hydari?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: Yes, Sir. I agree. That was the suggestion that I made. I only want to be enlightened on one point. If it is adjourned till the next Session at this stage as the Honourable Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar has suggested, I hope I shall be in order in speaking on it although I have spoken once.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Well, you can speak again. The Chair will allow you to speak again.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: My Honourable friend Mr. Hydari has protected himself; let me protect myself also. I have spoken once but if my Honourable friend speaks again in order to explain the scheme which he says he is preparing then I too should be given a chance of speaking again.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): You will have the right of reply.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: The right of reply will not do. If he can speak once more in order to explain his scheme and will retain his right of reply why should not I be given an opportunity of criticising his scheme when it is explained and finally winding up the debate. I should be in the same position as my Honourable friend. I do not want to accept any other position.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: There is no scheme which I will put forward. I will explain the lines on which we are working and submit those lines to the criticism of this House. If my Honourable friend opposite wishes to criticise what I say or does not like something or wishes me to modify I will be only too happy to listen to his criticism.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Will you agree that you will open the debate with your suggestions and then allow the Honourable Members to comment on them?

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: Yes, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: Is it clear, Sir, that I shall be one of those fortunate Members who will be in a position to criticise the scheme and yet retain the right to speak at the end?

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): He will open the debate. Then you will reply to that and on the main question you will have the right of reply.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: There is no question of his opening the debate. The debate has already been opened.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): You have not caught me. The Government have some plan which he will introduce and speak on it. Then you can criticise it and other Honourable Members will also be able to criticise it. Then you will have the right of reply on the Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: Yes, Sir, but I must again repeat that I have no plan to put forward. I will merely explain the lines on which we are working. I could have done so even today but there are certain things which have not happened so far.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: What does the Honourable Member mean by saying that he will explain the lines on which Government are working. I thought that in five or six months he would be able to tell us in a general way what exactly Government propose to do but if he is going to confront us with a number of Committees like the Reconstruction Committee the debate will not lead to any good.

THE HONOURABLE MR. M. S. A. HYDARI: I wish the Honourable Member were not so suspicious. I really want to take the House with me, if possible, in what we are doing. I am not at present able to state definitely the lines on which we will finally work. Government will be very happy, after they have explained the lines on which they are working, to receive such suggestions for modification as the House may wish to make.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: It seems to be the sense of the House that the debate should be adjourned.

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): You consent to the debate being adjourned?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I agree.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Is it the sense of the House that the debate on this Resolution should be adjourned?

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Yes..

MR. CHAIRMAN (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss): I direct that this discussion be continued in the next session on a non-official day.

RESOLUTION RE IMPORT OF CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS.
THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan):

Sir, I move:

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council to import chemical fertilizers in sufficient quantity and distribute the same preferably among the farmers growing foodgrains."

No apology is needed on my part to move this Resolution in the House. Sir, shortage of foodgrains has not yet ceased to be a "serious" problem facing the country. Last year there was deficiency of foodgrains and many parts of India found themselves famished and ill-fed and in Bengal this deficiency, coupled with other factors, brought about the catastrophe of famine, unknown since the days of Warren Hastings. Providence has been kind, however, in having vouchsafed to us bumper crops this year. The steps taken by the authorities—military and civil—in Bengal under the vigorous lead of the new Viceroy, have been responsible, to no small extent, in alleviating the misery and bringing the famine under control. Deaths of sick destitutes are, however, still being reported. It is appalling to know that the Bengal famine has claimed a total of nearly seven lakhs of lives, according to the latest report of the Bengal Government.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): Who accepts that as correct?

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: That is what I am suggesting.

This report of famine casualties is by no means an over-statement. There are many who believe that this is rather an understatement of the famine havoc. However this be, even the official estimate of the toll of lives is sufficiently harrowing. One can well imagine that for every one dead from famine, there must be many times this number undergoing the privations of an ill-nourished and underfed existence. This remark is true not only with reference to Bengal alone, but of the whole country. Almost in every province, complaints are loud of insufficient food supply and of foodgrains selling at rocketing prices. Had it not been for the controls and the rationing measures taken by the Government, prices would have soared still higher. Thanks however to these measures, the higher trend of prices has been checked. But the people are not getting food in sufficient quantities and the prices remain high and beyond the reach of a large number of the population, particularly those with fixed and small incomes. The situation, therefore, calls for serious thought—"serious" is too mild a word to express its pressing nature. There is no problem more imperative in its insistence than the question of expanding the present food supplies. In the United Kingdom, when war broke out every attempt was made to ensure the supply of the people's food. It is a country which has been depending on imports for more than 90 per cent. of its food requirements. The Government took every care to maintain the food front in full strength. They took the view—and rightly too—that imports of food were as essential as the provision of munitions and war material and sufficient shipping space was found for imports of foodstuffs. The Government there knew that the morale of the people would be affected if sufficient food was not made available. So they took all steps necessary to reinforce the food front and in fact in the earlier periods of the war, they managed to accumulate larger stocks compared to the pre-war years. They did not stop merely with importing stocks but every effort was made to increase the home production. Subsidies were given to the agriculturists and they were supplied with chemical fertilizers. Thus the home production was increased by 40 per cent. over the pre-war level. More land was also brought under cultivation. I am aware that there exist factors which militate against our increasing home production by 40 per cent., but as the Foodgrains Committee observe, it can be increased to wipe out our shortage in food. The

measures that can be adopted in this connection are many. To mention only a few, more land can be brought under the plough; widening the irrigation area is another; supply of better seeds; and, last but not least, the procurement and proper distribution of chemical fertilizers.

Sir, the House will recollect that the Foodgrains Committee recommended *inter alia* in their Report that 1,000,000 tons of foodgrains should be imported every year and that in the first year one-and-a-half million tons should be procured from abroad to build up the Central Reserve. The Committee also stated that—

"if 3½ lakhs tons of sulphate ammonia could be made available for manuring 80 to 90 lakhs of acres of suitable land, an increase in the production of rice by 8 lakh tons per annum can be reasonably expected".

Sir, from the answers returned on the floor of the House by the Government, there is not much hope of the Government importing this one-and-a-half million tons of foodgrains. Their answers are vague and far from assuring. The shipping position after the resounding victories in North Africa and Italy and the passing of the Italian fleet into Allied hands, has certainly improved and yet the Allied Governments do not seem to realise the gravity of the Indian food situation. One would have expected that after the handsome tributes paid to India over her major contribution to the securing of victory in the Middle East and in the Sicilian campaign, India's request for foodstuffs would have received definite compliance. Sir, the very fact that the Government are not able to assert with confidence that one-and-a-half million, or one million, or even half a million tons of food material will be imported within a definite period is enough to show that H.M.G. are not attaching any importance to the requests of this Government. I ask, Sir, will the Indian members of the expanded Viceroy's Executive Council dare show their face to the people should the situation unfortunately worsen? I would not envy their lot then.

Not only foodgrains should be imported, but I urge that three and a half lakh tons of sulphate ammonia should be imported. The Food-
4 P.M. grains Committee have observed that over 180 lakh acres of rice land out of a total of over 720 lakh acres are irrigated. They further add "that there is sufficient irrigated rice-land available for applying this manure, intensively to good purpose." Stressing the importance of the step the Committee further state:

"The Committee most earnestly and strongly recommend to the Government of India to give, with the least possible delay, necessary assistance and facilities for the importation of plants for the manufacture of this fertilizer to the extent of at least three and a half lakh tons a year which would ensure sufficient increase in production to meet half the average deficit in rice".

This is a very fervent and powerful plea worthy of every consideration at the hands of the Government. I submit, Sir, that while every effort should be made to get the machinery needed for producing ammonia sulphate in this country itself, without the least delay, it is imperative that this kind of fertilizer, in quantity of not less than four lakh tons should be imported before the next season. I am sure the "wise, eminent and patriotic" Indian members of the Viceroy's Council will realise their responsibility in the matter and ensure supplies of food and fertilizers. They can hardly do less. Should they fail to do this little, they would do well to abdicate their office.

*THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM (Bihar and Orissa: Muhammadan): Mr. Chairman, I welcome this Resolution, especially coming from an industrialist of Bombay, because it is rather difficult to get Bombay to consent to importation of things which they could possibly manufacture even after a long time. The usual tendency for Bombay is to insist on manufacture first, whether people suffer or not. In that spirit I welcome it. I find a very welcome change that even the industrialists are now waking up to the duty which they owe to the country. Sir, this present Government is singularly inept to tackle big questions with the amount of force which is required to get things done in war-time. The difficulties of the war are present everywhere. Here in India we have all sorts of controls and restrictions against movements. The War Transport De-

*Not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[Mr. Hossain Imam.]

partment is always telling us that this is the most inopportune time and does not give us wagons to move our crops where they are required. I believe that this is a very important contribution towards the "Grow More Food" campaign that is being made by the Honourable Raja Motilal. The need for creating more foodstuffs in India will be accepted on all sides. India had a surplus not because there was sufficiency of foodstuffs being produced but because it had no money and it used to live in a half starved manner. Thanks to the war, a little money is now available in the countryside with the result that the agriculturists have found it possible to add a little more and therefore send a little less to the urban areas. Now, the urban areas are naturally anxious and I can very well appreciate the difficulties of Bombaywallas when they cannot get even wheat bread. They have to eat a bread which is unknown in the other parts of India—barwheat, a relic of barbarism. But the only point where I could not see eye to eye with my Honourable friend is his insistence on the importation of foodgrains from outside. If there is insufficiency, by all means we must import. But we must first of all see what is the position in India. We had only recently statistics published by the Government indicating that this year we had a rice production which is 15 to 20 per cent. above the normal. I was told that it was 28 million tons and the prospects of the rabi crop are no less bright. I hope that other crops also will have exceeded the average by 10 to 15 per cent. Coupled with this, we must not lose sight of the fact that one million tons are going to cost you more than Rs. 15 crores and when it comes, this will not end the situation. Then, again, the War Transport Department will have to come into the limelight. It is they who will have to move it. If they can move it even now, you have got enough foodgrains in surplus areas to take it to the deficit areas. It is because of the fact that we do not find enough transport that we are in difficulties and in this connection I should like to stress the example of Soviet Russia where they have not relied entirely on railways as a means of communication. The rivers have been utilised much better than we have been able in 150 years of British connection. The British Government have not done even a quarter of what Russia has done within the 15 years of their planning, their first, second and third planning. I personally think, Sir, that the importation of fertilizers, especially mineral fertilizers, will go a long way to ease the situation, especially if the Government will give a little subsidy by making them available at cheaper prices. Then you will reap the harvest by getting cheap supplies of your war requirements. They are also very great buyer of foodgrains at the moment. They take about two 2 per cent. of all the food production. If there is a reduction in the price of foodgrains, they will recoup the little cost which they would incur in making these supplies available at a cheaper price than the landed cost price. I would also advocate that the Government should consider the possibility of manufacturing fertilizers in the country itself and for that purpose we should stress on the United States that they must make available to us the machinery which will be required. There is no dearth of people here. Bombay with its pocket full has come out with it. I suggest that Government should embark on both, first the importation as an immediate future plan and as a long-term solution they should try to give every help possible by importation of necessary machine tools for the manufacture of fertilizers in India. I should like to mention that Soviet Russia is manufacturing mineral fertilizers of about 28 lakh of tons a year. If Russia can do that, I think India with a population double that of Russia, should at least produce that much of fertilizers which are produced by half their population. I therefore give my whole-hearted support to this Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH (Education, Health, and Lands Member): May I say, Sir, that so far as agricultural production is concerned, the Indian Members as well as the British Members will come with a bright face to this House. They will dare to present their face with a certain amount of achievement to their credit. The Honourable Member did not confine himself entirely to the production and procurement of fertilisers, but he wandered into other fields and compared systems which prevail in

other countries with systems in this country. He referred to the great effort made by Britania to meet its food requirements. It is true that Britania has done a great deal to stimulate food production. But I suppose the Honourable Member knows that they have fixed a minimum agricultural wage and production is also supported by very substantial subsidies. Then again the Honourable Member referred to the bumper kharif crop which was recently harvested. Of course winds and weather were favourable, but we might claim that it is also due to a certain extent to the "Grow More Food" campaign which this Government started; and the 30 million tons which India has harvested ought to have met its requirements in normal times. If I may say so, there are other factors still operative which prevent the free flow of food from one province to another and thus prevent meeting the demands of the deficit areas as they would have been met if there had been a free flow of commodities from one province to another and people could obtain what they needed where the surplus was available. I agree with the Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam that India should be self-sufficient in any case in the matter of food and should not depend on outside supplies. It may be necessary in emergencies like this to import supplies to meet our deficiencies. But in normal times, our endeavour should be to produce all the food we need in India itself because India is said to be primarily an agricultural country and if an agricultural country cannot meet its food requirements, then it cannot even claim that it has developed its primary industry which is agriculture.

Now, regarding the procurement of fertilisers from outside, ammonium sulphate, ammonium phosphate and superphosphates are generally obtained from America. The supplies available there are controlled by an organisation called the Combined Food Board. It is the function of this Board to allocate quotas for various fertilisers to the Allied countries on the basis of (i) the quantities available for export and (ii) the priority of such demand. Against the allocated quota purchases are made by the Indian Purchasing Mission on Government of India's behalf. The point which should be borne in mind is that the procurement of chemical fertilisers does not depend entirely on our sweet will, but depends on what the Combined Food Board considers as the reasonable quota taking into account the competing demands of all the Allied countries and the shipping position. The following quantities of different types of chemical fertilisers are being imported during the year ending June 1944:

Ammonium sulphate—24,884 short tons.

Ammonium phosphate—14,990 tons.

Triple superphosphate—4,054 short tons.

I quite realise that the Honourable the mover of the Resolution will consider these entirely insufficient taking into account his demand of 3 lakhs tons of fertilisers. But he knows more than anybody else that you can only go into the market and get from the pool what is available and it is not possible to compel them to give all your requirements. The requirements of India for chemical fertilisers during 1944-45 for the period 1st July, 1944 to the 30th June, 1945, have been estimated at 65,000 short tons of ammonium sulphate and the Secretary of State has been requested to approach the Combined Food Board to allot accordingly. You may perhaps question on what basis we have estimated our requirements at 65,000 short tons of chemical fertilisers. So far in India fertilisers have only been used on what we call cash crops, sugarcane, in some cases rice, tea, coffee and so forth; and in ordinary times the application of fertilisers has not yielded an economic return and therefore the application of fertilisers has been largely limited to the crops which gave a good return in money; and for the time being we hope that if we can get this supply, we can in any case meet the need of the cash crops which are of as great an importance in agricultural economy as the food crops are.

For the current year the chemical fertilisers are being purchased by the Government of India, outright, except the whole quantity of superphosphate and 750 short tons of ammonium phosphate which are coming to India from the U.S.A. on Lease/Lend basis in the form triple superphosphate.

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The imported supplies of fertilisers will be pooled with the supplies available in India and allocations will be made to various consumers according to quotas related to pre-war consumption and present war requirements. The allocation for plantation crops will be made in consultation with the Associations concerned, i.e., the Indian Tea Association or the United Planters' Association, and with the Rubber Controller, and the distribution will be made through the existing trade channels. Quotas for other crops will be distributed through the Provincial and State Governments who will supply the fertilisers to growers for the cultivation of vegetables, sugarcane, paddy and other crops as they deem suitable. No profits will be made either by the Central or the Provincial Governments in the distribution of fertilisers. I may say that we are now supplying other manures at concession rates. Some of the provinces, and I think the province of the mover in any case, have secured very large quantities of cake which they expect to distribute at very reasonable rates to the food growers.

In the year preceding the war India used about 100,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and I consider that India could, in the present conditions of the prices of agricultural commodities, easily use that quantity and more if the fertiliser were available. But the sources of supply are mostly foreign and the chemical is also needed for the production of munitions. Out of what is available for agricultural production India only gets a share for agricultural purposes on the basis of what the Combined Food Board considers essential.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Food Board of which place?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Of Allied Nations. The Indian production of ammonium sulphate is of the order of 20,000 tons per year, a part of which is required for the production of munitions and we are going to have the balance for distribution as fertilisers. I am not mentioning the exact figure of what is needed for munition production as that has necessarily to be treated as secret information and cannot be given out in the debate. The point which should be emphasised is that the Government of India is fully aware of securing as large a supply of the chemical fertilisers as is possible for the production of food crops and the limiting factor is not one of lack of knowledge or lack of appreciation of what is needed but the circumstances under which the supply has to be obtained.

The mover has also mentioned that the fertilisers should be preferably distributed among farmers growing foodgrains. I may make our position clear in respect of this condition. The first claim on the chemical fertilisers, as we have a limited supply, is of the crops where fertilisers have been used. I am told on good authority that once you start applying fertilisers to any crop it becomes dependent continuously on getting the same supply over and over again and as our supplies are limited it would not be in the interest of production if we gave one year and could not supply in the next. In fact, any agriculturist knows that what our soil needs is humus and nitrogen and I can assure the Honourable Mover that we are doing all that we can to secure chemical fertilisers and to get plant to manufacture fertilisers in the country itself. In the meanwhile, I may draw his attention that there are indigenous sources which have yet to be fully developed. For instance, we have oil-seeds of various varieties which are exported. If all the oil-seeds, including groundnut, were crushed in the country itself they will not only provide concentrated food for the livestock but also for the soil and permit such oil as can be spared from home consumption for export. I contemplate setting up an Oil Seed Committee on the same lines as Cotton Committee to promote better cultivation of oil-seeds and establishment of oil crushing in the villages with central refineries.

We have not been idle in the year as I said before. During the year that has gone, to promote increased production of food we gave Bombay for bringing new land into cultivation Rs. 8 lakhs in loans and another Rs. 1 lakh in grant. In the Punjab new Sialkot (riverain) lands were to be secured for the cultivation of wheat, gram and barley and a grant of Rs. 8 lakhs was

made. Orissa reclaimed waste-lands to the extent of 66,000 acres and received Rs. 3,76,500 in loans and about Rs. 38,400 in grants. Even a small Administration like Coorg had its share.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: What about Bihar?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Well, I do not find Bihar on my sheet here.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Next year.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Late, as usual.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Madras is reclaiming 40,000 acres of dry land and received a loan of Rs. 15 lakhs and a grant of Rs. 1,58,300. Orissa will reclaim 1 lakh acres of waste land in 1944-45 out of which 33,000 acres require financial assistance and have received Rs. 4,45,500 in loans and Rs. 38,000 in grants. Punjab in the next year is reclaiming 1 lakh acres at a cost of Rs. 6 lakhs which grant has been given by the Central Government.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM: Does Bengal come into the picture?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Bengal has received the largest share.

Grants have been made for the distribution of improved seeds to cultivators at concessional rates.

Distribution of manures throughout India with central assistance to cultivators at concessional rates absorbed in 1943-44 Rs. 36,27,800 in loans—this will interest the mover—and Rs. 9,27,294 in grants. In 1944-45, so far Rs. 15,00,600 worth of loans have been approved and grants for Rs. 15,81,250. Encouragement of the production and utilization of compost from village waste and town refuse. This is a very important source of manure and I am hoping to develop it to a very much larger extent than it has been so far used. In fact, Howard in his testament to agriculture holds that compost manures offer the best possible source of increasing production of India but he is rather suspicious of chemical fertilisers. Mr. and Mrs. Howard did a good deal of work in this line—they started the Indore Plant Research Institute. Compost manures are very largely used in China and in other countries and people are now making use of compost manures in India, also. This is not all. In the matter of the extension of facilities for irrigation by tube wells, tanks, wells, etc., and drainage schemes, loans in 1943-44, were granted to the extent of Rs. 27,67,500 and grants to the extent of Rs. 33,98,000. Similarly, grants for land clearance and improvement and on account of bonus to cultivators for growing food crops instead of short staple cotton have been made. This perhaps the Honourable Members will know is the first time that the Government of India has been trying to stimulate production and help production in the Provinces but I may say the Government of India is in the position—in any case, I am in the position—of a Raja who has no Raj! The whole of the Raj belongs to the Provinces, whose primary concern it is to produce more food and to stimulate interest in agricultural science.

As the Honourable the mover travelled beyond the scope of his Resolution I think I may enjoy a similar privilege. The Reconstruction Committee on Agriculture, which will meet next month, I hope will plan and plan on practical lines—not for any post-war action—but for action to be taken immediately as soon as our plans are ready. And we shall plan on lines which would increase production. I can say that it is possible in India to increase agricultural production to the extent to which the eight Planners thought that India could raise its production. But I must say this that if we are going to raise the agricultural production, it can only be done by giving the agricultural producer a living wage; and the living wage perhaps the mover of the Resolution will demur depends on stabilising agricultural prices at a fairly high level. That does not mean that the urban population would in any case suffer by it as it happened now, and as it happened in the last war too; the urban wage will rise to the same extent, and when you think of the 344 million people whose living

[Sir Jogendra Singh.]

standard would be raised by stabilising agricultural prices at a fairly high level, you may take it, that the balance of the population which purely depends on the demands of this vast agricultural population will gain no less. What we need—and we need it grievously, as India has suffered for the neglect of agriculture and industry all these years—what we need is to provide, in the first place, a higher living standard for our village population by increasing production and by increasing the efficiency of our workers. It is only when we make our workers as efficient as the workers of other countries that we can get similar results in production. And we can increase the efficiency of our workers by giving them proper food for the body and proper food for the mind, and building their mind and body for greater production. And that is the course which we shall pursue in the Agricultural Department.

I am sure that the Honourable mover of the Resolution, knowing now that all that can be done is being done, will not press his Resolution to a vote. He will, I hope, continue his interest in agriculture; for nothing gives me greater pleasure than to see this House discussing these problems and the more often they discuss them, the better it would be, because we would get light from them and we would tell them what we are doing in the field of agriculture and of procuring more food.

THE HONOURABLE KUMARSANKAR RAY CHAUDHURY (East Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): May I ask one question? Is the Government taking any steps for extracting nitrogen from the atmosphere?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: It is only when we develop hydro-electric power, and electric power is available, that we can get fertilizers from the air, as they have done in other countries.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: Only a few words, Sir, in reply. This House has had a very interesting account of the various activities this Government are undertaking in order to improve the agricultural production of India. This Resolution has to that extent served a useful purpose. If only the Honourable Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands would look up the previous records of this House, he would no doubt notice that we have taken interest not only in the industrial progress of India but also in the growth of agricultural production of India and the agriculturist getting a reasonable level of prices. When the prices of agricultural produce were low, I had, by putting questions and eliciting information in this House—and goading the Government in that way—made an attempt to secure that the agricultural prices did not go down too low. I still take that view. But the prices should not be too high either. This is a proposition which I am sure will not be disputed by the Honourable Member. On many points we are in agreement; at any rate, our hearts are in agreement, because we all feel alike. I should have been very happy to hear that Government are in a position to import 3 to 4 lakh tons of chemical fertilizers. I thought that the Food Committee's report had been accepted by the Government. I appreciate the difficulties which have been pleaded on behalf of Government. But then our Government is always faced with difficulties. The reason is that unfortunately we are in a subordinate position, and therefore our voice is also that of a subordinate person. If we could not get the plants—the machinery—for manufacturing fertilizers, I was at least expecting to hear that the fertilizers would be forthcoming. The reply which the Honourable Member for Government has given today clearly indicates that we are not to hope for anything. I am glad that some part of the fertilizers are being given to my province. But I am almost certain these will be used for money crops. In the past the fertilizers have been used for sugarcane cultivation or by tea or coffee growers, and not by growers of rice or wheat and other food crops. The information which has been given to the House by the Honourable Member goes to confirm that these fertilizers are passing into the hands of growers of money crops. My object is different. Though I come from Bombay and am grateful that some portion of these fertilizers have been given to Bombay, what I wanted was that these chemical manures

should be imported for the benefit of food crops in Bengal and other parts of India, I do not wish to take a parochial view of India. I think of India, as a whole, is my country, and wherever such benefits are required, they should be available. Reading the Foodgrains Committee's report, the impression left on my mind was that Bengal needs more of these fertilizers. There is sufficient irrigated land there. These fertilizers can be useful only where we have irrigation lands. They are not of any use in unirrigated land. Out of a total of over 720 million acres, India has over 180 million acres of irrigated land under rice and if 80 or 90 million acres of this irrigated land could be manured with fertilizers, 8 more lakhs of tons of rice could be expected to be produced. I must confess that I am disappointed that even this quantity—half of requirements—is not available. However, I hope Sir Jogendra Singh will do everything possible, as he has promised. I wish he had said: "We have been able to do this," and not, as he said: "We are doing our very best." This Government have always said that they are doing their very best. At any rate, let the Government now at least understand that they have failed to do what they could have done and that they should now act differently. But I fear this cannot be done by the Government constituted as it is. With regard to the individual members, I have no quarrel. It is the system that is at fault. As long as it prevails, these things will continue, these complaints will continue. It is for us to take the power in our own hands as practical men and then achieve what we are now trying to persuade Government to do—in vain—by moving Resolutions in this House.

In view of the assurance given by the Honourable Member, I am prepared to withdraw the Resolution.

The Resolution was, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF AN INDIAN AS DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR (Central Provinces: General): Sir, the Resolution that stands in my name runs thus:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a qualified Indian be appointed as Director General of Archaeology after the retirement of the present incumbent."

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): I think your speech will last for some time. I think you had better move your Resolution now so that you may not lose your priority. I will then adjourn the House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: I will move the Resolution, Sir, and then I will make my speech on the next non-official day.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN (Leader of the House): Why not finish the whole Resolution today?

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): We may not be able to finish by 5 P.M.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: I thought it was a very simple Resolution.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern: Non-Muhammadan): There are only three Resolutions for the next non-official day. It will therefore be a good thing if this is postponed till the next non-official day. There is no hurry about it. Let the debate be postponed to the next non-official day.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): I thought that might be done. I am in the hands of the House.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: Let us go on and finish it. What is the policy involved in it?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: In this matter let the convenience of the non-officials be consulted. This is not Government business. I do not know why Sir Mahomed Usman should object.

THE HONOURABLE SIR MAHOMED USMAN: We generally sit till about 5 P.M. I thought we could finish this today.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Very well, go on.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Sir, the Department of Archaeology

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

was instituted in 1862. The first Director of Archaeology was Sir Alexander Cunningham, his duties being to make an accurate description of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them. In 1871, he was appointed as Director General of Archaeological Survey of India and his function was to superintend a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable alike for their antiquity or their beauty or their historic interest. This continued till the advent of Lord Curzon. When Lord Curzon assumed the Viceregency of India, he, as a lover of Indian archaeology, took great interest in the matter and gave a fillip to the movement, and on his requisitioning a brilliant Cambridge scholar by name Sir John Marshall was appointed as Director General of Archaeology. After the appointment of Sir John Marshall the activities of the Departments increased to a very large extent and Sir John Marshall then tried to introduce Government scholarships for training Indians in this Department and in the year 1903 the first Indian who was appointed as Assistant Superintendent in the Department was Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

Now I shall refer briefly to the work of this Department. The work of this Department consists in surveys of ancient monuments such as tombs, temples and fortresses. The other work of this Department is that they have to make research and excavate and find out old cities and old monuments. Then they have to maintain the museum and in these museums to keep the collections of ancient antiquities. They have also to decipher the various historic and prehistoric languages that are inscribed on the finds and to keep the collections of those finds in the museum. I am giving a general idea of the work that is being carried on by the Department.

Sir, as I said, since Lord Curzon's time the work of the Department increased too much. Not only that but the Department's work was appreciated by the Government and from the very beginning the Director General of Archaeology, Sir John Marshall, tried and succeeded to a very great extent in getting this Department Indianised. I shall read, Sir, his remarks about the Indianization of the Department to which my Resolution is directed. He says:—

"Even at that early date it was patent to me that the future of Archaeology in India must depend more and more on the degree of interest taken in it by Indians themselves and that the surer means of strengthening my own Department was to provide with an increasing number of Indian recruits".

Then, Sir, the Government of India in their Resolution of 1915 laid down their policy that the Department must be Indianised and the work should be carried on by Indians. I shall read one sentence from paragraph 3 of the Resolution of the Government of India, Department of Education, Nos. 357-370, dated the 22nd October, 1915:—

"The Governor General in Council attaches great importance to the further employment of Indians in archaeological work as opportunities arise and funds are available".

So, Sir, the House will know that the Government of India and their own expert, Sir John Marshall, regarded that the Department should be manned by Indians and not by foreign experts. This Department has carried out the work of excavation at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, at Taxilla, and at other places. They are maintaining museums at various places, for instance, at Saranath Taxilla, Mohenjo-daro and they have trained Indians in archaeology at the cost of Indian tax-payers. Six scholarships were created long ago and after that many Indians were trained and after Sir John Marshall Indians held charge of this Department as Directors General of Archaeology. In fact we find that as soon as Sir John Marshall began to take a keen interest in the working of the Department, the young men of India who had special aptitude for Indian archaeology came forward and after obtaining State scholarships some of them went out of India, gained considerable knowledge and are now working in the Department. Nobody has said that the Department cannot be managed by an Indian. In fact Sir John Marshall who was Director General of Archaeology for about 32 years has stated in clear terms that he was very much satisfied with

the work of Indians and his prophesy that Indians would efficiently manage the Department has proved to be true. These are his exact words:—

"To prophesy is always dangerous, but, for myself, I have few fears about it. Thirty-seven years ago, when I took the first step towards Indianizing my Department, I was confident that I was doing the right thing. Today, with half a lifetime's experience behind me and my experiment well tried and tested, I can see that that confidence was abundantly justified. The Indians whom we have trained have proved their ability in every direction. They are good conservators, good excavators, good epigraphists; and they are equally sound as curators of museums, chemists and numismatists".

Sir, this is not a certificate given by a politician; this is not a certificate given by a layman. This is a certificate given to Indians by a foreign expert who was here for 32 years and managed the Department. What do we find now? We find that a foreign expert is going to be appointed, or is being appointed or has been appointed as Director General of Archaeology. I have nothing to say against the personality of this gentleman. He may be a thorough gentleman, he may be a very amiable gentleman. But I am provoked to say something against him because of the remark made by the Government spokesman in the other place. The remarks that he has made in the other place are to this effect:—

"None of the officers within the range of selection had the wide range of knowledge and experience of modern technique and method of archaeological excavation".

I will say that the gentleman who is going to be imported into India does not know our languages, Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit. It is no use comparing merits. Because you want to make the appointment of a European expert, you have no right to cast aspersions on my countrymen. You may say that A, B, C is incompetent. I do not challenge that. But you cannot say that out of all these men who have been trained, you can find nobody to hold that appointment. What does Dr. Wheeler know about our ancient history and pre-historic culture? What does he know about our language, what does he know about our culture? A Curator in a London Museum knowing something about Roman antiquity is not expected to know about my antiquity. Sir, I am constrained to make these remarks on account of the remarks that were made in the other place. It is not my business to hold a brief for X, Y or Z, but I do hold a brief for Indians and if Government wants to go back on their own policy and wants to bring foreign experts into India at this stage when the work of the Department has been so much increased, when the members of the Department have done excellent work and when experts like Sir John Marshall have given a good certificate about their efficiency, the Government have no right to say that there are no competent Indians to hold the job. If the Government wanted to appoint a European expert they ought to have told us plainly that they are a subordinate branch of a Government which has dictated to them, asked them, forced them, ordered them, to appoint a particular expert. The matter would have ended there. But I would not have let statements like these casting aspersions on Indians as a whole to go unchallenged.

Then, Sir, the next point is that—if I understand the procedure correctly,—such appointments are advertised through the Federal Public Service
 5 P. M. Commission. I know, Sir, that the Director of the Agricultural Institute at Pusa has retired and his appointment has been advertised by the Education, Health and Lands Department. Why has not this appointment also been advertised and why are not applications invited for filling this post? What is the use of having a Public Service Commission? The Federal Public Service Commission is there to decide the merits and demerits of candidates but if the Government wants to make appointments to these important posts without even consulting the Federal Public Service Commission it is better that the Federal Public Service Commission should be abolished and the tax-payer's money is saved. Sir, it is a matter of very great regret to me that after all the money that has been spent over this Department in training Indians and the good certificate that has been given to them by experts like Sir John Marshall and the policy initiated by the Government of India in 1915, at this

[Mr. V. V. Kalikar.]

time the Government of India should think of going back over their own policy, rule out the opinions and views of their experts and appoint foreigners as experts in matters with which we Indians only are connected and nobody else.

I have been in this House for the last 12 years and I have never indulged in personalities or made any remarks against anybody. But, Sir, if on account of the statement made in the other House by the Government spokesman I said something against Dr. Wheeler I hope the House would excuse me. My whole point is that Dr. Wheeler, however brilliant he may be, however competent he may be, is not competent to look after my temples, my tombs and my monuments. He is not competent to decipher my languages; he is not competent to manage the Archaeological Department for which I pay. It is only the Indians and Indians only who can efficiently manage this Department. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that I will regard a voting on this Resolution as a vote in favour or against the Indians. I therefore request all sections of the House to vote for my Resolution.

Sir, I move:—

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Resolution moved:—

"This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a qualified Indian be appointed as Director General of Archaeology after the retirement of the present incumbent."

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: I think we should adjourn now. It is already a quarter past five.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): I think we should finish it.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Why should not the Government accommodate us today? I have finished my speech. I think I shall get more satisfaction if we resume this debate some other day. Pandit Kunzru also wants to speak on this Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Well, we cannot help it.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH (Education, Health and Lands Member): Sir, I need not proclaim myself as a countryman of the mover of the Resolution. My face and my colour and turban proclaim it and I cannot also deny that I share with him the anxiety to safeguard the interests, the power and prestige of my countrymen. I can assure him that I would never let down any officer of my Department. I do not wish for a moment to disparage in any way the long and faithful services rendered by members of the Archaeological Department. The Archaeological Department in an ancient country like India has a special function. This function is to keep alive and to bring to light its ancient heritage, its glory and its ancient past. I can assure the Honourable Member, therefore, that it was not with any light heart that I had to seek outside for the head of the Archaeological Department. It is true, and I wish to say it clearly before this House, that some of the scholars and workers of repute in the Archaeological Department have given their best in the service of the Department over a long period. What has been lacking has not been devotion to duty but the opportunity of acquiring the training and experience requisite for the leadership of the Department which is the custodian of India's ancient heritage. I may remind the House that the cadre of officers of the Department is small. There are only six Superintendents of Circles, the category from which the Director General could be normally selected. The cadre also suffered a few years ago by the loss of Mr. Mazumdar, one of its most distinguished members. My impression is fully confirmed by the Report of Sir Leonard Woolley who was invited in 1938 to examine the work of the Department. Now, in the face of the Report of a celebrated and eminent archaeologist of the day like Sir Leonard Woolley, it was not possible for me to neglect, in fact I would not be doing my duty to India if I neglected

to follow and failed to do what this Report told us to do about the Department. I think my Honourable friend will agree with me that what we need is service, service in all fields which need development and care. We find all businessmen—and my Honourable friend sitting opposite will agree—all businessmen try to get the best possible men available for their work. Need I say that the Tata industry was started by importing an American on a very high salary, and the result of that was that we have now a steel industry established in the country? Take the Archaeological Department as it stands today. I will read out to you what Sir Leonard Woolley said. He found that the Department was—

"altogether lacking in men trained for the work which they have to do. The staff are not adequate to their task and naturally they are unable to train up their successors to any higher standard than their own—indeed as regards the students and junior members it is a case of the blind leading the blind".

Sir Leonard Woolley's Report also revealed that the policy and methods followed by the Department are open to serious criticism. For example, he observes:—

"I have visited sites in which digging was in progress under the direction, in one case of an Excavation Assistant, in another of a Draftsman, in another of a Museum Custodian and in a fourth of a working foreman who in the absence of all members of the establishment had no one to supervise him at all. One of these men had been specially instructed to carry out a piece of research requiring the greatest care and judgment; he had not got even the tools which were indispensable to work of the sort, most of the evidence was destroyed in the course of the digging, and what survived the workmen's pickaxes he could not understand. Another of them who was working with laudable care and considerable skill was misinterpreting nearly all that he found in a way which would have been seriously misleading to scholars; the third, who also worked carefully, did not even attempt to interpret things and had no scientific results to shew. It would be manifestly unfair to criticise these men for not doing well something which they should never have been asked to do; but that they should have been thought fit to do the work is a grave symptom of the low standard and inexperience of the Department".

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR (Madras: Non-Muhammadan): May we know when this Report was submitted?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: In 1938.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO (Nominated Non-Official): How did he come to make the Report?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: He was invited by the Government of India.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Only by going round and seeing all the places?

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR: I have to ask one more question. Since 1938, when this Report was submitted, has not an Indian been in charge of this Department up to date?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Yes; he has been in charge. He was then in charge.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR: If that Report was so condemnatory, how did the Government of India continue that Indian in charge of the Department?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: I am sure the Honourable Member would not like me to answer that question.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SUSIL KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY (West Bengal: Non-Muhammadan): Did he say in that Report that it is desirable that an Indian should be appointed as the Director General of Archaeology?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: He did.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARATN MAHTHA (Bihar: Non-Muhammadan): What a bad man!

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: He did, because he thought that a suitable Indian could be found.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR: One or two questions, Sir, because that will clear up matters. If the present Director of Archaeology was considered fit for his appointment and has been continued for six years

[Sir Gopalaswami Ayyangar.]

after this Report was made, what is it that prevents his being continued for another two years until you train up another Indian officer of the Department to acquire all this efficiency?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: His time has expired; and I think my Honourable friend will not want me to say that during this period the progress that was expected has not been made, and it would not be wise now to continue the same condition which was so directly pointed out by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1938.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: May I know how many of these Directors have been working on the Mohenjo-daro excavations?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: There are not so many Directors of Archaeology. There are six Superintendents.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: The Mohenjo-daro discoveries were made by an Indian, and the excavations were carried on by an Indian; the whole work was arranged by an Indian.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Yes. That does credit to our men, and I am proud that this work was done by an Indian officer in Mohenjo-daro.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL: And that is the reward he got.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: It is not a question of reward: it is the need of the time that has to be met.

The Report is available for members in the Library of the House. I think Government would have been open to severe criticism if they had failed to take notice of the views of so eminent an authority and to take steps at the earliest opportunity—

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR: Six years after!

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH—at the earliest opportunity—

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Six years!

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: It is only now that the opportunity has occurred. I am sure that if you look into the matter more carefully, you will agree that, if the Archaeological Department is to perform its function of revealing India's past and to play the part it should in the cultural life of the country, it is necessary that the Department should be reorganised and its staff trained in modern archaeological methods. What is needed at the present moment is a Director with knowledge and experience of modern methods in all the branches of archaeological work and who is also a capable organiser and a good teacher. There is no doubt that such a person is not available in India, either inside the Department or outside it.

THE HONOURABLE SIR A. P. PATRO: Question!

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: The alternative of sending a person abroad to receive training, to which my Honourable friend referred, could not be considered owing both to the impossibility of obtaining practical experience in archaeological work in present world conditions and the fact that such a course would in any case result in several years' delay. The only solution therefore was to bring a person with the necessary qualifications to India for a limited period. I fully recognise the value of a knowledge of Indian history and languages in archaeological work in India, but for the task of reorganisation and training of staff in modern archaeological methods a specialised knowledge of these subjects cannot be regarded as essential. What is essential is knowledge and experience of modern scientific archaeological methods. We have been fortunate in securing the services for a period of four years of an outstanding archaeologist with a very wide range of experience in excavation, the preservation of ancient monuments and museum work, and who moreover has considerable experience of teaching. I am confident that with his guidance we shall be able to place the Department on a sound footing and equip it for the

part it should play in the life of the country. I hope that with this explanation the Honourable Member will feel able to withdraw his Resolution.

One point that I should like to emphasise is this, that the appointment is for a very short period and it was after very careful thought that it was considered desirable that the Department should be reorganised and raised to the position to which Sir John Marshall aspired. The Honourable mover of the Resolution has mentioned how the Department originated and who were the first officers who created and built it up. I think he would admit that the inspiration for the Archaeological Department came from elsewhere. Sir John Marshall, to whose work he made a deserving tribute, raised the Department to its present position. It has to be confessed—and I think this confession has been drawn by the Honourable Members who have asked questions—that the standard of work to which Sir John Marshall raised the Department suffered an eclipse and in the interests of India if was necessary to get an expert to set the Department on the road of achievement again.

THE HONOURABLE MR. G. S. MOTILAL (Bombay: Non-Muhammadan): Sir; I am sorry to observe that it has become an annoying practice with the Government of India to import officers after officers under the usual plea of not finding competent men in India. I would go to the extent of saying that even less competent men, among Indians, should be given the opportunity of serving the country instead of importing men from abroad. I have no prejudice against Englishmen. But my point is this, that men of this country should be given the opportunity, even if they are a bit less competent. It is wrong to say that a person should be chosen from outside because he had wide experience and the Indian had not that experience. Is it not open to you to send out men from India and make them get the same experience? My feeling is that the person who comes from outside India with the so-called wide knowledge—the knowledge of the London Museum, compared to him—the men of India, even if their knowledge was not wide in that sense, could do as well as the imported person. First of all, the imported person does not know the language of this country. He does not know the conditions of this country and he has very little interest in the country. Such persons have interest only for two, three or five years and then they go back to their own country, with the result that the experience they gain is all lost to India. If Indians are appointed, their experience is retained in this country even after they retire. They will be here to give the benefit of their knowledge. I will cite one example. In the Bombay Municipality we had a Fire Brigade Officer. He was brought from England. As an individual I liked him. For the last 10 years at the time of his appointment the question was whether an Indian should be appointed to that post or not. The European was employed on a contract for five years and whenever the question came up, again somehow or other—I am not going to dilate upon it—it was so cleverly managed that his reappointment became inevitable. Only recently we set our foot down and said, "He has been a very good servant; we appreciate his services; but we want an Indian". If the appointing authority had made up its mind to retain him, it could have very well said, "The Indian who is available does not possess the qualifications which the European does". The first quality is his white skin. This is a very great qualification, which seems to go much with this Government. If one possesses this, then every other qualification follows. It is a very left-handed compliment to pay to the Indian officers of the Government to say that these Indian officers have done very good work. The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh, did not wish to disparage the work of his officers but the new man supersedes them all the same. One can always say of anybody's favourite. "This man is better than others." But that plea does not convince us. I wish the Government of India will remove this weak weapon from their armoury. They must make up their mind that they will appoint an Indian and an Indian alone and that they will not have any more of these so-called superior men from overseas. Let us have even less competent men, but let them be Indians. But I do not

[Mr. G. S. Motilal.]

concede that Indians are less competent. It is only an obsession of the Government of India that a European is superior to an Indian.

THE HONOURABLE RAI BAHADUR SRI NARAIN MAHTHA: Sir, the Honourable Member who spoke on behalf of Government, and for whom I have great personal veneration, I could notice, had tremendous tribulation of feeling on this question. I found that his conscience was really pricked that he could not appoint an Indian to this post and it was pricked to this extent that he merely went on defending what he did and absolutely forgot to reply to the Resolution. The Resolution asks for an assurance from Government that a qualified Indian be appointed as Director of Archaeology after the retirement of the present incumbent. He said nothing on that point at all. I thought that the reason for his having forgotten to do so was the fact that the prick in his conscience was too much and all the time he felt that he was defending an indefensible position. He said, Sir, in defence of the existing appointment that the proper type of man whom Government would have thought to be capable of administering the Department efficiently was not available. He also said that the present appointment is of a very temporary nature. What is there, may I ask, to hope that during this temporary period, such a cultural or archaeological upheaval in this country will take place that men could be secured from some quarter unknown to the Government of India today and be found to be suitable to fill up the new post? I do not know for what length of period this appointment has been made. (*An Honourable Member:* "Four years".) That is a long period indeed.

, Then, Sir, I absolutely agree with the mover of the Resolution that for a Department particularly of the type of the Archaeological Department, the three sections of which are monumental, epigraphic and numismatic, you need a man very well conversant with Indian languages and capable of being able to decipher what these inscriptions show. Not only that. He should have some grounding in Indian literature and the habits of the people here to be able to assess a proper value to those inscriptions and then to decide their importance and to fix their proper place for historical purposes. To that extent, howsoever technically qualified in the matter of preserving a monument a foreign expert may be, he is not qualified at all to do the work of archaeology here. If you needed a technical expert, you could get all the technical literature from outside, which are not sealed books, you could build up a library and make it available to your archaeological expert; the expert could get knowledge from those books for preserving monuments, coins, inscriptions and so forth. In that respect the comments made by my Honourable friend Mr. Kalikar are completely justified and he has represented the feeling of everyone of us here, a feeling of great resentment at the slur that you as a Government have thrown on Indian talent and Indian capacity by saying that there is no man available in India with the requisite qualifications. Your own experts have testified that the men of the Department are efficient. Why have you superseded them? I do not know if the present appointment has been made on contract. If not, his appointment should be terminated immediately and you should appoint an Indian immediately to take charge. I hope, Sir, that when the Honourable Member rises to reply he will tell us something on this question as to what he is going to do when the time for the next appointment comes up and also enlighten the House with regard to the terms of contract with the present man if there is any contract at all.

THE HONOURABLE MR. V. V. KALIKAR: Sir, I have listened very patiently and very carefully to the speech of my Honourable friend Sir Jogendra Singh. I yield to nobody in my respect to my Honourable friend Sir Jogendra Singh, but I found that he himself was feeling that some wrong had been done by the Government of India when he was arguing his weak case in spite of his ingenuity. Sir, he could not satisfy the House that there was need of a foreign expert for looking after Indian archaeology.

I now turn to the Woolley Report. My Honourable friend has cited from the Report where Sir Leonard Woolley says that the work of the Department

was not carried out on some principles. It was not properly organised and so on. I will read a passage from the same Report which will convince the House that Sir Leonard Woolley—though he was with us for only three months, never recommended a foreign expert to hold the post of Director General of Archaeology. Sir John Marshall was with us for 32 years. This gentleman was here only for three months and he says that the work of excavation was not carried on well, it was unorganised. But so far as the appointment of a Director General of Archaeology is concerned, he says definitely:—

"I am not suggesting that the direction of the Archaeological Survey of India should be taken out of Indian hands and entrusted to a foreigner;"

I am not omitting what he has said:—

"put expert help is needed and since it is not forthcoming from India it must be sought abroad. What I recommend therefore is that a European Adviser in Archaeology be appointed for a strictly limited term of years (and I think that five years would suffice); the present constitution of the Archaeological Survey, with its Indian Director General and Deputy Director General would benefit by the advice of a more experienced colleague and the whole staff would be so trained by precept and by example as to make it capable, in a comparatively short time, of doing its own work on its own initiative". What he has said in this whole Report is that the work of excavation was not properly done. Sir John Marshall says that there are good Indian excavators. Sir John Marshall had experience of 32 years of archaeology in India. Even assuming for argument's sake that the work of excavation was not done on proper lines, what excavations are made during war-time? Are you carrying on any new excavation work? Have you got sufficient funds? You have curtailed the budget of the Archaeological Department. They are not in a position to publish their reports. Their museums at Delhi and Calcutta have been taken away, by the military. Now you quote passages from this Report to substantiate the argument you advanced in the other House that there are no competent Indians. Sir Leonard Woolley says about conservation:—

"For the work of conservation the Archaeological Department deserves the highest praise".

Many young Indians have given the best of their lives to this work of excavation. They have done the best work and you admit that Mohenjo-daro was excavated by an Indian. If these facts are correct, if these facts are admitted, where is the necessity for bringing a foreign expert. Excavation work gives employment to people. Indian taxpayers pay for the expenses of this Department and they have to listen to the remark that Indians are not fit for excavation or other work. My Honourable friend cited the analogy of the Tata industry. I know something about it. I was there as a guest for four days and I had a talk with Mr. Gandhi, the Director. They train Indians. You should follow the same policy. Sir John Marshall followed the same policy and trained Indians and he gave scholarships to Indians. Three or four Indians went out of India to other countries and those Indians are in your Department. It is no use arguing a bad case in an ingenuous manner. A great lawyer can argue a very bad case in an ingenious manner. That would not establish the truth.

The truth is that you have been directed by Whitehall to appoint a foreigner as an expert. Don't take shelter under this Report. This Report does not say anything except about excavation. This report praises Archaeological Department for conservation. Say openly that you were ordered and that you have appointed a foreigner. Sir, it pains me very much. I am very sorry I cannot withdraw my Resolution. I know what will be the fate of the Resolution but I want to proceed to a division.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: I have just one word to say. I do not wish to say anything about the Resolution because the appointment has already been made for a short term of years. There is only one other misapprehension which I wished to remove but the mover of the Resolution has already quoted the passage to which I wished to draw his attention. It is true that Sir Leonard Woolley had said that the headship of the Department may remain with an Indian but at the same time he had recommended that there should be a superior Adviser immediately appointed.

HONOURABLE MEMBERS: Not a superior Adviser.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: Well, an Adviser with expert knowledge.

THE HONOURABLE SIR GOPALASWAMI AYYANGAR: Was there any objection to accepting that suggestion?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: When that recommendation was made, so far as I can understand there was a permanent Director General of Archaeology already holding the appointment. So the compromise that suggested itself to Sir Leonard Woolley was not to disturb the existing arrangement but to strengthen the Department by providing an additional Adviser.

I have nothing more to say, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss): Resolution moved: "This Council recommends to the Governor General in Council that a qualified Indian be appointed as Director of Archaeology after the retirement of the present incumbent."

Question put and the Council divided:

AYES—8.

Ayyangar, Hon. Sir N. Gopalaswami.	M. tilal, Hon. Mr. G. S.
Kalikar, Hon. Mr. V. V.	Patro, Hon. Sir A. P.
Kensru, Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath.	Ray Chaudhury, Hon. Mr. Kumarsankar.
Mahtha, Hon. Rai Bahadur Sri Narain.	Roy Chowdhury, Hon. Mr. Susil Kumar.

NOES—17.

Banerjee, Hon. Mr. R. N.	Khurshid Ali Khan, Hon. Nawabzada.
Conran-Smith, Hon. Mr. E.	Lal, Hon. Mr. Shavax A.
Das, Hon. Mr. M. L.	Mahomed Usman, Hon. Sir.
Das, Hon. Rai Bahadur Satyendra Kumar.	Mukherjee, Hon. Sir Satya Charan.
Ghosal, Hon. Sir Josna.	Noon, Hon. Sir Firoz Khan.
Hydari, Hon. Mr. M. S. A.	Parker, Hon. Mr. R. H.
Jogendra Singh, Hon. Sir.	Pillai, Hon. Mr. N. R.
Jones, Hon. Mr. C. E.	Roy, Hon. Sir Satyendra Nath.
	Sen, Hon. Mr. B. R.

The Motion was negatived.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock, on Thursday, the 16th March, 1944.